



**SURESH**  
**GYAN VIHAR**  
**UNIVERSITY**  
Accredited by NAAC with 'A+' Grade

**Master of Arts**

**(History)**

**WORLD IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,  
PART 1**

**Semester-1**

**Author- Vijay Kumar**

**SURESH GYAN VIHAR UNIVERSITY**  
**Centre for Distance and Online Education**  
**Mahal, Jagatpura, Jaipur-302025**

## **EDITORIAL BOARD (CDOE, SGVU)**

---

**Dr (Prof.) T.K. Jain**  
*Director, CDOE, SGVU*

**Dr. Dev Brat Gupta**  
*Associate Professor (SILS) & Academic  
Head, CDOE, SGVU*

**Ms. Hemlalata Dharendra**  
*Assistant Professor, CDOE, SGVU*

**Ms. Kapila Bishnoi**  
*Assistant Professor, CDOE, SGVU*

**Dr. Manish Dwivedi**  
*Associate Professor & Dy, Director,  
CDOE, SGVU*

**Mr. Manvendra Narayan Mishra**  
*Assistant Professor (Deptt. of Mathematics)  
SGVU*

**Mr. Ashphak Ahmad**  
*Assistant Professor, CDOE, SGVU*

Published by:

**S. B. Prakashan Pvt. Ltd.**

WZ-6, Lajwanti Garden, New Delhi: 110046

Tel.: (011) 28520627 | Ph.: 9625993408

Email: info@sbprakashan.com | Web.: www.sbprakashan.com

© SGVU

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced or copied in any form or by any means (graphic, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, or information retrieval system) or reproduced on any disc, tape, perforated media or other information storage device, etc., without the written permission of the publishers.

Every effort has been made to avoid errors or omissions in the publication. In spite of this, some errors might have crept in. Any mistake, error or discrepancy noted may be brought to our notice and it shall be taken care of in the next edition. It is notified that neither the publishers nor the author or seller will be responsible for any damage or loss of any kind, in any manner, therefrom.

For binding mistakes, misprints or for missing pages, etc., the publishers' liability is limited to replacement within one month of purchase by similar edition. All expenses in this connection are to be borne by the purchaser.

**Designed & Graphic by : S. B. Prakashan Pvt. Ltd.**

Printed at :

# INDEX

## UNIT I

THE WORLD IN 1900 5

## UNIT II

PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 31

## UNIT III

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION 38

## UNIT IV

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION 60

## UNIT V

MILITARISM IN JAPAN AND SECOND WORLD WAR 83

## **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

**The students will be able to understand:**

### **UNIT -1**

- Mastery of the major developments and legacies of the 19th century, including social, political, and economic changes.
- Recognition of the impact of these legacies on the 20th-century world..
- Proficiency in assessing the reliability and limitations of historical sources.

### **UNIT -2**

- Comprehensive knowledge of the growth of nationalism and its manifestations in various regions.
- Analysis of the factors contributing to nationalist movements.
- Understanding the lifestyle, tools, and artistic expressions of these periods..

### **UNIT -3**

- Understanding the expansion of capitalism and imperialism in the 20th century.
- Recognition of the economic and political consequences of imperialistic endeavors.
- Competence in describing and analyzing town planning, architecture, economy, religion, and arts.

### **UNIT-4**

- Recognition of the immediate and long-term consequences of the First World War.
- Understanding how the war reshaped global geopolitics.
- Engagement with scholarly discussions surrounding the original home and identity of the Aryans.

### **UNIT-5**

- Understanding efforts towards disarmament and the challenges posed by the reparation problem.
- Analysis of their impact on international relations.
- Development of research and analytical skills to understand the complexities of prehistoric and ancient Indian civilizations.

# **SYLLABUS**

## **WORLD IN THE**

### **TWENTIETH CENTURY-I**

#### **UNIT I**

##### **THE WORLD IN 1900**

Introduction, Legacy of the nineteenth century, Growth of nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism. Origins of the First World War, its nature and consequences.

#### **UNIT II**

##### **PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

Paris peace settlement and its long-term results. Russian revolution of 1917-cause nature and its impact.

#### **UNIT III**

##### **LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION**

League of nations and collective security, disarmament efforts and the reparation problem, Great economic depression- impact on the world and recovery.

#### **UNIT IV**

##### **THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION**

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, social movement, Ideologies of Nazism, and fascism in Germany and Italy.

#### **UNIT V**

##### **MILITARISM IN JAPAN AND SECOND WORLD WAR**

Militarism in Japan. The Spanish civil war. The policy of appeasement, The Munich pact and its consequences, Origins, nature, and results of the Second World War.

UNIT

I

# THE WORLD IN 1900

---

## STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Legacy of the Nineteenth Century
- 1.4 Growth of Nationalism, Capitalism, and Imperialism
- 1.5 Origins of the First World War, Its Nature, and Consequences
- 1.6 Chapter Summary
- 1.7 Review Questions
- 1.8 Multiple Choice Questions



## 1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

---

After learning this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the Legacy of the nineteenth century.
- Understand the Growth of nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism.
- Understand the Origins of the First World War, its nature, and its consequences.

## 1.2 INTRODUCTION

---

The First World War was one of the greatest catastrophes that befell human civilization. It was the ultimate result of the various factors. The war which lasted for four years and three months was different from the wars fought in the earlier period of human history, in so far as it was fought on a worldwide scale and had repercussions on practically all the countries of the world. This War was a “war to end all wars in the future” and it was fought with the popular catchword of making the world safe for democracy. It is regarded as a real-world war taking into account the unscrupulous use of mechanical arms and ammunitions and large-scale loss of life and property. With Germany’s unconditional surrender the statesmen of the world chose Paris which had been the nerve center for the ally’s cause as the site for the conclusion of peace and made necessary preparations. The peace-makers got assembled in Paris in an atmosphere of idealism tinged with national aggrandizement but subsequently conceded to one of the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson envisaging the formation of the league of nations that would settle the disputes by amicable means and safeguard world peace. With the signing of the peace treaty of Versailles the league came into existence and became the cynosure of world hopes. Soon after the war, the world showed anxiety to preserve the hard-earned peace. The Paris Peace Conference established international machinery in the league for the prevention of war, for pacific settlement of international disputes, and for collective security aggression. The efforts for security were made both through the league system as well as outside it.

## 1.3 LEGACY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

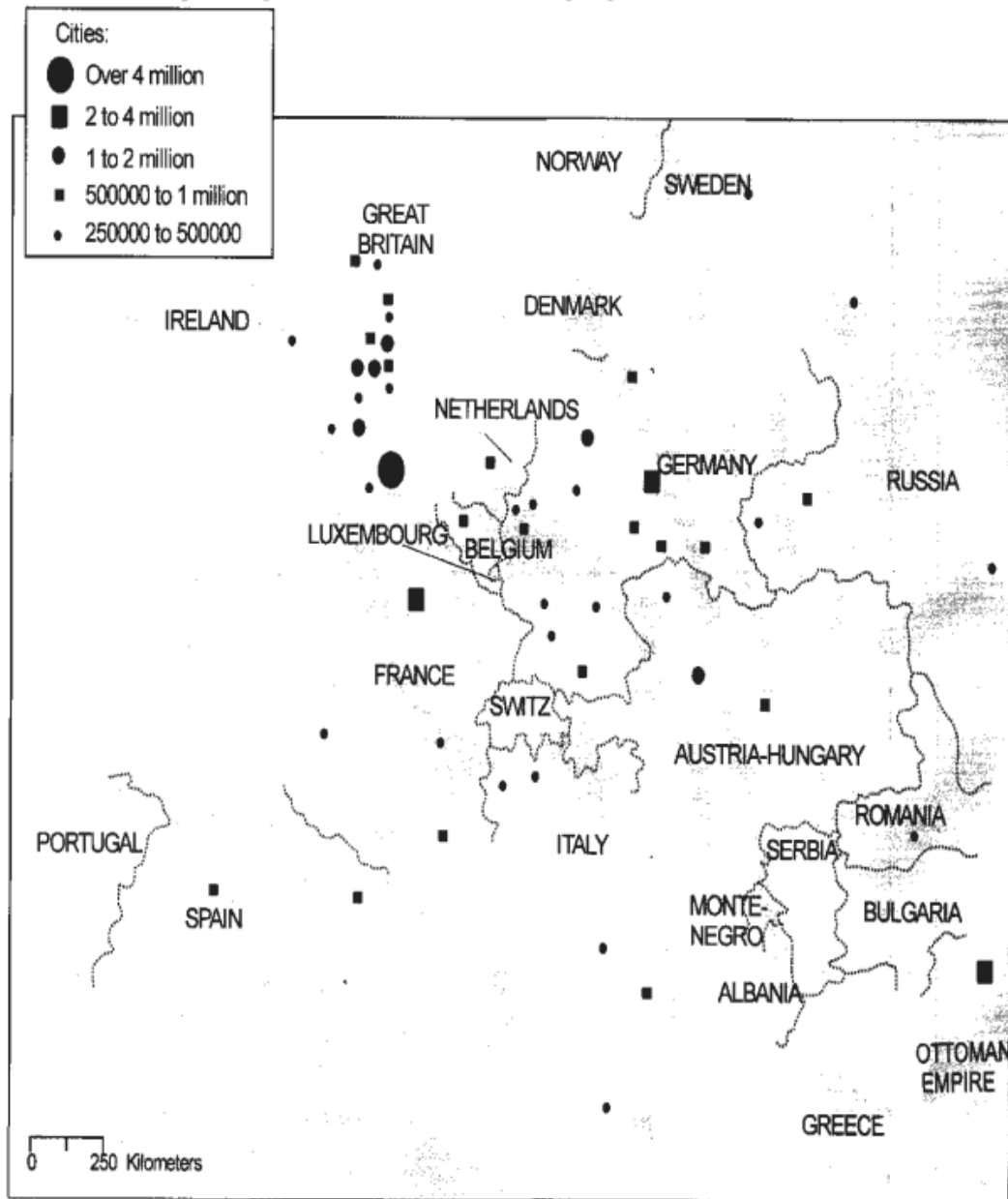
---

### STRUCTURE OF WORLD POPULATION: 1900

The study of human populations—their rates of growth and shifting patterns of settlements—is called demography. In 1900 the human population was about 1.5 billion (150crores). China and India were then, as today, the most populous countries. Yet in 1900 Asia contained a smaller portion of the world’s population than it does today. Most of the people all over the world were settled agriculturalists in 1900, which cultivated crops and animals and lived in villages. In many parts of the world, people existed as nomads, grazing herds of animals, and many were tribal hunter-gatherers, although they formed a smaller number in 1900 than a few hundred years earlier. A steadily growing section of the world’s population lived in cities. Cities had existed since ancient times in many parts of the world, but they were limited in size and population. However capitalist industrialization led to urbanization and faster growth of population in cities. By 1900 Europe has a larger concentration of cities than any other region in the world: more than 100 cities had a population of at least 1, 00,000 people, and there were six European cities with about

10, 00,000 inhabitants. Europe and America had the largest cities, whereas in Asia and Africa large expanses of the territory contained few cities and many stagnated and declined compared to hundreds of years earlier. Most of the large cities outside of Europe in 1900 were only 100 or 200 years old-like Sydney and Chicago-and were inhabited mostly by people of European origin. Some, like Calcutta in Bengal, grew under British rule.

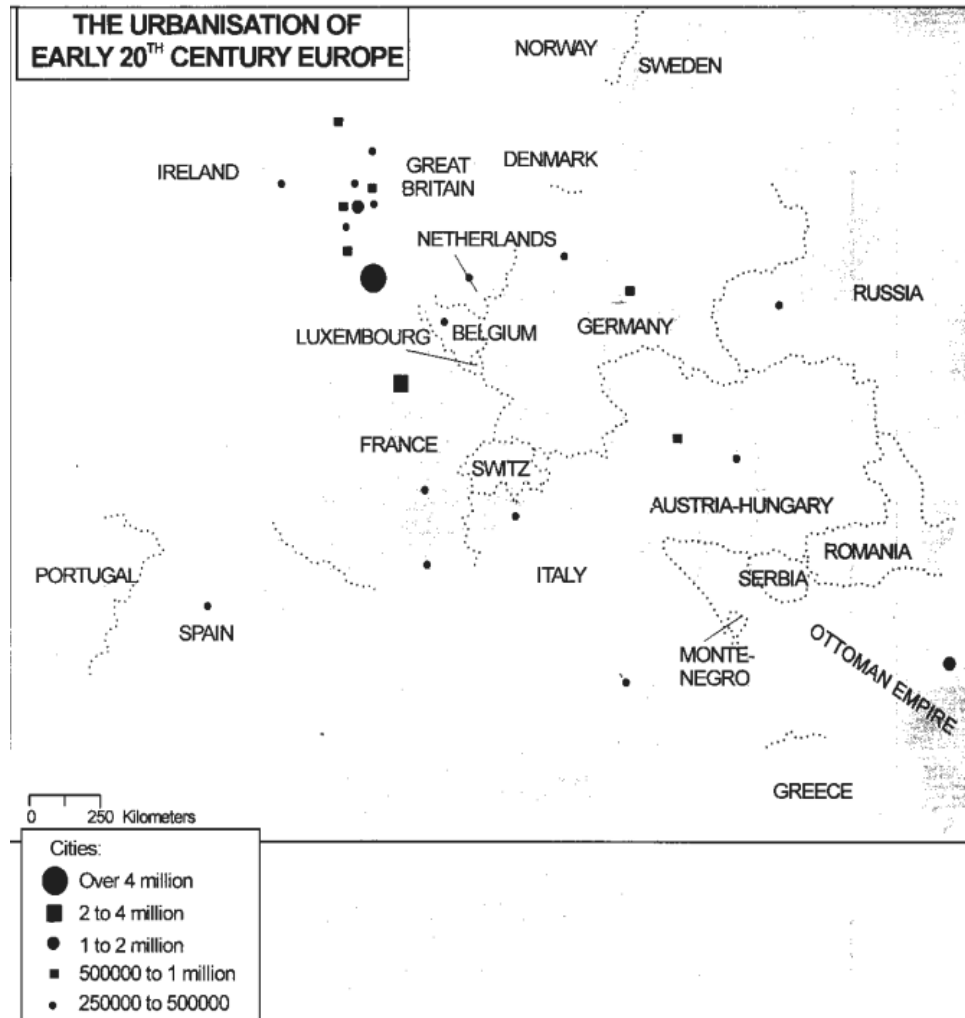
NOTES 



*Map (a) Urbanisation of Early 20th Century Europe*

In general human populations of Asia, Africa, and South America in 1900 were 75–95% rural, or living in villages and dependent on agriculture. Industrializing Europe, or Americas and Australia where people of European origin had settled, either already had or were close to having 50% urban population, i.e., living in towns and cities.





Map (b) Urbanisation of Early 20th Century Europe

### INDUSTRIALISATION AND SOCIAL CLASSES

The process of industrialization began in Western Europe after about 1700 by bringing together a large number of laborers near areas of energy and resources to produce metals and operate machines that turned out finished products at a fast pace. By 1900 when big amounts of money began to be required for the industry to operate on a big scale, we see the growth of capitalist industrialization. Capitalism derives from the word capital, meaning accumulated wealth and property, and those people who have capital are called capitalists. Capitalists were directly engaged in industrial production, trading, administration, and banking. By 1900 most of Europe, America and Australia had undergone capitalist industrialization.

The wealth and property of capitalists came either from trade and commerce or from expropriating the property of small owners. On the other hand, were people—men, women, and children who worked in factories and who did not have any property and were dependent for their livelihood on their labor for which they got wages. Between them was a large majority which even in 1900 was not propertyless wage earners, but could not

be called wealthy. Many were members of the salaried middle classes: teachers, doctors, engineers, clerks, and other services.

Most people by then also believed that the existence of such classes is normal and would continue to remain so and that the majority of people would accept these inequalities as their situation improved. They saw that the transfer of wealth from colonies would allow some benefits to going to the working people as well in the European countries. This did happen to some extent by 1900, and most people lived better than their grandparents had. But there were also difficult periods of unemployment.

By 1900 Asian and African cities like Bombay Shanghai and Dakar also contained large numbers of businessmen, shopkeepers, and other sections of the middle classes and industrial wage laborers. But the population here was greatly outnumbered by landlords, peasants, and agricultural laborers in the surrounding villages.

It is important to keep in mind a few other facts about capitalist societies in 1900. Much of the raw materials and markets for European economies came from the colonies, and this relationship was also one of inequality: it was not an equal trading relationship. Within European societies, landlords were no longer the dominant class.

### URBANISM AND KNOWLEDGE

Another characteristic of industrialization was that society's production and sharing of knowledge became more closely connected than before with urban life. Cities and towns were not only concentrations of industrial wage laborers, but they also had growing numbers of people engaged in jobs requiring education and literacy: clerks, managers, teachers, government officials, etc. Soon it began to be recognized that even industrial workers with literacy and numeracy contributed to greater efficiency. Newspapers and magazines contributed to it. Daily production of newspapers in 1900 exceeded one million copies in cities like London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. By 1900 most industrial societies required that both boys and girls receive basic education, at least up to the age of thirteen or fourteen. School teaching became one of the modern professions in which women participated in large numbers. There arose a knowledge and cultural gap between urban and rural people. As a whole, adult literacy in some western societies by 1900 was between 60% and 90%, while it was much less in non-western societies.

### ENERGY AND RESOURCE USE: INDUSTRIAL VERSUS NON-INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD

In 1900 not only did people in the industrialized and non-industrialized world produce different things, but they also developed very different patterns of energy use. Most production in the non-industrial world in 1900 was driven by human and animal power. Even on American farms plows and mechanical harvesters were drawn by horses, as were carts, carriages, and buses in the towns. Industrial societies required new energy sources to run their factories, light their homes and offices, and power modern means of transport such as railway engines and automobiles. Thus Britain, France, and Germany in 1900 were largely coal-powered societies, while Italy had begun to use hydroelectricity. The US was relying increasingly on petroleum fuels. By 1915 it was clear that cars would replace horses in transportation. These countries began to realize that their economic and political



## NOTES



strength depended on sources of energy, and they began to exploit resources in their colonies. For example, the British were engaged in oil in Assam and Burma; the Dutch were doing the same in Sumatra, and the Americans in Mexico. These factors determined their foreign policies.

### COLONIALISM, ECONOMIC PATTERNS, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Most industrialized nations of the western world in 1900 directly ruled or controlled economically, territories far beyond their boundaries. Britain ruled over most of it while Holland ruled over the entire area that is now Indonesia. France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Belgium had colonies in Africa, Japan, and China. These colonial rulers tried to prevent Asians and Africans from acquiring advanced technologies, and carefully controlled railways and telegraph networks in their colonies. They also came down heavily on aspirations for freedom. They replaced the earlier languages of administration with their own. They also initiated some educational policies to assimilate some sections of colonial society with the foreign rule. They also prepared some sections of them for manning the colonial administration at lower levels. They practiced policies of divide and rule, restricted the development of the modern economic activity, and used education for purpose of creating a social gulf between those educated in the colonial languages and those in the local languages. The impact of colonialism and capitalist penetration altered social relations in the colonies. They altered the pattern of agriculture to shift its priorities toward the cash crops they might trade in. This pattern of production for export was greatly expanded during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, Indian peasants produced opium that British entrepreneurs exported to China. Indian merchants too had a hand in this. In other words, both production and trade were geared to the interests of the ruling power. As a result, a larger number of people around the world came to produce things that they did not themselves consume, while they consumed things produced elsewhere by others. Such commercial patterns created interdependence but also dependencies because of the hold of the ruling powers. Peasants in many areas lost food sufficiency, with the result that although the total world production of food was higher than ever before in history, the late nineteenth century famines killed millions of people.

### IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN THE DEVELOPED AND UNDEVELOPED WORLDS

The world of 1900 saw a tremendous growth of ideas and competing ideologies or various sets of political ideas about the life and organization of societies. This was to a large extent the result of economic and social transformations connected with industrialization. The debates became widespread and different ideologies began to have mass following and organizations due to the rise of print culture and other means of communication. By 1900 print media in western countries and many colonies as well were providing information (and advertising products and services) to large numbers of people, but also shaping their political views.

#### Liberalism

Liberalism as a set of ideas began to emerge more than three hundred years ago when nobles and people of substantial property (sometimes joined by poorer people) struggled to

regulate or limit the powers of the rulers. Liberals believed that individuals have some 'natural rights' including the right to resist oppression, accumulate property, freedom of religion, the right to express their opinions freely, and so on. They believed that governments and rulers must be made to respect these rights. They thought the formulation of public laws and constitutions was the best method of creating and enforcing these rights. These laws and constitutions were the best safeguards against the arbitrary exercise of power by rulers and government machinery. They also objected to state authorities dictating the religious beliefs of their people through national churches, as religion was a private matter. With the growth of popular movements liberalism was forced to acknowledge the extension of political and citizenship rights to all members of society and not just the propertied classes. These included rights to form organizations and participate in elections.

Liberalism is also connected with certain economic ideas. Liberals saw people as economic agents, as producers and consumers of goods and services. They saw these as important aspects of their personalities and the self-expression of individuals. But to them, it was not the laborer but the profit-seeking merchants, shopkeepers, and manufacturers who were the heroes. Adam Smith, one of the major spokespersons of economic liberalism, argued that such people if allowed to pursue their self-interest would contribute to the common good. Economic activity if left to its own creates its own set of supply and demand and this leads to fairness in society. They argued for free trade. So, for the economy, the best government is that which governs least and leaves everything to the market operations.

By 1900 many liberals began to think that governments should intervene minimally by introducing some welfare measures for the poorer sections of society—like education and health. But their basic ideas remain till today. They represented mainly the interests of propertied people. Liberals drew their main support from professional and educated people who were dissatisfied with traditional and arbitrary arrangements which ensured privileges on basis of birth (i. e., noble lineage), and of the business and industrial capitalists. They also won the support of many working people who liked their arguments about constitutions and individual rights but did not understand that they were not at all keen on economic equality or economic rights of the working people.

### **Conservatism**

Conservatives came mainly from land ownership and other sections of society who did not like the abolition of privileges and restrictions which benefited them. They were from landowning classes or merchants and traders who enjoyed state protection and monopolies which were lost due to free trade policies. For them, the whole idea of natural rights was disruptive because it destroyed the old traditional order in society, in which each section of the society already had its place. To them, social order and stability were more important than equality. They felt that while all may be equal before God, it was not desirable that it should be so in the real world as well. They saw the old social order as the best defense against the chaos of the modern world which was causing upheavals and conflicts in society. All the western states had strong conservative political groups that participated in elections and had an influence on the administrative machinery.



## NOTES

**Socialism**

Socialists also criticized the liberals, but for things very different from the conservatives. The socialists represented the interests of the working people and argued that in industrialist capitalist societies the old tyranny of the monarchy and the aristocracy had been replaced by that of the propertied capitalist bourgeoisie. Some earlier socialists, such as Louis Blanc and Robert Owen believed that co-operatives of producers would lead to more equal sharing of profits. Others, like Karl Marx, thought that workers would never be fairly rewarded under the capitalist system. This would happen only if all enterprises were commonly owned i. e. if they are state-owned for the equal benefit of all. Marx said that in a communist society when all means of production were held in common and were not private property, each person will contribute according to his/her capacity and receive according to his/her needs. Social justice, therefore, required the abolition of private property. Classes would also cease to exist in an equal society. According to him the ultimate goal of the socialist movements was the establishment of such a society. Marx also said that since the ruling classes would not co-operate in this, a revolution was necessary. There should be communist parties and strong and committed working-class movements. Thus, the Social Democratic (Marxist) Party in 1900 organized millions of workers into labor unions, clubs, and associations, participated in elections, and held a huge block of seats in the Reichstag (German parliament). They were able to get passed legislation to improve the lives of the workers. Marxist, socialist, and labor parties existed in many parts of the world by 1900, though they were under tremendous surveillance by the governments and police of their countries who wanted to prevent revolutions at all costs. In countries like Russia, socialist organizations were banned and known socialists were imprisoned or exiled (as happened to V.I Lenin, a leader of the Russian revolutionary movement).

**Imperialism**

The world of 1900 was one in which the more industrialized states had power over the people and resources of the unindustrialized world. Many inhabitants of the industrialized countries believed that colonialism was beneficial for the countries that were being ruled and that the inhabitants of the 'backward' countries were being 'civilized' by foreign rule. Liberals in the ruling countries were divided over how the dominance of their countries over the colonies should be maintained. Not everyone thought that direct political rule was necessary: but none were willing to let go of the benefits of colonialism and the control over resources in the colonies. In Germany, the liberals argued that their country's industrial power depended on taking more colonies. In the US many liberals said that their country had no moral right to rule over Cubans and Filipinos, but hardly any US citizens criticized their government's interventions in Latin America. British, French, German, Belgian, and American capitalists invested heavily in economic activities both within and outside the formal empires. They, therefore, supported as well as influenced the foreign policies of their respective countries and pushed for colonial domination of the rest of the world countries comprising Africa, Latin America, and Asia. The political groups in 1900 that had the most consistent anti-imperialist views were the socialists, who believed that colonialism benefited only the ruling classes everywhere and was not in the interest of the working people anywhere. Therefore, the working classes of all the countries needed to unite to overthrow this imperialist domination by a few countries.



## Nationalism

Nationalism and national liberation ideology was explosive force in the world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In all parts of the world in 1900 competing nationalisms flourished and became important forms of mobilization of people. Broader notions of civilizational identity competed with nationalism in winning the support of the people. Both were important in Asia and Africa. Pan ('All')-Africanism and PanIslamism fueled freedom struggles in the colonies. The Chinese and Indians emphasized their cultural independence as well as opposition to colonial policies in their struggle for freedom. Popular participation in government was also an important aspect of national movements. Protest against colonial policies of the imperialist countries-economic exploitation and denial of self-governance-formed the basis for national liberation movements all over the world. Most national freedom struggles of the twentieth century thus engaged with ideas about democracy and also with ideas of how national wealth should be produced and shared.

In contrast, within the industrialized, imperialist countries, nationalism became aggressive and tied with support to colonial policies and domination of other countries, which, as you will see in your study of the following Units, led to intense competition among those countries and eventually to World War I.

## 1.4 GROWTH OF NATIONALISM, CAPITALISM, AND IMPERIALISM

---

### GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

It may surprise you to learn that the history of this idea is not more than 200 years old. Nationalism, in the sense in which we use it today, did not exist in India before the 19th century. It may also surprise you to learn that the roots (origins) of this idea do not lie in Indian history but the history of Modern Europe. It is possible to talk of Indian nationalism as distinctly different from its European counterpart. To know this difference, it is important to have an idea of the circumstances under which nationalism took roots in Europe.

In Europe, the development of nationalism was the result of the fundamental changes that were taking place in society and economy around the 18th century. The beginning of the industrial revolution produced goods and materials and created wealth at an unprecedented (unprecedented means like never before) level. This led to the need for the creation of a unified and large market where these goods could be sold. The creation of a large market led to the political integration of villages, districts, and provinces into a larger state. In this large and complex market, different people were required to perform different roles for which they needed to be trained in different skills. But above all, they needed to communicate with each other. This created the need for uniform educational centers with a focus on one language. In the pre-modern times, the majority of the people learned the language and other skills in their local environments which differed from each other. But now, because of the new changes brought about by the modern economy, a uniform system of training and schooling came into being. Thus, the modern English language in

## NOTES



England, French in France, and German in Germany became the dominant language in those countries.

Uniformity in communication systems resulted in the creation of a 'national culture' and reinforced national boundaries. People living within those boundaries began to associate themselves with it. Culturally they also began to perceive themselves as one people and as members of one large community, i.e., Englishmen began to identify with each other and with the geographical boundaries of England. Similarly, it happened to German and French people. This was the beginning of the idea of nationalism.

Let us understand this differently. Nationalism was the result of the emergence of nations and nation-states (large culturally homogenous territories with a uniform political system within) in Europe. These nation-states did not always exist. The early societies, with simpler forms of human organizations and without an elaborate division of labor, could easily manage their affairs without a state or a central authority to enforce law and order. The state as a central authority came into being after the beginning of organized agriculture. People generally found it difficult to manage their lives without a central authority to regulate their lives. This need for a state became even greater with the onset of industrialization and a modern world economy. An elaborate system of communication and a uniform system of education with a focus on one standardized language created conditions for cultural and political uniformity. Thus, came into being modernization-states. These nation-states, to sustain and perpetuate themselves, needed the allegiance and loyalty of the people residing in their territories. This was the beginning of nationalism. In other words, identification by a people or community with the boundary of the Nation, stating its high culture gave rise to what we know as nationalism.

But this was not how the idea of nationalism developed in India. The conditions in India were very different at a time when the idea of nationalism was taking roots in Europe. Industrialization occurred here on a very limited scale. When Europe was getting rapidly industrialized, India was still largely an agrarian economy. Different people spoke different languages. Though the feeling of patriotism, (patriotism: love and a feeling of loyalty for one's territory and culture like the one that existed among the Marathas for Marathwara or among the Rajputs for Rajputana) certainly existed in India in pre-modern times. But nationalism as we understand it (unified system of administration, common language, a shared high culture, and political integration) did not exist in India until about the middle of the 19th century. Nationalism in India developed primarily as a response to British rule. British rule, as you know, came to Indian soil in 1757 with the battle of Plassey and was gradually established here by defeating the native rulers. As you are aware, the arrival of the British as rulers was resented by many of the native rulers and people also. It was clear that they all wanted to oppose and fight against the British presence in India.

But initially, they did not do it together or as one people. Different groups had their specific grievances against the British and therefore they fought for the redressal of their specific grievances. For instance, the native rulers did not want the British to take over their territories (as happened to the rulers of Awadh and Jhansi in present-day U.P.). Similarly, peasants, artisans, and tribals suffered at the hands of the British rulers and often stood up in revolt against them. (You have read about this in Module 3 of this Book). But merely



the opposition to the British rule or a fight against them did not bring about a feeling of nationalism in India. Although different sections of the population got united because of common exploitation at the hands of the British, a feeling of identification with the entire country and its people did not come about. Even the great revolt of 1857, in which many sections of the population fought together (like native rulers, soldiers, zamindars, and peasants) did not produce a feeling of nationalism or an all-India unity. The idea that the people of India, despite many differences among themselves, had many things in common had not, as yet, taken roots. Similarly, the realization that the British rule was foreign and an alien rule which wanted to subjugate the entire people and bring them under its control, had also not occurred. The essence of nationalism in India, or Indian nationalism, was the realization that all the Indian people had a common nationality and that it was in their collective interests to resist British rule. To put it simply, a combined opposition to British rule and a desire to achieve national unity lay at the heart of Indian nationalism. The objective conditions for the development of nationalism were indeed fulfilled by the arrival of the colonial rulers and their penetration into Indian society and economy. However, these conditions in themselves did not create awareness of nationalism among the people. The consciousness of the idea of nationalism took a long time to mature and made its presence gradually in the fields of culture, economy, and politics. In the following section, we shall look at them separately.

### **GROWTH OF CAPITALISM**

Defining the term 'capitalism' is a difficult task. The scholars have divergent views on it. Some scholars headed by Tawney viewed Capitalism as "no more than a political catchword". Cromwell and others hold capitalism as "an economy of free and fair competition for-profit and continuous work opportunity for all". They made the identification of capitalism with the system of 'free enterprise'. In the system of capitalism, the individual has limited economic freedom. In capitalism, economic and social regulations are ruled by contract. In the system men and their livelihoods are restricted Max Weber has observed that capitalism is present wherever the industrial provisions for the needs of a human group are carried out by the method of enterprise. Capitalism is the attitude to seeking profit rationally and systematically. According to Hamilton, "Capitalism is a system in which wealth other than land is used for the definite purpose of securing an income. Lipson says, "The fundamental feature of capitalism is the wage system under which the worker has no right of ownership in the wares of manufactures. He sells not the fruits of his labor but the labor itself a direction of vital economic significance. In general view, capitalism is an economic setup. In this economic set up production and distribution of goods are carried on by the individuals or groups of individuals. They use their stock wealth in the interest of making more profit for themselves.

Capitalism originated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, some capitalist enterprises came out. The discovery of silver and gold mines in Germany and Austria and also the discovery of the sea route to India in the fifteenth century try gave an impetus to the growth of capitalists. The rise of nation-states like England, France, and Spain's heavy expenditures depended on the capitalist bodies, which were in a rudimentary form. The beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the use



## NOTES



of advanced techniques helped more in the growth of Capitalism. After all, Puritanism provided a great fillip to the development of Capitalism. Gradually the existence of modern stock companies for carrying on overseas trade also provided energy to Capitalism. In the subsequent centuries, a certain association was involved in the development of Capitalism. The capitalistic associations further developed and assumed the form of stock companies. The stock companies came out in England. The state is also involved directly indirectly in the development of the capitalistic forms of business.

### GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

Although the Industrial Revolution and nationalism shaped European society in the nineteenth century, imperialism the domination by one country or people over another group of people dramatically changed the world during the latter half of that century. Imperialism did not begin in the nineteenth century. From the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, an era dominated by what is now termed Old Imperialism, European nations sought trade routes with the Far East, explored the New World, and established settlements in North and South America as well as in Southeast Asia. They set up trading posts and gained footholds on the coasts of Africa and China, and worked closely with the local rulers to ensure the protection of European economic interests. Their influence, however, was limited. In the Age of New Imperialism that began in the 1870s, European states established vast empires mainly in Africa, but also in Asia and the Middle East. Unlike the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century method of establishing settlements, the new imperialists set up the administration of the native areas for the benefit of the colonial power. European nations pursued an aggressive expansion policy that was motivated by economic needs that were created by the Industrial Revolution. Between 1870 and 1914, Europe went through a “Second Industrial Revolution,” which quickened the pace of change as science, technology, and industry spurred economic growth. Improvements in steel production revolutionized shipbuilding and transportation. The development of the railroad, the internal combustion engine, and electrical power generation contributed to the growing industrial economies of Europe and their need to seek new avenues of expansion. The expansion policy was also motivated by political needs that associated empire-building with national greatness, and social and religious reasons that promoted the superiority of Western society over “backward” societies. Through the use of direct military force, economic spheres of influence, and annexation, European countries dominated the continents of Africa and Asia. By 1914, Great Britain controlled the largest number of colonies, and the phrase, “the sun never sets on the British Empire,” described the vastness of its holdings. Imperialism had consequences that affected the colonial nations, Europe, and the world. It also led to increased competition among nations and to conflicts that would disrupt world peace in 1914.

### Old Imperialism

European imperialism did not begin in the 1800s. In their efforts to find a direct trade route to Asia during the age of Old Imperialism, European nations established colonies in the Americas, India, South Africa, and the East Indies, and gained territory along the coasts of Africa and China. Meanwhile, Europe’s Commercial Revolution created new needs and desires for wealth and raw materials. Mercantilists maintained that colonies could serve as

a source of wealth, while personal motives by rulers, statesmen, explorers, and missionaries supported the imperial belief in “Glory, God, and Gold.” By 1800, Great Britain was the leading colonial power with colonies in India, South Africa, and Australia. Spain colonized Central and South America. France held Louisiana and French Guinea, and Holland built an empire in the East Indies. In the first half of the nineteenth century, colonialism became less popular. The Napoleonic Wars, the struggle for nationalism and democracy, and the cost of industrialization exhausted the energies of European nations. Many leaders also thought that the costs to their respective empires outweighed the benefits, especially the cost of supervising the colonies. However, in the mid-nineteenth century, Europe—especially Great Britain and France began an economic revival. During the Victorian Era, which lasted from 1837 to 1901, Great Britain became an industrial giant, providing more than 25 percent of the world’s output of industrial goods. In France, Napoleon’s investment in industry and large-scale ventures, such as railroad building, helped to promote prosperity. Thus, the Industrial Revolution stirred ambitions in many European countries and renewed their confidence to embark on a path of aggressive expansion overseas.

### New Imperialism

From the late 1800s through the early 1900s, Western Europe pursued a policy of imperialism that became known as New Imperialism. This New Imperialist Age gained its impetus from economic, military, political, humanitarian, and religious reasons, as well as from the development and acceptance of a new theory Social Darwinism, and advances in technology.

1. **Economic Reasons:** By 1870, it became necessary for European industrialized nations to expand their markets globally to sell products that they could not sell domestically on the continent. Businessmen and bankers had excess capital to invest, and foreign investments offered the incentive of greater profits, despite the risks. The need for cheap labor and a steady supply of raw materials, such as oil, rubber, and manganese for steel, required that the industrial nations maintain firm control over these unexplored areas. Only by directly controlling these regions, which meant setting up colonies under their direct control, could the industrial economy work effectively—or so the imperialists thought.

However, the economic gains of the new imperialism were limited because the new colonies were too poor to spend money on European goods.

2. **Military and Political Reasons:** Leading European nations also felt that colonies were crucial to military power, national security, and nationalism. Military leaders claimed that a strong navy was necessary to become a great power. Thus, naval vessels needed military bases around the world to take on coal and supplies. Islands or harbors were seized to satisfy these needs. Colonies guaranteed the growing European navies safe harbors and coaling stations, which they needed in times of war. National security was an important reason for Great Britain’s decision to occupy Egypt. Protecting the Suez Canal was vital for the British Empire. The Suez Canal, which formally opened in 1869, shortened the sea route from Europe to South Africa and East Asia. To Britain, the canal was a lifeline to India, the jewel of its empire. Many people were also convinced that the possession of colonies was





an indication of a nation's greatness; colonies were status symbols. According to the nineteenth-century German historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, all great nations should want to conquer barbarian nations.

3. **Humanitarian and Religious:** Goals Many Westerners believed that Europe should civilize their little brothers beyond the seas. According to this view, non-whites would receive the blessings of Western civilization, including medicine, law, and Christianity. Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) in his famous poem, “The White Man’s Burden” expressed this mission in the 1890s when he prodded Europeans to take up “their moral obligation” to civilize the uncivilized. He encouraged them to “Send forth the best ye breed to serve your captives’ need.” Missionaries supported colonization, believing that European control would help them spread Christianity, the true religion, in Asia and Africa.
4. **Social Darwinism:** In 1859, Charles Darwin (1809–1882) published *On the Origin of Species*. Darwin claimed that all life had evolved into the present state over millions of years. To explain the long slow process of evolution, Darwin put forth the theory of natural selection. Natural forces selected those with physical traits best adapted to their environment. Darwin never promoted any social ideas. The process of natural selection came to be known as survival of the fittest. The Englishman Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) was the first to apply “survival of the fittest” to human societies and nations. Social Darwinism fostered imperialistic expansion by proposing that some people were more fit (advanced) than others. The Europeans believed that they, as the white race, were dominant and that it was only natural for them to conquer the “inferior” people as nature’s way of improving mankind. Thus, the conquest of inferior people was just, and the destruction of the weaker races was nature’s natural law
5. **Western Technology:** Superior technology and improved medical knowledge helped to foster imperialism. Quinine enabled Europeans to survive tropical diseases and venture into the mosquito-infested interiors of Africa and Asia. The combination of the steamboat and the telegraph enabled the Western powers to increase their mobility and to quickly respond to any situations that threatened their dominance. The rapid-fire machine gun also gave them a military advantage and helped convince Africans and Asians to accept Western control. The following table summarizes the causes of the new imperialism:

Causes of New Imperialism			
Economic	Military/Political	Humanitarian/ Religious	Technological
Need for markets	Need for military	bases White man’s burden	New medicine
Raw materials	National security	Spread of Christianity	New weapons
Source of investments	Source of pride—nationalism Social	Darwinism (superiority of Western society)	Transportation

## CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the legacy of the nineteenth century?
2. Explain new imperialism.
3. Define the term capitalism.
4. Write short notes on:
  - a. Nationalism
  - b. Liberalism
5. What do you understand by demography?

## 1.5 ORIGINS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, ITS NATURE, AND CONSEQUENCES

### FIRST WORLD WAR

The 20th century witnessed two epoch-making events, two world wars, one in 1914 and the second one in 1939. The First World War was one of the greatest catastrophes that befell human civilization. It was the ultimate result of the various factors. The war which lasted for four years and three months was different from the wars fought in the earlier period of human history, in so far as it was fought on a worldwide scale and had repercussions on practically all the countries of the world. The birth of World War I can be traced by close observation of international politics between 1871 to 1914. In its scope, dimension, and magnitude it surpassed all wars fought up to 1914. During this war, the various nations involved in the war made use of modern technology and tried to find new methods of destruction and defense. This was also different from earlier wars in so far as it was not fought by the armies, navies, and air force alone but by the people as a whole.

### ORIGINS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The chief causes responsible for the outbreak of the war were as follows:

#### 1. System of Secret Alliances

The system of secret alliances which developed after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was the greatest cause of the First World War. On the eve of the war Europe was divided into the armed camps- Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. The former consisted of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Italy, and the latter of England, France, Russia, and Japan. The division of Europe into two rival camps created a climate of cold war most conducive to an actual war. After the fall of Bismarck, there existed a Franco- Prussian Alliance in 1894 which was aimed against Germany. In 1904 Russia joined France and England against Germany. These secret alliances naturally gave rise to suspicion, anger, and conflict. According to Prof. Fay, "the system of secret alliances made it inevitable that if war did come it would involve all the Great Powers of Europe. The members of each group felt bound to support each other to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

#### 2. Race for Armaments

Another cause of the war was the mad race for armaments between the powers. This race for armaments started soon after the Franco-Prussian war. As a result, the





armaments of all the great powers began to grow year after year. The armaments were meant for defense and preservation of peace but they created fear, suspicion, and hatred among the various nations. This race for armaments was bound to end only in a war. Another impact of this race was that the military staff in almost all the countries came to yield more powers, which was not conducive to peace.

### 3. Narrow Nationalism

Narrow nationalism or competitive patriotism was another cause of the war. This intense and narrow nationalism in Siberia led to the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria- Hungary. The relationship between Russia on one hand and Germany and Austro- Hungary on the other became extremely strained in 1908 when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. The incident gave a setback to the Serbs for a Greater Serbia. Russia as an ally of Serbia violently got excited over this incident because it weakened Russia's position in the Balkans. The peace treaty of Berlin was flouted despite opposition from Britain, France, and Russia. The bitterness between Austria and Serbia over the issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina ultimately led to the First World War. Moreover, Palmerstone in England, Napoleon I and Napoleon III in France, Bismarck in Germany, and Mazzini and Cavour in Italy had infused the freshet of nationalism into the anemic minds of people to such an extent that the nationalism that the subsequent people tasted, never collapsed despite the cross-currents of history and rather supplied fuel to the wild pyre of the world war.

### 4. Aggressive Imperialism

One of the potent factors which added tension and led to World War I was aggressive imperialism. Due to rapid industrialization in most of the western European countries, there was an unhealthy competition that began among the European powers to find colonies for their products. By the end of the 19th century England, France and Russia each had built up a huge colonial empire, and Germany was left with the smallest share of extra European possessions. Germany believed herself to be the greatest nation in the world and was not willing to accept the subordinate place that fortune had assigned to her in the imperial sphere. She was keen to acquire a world empire worthy of her position. Consequently, when Germany tried to capture the markets which were already in the hands of Britain, it led to bitterness between the two. Great Britain was not prepared to give up her colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, and markets, and Germany was bent upon getting them at any cost. Under such circumstances the war became inevitable.

### 5. Franco-German Rivalry

The French desired to get back Alsace and Lorraine which had been snatched away from them by the Germans by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871. The French nationals considered the loss of these two territories a great insult to them and a great setback to their economic and industrial progress. So, both the spirit of revenge and economic motive prompted the French people to war against Germany. The war was not possible as long as the shrewd diplomat Bismarck was the Imperial Chancellor of Germany. But after the withdrawal of Bismarck from German politics in 1890, his successors unnecessarily interfered in the North-



African territories, which were under the French influence, and thus aggravated the old hostility between the two countries which became a cause for the outbreak of the First World War.

#### 6. The Balkan Crisis

The contest for the control of the Balkan Peninsula between Austria-Hungary and Russia also contributed to World War I. After the fall of the Turkish Empire, several small countries emerged in the Balkan Peninsula. Three of the countries—Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia began to clash with each other for the control of fertile Macedonia. Russia was keenly interested in Balkan politics and backed Serbia in her demand for ‘Bigger Serbia’ because she saw in it an opportunity of getting control over Constantinople and the Mediterranean Sea, the attainment of which had always been the objective of Russian foreign policy. During the Bosnian crisis of 1908, Russia adopted a sympathetic attitude towards Serbia and threatened to take steps against Austrian aggression. But Germany’s support for Austria forced Russia to retreat which increased bitterness between Austria, Serbia, and Russia. In 1912-13 another crisis occurred in the Balkan and Austria did her best to thwart the ambitions of Serbia. Austria forced Serbia to evacuate various Adriatic towns which the Serbs had conquered. Austrian attitude was greatly resented by both England and Russia. This Austro-Serbian conflict greatly intensified the tension and ultimately precipitated the war.

#### 7. Italy’s Desire for Irredentism

Another cause of the war was the desire of the people of Italy to recover Trentino and the areas around the part of Trieste which were inhabited by the Italians but were still under the control of Austria-Hungary. As these areas once formed part of the Roman Empire the Italian leaders raised the slogans of “Italia Irredenta” or “Unredeemed Italy”. Further, the economic bankruptcy and rapidly growing population of Italy also compelled her to look around for more land and economic resources. This brought Italy closer to Germany (another dissatisfied power) which was equally keen to challenge the status quo and establish an empire abroad.

#### 8. Lack of Machinery to Regulate International Relations

The lack of machinery to regulate the affairs of the states also contributed to the war. The states were following strict secrecy in their diplomacy and certain states were not made known even to the members of the ministry. As a result, the issues were clouded with mystery. Again, though by the end of the 19th century certain principles of international law and morality had been evolved through the Hague conferences, the states paid scant regard to them in the absence of power to enforce these rules. Further, the states considered themselves sovereign and did not consider these rules of international morality binding on them. The absence of an enforcing power created anarchy in international relations. In this atmosphere of anarchy, every nation could do: “What is pleased or what is dared because there was no international government to make laws for the nations and compel all nations to respect such laws”.

#### 9. The Immediate Cause

The immediate cause for the outbreak of World War I was the murder of Archduke Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne by a Serbian. The Archduke went to

## NOTES



Sarajevo, a city in Bosnia on 28th June 1914. After completing the formalities at the Town Hall, the Archduke was proceeding to the city museum when he was killed along with his wife. The Austrians were full of indignation and held Serbia responsible for the crime and wanted to crush Serbia. Even Germany promised to support Austria- Hungary. Consequently, Austria served Serbia with an ultimatum which she refused to comply with because of Russian backing. An effort at mediation was made by the powers but without fail. On 28th July 1914 Austria- Hungary declared war on Serbia. Serbia welcomed this war.

In the war that followed, Serbia was supported by Russia, France, England, and Japan. Although Italy was not a member of the Triple Alliance, she remained neutral till 1915, when she also declared war against Austria- Hungary, and Germany. Turkey, however, fought on the side of the Central Powers (Austria- Hungary, and Germany). Thus, World War I began in full swing in October 1918 between the Allied Powers comprising England, France, Russia, Japan, Serbia, and the U.S.A., and the Central Powers comprising Austria, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, and other allies.

#### NATURE OF WORLD WAR I

Known as the Great War at the time, World War I was, indeed, the most disastrous war ever fought in history. Words are inadequate to describe the slaughter, and statistics are too cold to convey the human cost. Around 13 million are estimated to have died on the battlefronts of Europe, about 1-1/2 million on the western front alone in the year 1916. The Russians lost 2-1/2 million killed, wounded, or taken prisoner in the year 1915. In one battle, Verdun fought between February and July 1916, one of the most devastating engagements in which the French repulsed a major German offensive, around 700,000 lost their lives. That is 100,000 more than the total losses in the entire four years of the U.S. Civil War.

This was the war that began with patriotic fervor on the part of both the soldiers marching off and their loved ones cheering them on. Some believed that the economic inter-dependency of European nations would compel governments to call off the war if it threatened to last more than six months. That was an assumption based on the belief that human beings were rational. Instead, as the costs of the war mounted, governments increased their demands upon the enemy with the thought that they had to compensate for the losses.

The German Emperor promised his soldiers that they would be home “before the leaves fell.”

The Schlieffen Plan called for the defeat of France in 4 weeks, but, instead, German armies were stopped just short of Paris at the Battle of the Marne River (September 6- 12, 1914). Alfred, Graf von Schlieffen, who served as chief of the German general staff from 1891 to 1905, took a contrary view, and it was the plan he developed that was to guide Germany’s initial wartime strategy. Schlieffen realized that on the outbreak of war Russia would need six full weeks to mobilize and assemble its vast armies, given the immense Russian countryside and population, the sparsity of the rail network, and the inefficiency of the government bureaucracy. Taking advantage of this fact, Schlieffen planned to initially adopt a purely defensive posture on the Eastern Front with a minimal number of troops facing Russia’s

slowly gathering armies. Germany would instead concentrate almost all of its troops in the west against France and would seek to bypass France's frontier fortifications by an offensive through neutral Belgium to the north. This offensive would sweep westward and then southward through the heart of northern France, capturing the capital and knocking that country out of the war within a few weeks. Having gained security in the west, Germany would then shift its troops to the east and destroy the Russian menace with a similar concentration of forces.

Meanwhile, the Germans defeated and threw back the Russian offensive in the east at the Battle of Tannenberg (August 1914) without the help of army units transferred from the west.

On the Western front, both sides dug in, building lines of trenches that extended from the Channel coast to the Swiss border. Unlike any other war, there would be no possibility of outflanking the enemy. Artillery and machine guns gave the advantage to the defense. The offense was suicidal because it exposed flesh and blood to the deadly weapons.

On the Eastern front, although the Russians had huge reserves of manpower and generally overwhelmed Austro-Hungarian armies, the Germans invariably defeated the Russians. The Russians lacked the industrial base to be able to provide their armies with the huge quantities of weapons needed in modern warfare. The Turkish military government, which had received military aid from the Germans before the war, joined the Central Powers in November 1914. Italy, though a part of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, did not enter the war on the side of the Central Powers. England and France promised the Italians territorial acquisitions after the war and persuaded them to join their side in June 1915.

The United States remained out of the war until April 1917. President Woodrow Wilson had popular support in the determination to remain neutral. The British put a naval blockade into place as soon as the war began. The Germans retaliated with the use of a new weapon, the submarine. The British blockade interfered with neutral shipping, and the United States was the largest neutral. The U.S. protested confiscations of U. S. cargoes, but the British were careful to compensate for the loss of property, and there was no loss of life. The German submarine, however, could only stop a merchant vessel by sinking it. Loss of lives and property was unavoidable. The U.S. protested and the Germans put restraints on their U-Boat commanders.

The repeated sinking of vessels carrying U.S. cargoes occurred, and loss of American lives was involved. But even the sinking of the passenger liner, the Lusitania, in May 1915, despite all the outrage it created at the time, did not change U.S. policy. President Wilson was re-elected in November 1916 after pledging to keep the U.S. out of the war. Wilson sought to act as an intermediary between the two belligerents, hoping to bring an end to the war. But as the war continued, and war aims were increased, Wilson realized that peace was not possible so long as each side expected victory. He said as much in a speech he gave in December 1916; a speech known as the "peace without victory" speech.

Even as he said this, the German military command was deciding upon a military solution to the war. They decided to launch unrestricted submarine warfare which no longer





## NOTES



exercised restraint to spare neutral shipping. They were willing to take the risk that the U.S. might intervene against them based on the calculation that the English and French could be subdued before U.S. power could make any appreciable difference. It was unrestricted submarine warfare and the heavy loss of American lives and property that, more than anything else, changed American public opinion and persuaded Wilson to declare war.

Wilson thought in ideological terms, and already strongly favored the two democratic nations, England and France. When the Russian Revolution broke out in March 1917, and it appeared that Russia was establishing a liberal government, he could think of the war as a struggle between the democracies and the autocratic governments of the Central Powers. Furthermore, Wilson had been giving thought to a new approach to preserving peace in the future. He saw the balance of power method as having failed to keep the peace and he looked to a principle of collective security as a means to do so in the future. That is, democratic nations would form an international organization to concert collective action against any aggressor. This vision led Woodrow Wilson to coin the phrases that this was a “war to save the world for democracy” and this was a “war to end all wars.”

The U.S. intervention could not affect the land war for almost a year because of the time required to train large numbers of American soldiers and send them across the ocean. But it did immediately affect the war at sea as the U.S. Navy joined with the British Navy to combat the submarine. The introduction of the convoy system in the summer of 1917 slowed the heavy loss of shipping, while increased shipbuilding provided replacements.

Following the revolution in Russia, the Russian war effort collapsed, making it possible for the Germans to transfer troops from the Russian to the western front.

The Germans realized that time was against them, and that they had to breakthrough in the west before large numbers of U.S. troops could reinforce the French and the English. They, therefore, carried out a great offensive beginning in February 1918. The offensive gained more ground than the Germans had done since the first month of the war. But in the end, it bogged down, and the Germans were thrown on the defensive, facing a renewed and reinforced enemy whose forces grew with every passing day. In September 1918, the German army command recognized that they were reaching the limits of their endurance and asked the emperor to sue for peace.

In January 1918, President Wilson had laid out a 14-point basis for peace which called for recognizing the self-determination of peoples, among other principles. To the Germans, this appeared to be a much more reasonable basis for peace than any terms they were likely to receive from the French and the English. Therefore, the Germans made their peace overtures to the United States government. President Wilson, however, was not willing to negotiate with the existing German government which he considered to be autocratic and not representative of the German people. This delayed negotiations even while the German war effort, particularly on the home front, was collapsing.

As workers in the Ruhr rebelled and sailors in the navy mutinied, and street protests erupted in Berlin and other German cities, the leading German general (General Ludendorff) fled, and finally, at the end of October 1918, the emperor abdicated and fled into exile in Holland. Amid street demonstrations in Berlin, leaders of the German Social Democratic

Party, Ebert in particular, were persuaded by their followers to assume power. It was this government that signed the Armistice Agreement that ended the war.

This had been a war unlike any other in history. Whole nations had mobilized. The workers in the factory on the home front were as important as the soldiers at the front in manufacturing the weapons, equipment, and supplies that were so rapidly consumed by the war. Governments took control of national economies to an unprecedented degree to plan and allocate resources for the war effort.

Every able-bodied person was involved, unemployment was wiped out, class distinctions became less important, and workers' incomes increased. Women were employed in large numbers in the factories. Loss of life and destruction of property was so immense that no side could declare victory. All lost.

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

World War I left manifold impacts that can be conveniently studied under the following heads:

#### 1. Economic Results

- The war caused terrible loss of life and property. Out of 65 million people who took part in the war, about 9 million were killed; and 29 million were wounded or reported missing. In terms of money also the war is estimated to have cost about 400 billion dollars.
- Because of the war, the commodities prices showed a steep rise, which caused much hardship and suffering to the people. This obliged the various governments to take measures to regulate prices and control distribution. Thus, it gave an impetus to the rise of state socialism.
- The enormous expenses involved in the war compelled the governments to impose heavy taxes on the people which caused much hardship to people. Further, the government resorted to the printing of currency notes without taking into account the reserve bullion stocks. Thus, the introduction of paper currency was largely the outcome of World War I.
- The war provided an impetus to trade unionism. During the war demand for labor increased tremendously. The industrialists provided all sorts of facilities to the workers to keep their factories running to full capacity. The workers exploited this favorable atmosphere to promote their interests and succeeded in extracting concessions from the factory owners. They also set up trade unions to take care of their interests. Hence, it can be said that the war tremendously increased the importance of the workers.
- The war led to devaluation and economic depression. During the war, various governments raised loans from all possible quarters for the maintenance of their armies and ships which were beyond their repaying capacity. As a result, in the wake of the war, most countries were obliged to devalue their currency and were faced with serious problems of economic reconstruction. This in turn paved the way for the economic depression which caused much hardship to people all over the world in the thirties.





## 2. Social Results

**In the social sphere also, the war had far-reaching repercussions. They are as follows:**

- The enormous loss of life during the war caused untold suffering to innumerable families which compelled the leaders to think of avoiding the re-occurrence of war in the future. This led to the establishment of the League of Nations to resolve international disputes amicably based on reason and justice.
- The war contributed to the progress of women folk. As many able-bodied persons lost their lives in the war, there was a shortage of labor. Factory owners were, therefore, obliged to engage women workers. The women workers gave a good account of themselves and soon came to be recognized as a regular labor force. They also took an active part in various political movements. All this greatly contributed to the elevation of the status of women.
- It gave a serious blow to racialism and promoted a feeling of fraternity among the people of the world. Before the war, the Europeans regarded themselves as superior and refused to mix up with the black Africans and Asians. During the war, the Europeans were forced to shun this feeling of racial superiority and the European soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Asian and African soldiers. The feeling of racialism hence got slowly subsided and was replaced by the feeling of the fraternity of man all over the world.
- It gave a serious setback to education. During the war, many educational institutions were closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force to keep the war going. In most countries, military training was made compulsory for students. All this largely hampered the progress of education.
- The war resulted in the development of international culture. It brought people professing different cultures close to each other and they learned from each other novel features of their respective cultures ushering in their benevolence and mutual coherence to accept each other's culture with dignity. As a result, a new culture of the international nature evolved which combined the good points of various cultures.
- The war too gave a great boost to scientific progress. The war-hit countries tried to improve their techniques to manufacture ships, submarines, airplanes, etc., and invented various lethal gases to gain an advantage over their opponents. These modern techniques of war cut short the duration of the war. Further, scientific inventions also contributed to greater industrial and agricultural progress.

## 3. Political Results

**In the political sphere also, the war produced no less significant results. They are as follows:**

- The war proved to be a shattering blow to the autocratic monarchical system and paved the way for the development of democracy in Europe. Three au-

tocratic dynasties- the Romanov in Russia, Hohenzollern in Germany, and Hapsburg in Austria-Hungary were destroyed and a republican system of government was established there. In several other countries also monarchy was replaced by a republic. The emergence of the democratic system led to the recognition of people's political rights.

- It provided a fillip to the principles of nationalism and self-determination. After the war empires having people with different cultures were dissolved and independent states with distinct cultures made their appearance. Some of the states which thus engaged were Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia. Alsace- Lorraine was restored to France and Schleswig- Holstein was restored to Denmark. Countries like China, Turkey, Egypt, and Ireland too felt the impact of nationalism.
- The weakened position of the European powers provided an impetus to the freedom movements in Asia and Africa. The colonial countries began to feel that given the weakened position of the colonial powers they could hope to gain freedom. Therefore, they accelerated their struggle for freedom.
- The war led to a change in the policy of colonial powers towards colonial people. The concept of treating the colonial people of the colonial possessions as stooges began to change. In the post-World War, I era, the colonies were granted certain rights and certain restrictions were imposed on them under the mandate system. In short, we can say that greater importance began to be attached to the interests of the colonial people after the war.
- It too prompted the spirit of internationalism. During the war, various nations came in close contact with each other through various pacts and agreements. These close relations persisted even after the war and greatly contributed to the development of the international spirit.
- Probably, the most significant political result of the war was the creation of the League of Nations. The horrors of war convinced the world leaders of the need to evolve some machinery to prevent war and promote international cooperation. This culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations dedicated to the cause of world peace and order.

Thus, the First World War was an outcome of aggressive nationalism expressing itself in the cult of militarism, alliances, counter alliances, economic imperialism, and a chain of crises. By 1907, Europe had come to be divided into two antagonistic camps - the Triple Alliance, consisting of Germany, Austria- Hungary, and Italy, and the Triple Entente consisting of England, France, and Prussia. Although Italy was a lukewarm partner, the alliance of the Central Powers was a strong one. In the Balkans, the deteriorating situation contained many irreconcilable elements- Germany's friendship with Turkey, Austria's rivalry with Russia, and the conflicting aspirations of the small Balkan nations. The Anglo-German maritime and colonial rivalry was a crucial factor. The murder of Archduke Ferdinand, the Hapsburg crown prince at Sarajevo by Slav terrorists precipitated the outbreak of the First World War.





## 1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The century before 1900 was a period of rapid population growth, with the most striking growth occurring in Europe and North America. Population growth in these places occurred in tandem with industrialization. The emergence of industrial society led to the formation and solidification of ideologies – sets of ideas and principles about the achievement of the desired social order. By 1900, ideologies were beginning to shape the struggles of people in non-industrial societies for liberation from empires. In particular, nationalism and socialism were to have an explosive impact within ‘developed’ Europe as well as in the ‘undeveloped’ colonial world.

The idea of nationalism first took roots in Europe in the 19th century and was the result of rapid industrialization and the onset of the modern industrial economy.

## 1.7 REVIEW QUESTIONS

### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Which countries in 1900 were shifting towards the use of fossil fuels?
2. Where were such fuel supplies located in 1900?
3. Did international trade benefit the colonies of the great powers in 1900?
4. While the total supply of food in the world grew rapidly during the last part of the nineteenth century, many people lost food security. Why?
5. How were language use and access to education-related to colonial rule?

### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. In what ways did industrialization alter ancient patterns of human existence?
2. How did industrialization change patterns of global production and trade?
3. How were liberalism and socialism opposed to one another, even though both sought to achieve human liberation?
4. Why were liberals in principle opposed to govt. regulation of economic activity?
5. Describe the shifting class argument of the later 19th century about liberalism & conservatism.

## 1.8 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. In terms of money also the war is estimated to have cost about \_\_\_\_\_ billion dollars.
  - a. 400
  - b. 500
  - c. 300
  - d. 100
2. The system of secret alliances which developed after the Franco-Prussian war of \_\_\_\_\_ was the greatest cause of the First World War.
  - a. 1869
  - b. 1870

- c. 1850  
d. 1900
3. In 1900 the human population was about \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. 1.2 billion  
b. 2.4 billion  
c. 1.5 billion  
d. 2.5 billion
4. The war-hit countries tried to improve their techniques to manufacture ships, submarines, airplanes, etc.:
- a. Economic Results  
b. Social Results  
c. Political Results  
d. All of the above
5. The 20th century witnessed two epoch-making events, two world wars, one in 1914 and the second one in \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. 1939  
b. 1948  
c. 1936  
d. 1869
6. On \_\_\_\_\_ Austria- Hungary declared war on Serbia.
- a. 28<sup>th</sup> June 1914  
b. 28<sup>th</sup> July 1917  
c. 26<sup>th</sup> July 1914  
d. 28th July 1914
7. The Triple Alliance, consisting of:
- a. Germany, Austria- Hungary, and Italy  
b. Germany, America-Hungry, and Serbia  
c. Germany, Austria- Europe, and Italy  
d. Germany, America- Hungry, and Europe
8. During the war, various nations came in close contact with each other through various pacts and \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. Conditions  
b. Rules  
c. Agreements  
d. All of the above
9. The United States remained out of the war until \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. April 1916  
b. April 1917  
c. April 1915  
d. April 1914



NOTES



10. The birth of World War I can be traced by close observation of international politics between \_\_\_\_ to 1914.
- a. 1861
  - b. 1961
  - c. 1761
  - d. 1871

◆◆◆◆

# PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

---

## STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Learning Objective
- 2.2 Paris Peace Settlement and Its Long-Term Results
- 2.3 Russian Revolution of 1917-Policies and Their Impact
- 2.4 Chapter Summary
- 2.5 Review Questions
- 2.6 Multiple Choice Questions





## 2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After learning the unit students will be able to:

- Understand the Paris peace settlement and its long-term results.
- Understand the Russian revolution of 1917-policies and their impact.

## 2.2 PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND ITS LONG-TERM RESULTS

Wars are normally terminated and peace is restored after the signing of peace treaties between warring states. The First World War was also terminated through peace treaties, mentioned earlier. When the war entered the decisive phase, the Allied powers started considering the plans and proposals put forward by different quarters for lasting peace in the world. At Germany's surrendering and signing of the instruments of Armistice, the Allies took effective steps for holding a peace conference. The conference was ultimately called in Paris in January 1919. It continued for about six months. Thirty-two countries, consisting primarily of the Allies, participated in this conference. The gathering was impressive because most of the world leaders were present. This was the first time, at a conference like this, that non-European powers - the USA, Japan, etc. attended. Russia did not attend because it had earlier withdrawn from the war. None of the Central Powers was invited to participate in the deliberations. The conference was mainly conducted by the Big Three - the USA, Great Britain, and France. But they could not ignore the others. However, the conflicting and narrow national interests, petty and unjust claims, and tendencies of scabbing colonies dominated the proceedings of the conference and overshadowed President Wilson's idealism, enshrined in his Fourteen Points. The conference was called upon to tackle many vexing issues which included among others the growing national aspirations of the erstwhile subject nations in Europe, the secret pacts signed during the war, the demands for compensation for the losses suffered by the European Allied powers, and the redressal of the wrongs committed by Germany during the war. Germany was held responsible for the declaration of the war and the huge destruction of lives and property. The peace conference in Paris, after its formal inauguration, appointed committees of experts and diplomats to study the different problems and issues and to make suitable recommendations to deal with them. In the context of the conflicting demands, aims, and objectives of the participating countries, it was not easy for the conference to arrive at an objective and rational conclusion. President Wilson had to yield to the pressure of the European powers who were bent on taking revenge on Germany. After protracted deliberations, the conference came out with a peace treaty containing very stiff terms and conditions. It was offered to Gennady for acceptance in total. Germany objected on the ground that the country was given an understanding when it had surrendered, that it would be dealt with as per the principles, contained in Wilson's Fourteen Points. It alleged that the peace terms had contained little of the 14 points. Germany's objections were brushed aside and she was asked to sign the treaty or face the consequence. Germany had to swallow the humiliation which later led to a desire for avenging the insult. The treaty, thus, sowed the seeds of another war.

## 1. The Treaty of Versailles

The Versailles Treaty was signed between the Allies and Germany. It was the most important one in the five-treaty series. The treaty contained 440 articles. It dealt comprehensively with the territorial, military, and war guilt of the Central Powers and the economic, political, and other related aspects of the peace settlement. Germany which was accused of initiating the war was dealt with severely. Emperor Kaiser William II was accused of having committed crimes against humanity and was blamed for the holocaust caused by the war. Germany was asked to surrender nearly 40,000 square kilometers of territory with more than seven million people. With the loss of Events World and War Consequences, I: Causes, three territories Germany was deprived of the natural resources which were essential for its economic development. In addition, Germany was told to pay huge reparations, which after prolonged negotiations were fixed at \$33,000 million. German colonies were taken away and were described as "Mandated territories of the League" which France, Britain, and Japan distributed among themselves. Germany was militarily weakened by cutting the size of its army and navy. It was not allowed to raise an air force or to have a modern merchant navy. The Rhine was demilitarized for 50 kilometers East of the river and the Allied Commission was appointed to supervise the execution of the disarmament clauses. Germany and Austria were barred from uniting. In sum, the treaty was designed to cripple Germany and perpetuate its subordination to the Allied powers. Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. were recognized as independent states. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed between Germany and Russia, was rendered irrelevant.

The Treaty of Versailles created for the first time in the world an international organization, called the League of Nations, to maintain peace in the world. The treaty was also founded for the first time in the world by another international body, known as the International Labour Organisation, to look after the welfare of the laboring people. The Treaty evolved a system of government for the mandated territories.

## 2. Minor Treaties

The Versailles Treaty was followed by four minor treaties. The St. Germain Treaty was signed between the Allies and Austria. It recognized the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia (now Czech and Slovak, two independent republics), Poland, and Yugoslavia. Austria had also to cede large tracts of territories. Her empire had disintegrated. Her population was reduced. She was reduced to a small German-speaking state from being a vast multilingual empire. The Neuilly treaty was signed between the Allies and Bulgaria. Bulgaria had to cede again part of her coast to Greece and some strategically important areas in the West of the country to Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's military was reduced and she was made to pay \$ 50 million as war indemnity to the Allies. The Trianon Treaty was signed between the Allies and Hungary. As per the terms of the treaty, Hungary was reduced in size and population. It had to give up Transylvania to Romania, Croatia to Yugoslavia, the Banat to Romania, and the Slovak districts to Czechoslovakia.

The Sevres Treaty was signed between the Allies and Turkey in August 1920. The treaty stripped Turkey of her empire. The treaty was revised in 1923 when Turkey





declared itself a Republic. The new government signed the revised treaty with the Allies at Lausanne. It had then come to be known as the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey now renounced her claim to the Arab lands. Turkey was not forced to pay war indemnity nor was she debarred from having military as per her requirements.

### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Between which countries Versailles treaty was signed?
2. Why was the Versailles treaty created?
3. What is the other name of the Treaty of Versailles where it was created?
4. Paris peace conference was conducted between which countries.
5. The Sevres Treaty was signed between the which countries and when?

## 2.3 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917 - POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT

The Russian Revolution was made in 1917, before the end of the War. It is also known as the Bolshevik revolution because the Bolsheviks as a political group played a leading role in the success of the revolution and also determined its policies. This was the first socialist revolution in history and it was inspired by the ideals of communism. By 1917 the Russian Empire was under strain both from the consequences of the long war and from the political and social movements within the country. Up to February 1917, Russia was a multinational empire, ruled by an autocrat, who was known as the Tsar. Its territory was huge, including a large part of Central Asia and parts of Eastern Europe. There were no representative institutions, no right to form political or trade union organizations, and no elections. There was strict censorship and arbitrary arrests. There was no religious tolerance, and the other nationalities and minorities in the Empire did not enjoy equal rights with the Russians, because the Tsar, Nicholas II, belonged to the Russian Romanov dynasty. The Tsar used his military and diplomatic strength against all democratic movements in Europe. For this, he was known as the 'Policeman' of Europe. These conditions were very oppressive and very different from Western Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

### POLICIES AND IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION

Revolutionary Russia not only changed the policies of Tsarist Russia, but it also did many things that were different and more just than what existed in capitalist countries of Europe. Its policies laid the foundations of socialism in Russia.

Knowing fully well that people were tired of war and wanted peace, and that war was not in the interest of people in any country, one of its first acts was to withdraw from the war.

The Bolsheviks abolished private property in the means of production i.e., land, factories, and banks, all of which were nationalized and now owned by the state and not by private owners. This means that they could not be used to exploit the labor of others and make a private profit anymore. Workers' organizations had a greater say in the decision-making processes.

Through the land decree of November 1917 landlordism was abolished and the land was given over to peasants for hereditary use. Peasants could not sell or mortgage the land or

use it to exploit the labor of others, but they were masters of their land and enjoyed the full fruits of their labor and produce from the land. They did not have to depend on former landlords in any way, whose powers over the rural economy and society were demolished.

These measures meant that the Russian people became equal beneficiaries of the resources and economy of the country. It has also become possible now to plan centrally for the benefit of all parts and all sections of the people. This system of centralized planning was seen as important and was adopted by many countries, including India.

The new constitution guaranteed free medical care, free and equal education for all, an unemployment allowance, and equal access to culture and cultural advancement. Not all of this was immediately available, but by making these a right for all, the new regime showed the direction of its policy and commitment. The differentials between people holding middle-class types of jobs and those working on the land or in the factories were far less than in other countries—both in terms of salaries and entitlement to facilities provided by the state. Standard of life was not dependent on whether one could personally pay, because many things did not have to be paid for.

Women were not just considered equal; a lot of measures were taken to make their equal participation in social and political life possible: maternity leave, public canteens, free crèches at workplaces, etc.

They considered their state the ‘dictatorship of the working class because the working, ordinary people and their welfare were now the basis of polity and policies.

The new regime gave moral and some physical support to independence struggles against colonial rule and recognized the right of all nationalities to decide their future. For this reason, the Russian revolution was lauded in all Asian countries and inspired people all over the world. China and India were also greatly influenced by the Russian revolution. There was a spread of socialist ideas.

Nationalist leaders in India realized the significance of the intervention of peasants and workers in political struggles. People in India sensed that a ‘Kisan-mazdoor raj’ has been established in Russia. The 1920s thus saw the formation of Workers and Peasants Parties, the All-India Trade Union Congress, and increasing efforts in India to organize workers and peasants.

The imperialist countries were however opposed to the Revolution and they sent their troops to defeat the new Bolshevik regime. They were not successful, and the new revolutionary regime survived, due mainly to the support of the people and the dedication of the revolutionaries. What happened in Russia and Europe following the Russian revolution and the end of World War I is another story, which you will read about in the next lesson.

## 2.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The Russian Revolution came about as a result of the strain of war and the conflicts within Russian society. This was the first socialist revolution in history. There were three stages: the 1905 revolution, which was defeated; the February 1917 revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Autocracy; and the October 1917 revolution led by the Bolsheviks, which established a socialist state. The revolution created a new social and political



system, based on social justice. It had a great impact on the rest of the world, including the countries fighting for their national independence. Wars are normally terminated and peace is restored after the signing of peace treaties between warring states. The First World War was also terminated through peace treaties, mentioned earlier. When the war entered the decisive phase, the Allied powers started considering the plans and proposals put forward by different quarters for lasting peace in the world. At Germany's surrendering and signing of the instruments of Armistice, the Allies took effective steps for holding a peace conference. The conference was ultimately called in Paris in January 1919.

## 2.5 REVIEW QUESTIONS

### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What happened in February 1917 in Russia?
2. The conference was mainly conducted by the big three countries. Name them.
3. Write a few lines on the impact of the revolution in India.
4. What are the main terms and conditions of the Versailles Treaty?
5. Name the minor treaties concluded at the Paris Peace Conference.

### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. The Bolsheviks abolished private property in the means of production. Explain.
2. The Russian revolution, 1917. Explain.
3. When the Sevres Treaty was signed between the Allies and Turkey? Explain briefly.
4. Give the main changes brought about by the Bolsheviks. Do you think they were in the interest of the Russian people?
5. Write the impact and policies of the Russian revolution, 1917.

## 2.6 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Through the land decree of November \_\_\_\_\_ landlordism was abolished and the land was given over to peasants for hereditary use.
  - a. 1916
  - b. 1917
  - c. 1921
  - d. 1923
2. The Russian Revolution was made in 1917, before the end of the War. It is also known as the \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Tsar
  - b. landlordism
  - c. Romanov
  - d. Bolshevik revolution
3. Russia was a multinational empire, ruled by an autocrat, who was known as the:
  - a. Tsar
  - b. landlordism

- c. Bolsheviks  
d. Romanov
4. The Versailles Treaty was signed between the\_\_\_\_\_.
- a. Allies and Austria  
b. Allies and Germany  
c. Allies and Europe  
d. None of the above
5. The St. Germain Treaty was signed between the \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. Allies and Germany  
b. Allies and Europe  
c. Allies and Austria  
d. None of the above
6. The peace conference was ultimately called in Paris in January \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. 1919  
b. 1981  
c. 1971  
d. 1992
7. The Tsar used his military and diplomatic strength against all democratic movements in \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. Asia  
b. Germany  
c. Europe  
d. All of the above
8. The imperialist countries were however opposed to the \_\_\_\_\_ and they sent their troops to defeat the new Bolshevik regime.
- a. Resolution  
b. Revolution  
c. Both of the above  
d. All of the above
9. The new government signed the revised treaty with the Allies at Lausanne. It had then come to be known as the Treaty of \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. Decree  
b. Strain  
c. Russia  
d. Lausanne
10. The conference was mainly conducted by the Big Three - the USA, Great Britain, and\_\_\_\_\_.
- a. German  
b. France  
c. Uk  
d. Russia

NOTES



PARIS PEACE  
CONFERENCE  
AND RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION



# LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

---

## STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Learning Objective
- 3.2 League of Nations and Collective Security
- 3.3 Disarmament Efforts and The Reparation Problem
- 3.4 Great Economic Depression- Sources of Recovery and Economic Impact
- 3.5 Chapter Summary
- 3.6 Review Questions
- 3.7 Multiple Choice Questions

### 3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After learning this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the Working with the league of nations and collective security.
- Understand the Disarmament efforts and the reparation problem.
- Understand the Great economic depression- impact on the world and recovery.

### 3.2 LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations was an international organization founded after the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919. The League's goals included disarmament, preventing war through collective security, settling disputes between countries through negotiation diplomacy, and improving global welfare. The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift in thought from the preceding hundred years. The League lacked an armed force of its own and so depended on the Great Powers to enforce its resolutions, keep to economic sanctions that the League ordered, or provide an army when needed, for the League to use. However, it was often very reluctant to do so.

After several notable successes and some early failures in the 1920s, the League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis Powers in the 1930s. The onset of the Second World War made it clear that the League had failed in its primary purpose—to avoid any future world war. The United Nations Organization replaced it after World War II and inherited several agencies and organizations founded by the League.

#### Origin

The concept of a peaceful community of nations had previously been described in Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795). The idea of the actual League of Nations appears to have originated with British Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, and it was enthusiastically adopted by the Democratic U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and his advisor Colonel Edward M. House as a means of avoiding bloodshed like that of World War I. The creation of the League was a centerpiece of Wilson's Fourteen Points for Peace, specifically the final point: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants to afford mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

The Paris Peace Conference accepted the proposal to create the League of Nations (French: *Société des Nations*, German: *Völkerbund*) on January 25, 1919. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by a special commission, and the League was established by Part I of the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed on June 28, 1919. Initially, the Charter was signed by 44 states, including 31 states which had taken part in the war on the side of the Triple Entente or joined it during the conflict. Despite Wilson's efforts to establish and promote the League, for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919, the United States neither ratified the Charter nor joined the League due to opposition from isolationists in the U.S. Senate, especially influential Republicans Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and William E. Borah of Idaho, together with Wilson's refusal to compromise.





## NOTES



The League held its first meeting in London on 10 January 1920. Its first action was to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, officially ending World War I. The headquarters of the League moved to Geneva on November 1, 1920, where the first general assembly of the League was held on November 15, 1920, with representatives from 41 nations in attendance.

### Symbols

The League of Nations had neither an official flag nor logo. Proposals for adopting an official symbol were made during the League's beginning in 1920, but the member states never reached an agreement. However, League of Nations organizations used varying logos and flags (or none at all) in their operations. An international contest was held in 1929 to find a design, which again failed to produce a symbol. One of the reasons for this failure may have been the fear by the member states that the power of the supranational organization might supersede them. Finally, in 1939, a semi-official emblem emerged: two five-pointed stars within a blue pentagon. The pentagon and the five-pointed stars were supposed to symbolize the five continents and the five races of mankind. In a bow on top and at the bottom, the flag had the names in English (League of Nations) and French (Société des Nations). This flag was used on the building of the New York World's Fair in 1939 and 1940.

### Languages

The official languages of the League of Nations were French, English, and Spanish (from 1920). In the early 1920s, there was a proposal for the League to accept Esperanto as their working language. Ten delegates accepted the proposal with only one voice against it, the French delegate, Gabriel Hanotaux. Hanotaux did not like how the French language was losing its position as the international language of diplomacy and saw Esperanto as a threat. Two years later the League recommended that its member states include Esperanto in their educational curricula.

### Structure

The League had three principal organs: a secretariat (headed by the General Secretary and based in Geneva), a Council, and an Assembly. The League also had numerous Agencies and Commissions. Authorization for any action required both a unanimous vote by the Council and a majority vote in the Assembly.

### Secretariat

The staff of the League's secretariat was responsible for preparing the agenda for the Council and Assembly and publishing reports of the meetings and other routine matters, effectively acting as the civil service for the League.

Over the life of the League from 1920–to 1946, the three Secretaries-General were:

- Sir James Eric Drummond, 7th Earl of Perth (UK) (1920-1933)
- Joseph Avenol (France) (1933-1940)
- Seán Lester (Ireland) (1940-1946)

The first president was Paul Hymans, a well-known Belgian politician. The General Secretary wrote annual reports on the work of the League.



## Council

The League Council had the authority to deal with any matter affecting world peace. The Council began with four permanent members (the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Japan) and four non-permanent members, which were elected by the Assembly for three years. The first four non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain. The United States was meant to be the fifth permanent member, but the United States Senate was dominated by the Republican Party after the 1918 election and voted on March 19, 1920, against the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.

The initial composition of the Council was subsequently changed several times. The number of non-permanent members was first increased to six on September 22, 1922, and then to nine on September 8, 1926. Germany also joined the League and became a fifth permanent member of the Council on the latter date, taking the Council to a total of fifteen members. When Germany and Japan later both left the League, their places were taken by new, non-permanent, members.

The Council met on average five times a year, and in extraordinary sessions when required. In total, 107 public sessions were held between 1920 and 1939.

## Assembly

Each member was represented and had one vote in the League Assembly. Individual member states did not always have representatives in Geneva. The Assembly held its sessions once a year in September.

Éamon de Valera was the President of the Council of the League of Nations at its 68th and Special Sessions in September and October 1932, and President of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1938. Carl Joachim Hambro was President in 1939 and 1946. Nicolae Titulescu served as president of the League of Nations for two terms, in 1930 and 1931.

## Other bodies

The League oversaw the Permanent Court of International Justice and several other agencies and commissions created to deal with pressing international problems. These were the Disarmament Commission, the Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Mandates Commission, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Commission for Refugees, and the Slavery Commission. While the League itself is generally branded a failure, several of its Agencies and Commissions had successes within their respective mandates.

1. **Disarmament Commission:** The Commission obtained an initial agreement by France, Italy, Japan, and Britain to limit the size of their navies. However, the United Kingdom refused to sign a 1923 disarmament treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, facilitated by the commission in 1928, failed in its objective of outlawing war. Ultimately, the Commission failed to halt the military build-up during the 1930s by Germany, Italy, and Japan.
2. **Health Committee:** This body focused on ending leprosy, malaria, and yellow fever, the latter two by starting an international campaign to exterminate mosquitoes.



The Health Organization also succeeded in preventing an epidemic of typhus from spreading throughout Europe due to its early intervention in the Soviet Union.

3. **Mandates Commission:** The Commission supervised League of Nations Mandates, and also organized plebiscites in disputed territories so that residents could decide which country they would join, most notably the plebiscite in Saarland in 1935.
4. **International Labour Organization:** This body was led by Albert Thomas. It successfully banned the addition of lead to paint and convinced several countries to adopt an eight-hour workday and forty-eight-hour working week. It also worked to end child labor, increase the rights of women in the workplace, and make shipowners liable for accidents involving seamen.
5. **Permanent Central Opium Board:** The Board was established to supervise the statistical control system introduced by the second International Opium Convention that mediated the production, manufacture, trade, and retail of opium and its by-products. The Board also established a system of import certificates and export authorizations for the legal international trade in narcotics.
6. **Commission for Refugees:** Led by Fridtjof Nansen, the Commission oversaw the repatriation and, when necessary, the resettlement, of 400,000 refugees and ex-prisoners of war, most of whom were stranded in Russia at the end of World War I. It established camps in Turkey in 1922 to deal with a refugee crisis in that country and to help prevent disease and hunger. It also established the Nansen passport as a means of identification for stateless peoples.
7. **Slavery Commission:** The Commission sought to eradicate slavery and slave trading across the world and fought forced prostitution and drug trafficking, particularly opium. It succeeded in gaining the emancipation of 200,000 slaves in Sierra Leone and organized raids against slave traders in its efforts to stop the practice of forced labor in Africa. It also succeeded in reducing the death rate of workers constructing the Tanganyika railway from 55% to 4%. In other parts of the world, the Commission kept records on slavery, prostitution, and drug trafficking in an attempt to monitor those issues.

Several of these institutions were transferred to the United Nations after the Second World War. In addition to the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice became a UN institution like the International Court of Justice, and the Health Organization was restructured as the World Health Organization.

### Members

An anachronous map of the world in the years 1920-1945, which shows the League of Nations and the world. Enlarge An anachronous map of the world in the years 1920-1945, which shows the League of Nations and the world. The League of Nations had 42 founding members with the notable exception of the United States of America, 16 of them left or withdrew from the international organization. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the only (founding) member to leave the league and return to it later and remained so a member until the end. France was a member for the duration of the league, although Vichy France withdrew from the league. In the founding year, six other nations joined, and only two of them would have a membership that lasted until the end. In later years 15 more

countries joined, three memberships would not last until the end. Egypt was the last nation to join in 1937. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was expelled from the league five years after it joined. Iraq was the only member of the league that at one time was a League of Nations Mandate. Iraq became a member in 1932.

### COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Collective Security is a device of crisis management that postulates a commitment on the part of all the nations to collectively meet aggression that may be committed by any state against another. War or aggression is viewed as a breach of international peace and security and collective security stands for collective action by all the nations in defense of peace. Collective security stands for meeting any war or aggression by the creation of a global preponderance of power of all nations against aggression.

Collective Security is also regarded as a deterrent against aggression in so far as it lays down that the collective power of all nations will be used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle, 'Aggression against any one member of the international community is aggression against international peace and security. As such it has to be met by the collective efforts of all the nations'

Collective security is commonly regarded as the most effective method of maintaining peace and deterring aggression. Collective security was supposed not only to be the basis of the League of Nations but also supposed to be the basis of the United Nations. Collective security is a device by which the security of all nations is assessed. Under the system of collective security, aggression or war would no longer be the concern of any individual nation but would be the concern of all nations.

Collective security is a collective measure of security. The word security represents the goal while the word collective indicates the nature of the combined strength will face the aggression. The basic principle of collective security is that an attack on one state will be regarded as an attack on all states. Security becomes the concern of all nations and all will take care collectively of the security of each of them as if their security were at state.

According to Morgenthau "one for all and all for one is the watchword of collective security."

On collective security Palmer and Perkins observe "It implies collective measure for dealing with a threat to peace".

George Schwarzenegger has defined collective security as machinery for joint action to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order".

According to F.H Hartmann collective security is a mutual insurance plan against aggression anywhere and everywhere.

The basic principle of collective security is that if aggression takes place, it should be frustrated by an overwhelming force. It is therefore necessary that all nations must stand unitedly against the aggression. So, the principle of collective security is based upon the preponderance of power in the hands of the protectors of peace and order and this is said to be the only basis of the success of the system. Its chief merit lies in the force may not at all be needed. A threat of collective action will be sufficient to deter the potential aggressor.



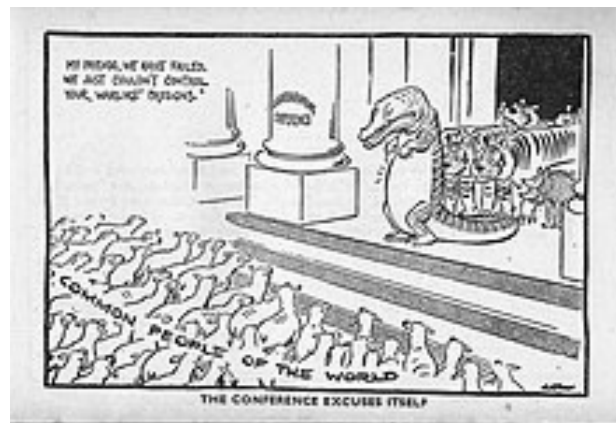


### 3.3 DISARMAMENT EFFORTS AND THE REPARATION PROBLEM

#### DISARMAMENT EFFORTS

The fifth session of the Preparatory Commission for the (League of Nations) Disarmament Conference will meet in Geneva, on March 15, 1928. Since the admitted failure of the three-power naval limitation conference which met at Geneva last summer at the instance of President Coolidge, all hopes of immediate progress toward international disarmament have again centered around the work of the League's Preparatory Commission.

The Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, generally known as the Geneva Conference or World Disarmament Conference, was an international conference of states held in Geneva, Switzerland, between February 1932 and November 1934 to accomplish disarmament by the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was attended by 31 states, most of which were members of the League of Nations, but the USSR and the United States also attended.



The conference was a response to the militarization of global powers during and after the First World War. Aimed toward a global reduction in arms, the conference was organized and campaigned for by the League of Nations with the main objective to avoid another world war.

The conference symbolized global cooperation to a combined goal of limiting arms, but it is generally perceived as a failure because of the onset of the Second World War five years later and the withdrawal of Nazi Germany from both the conference and the League.

The conference's main achievements included defining aggressively-offensive weapons, reasonably-defensive weapons, abolishing submarines, aviation, and heavy-duty tanks, and limiting land forces.

#### REPARATION PROBLEM

Following the ratification of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, the Central Powers were compelled to give war reparations to the Allied Powers. Each of the defeated powers was required to make payments in either cash or kind. Because of the financial situation in Austria, Hungary, and Turkey after the war, few to no reparations were paid and the requirements for reparations were canceled. Bulgaria, having paid only

a fraction of what was required, saw its reparation figure reduced and then canceled. Historians have recognized the German requirement to pay reparations as the “chief battleground of the post-war era” and “the focus of the power struggle between France and Germany over whether the Versailles Treaty was to be enforced or revised.

The Treaty of Versailles (signed in 1919) and the 1921 London Schedule of Payments required Germany to pay 132 billion gold marks in reparations to cover civilian damage caused during the war. This figure was divided into three categories of bonds: A, B, and C. Of these, Germany was required to pay towards ‘A’ and ‘B’ bonds totalling 50 billion marks (US\$12.5 billion) unconditionally. The payment of the remaining ‘C’ bonds was interest-free and contingent on the Weimar Republic’s ability to pay, as was to be assessed by an Allied committee.

Due to the lack of reparation payments by Germany, France occupied the Ruhr in 1923 to enforce payments, causing an international crisis that resulted in the implementation of the Dawes Plan in 1924. This plan outlined a new payment method and raised international loans to help Germany to meet its reparation commitments. Despite this, by 1928 Germany called for a new payment plan, resulting in the Young Plan that established the German reparation requirements at 112 billion marks (US\$26.3 billion) and created a schedule of payments that would see Germany complete payments by 1988. With the collapse of the German economy in 1931, reparations were suspended for a year and in 1932 during the Lausanne Conference, they were canceled altogether. Between 1919 and 1932, Germany paid less than 21 billion marks in reparations.

The German people saw reparations as a national humiliation; the German Government worked to undermine the validity of the Treaty of Versailles and the requirement to pay. British economist John Maynard Keynes called the treaty a Carthaginian peace that would economically destroy Germany. His arguments had a profound effect on historians, politicians, and the public at large. Despite Keynes’ arguments and those by later historians supporting or reinforcing Keynes’ views, the consensus of contemporary historians is that reparations were not as intolerable as the Germans or Keynes had suggested and were within Germany’s capacity to pay had there been the political will to do so. Following the Second World War, West Germany took up payments. The 1953 London Agreement on German External Debts resulted in an agreement to pay 50 percent of the remaining balance. The final payment was made on 3 October 2010, settling German loan debts regarding reparations.

### **Background**

In 1914, the First World War broke out. For the next four years, fighting raged across Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. On 8 January 1918, United States President Woodrow Wilson issued a statement that became known as the Fourteen Points. In part, this speech called for Germany to withdraw from the territory it had occupied and for the formation of a League of Nations. During the fourth quarter of 1918, the Central Powers began to collapse. In particular, the German military was decisively defeated on the Western Front and the German navy mutinied, prompting domestic uprisings that became known as the German Revolution.



## NOTES



*Picture: Avocourt, 1918, one of the many destroyed French villages where reconstruction would be funded by reparations.*

Most of the war's major battles occurred in France and the French countryside was heavily scarred by the fighting. Furthermore, in 1918 during the German retreat, German troops devastated France's most industrialized region in the northeast (Nord-Pas de Calais Mining Basin). Extensive looting took place as German forces removed whatever material they could use and destroyed the rest. Hundreds of mines were destroyed along with railways, bridges, and entire villages. Prime Minister of France Georges Clemenceau was determined, for these reasons, that any just peace required Germany to pay reparations for the damage it had caused. Clemenceau viewed reparations as a way of weakening Germany to ensure it could never threaten France again. His position was shared by the French electorate. Reparations would also go towards the reconstruction costs in other countries, including Belgium, which was also directly affected by the war. Despite domestic pressure for a harsh settlement, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George opposed overbearing reparations. He argued for a smaller sum, which would be less damaging to the German economy with a long-term goal of ensuring Germany would remain a viable economic power and trading partner. He also argued that reparations should include war pensions for disabled veterans and allowances for war widows, which would reserve a larger share of the reparations for the British Empire. Wilson opposed these positions and was adamant that no indemnity should be imposed upon Germany.

The Paris Peace Conference opened on 18 January 1919, aiming to establish a lasting peace between the Allied and Central Powers. Demanding compensation from the defeated party was a common feature of peace treaties, including the Treaty of Versailles that Germany had imposed on France in 1871. However, the financial terms of treaties signed during the peace conference were labeled reparations to distinguish them from punitive settlements usually known as indemnities. Reparations were intended for reconstruction and compensating families who had been bereaved by the war. The opening article of the reparation section of the Treaty of Versailles, Article 231, served as a legal basis for the following articles, which obliged Germany to pay compensation and limited German responsibility to civilian damages. The same article, with the signatory's name changed, was also included in the treaties signed by Germany's allies.

### German reaction

Main article: Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles Thousands of people gather in front of a building. Demonstration against the Treaty of Versailles, in front of the Reichstag. In February 1919, Foreign Minister Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau informed the Weimar National Assembly that Germany would have to pay reparations for the devastation caused by the war, but would not pay for actual war costs. After the drafting of the Treaty of Versailles on 7 May that year, the German and Allied delegations met and the treaty was handed over to be translated and for a response to be issued. At this meeting, Brockdorff-Rantzau stated, "We know the intensity of the hatred which meets us, and we have heard the victors' passionate demand that as the vanquished we shall be made to pay, and as the guilty, we shall be punished". However, he proceeded to deny that Germany was solely responsible for the war.



*Picture: Demonstration against the Treaty of Versailles, in front of the Reichstag.*

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles was not correctly translated. Instead of stating "Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies causing all the loss and damage the German Government's edition reads, "Germany admits it, that Germany and her allies, as authors of the war, are responsible for all losses and damages." This resulted in a prevailing belief of humiliation among Germans; the article was seen as injustice and there was a view that Germany had signed "away from her honor". Despite the public outrage, German government officials were aware "that Germany's position on this matter was not nearly so favorable as the imperial government had led the German public to believe during the war". Politicians seeking international sympathy would continue to use the article for its propaganda value, persuading many who had not read the treaties that the article implied full war guilt. German revisionist historians who later tried to ignore the validity of the clause found a ready audience among revisionist writers in France, Britain, and the US. The objective of both the politicians and historians was to prove that Germany was not solely guilty for causing the war; if that guilt could be disproved the legal requirement to pay reparations would disappear.







## CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments known as?
2. When was the Paris peace conference opened and what was it aimed at?
3. What was stated in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles about Germany?
4. What is the common feature of peace treaties?
5. When was the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission for the (League of Nations) Disarmament Conference met?

### 3.4 GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION- SOURCES OF RECOVERY AND ECONOMIC IMPACT

The Great Depression was a worldwide economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until about 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the industrialized Western world, sparking fundamental changes in economic institutions, macroeconomic policy, and economic theory. Although it originated in the United States, the Great Depression caused drastic declines in output, severe unemployment, and acute deflation in almost every country of the world. Its social and cultural effects were no less staggering, especially in the United States, where the Great Depression represented the harshest adversity faced by Americans since the Civil War.

#### Economic history

The timing and severity of the Great Depression varied substantially across countries. The Depression was particularly long and severe in the United States and Europe; it was milder in Japan and much of Latin America. Perhaps not surprisingly, the worst depression ever experienced by the world economy stemmed from a multitude of causes. Declines in consumer demand, financial panics, and misguided government policies caused economic output to fall in the United States, while the gold standard, which linked nearly all the countries of the world in a network of fixed currency exchange rates, played a key role in transmitting the American downturn to other countries. The recovery from the Great Depression was spurred largely by the abandonment of the gold standard and the ensuing monetary expansion. The economic impact of the Great Depression was enormous, including both extreme human suffering and profound changes in economic policy.

#### Timing and severity

The Great Depression began in the United States as an ordinary recession in the summer of 1929. The downturn became markedly worse, however, in late 1929 and continued until early 1933. Real output and prices fell precipitously. Between the peak and the trough of the downturn, industrial production in the United States declined 47 percent and real gross domestic product (GDP) fell 30 percent. The wholesale price index declined 33 percent (such declines in the price level are referred to as deflation). Although there is some debate about the reliability of the statistics, it is widely agreed that the unemployment rate exceeded 20 percent at its highest point. The severity of the Great Depression in the United States becomes especially clear when it is compared with America's next worst

recession, the Great Recession of 2007–09, during which the country's real GDP declined just 4.3 percent and the unemployment rate peaked at less than 10 percent.

The Depression affected virtually every country in the world. However, the dates and magnitude of the downturn varied substantially across countries. Great Britain struggled with low growth and recession during most of the second half of the 1920s. The country did not slip into severe depression, however, until early 1930, and its peak-to-trough decline in industrial production was roughly one-third that of the United States. France also experienced a relatively short downturn in the early 1930s. The French recovery in 1932 and 1933, however, was short-lived. French industrial production and prices both fell substantially between 1933 and 1936. Germany's economy slipped into a downturn early in 1928 and then stabilized before turning down again in the third quarter of 1929. The decline in German industrial production was roughly equal to that in the United States. Several countries in Latin America fell into depression in late 1928 and early 1929, slightly before the U.S. decline in output. While some less-developed countries experienced severe depressions, others, such as Argentina and Brazil, experienced comparatively mild downturns. Japan also experienced a mild depression, which began relatively late and ended relatively early.

The general price deflation evident in the United States was also present in other countries. Virtually every industrialized country endured a decline in wholesale prices of 30 percent or more between 1929 and 1933. Because of the greater flexibility of the Japanese price structure, deflation in Japan was unusually rapid in 1930 and 1931. This rapid deflation may have helped to keep the decline in Japanese production relatively mild. The prices of primary commodities traded in world markets declined even more dramatically during this period. For example, the prices of coffee, cotton, silk, and rubber were reduced by roughly half just between September 1929 and December 1930. As a result, the terms of trade declined precipitously for producers of primary commodities.

The U.S. recovery began in the spring of 1933. Output grew rapidly in the mid-1930s: real GDP rose at an average rate of 9 percent per year between 1933 and 1937. Output had fallen so deeply in the early years of the 1930s, however, that it remained substantially below its long-run trend path throughout this period. In 1937–38 the United States suffered another severe downturn, but after mid-1938 the American economy grew even more rapidly than in the mid-1930s. The country's output finally returned to its long-run trend path in 1942.

Recovery in the rest of the world varied greatly. The British economy stopped declining soon after Great Britain abandoned the gold standard in September 1931, although genuine recovery did not begin until the end of 1932. The economies of several Latin American countries began to strengthen in late 1931 and early 1932. Germany and Japan both began to recover in the fall of 1932. Canada and many smaller European countries started to revive at about the same time as the United States, early in 1933. On the other hand, France, which experienced severe depression later than most countries, did not firmly enter the recovery phase until 1938.





## CAUSES OF THE DECLINE

The fundamental cause of the Great Depression in the United States was a decline in spending (sometimes referred to as aggregate demand), which led to a decline in production as manufacturers and merchandisers noticed an unintended rise in inventories. The sources of the contraction in spending in the United States varied throughout the Depression, but they cumulated in a monumental decline in aggregate demand. The American decline was transmitted to the rest of the world largely through the gold standard. However, a variety of other factors also influenced the downturn in various countries.

### 1. Stock market crash

The initial decline in U.S. output in the summer of 1929 is widely believed to have stemmed from tight U.S. monetary policy aimed at limiting stock market speculation. The 1920s had been a prosperous decade, but not an exceptional boom period; prices had remained nearly constant throughout the decade, and there had been mild recessions in both 1924 and 1927. The one obvious area of excess was the stock market. Stock prices had risen more than fourfold from the low in 1921 to the peak in 1929. In 1928 and 1929, the Federal Reserve had raised interest rates in hopes of slowing the rapid rise in stock prices. These higher interest rates depressed interest-sensitive spending in areas such as construction and automobile purchases, which in turn reduced production. Some scholars believe that a boom in housing construction in the mid-1920s led to an excess supply of housing and a particularly large drop in construction in 1928 and 1929.

By the fall of 1929, U.S. stock prices had reached levels that could not be justified by reasonable anticipations of future earnings. As a result, when a variety of minor events led to gradual price declines in October 1929, investors lost confidence, and the stock market bubble burst. Panic selling began on “Black Thursday,” October 24, 1929. Many stocks had been purchased on margin that is, using loans secured by only a small fraction of the stocks’ value. As a result, the price declines forced some investors to liquidate their holdings, thus exacerbating the fall in prices. Between their peak in September and they are low in November, U.S. stock prices (measured by the Cowles Index) declined 33 percent. Because the decline was so dramatic, this event is often referred to as the Great Crash of 1929.

The stock market crash reduced American aggregate demand substantially. Consumer purchases of durable goods and business investments fell sharply after the crash. A likely explanation is that the financial crisis generated considerable uncertainty about future income, which in turn led consumers and firms to put off purchases of durable goods. Although the loss of wealth caused by the decline in stock prices was relatively small, the crash may also have depressed spending by making people feel poorer (see consumer confidence). As a result of the drastic decline in consumer and business spending, real output in the United States, which had been declining slowly up to this point, fell rapidly in late 1929 and throughout 1930. Thus, while the Great Crash of the stock market and the Great Depression are two quite separate events, the decline in stock prices was one factor contributing to declines in production and employment in the United States.

## 2. Banking panics and monetary contraction

The next blow to aggregate demand occurred in the fall of 1930 when the first of four waves of banking panics gripped the United States. A banking panic arises when many depositors simultaneously lose confidence in the solvency of banks and demand that their bank deposits be paid to them in cash. Banks, which typically hold only a fraction of deposits as cash reserves, must liquidate loans to raise the required cash. This process of hasty liquidation can cause even a previously solvent bank to fail. The United States experienced widespread banking panics in the fall of 1930, the spring of 1931, the fall of 1931, and the fall of 1932. The final wave of panic continued through the winter of 1933 and culminated with the national “bank holiday” declared by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 6, 1933. The bank holiday closed all banks, and they were permitted to reopen only after being deemed solvent by government inspectors. The panics took a severe toll on the American banking system. By 1933, one-fifth of the banks in existence at the start of 1930 had failed.



Picture: Great Depression: bank holiday Sign in front of a New York City theatre, indicating that it would “accept checks drawn on local banks,” during the “bank holiday” declared by U.S. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt in March 1933.

By their nature, banking panics are largely irrational, inexplicable events, but some of the factors contributing to the problem can be explained. Economic historians believe that substantial increases in farm debt in the 1920s, together with U.S. policies that had encouraged small, undiversified banks, created an environment in which such panics could ignite and spread. The heavy farm debt stemmed in part from the high prices of agricultural goods during World War I, which had spurred extensive borrowing by American farmers wishing to increase production by investing in land and machinery. The decline in farm commodity prices following the war made it difficult for farmers to keep up with their loan payments.

The Federal Reserve did little to try to stem the banking panics. Economists Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz, in the classic study *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (1963), argued that the death in 1928 of Benjamin Strong, who had been the governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 1914, was a significant cause of this inaction. Strong had been a forceful leader who

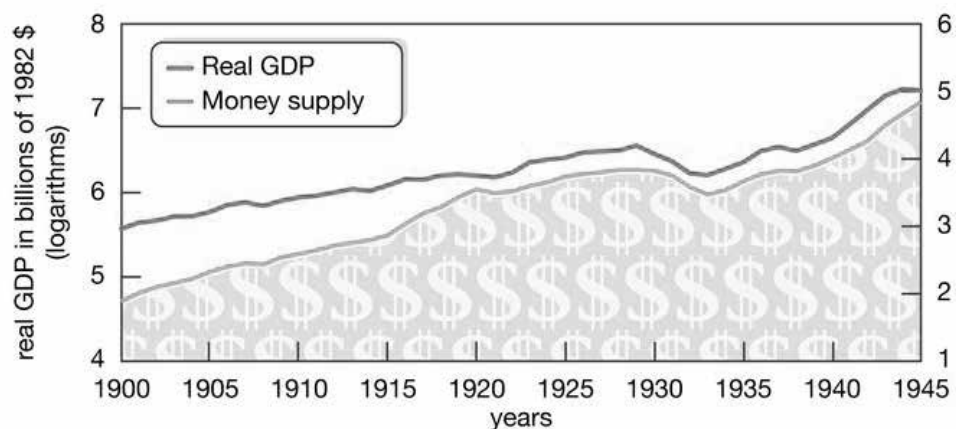




understood the ability of the central bank to limit panics. His death left a power vacuum at the Federal Reserve and allowed leaders with less sensible views to block effective intervention. The panics caused a dramatic rise in the number of currency people wished to hold relative to their bank deposits. This rise in the currency-to-deposit ratio was a key reason why the money supply in the United States declined 31 percent between 1929 and 1933. In addition to allowing the panics to reduce the U.S. money supply, the Federal Reserve also deliberately contracted the money supply and raised interest rates in September 1931, when Britain was forced off the gold standard and investors feared that the United States would devalue as well.

Scholars believe that such declines in the money supply caused by Federal Reserve decisions had a severely contractionary effect on output. A simple picture provides perhaps the clearest evidence of the key role monetary collapse played in the Great Depression in the United States. The figure shows the money supply and real output over the period 1900 to 1945. In ordinary times, such as the 1920s, both the money supply and output tend to grow steadily. But in the early 1930s, both plummeted. The decline in the money supply depressed spending in several ways. Perhaps most important, because of actual price declines and the rapid decline in the money supply, consumers and business people came to expect deflation; that is, they expected wages and prices to be lower in the future. As a result, even though nominal interest rates were very low, people did not want to borrow, because they feared that future wages and profits would be inadequate to cover their loan payments. This hesitancy in turn led to severe reductions in both consumer spending and business investment. The panics surely exacerbated the decline in spending by generating pessimism and loss of confidence. Furthermore, the failure of so many banks disrupted lending, thereby reducing the funds available to finance investment.

### Money and output in the United States



Picture: money and output in the United States

### 3. The gold standard

Some economists believe that the Federal Reserve allowed or caused the huge declines in the American money supply partly to preserve the gold standard. Under the gold standard, each country set the value of its currency in terms of gold and

took monetary actions to defend the fixed price. It is possible that had the Federal Reserve expanded the money supply greatly in response to the banking panics, foreigners would have lost confidence in the United States' commitment to the gold standard. This could have led to large gold outflows, and the United States could have been forced to devalue. Likewise, had the Federal Reserve not tightened the money supply in the fall of 1931, it is possible that there would have been a speculative attack on the dollar and the United States would have been forced to abandon the gold standard along with Great Britain.

While there is debate about the role the gold standard played in limiting U.S. monetary policy, there is no question that it was a key factor in the transmission of America's economic decline to the rest of the world. Under the gold standard, imbalances in trade or asset flows gave rise to international gold flows. For example, in the mid-1920s intense international demand for American assets such as stocks and bonds brought large inflows of gold to the United States. Likewise, a decision by France after World War I to return to the gold standard with an undervalued franc led to trade surpluses and substantial gold inflows. (See also a balance of trade.)

Britain chose to return to the gold standard after World War I at the pre-war parity. Wartime inflation, however, implied that the pound was overvalued, and this overvaluation led to trade deficits and substantial gold outflows after 1925. To stem the gold outflow, the Bank of England raised interest rates substantially. High-interest rates depressed British spending and led to high unemployment in Great Britain throughout the second half of the 1920s.

Once the U.S. economy began to contract severely, the tendency for gold to flow out of other countries and toward the United States intensified. This took place because deflation in the United States made American goods particularly desirable to foreigners, while low income among Americans reduced their demand for foreign products. To counteract the resulting tendency toward an American trade surplus and foreign gold outflows, central banks throughout the world raised interest rates. Maintaining the international gold standard, in essence, required a massive monetary contraction throughout the world to match the one occurring in the United States. The result was a decline in output and prices in countries throughout the world that nearly matched the downturn in the United States.

Financial crises and banking panics occurred in several countries besides the United States. In May 1931 payment difficulties at the Creditanstalt, Austria's largest bank, set off a string of financial crises that enveloped much of Europe and were a key factor in forcing Britain to abandon the gold standard. Among the countries hardest hit by bank failures and volatile financial markets were Austria, Germany, and Hungary. These widespread banking crises could have been the result of poor regulation and other local factors or simple contagion from one country to another. In addition, the gold standard, by forcing countries to deflate along with the United States, reduced the value of banks' collateral and made them more vulnerable to runs. As in the United States, banking panics and other financial market disruptions further depressed output and prices in several countries.





#### 4. International lending and trade

Some scholars stress the importance of other international linkages. Foreign lending to Germany and Latin America had expanded greatly in the mid-1920s, but U.S. lending abroad fell in 1928 and 1929 because of high-interest rates and the booming stock market in the United States. This reduction in foreign lending may have led to further credit contractions and declines in output in borrower countries. In Germany, which experienced extremely rapid inflation (hyperinflation) in the early 1920s, monetary authorities may have hesitated to undertake expansionary policy to counteract the economic slowdown because they worried it might reignite inflation. The effects of reduced foreign lending may explain why the economies of Germany, Argentina, and Brazil turned down before the Great Depression began in the United States.

The 1930 enactment of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act in the United States and the worldwide rise in protectionist trade policies created other complications. The Smoot-Hawley tariff was meant to boost farm incomes by reducing foreign competition in agricultural products. But other countries followed suit, both in retaliation and in an attempt to force a correction of trade imbalances. Scholars now believe that these policies may have reduced trade somewhat but were not a significant cause of the Depression among the large industrial producers. Protectionist policies, however, may have contributed to the extreme decline in the world price of raw materials, which caused severe balance-of-payments problems for primary-commodity-producing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and led to contractionary monetary and fiscal policies.

#### SOURCES OF RECOVERY

Given the key roles of monetary contraction and the gold standard in causing the Great Depression, it is not surprising that currency devaluations and monetary expansion were the leading sources of recovery throughout the world. There is a notable correlation between the times at which countries abandoned the gold standard (or devalued their currencies substantially) and when they experienced renewed growth in their output. For example, Britain, which was forced off the gold standard in September 1931, recovered relatively early, while the United States, which did not effectively devalue its currency until 1933, recovered substantially later. Similarly, the Latin American countries of Argentina and Brazil, which began to devalue in 1929, experienced relatively mild downturns and had largely recovered by 1935. In contrast, the “Gold Bloc” countries of Belgium and France, which were particularly wedded to the gold standard and slow to devalue, still had industrial production in 1935 well below that of 1929.

Devaluation, however, did not increase output directly. Rather, it allowed countries to expand their money supplies without concern about gold movements and exchange rates. Countries that took greater advantage of this freedom saw greater recovery. The monetary expansion that began in the United States in early 1933 was particularly dramatic. The American money supply increased nearly 42 percent between 1933 and 1937. This monetary expansion stemmed largely from a substantial gold inflow to the United States, caused in part by the rising political tensions in Europe that preceded World War II. Monetary expansion stimulated spending by lowering interest rates and making credit more widely

available. It also created expectations of inflation, rather than deflation, thereby giving potential borrowers greater confidence that their wages and profits would be sufficient to cover their loan payments if they chose to borrow. One sign that monetary expansion stimulated recovery in the United States by encouraging borrowing was that consumer and business spending on interest-sensitive items such as cars, trucks, and machinery rose well before consumer spending on services.

Fiscal policy played a relatively small role in stimulating recovery in the United States. Indeed, the Revenue Act of 1932 increased American tax rates greatly in an attempt to balance the federal budget, and by doing so it dealt a behavior contractionary blow to the economy by further discouraging spending. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, initiated in early 1933, did include several new federal programs aimed at generating recovery. For example, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired the unemployed to work on government building projects, and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) constructed dams and power plants in a particularly depressed areas. However, the actual increases in government spending and the government budget deficit were small relative to the size of the economy. This is especially apparent when state government budget deficits are included because those deficits declined at the same time that the federal deficit rose. As a result, the new spending programs initiated by the New Deal had a little direct expansionary effect on the economy. Whether they may nevertheless have had positive effects on consumer and business sentiment remains an open question.

Some New Deal programs may have hindered recovery. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, for example, set up the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which encouraged firms in each industry to adopt a code of behavior. These codes discouraged price competition between firms, set minimum wages in each industry, and sometimes limited production. Likewise, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which set voluntary guidelines and gave incentive payments to farmers to restrict production in hopes of raising agricultural prices. Modern research suggests that such anti-competitive practices and wage and price guidelines led to inflation in the early recovery period in the United States and discouraged reemployment and production.

Recovery in the United States was stopped short by another distinct recession that began in May 1937 and lasted until June 1938. One source of the 1937–38 recession was a decision by the Federal Reserve to greatly increase reserve requirements. This move, which was prompted by fears that the economy might be developing speculative excess, caused the money supply to cease its rapid growth and to fall again. Fiscal contraction and a decrease in inventory investment due to labor unrest are also thought to have contributed to the downturn. That the United States experienced a second, very severe contraction before it had completely recovered from the enormous decline of the early 1930s is the main reason that the United States remained depressed for virtually the entire decade.

World War II played only a modest role in the recovery of the U.S. economy. Despite the recession of 1937–38, real GDP in the United States was well above its pre-Depression level by 1939, and by 1941 it had recovered to within about 10 percent of its long-run trend path. Therefore, in a fundamental sense, the United States had largely recovered





NOTES 

before military spending accelerated noticeably. At the same time, the U.S. economy was still somewhat below trend at the start of the war, and the unemployment rate averaged just under 10 percent in 1941. The government budget deficit grew rapidly in 1941 and 1942 because of the military build-up, and the Federal Reserve responded to the threat and later the reality of war by increasing the money supply greatly over the same period. This expansionary fiscal and monetary policy, together with widespread conscription beginning in 1942, quickly returned the economy to its trend path and reduced the unemployment rate to below its pre-Depression level. So, while the war was not the main impetus for the recovery in the United States, it played a role in completing the return to full employment.

The role of fiscal expansion, and especially of military expenditure, in generating recovery varied substantially across countries. Great Britain, like the United States, did not use fiscal expansion to a noticeable extent early in its recovery. It did, however, increase military spending substantially after 1937. France raised taxes in the mid-1930s to defend the gold standard but then ran large budget deficits starting in 1936. The expansionary effect of these deficits, however, was counteracted somewhat by a legislated reduction in the French workweek from 46 to 40 hours—a change that raised costs and depressed production. Fiscal policy was used more successfully in Germany and Japan. The German budget deficit as a percent of domestic product increased a little early in the recovery, but it grew substantially after 1934 as a result of spending on public works and rearmament. In Japan, government expenditures, particularly military spending, rose from 31 to 38 percent of domestic product between 1932 and 1934, resulting in substantial budget deficits. This fiscal stimulus, combined with substantial monetary expansion and an undervalued yen, returned the Japanese economy to full employment relatively quickly.

**ECONOMIC IMPACT**

The most devastating impact of the Great Depression was human suffering. In a short period, world output and standards of living dropped precipitously. As much as one-fourth of the labor force in industrialized countries was unable to find work in the early 1930s. While conditions began to improve by the mid-1930s, total recovery was not accomplished until the end of the decade.





The Great Depression and the policy response also changed the world economy in crucial ways. Most obviously, it hastened, if not caused, the end of the international gold standard. Although a system of fixed currency exchange rates was reinstated after World War II under the Bretton Woods system, the economies of the world never embraced that system with the conviction and fervor they had brought to the gold standard. By 1973, fixed exchange rates had been abandoned in favor of floating rates.

Both labor unions and the welfare state expanded substantially during the 1930s. In the United States, union membership more than doubled between 1930 and 1940. This trend was stimulated by both the severe unemployment of the 1930s and the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act (1935), which encouraged collective bargaining. The United States also established unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors' insurance through the Social Security Act (1935), which was passed in response to the hardships of the 1930s. It is uncertain whether these changes would have eventually occurred in the United States without the Great Depression. Many European countries had experienced significant increases in union membership and had established government pensions before the 1930s. Both of these trends, however, accelerated in Europe during the Great Depression.

In many countries, government regulation of the economy, especially of financial markets, increased substantially in the 1930s. The United States, for example, established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934 to regulate new stock issues and stock market trading practices. The Banking Act of 1933 (also known as the Glass-Steagall Act) established deposit insurance in the United States and prohibited banks from underwriting or dealing in securities. Deposit insurance, which did not become common worldwide until after World War II, effectively eliminated banking panics as an exacerbating factor in recessions in the United States after 1933.

The Great Depression also played a crucial role in the development of macroeconomic policies intended to temper economic downturns and upturns. The central role of reduced spending and monetary contraction in the Depression led British economist John Maynard Keynes to develop the ideas in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936). Keynes's theory suggested that increases in government spending, tax cuts, and monetary expansion could be used to counteract depressions. This insight, combined with a growing consensus that government should try to stabilize employment, has led to a much more activist policy since the 1930s. Legislatures and central banks throughout the world now routinely attempt to prevent or moderate recessions. Whether such a change would have occurred without the Depression is again a largely unanswerable question.

### 3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The League of Nations was an international organization founded after the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919. The League's goals included disarmament, preventing war through collective security, settling disputes between countries through negotiation diplomacy, and improving global welfare. The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift in thought from the preceding hundred years. The League lacked an armed force of its own and so depended on the Great Powers to enforce its resolutions,

## NOTES



keep to economic sanctions that the League ordered, or provide an army when needed, for the League to use. However, it was often very reluctant to do so. The Great Depression was a worldwide economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until about 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the industrialized Western world, sparking fundamental changes in economic institutions, macroeconomic policy, and economic theory. Although it originated in the United States, the Great Depression caused drastic declines in output, severe unemployment, and acute deflation in almost every country of the world. Its social and cultural effects were no less staggering, especially in the United States, where the Great Depression represented the harshest adversity faced by Americans since the Civil War.

### 3.6 REVIEW QUESTIONS

#### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What was the Great Depression?
2. What were the causes of the Great Depression?
3. How did the Great Depression affect the American economy?
4. How did the United States and other countries recover from the Great Depression?
5. When did the Great Depression end?

#### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Describe the sources of recovery from economic depression.
2. What is the impact of economic depression?
3. Briefly explain disarmament efforts.
4. Write the German reaction to reparation.
5. What are the other bodies working with the league of nations?

### 3.7 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Despite the recession of 1937–38, real GDP in the United States was well above its pre-Depression level by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. 1939
  - b. 1949
  - c. 1919
  - d. 1929
2. In many countries, government regulation of the economy, especially of financial markets, increased substantially in the \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. The 1920s
  - b. The 1940s
  - c. The 1930s
  - d. None of the above
3. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 “AAA” stands for:
  - a. Agricultural Affirmation Admits
  - b. Agricultural Adjustment Administration

- c. Agricultural Adjustment Allotment  
d. Agricultural Admin Apparition
4. **NRA stands for:**  
a. National Resource Apartment  
b. National Recovery Approval  
c. National Resource Administration  
d. National Recovery Administration
5. **Although a system of fixed currency exchange rates was reinstated after \_\_\_\_\_ under the Bretton Woods system.**  
a. World War II  
b. World War I  
c. Both of the above  
d. None of the above
6. **Great economic depression was milder in Japan and much of \_\_\_\_\_.**  
a. America  
b. Latin America  
c. The U.S  
d. None of the above
7. **France raised taxes in the mid-1930s to defend the \_\_\_\_\_ standard.**  
a. Sliver  
b. Dimond  
c. Gold  
d. Steel
8. **The Great Depression began in the United States as an ordinary recession in the summer of \_\_\_\_\_.**  
a. 1929  
b. 1919  
c. 1900  
d. 1927
9. **The U.S. recovery began in the spring of \_\_\_\_\_.**  
a. 1927  
b. 1944  
c. 1911  
d. 1933
10. **Britain chose to return to the gold standard after \_\_\_\_\_.**  
a. World War II  
b. World War I  
c. Paris Peace Conference  
d. Russian Revolution

◆◆◆◆

NOTES



UNIT

IV

# THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

---

## STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Learning Objective
- 4.2 The Foreign Policy of The Soviet Union
- 4.3 Social Movement
- 4.4 Ideologies of Nazism and Fascism in Germany and Italy
- 4.5 Chapter Summary
- 4.6 Review Questions
- 4.7 Multiple Choice Questions

## 4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After learning this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the foreign policy of the Soviet Union between two world wars.
- Understand the Liberal ideas and social movement.
- Understand the Ideologies of Nazism and fascism in Germany and Italy.

## 4.2 THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

It is fair to say that all Soviet primary and secondary sources are, to varying degrees, suspect. To build up as accurate a picture as possible the researcher must use Soviet materials in conjunction with the relevant Western sources. The study of the diplomacy of the interwar period has been clouded by emotional judgments. For many in the West, especially on the left, the establishment of the Soviet regime seemed to represent the great hope for the future, and for surprisingly many, disillusionment came only slowly. The wartime alliance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) socialist further added to a certain reluctance to see Soviet foreign policymaking in a clear light. The inter-war economic crisis, the rise of fascism, Nazi and Japanese aggression, and the failure of the policy of appeasement, aided by the undeniable successes of the Soviet propaganda machine, all helped to obscure the fact that from the first, the Soviet leadership pursued its aims with whatever means were at its disposal.

### The aims of Soviet Foreign Policy

In November 1917 the new Bolshevik government seemed unlikely to survive and 24 years later, in the autumn of 1941, few contemporary observers expected the Stalinist dictatorship to last out the year. These two facts perhaps help to demonstrate that the primary foreign policy aim of the Soviet government throughout this period was survival in what was with some justice seen as a hostile world. The other aim, or hope, was that the world revolution predicted by Marx would take place soon and that if it did not, then the actions of the Comintern might help to bring it about. By the mid-twenties, this seemed increasingly unlikely.

### Methods

From the very outset, the Soviet government adopted a high moral tone in its comments on international relations, claiming and frequently repeating that the uniquely progressive nature of the Soviet social and political system made it unlike any other regime and that therefore, in marked contrast to imperialist powers, the aims and principles on which it based its conduct of foreign affairs were open diplomacies, self-determination, disarmament and the peace of nations. Apart from anything else, this approach highlights one consistent method of Soviet foreign policy – the use of propaganda to appeal to the masses over the heads of their governments. But more importantly, as a study of the period will reveal, whatever its professed principles, the Soviet government was utterly unscrupulous in its conduct of foreign affairs. When it was weak, peace and disarmament were sensible things to strive for in the public arena, while the USSR built up its strength. When collective security seemed likely to bear fruit, the USSR followed this policy. When the best guarantee



## NOTES



of Soviet security was war and occupation, then these methods were used instead. Open diplomacy and national self-determination were no more than catchphrases to confuse the naive or unwary, and certainly the Ukrainians and Georgians were under no illusions about the second point by 1922. Further confusion can be caused if one ignores the fact that the Soviet government was perfectly capable of following two contradictory policies at the same time and, in fact, frequently did so.

### How strong was the Soviet Union?

Perhaps the most important thing to grasp about this period is that the Soviet Union was not yet a 'superpower'. It is probably fair to say that the Soviet Union was not even a world power, except in the sense that its territory still covered a large part of the world's land surface. For most of the 24 years under discussion, the Soviet Union was industrially backward and, variously, in the throes of civil war, famine, Stalin's forced economic revolution, and his murderous purges. By the late 1930s the extraordinary achievements of the five-year plans, whatever the human cost, had immeasurably strengthened – the need for the USSR industrially and militarily, but even then, most informed sources in the West realized that Stalin's purges of the armed forces had, for the moment, drastically undermined Soviet military potential, as the war with Finland demonstrated. Despite this material weakness, the Soviet government's ideology undoubtedly inspired fear in her immediate neighbors and among the ruling circles of the major powers, especially in the early years after the October Revolution. This 'Red Scare' was no doubt useful to conservative forces in the West even when it was obvious that the USSR was virtually powerless. When the World Revolution failed to materialize, Soviet leaders realized that some form of accommodation had to be sought with the hostile bourgeois states which surrounded the USSR, but the public utterances retained their heavy Marxist-Leninist content whatever tactical move the Soviet government happened to be following at the time.

It was an article of faith with Soviet foreign policy experts that all imperialist powers were automatically hostile to the world's first socialist state. With the experience of Brest-Litovsk and Allied intervention during the civil war, as well as their ideological background, this is hardly surprising. Therefore, if an alliance had to be made with a particular capitalist power, it was purely a question of expediency, not of sentiment, for in Soviet eyes fascism and democracy were just two different forms of the enemy, capitalism.

### Phase 1: October 1917 to March 1918

In this extraordinary period when the Bolsheviks were flushed with success, their behavior in the international sphere was as deliberately provocative as possible. The Decree on Peace was issued the day after the Bolshevik coup, plus the sensational publication of the Tsarist secret treaties and the repudiation of all legal ties with other nations made by the Tsarist regime was the first foreign policy act of the new government. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky believed that they were going to 'have' foreign relations in the accepted sense and Trotsky assumed he could issue a few proclamations and then 'shut up shop'. The expectation that a world revolution was nigh led to the distinctly unconventional approach to the negotiations with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk. The troops of the Central Powers were bombarded with Bolshevik propaganda while the Soviet delegation wasted as much time as

possible. After some months of this, the Germans lost patience and forced the Bolsheviks to accept the savage treaty which deprived the old Russian Empire of so much of its territory, population, and resources.

### **Phase 2: March 1918 to 1921**

After Brest-Litovsk, it was quite clear that not even the survival of the Soviet government could be taken for granted. Foreign affairs in the conventional sense hardly existed during the bitter fighting between the Reds and the many foreign supporters of the White armies during the civil war. For a while, the newly founded Comintern's hopes of a spreading proletarian revolution must have seemed high with, at various times, Bela Kun's brief success in Hungary, a Soviet government in Bavaria, the Spartacists in Berlin and numerous other disturbances across Europe, not to mention the Red Army's tantalizingly close approach to Warsaw in 1920. By the end of the civil war, however, the reality of the Soviet international position was only too clear. Soviet Russia was economically devastated, militarily weak, and, from a territorial point of view, separated from the more developed parts of Europe by a wall of hostile states ranging from Finland in the north, through Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland to a newly enlarged Rumania in the south. All communist insurrections had been crushed by the forces of reaction and to all intents and purposes, Soviet Russia was little more than an irritant to the victorious Entente Powers who dominated early post-war Europe. Russia was excluded from the League of Nations and was not yet formally recognized by any major power. The most pressing problem for the Narkomindel was to secure something like normal diplomatic and economic relations with as many states as possible.

### **Phase 3: 1921 to 1931**

The next decade saw the birth and development of the curious relationship between communist Russia and capitalist Weimar Germany which was the main plank of Soviet foreign policy until Hitler came to power in 1933. Negotiations between the two countries had been in progress since early 1921 and secret contacts had already been made in the diplomatic, commercial and military fields. The failure of the World Economic Conference at Genoa in 1922 had led the Soviet and German delegations to conclude the Treaty of Rapallo by which diplomatic and economic relations were established between the two 'outcast' countries. Within a few months, secret military agreements were signed which led to the setting up on Soviet soil of joint German-Soviet training bases in the fields of aerial, armored, and chemical warfare. It is perhaps worth noting at this point that already by 1922 the Soviet authorities had left behind the idealistic concepts of open diplomacy and disarmament and that the 'twin track' approach of attempting to foment revolution in those countries with which the USSR had regular diplomatic relations was seen as normal. The relationship with Germany was not untroubled. The Comintern's failed attempts to rekindle the German revolution in 1921 and 1923 were not helpful. The Narkomindel was greatly alarmed at Germany's rapprochement with the Entente Powers when she signed the Locarno agreements in 1925 and joined the League of Nations the year after. However, the Treaty of Berlin in 1926, which reaffirmed Rapallo, and important German-Soviet trade treaties in 1925 and 1931 demonstrated that both governments found their links much too valuable to let ideology or diplomatic maneuvering get in the way. As far as the rest





## NOTES



of the world was concerned, the Soviet government enjoyed some limited success. Formal recognition by Great Britain in 1924 and by most other nations around this time at least made Soviet isolation less acute, but Soviet newspapers still gave the impression that the capitalist world was on the point of launching another intervention against the world's first workers' state. This somewhat paranoid approach fed off incidents like the 1927 rupture of diplomatic relations by Great Britain, and the Soviet press frequently described the League of Nations as little more than a thinly disguised conspiracy to attack the USSR. Even the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 was virtually characterized as yet another attempt to undermine world peace! No doubt this atmosphere of hysteria was largely designed for internal consumption, especially as an extra stimulus to Stalin's economic revolution, but it did little to lessen the general distaste and suspicion felt towards the Soviet Union by most European governments. In China, the USSR suffered an important reverse when the Chinese Communist Party was dealt a savage blow by Chiang Kai Shek's massacre in Shanghai in 1927. This was also a blow to the Comintern policy of the 'united front from above' which hoped to strengthen the role of foreign communist parties by ordering them to support nationalists or other left-wing groups. The situation in the Far East was to prove the most worrying to Moscow as Japanese attitudes to China became increasingly aggressive. As the 1920s came to an end the Soviet international position seemed far more encouraging than at any time since the revolution. The USSR had achieved international acceptance, its economic transformation was underway, she had a valuable working relationship with Germany and her skillful use of propaganda, such as Litvinov's 1927 demand for immediate and total disarmament at the Geneva Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, had given her a position of moral leadership for much of the world's left. Without a doubt, the most satisfying development was the economic catastrophe that hit the capitalist world in 1929. The political effects of this crisis were, however, to bring about a rapid readjustment of Moscow's policies.

#### Phase 4: 1931 to 1934

During this period the USSR managed to conclude a series of neutrality or non-aggression pacts with most of its neighbors. Probably the most significant were those made with Poland and France in 1932. Of largely symbolic importance, these pacts nonetheless publicly demonstrated the USSR's desire for peace, stability, and international acceptance, and proved to be vital preparation for the realignment of Soviet foreign policy that was begun by events in the Far East. The Japanese attack on China in 1931 and the subsequent setting up of the huge puppet state of Manchukuo right on the Soviet Far Eastern border was an extremely alarming development for Stalin. It made further Japanese expansion into Siberia seem a distinct possibility and the lack of a firm French and British response to the Manchurian crisis, both within and outside the League, probably made Stalin suspicious of the West's intentions. A conspiracy of imperialist powers would always seem more plausible to Stalin as an explanation of Western actions than mere weakness or incompetence. Stalin soon pragmatically resumed relations with arms deliveries to Chiang Kai Shek and military strength in the Soviet Far East was steadily increased. The situation was also changing in Europe. The collapse of rational politics in Germany as the economic crisis worsened was not at first the disaster it later became for Stalin. The Soviet interpretation of events in

Germany was that the polarization in politics could only ultimately lead to a strengthening of the KPD and that the Nazi's "short-lived" success would presage some sort of left-wing revolution. As a result, the KPD was ordered to attack the middle ground of German politics, labeling the SPD 'social fascists'. Stalin was not the only one to underestimate the power of Hitler and the Nazis. After a year of confusing signals from Berlin, it became quite obvious in the Kremlin that the German link was no longer to be relied upon. Although economic relations continued, the secret military cooperation was ended by Hitler, the KPD was destroyed, the tone of the Nazi press was distinctly anti-Soviet, and the expansionist aims of Hitler's foreign policy were openly discussed. Anxious at this deterioration in the USSR's international position, Stalin began to switch the emphasis of his foreign policy towards some form of accommodation with those capitalist powers which also felt threatened by a reviving Germany in Europe and Japanese aggression in the Far East. The Soviet Union's exclusion from the ultimately abortive negotiations for a Four Power Pact in 1933 and Hitler's conclusion of a non-aggression pact with Poland in 1934 made this more urgent. The first obvious sign of this change in approach was the softening of tone towards the League of Nations which the USSR joined on September 18, 1934. From this point on, the policy of 'collective security' was vociferously followed by the Soviet authorities in general and Litvinov in particular.

#### Phase 5: 1934 to August 1939

What must be made dear at this point is that although political relations with Nazi Germany were very poor, the economic links between the two nations continued. For example, another important trade agreement was signed on 20 March 1934. Furthermore, we know from the captured German documents that in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939 when Soviet and German officials held their routine economic meetings, the Soviet side suggested that it might be opportune to improve political relations. These suggestions were turned down by the Germans, but it is quite clear that Stalin was prepared to court the Nazis in secret, whilst espousing collective security in public. A final decision on which way to jump could be left until later, while the Soviet Union's ability to defend itself continued to grow. Stalin moved further toward the West in 1935 when the USSR signed the mutual assistance pacts with France and Czechoslovakia. Given the political geography of Eastern Europe, quite how the USSR was supposed to bring its weight to bear on Germany in an international crisis was something of a mystery: the illusion of having a counterweight seemed enough for the French, and for the Soviet Union to be included in such a security system was progress indeed. The agreements included a clause that made it clear that the USSR was only to act if requested to do so by the French. In line with this diplomatic realignment, the Comintern also switched its tactics, now instructing its puppet communist parties to support the policy of the Popular Front, namely cooperation with any political party which was anti-fascist. However, from 1934 to 1939 Stalin drew little benefit from his new policy. Time after time, the British and French chose not to stand firm in the face of aggressive moves by Italy, Japan, or Germany, the three powers who had by 1937 created the Anti-Comintern Pact, which was aimed at the USSR. This is not the place to analyze the policy of appeasement, but it is not hard to imagine the conclusions being drawn in Moscow as Italy took Ethiopia, Japan seized more of China in 1937, and



## NOTES



Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland in 1936, absorbing Austria in early 1938. Was this a deliberate attempt by Britain and France to push the aggressive states towards Russia, as the Soviet press constantly claimed? Was Stalin in a position to assume anything else, as, after all, four Soviet suggestions for an international conference between March and September 1938 had simply been ignored by Britain and France? The Munich agreement of October 1938 must have been almost the last straw for Stalin, as throughout the summer crisis he had been assuring the French of Soviet support; yet the French ignored its ally the USSR, and followed the British lead in handing over the Sudetenland to Hitler. The Soviet Union was once again excluded from European decision-making, despite being in the League, and despite having conducted mutual assistance pacts with France and Czechoslovakia. The USSR had no common border with Czechoslovakia and Stalin had recently purged the officer corps of the Red Army, making effective Soviet intervention somewhat improbable; but this did not alter the fact that, unlike Britain and France, the USSR could publicly present itself as the only power prepared to stand firm against Nazi aggression. Whether this was a bluff or not, all we know is that the bluff was never called. The USSR had also managed to reap considerable propaganda rewards from the Spanish civil war. Why did Stalin involve the USSR in this war which was so far away from Soviet borders? There are several possibilities. He may have wished to:

- create a Soviet satellite in Spain;
- preserve the democratically elected Republican government;
- demonstrate his belief in collective security by helping to thwart fascist aggression;
- or
- show that the USSR was now an international force to be reckoned with.

The first two seem to be the most improbable, but some combinations of the others may provide an acceptable explanation. Though the USSR signed the non-intervention agreement, large amounts of military aid were sent to the Republic, but never enough to guarantee a Republican victory. Perhaps Stalin was showing his customary caution by testing the resolve of Britain and France who, as it happened, were prepared to stand aside and let the Republic take its chances without them. Apart from propaganda value, what did Stalin get out of the Spanish episode? One unexpected bonus was the Spanish government's gold reserves. More importantly, the three years of war gave him additional insights into the attitudes of his ally, France, and his collective security partner, Great Britain. From a Soviet point of view, it became obvious that these two powers would accept quite severe risks to their respective strategic positions rather than take effective action against Italy or Germany. Unfortunately for the USSR and unlike Hitler, Stalin could not fully benefit from the military experience gained in the war, because he murdered a number of those officers who had served in Spain, and tended to ignore the lessons that the Germans learned so well. Thus, by the time of Hitler's seizure of the rump of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, apart from a certain propaganda success, Stalin had absolutely nothing to show for his policy of collective security. Worse still, no accommodation had yet proved possible with Nazi Germany, which was now immeasurably stronger than it had been in 1933. As if to emphasize the USSR's dangerous position, 1938 and 1939 had seen Japan

launch very substantial attacks on the Soviet Far East. The USSR had won the battle around Lake Khasan in 1938 and Khalkin-Gol in 1939 which led the Japanese to think twice about any further adventure in the area, but despite a neutrality treaty with Japan in April 1941, Stalin could not be sure of his Far Eastern frontier until late 1941, when his brilliant agent in Tokyo, Richard Sorge, told him that the Japanese had other plans. And yet from being isolated and ignored in 1938 and early 1939, Stalin suddenly found himself in the extraordinary position of being courted by both of Europe's power blocs. The last moments of the collective security policy came between March and August of 1939. This began with another failed Soviet suggestion for an international conference, continued as an Anglo-French military delegation unsuccessfully tried to negotiate its way towards a joint agreement with the USSR, and ended with the 'bombshell' of the Nazi-Soviet pact on 23 August. Why did Stalin decide to become an ally of Hitler and not of Britain and France? A key factor must have been the utter lack of resolution shown by these two powers over the previous six years. Was it in any way credible that either of them would stand by their guarantee of Poland in the face of increasing German pressure? Neither Hitler nor Stalin thought so. It was to Stalin's great, but temporary, good fortune that his attempts to improve Soviet-German relations suddenly bore fruit. Hitler was anxious to thwart any Anglo-French moves to involve the USSR in a military pact and he was planning to attack Poland on 1 September. Ribbentrop made Stalin an offer that was impossible to refuse. The Soviet-German commercial treaty of 18 August was swiftly followed by the nonaggression pact of 23 August. The secret sections of this pact, in essence, gave the USSR eastern Poland, the three Baltic states, and Bessarabia. The treaty also put off the likelihood of a war with 106 Germany for some time. All that Britain and France could have offered was the strong possibility of a war with Germany very shortly and presumably on the same side as the old enemy Poland. Stalin had learned the value of mutual assistance pacts with the French in 1938. What other decision could he have made in the circumstances?

#### **Phase 6: 23 August 1939 to 22 June 1941**

In the course of the next 20 months, Hitler extended his control over most of Europe through military might, economic penetration, and alliance. By the early summer of 1941, he was ready to launch his long-dreamed-of attack on his temporary ally, the USSR. How had Stalin used his time? Vast deliveries of grain, petroleum, and other vital strategic materials had been sent to Germany as part of the trade agreements between the two governments, but the Germans had only sporadically kept to their side of the bargain. On 17 September the Red Army occupied its allotted zone of Poland. Between November 1939 and March 1940, Finland was battered into ceding territory to the USSR and by the end of 1940, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had been absorbed. The USSR had gained much, but it had lost the moral superiority it had spuriously claimed ever since 1917 and had now demonstrated the Soviet imperialism which was so marked in Eastern Europe after 1945. More disturbingly for Stalin, the Red Army had performed abysmally in the war against Finland, and a rapid program of reorganization had been put into action. That Stalin expected and feared a war with Germany is clear, but during this period he did as much as he could to appease Hitler. There was indeed some tough jockeying for position in the Balkans between Stalin and Hitler, but the USSR agreed to join the Tripartite Pact





which linked her with Japan, Italy, and Germany in a vague but grandiose scheme that promised Stalin gains in Central Asia. The deliveries of strategic materials to Germany continued until a few hours before the German attack on the USSR. It seemed as though Stalin was desperate to avoid giving the Germans an excuse to attack, even though there can be no doubt that Stalin received some very high-grade intelligence material on German plans. It is still a mystery why Stalin, who trusted no one and had murdered millions, could not accept that Hitler would attack him when he did. Perhaps even dictators are prone to wishful thinking, and certainly, there was nobody in Stalin's court who would risk his career and life by contradicting him. On 22 June 1941, after 20 years of constantly expressed fear of foreign intervention, 'the world's first workers' state' was again attacked by a coalition of imperialist powers, this time led by Nazi Germany. The catastrophe which Operation Barbarossa began, came within a few weeks and a few miles of destroying the Soviet Union and probably Stalin himself, but this is not the place to catalog the dreadful suffering of the Soviet population during the Great Patriotic War, nor to deal with the emergence of the USSR as a superpower after 1945.

### 4.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENT

---

#### Psychological factors

Individual factors are psychological states that either convince people to join a movement or so weaken their commitment to conventional groups that they are willing to risk the groups' disapproval because they believe in an unpopular cause. Failure to achieve a satisfying status and identity within normal membership groups may be such a factor. The prestige and sense of belonging, that such people may gain as members of a social movement, maybe even more important to them than the values of the movement. Alienation, feelings of powerlessness, hopelessness, and estrangement from society may predispose individuals to participation. Some scholars argue, however, that there are different kinds of alienation. One type leads merely to apathy and resignation. Political alienation, however, reflects a loss of faith in the political community and predisposes the individual to join a movement that challenges it.

Deprivation, discontent, and frustration are frequently assumed to be sufficient causes for initiating or joining a social movement. The relationship is not a simple one, however. There is little evidence that the most deprived segments of a population are the most likely to participate in social movements. The concept of relative deprivation has been used to explain the fact that persons who could be much worse off than they are but still feel deprived in comparison with even more fortunate groups often play a prominent part in social movements.

#### Social factors

An important task of the student of social movements is to identify those conditions under which social movements are most likely to arise. While the existence of widespread poverty and suffering might seem sufficient to give rise to efforts at reform, it must be emphasized again that some basis for hope must also exist to stir people to make the effort. Paradoxically, partial alleviation of conditions of deprivation may provide such a basis, serving as the impetus for the formation of a social movement just as things seem

to be getting better. The success of other people similarly situated, such as victorious revolutionaries in a neighboring nation, may be another source of hope.

More general theories of the origin of social movements, such as those of Smelser, Turner, and Killian, suggest that social change may result in strains or conflicts in one or more crucial aspects of the social order. Normative strain arises when changing conditions create a situation in which the established norms no longer lead to the attainment of important, accepted values. Strain in values arises when the values themselves seem to interfere with the satisfaction of important needs of a segment of society. This sort of strain often arises when different groups, such as immigrants, minorities, or the younger generation, develop values that conflict with those of more established groups. Even with little change in norms and values, changes in social structure reflected in the failure of important functionaries to play their roles adequately may lead to discontent.

The general nature of the belief system existing in the culture of a society affects the likelihood that social movements will arise and defines the type that will occur. For example, an essentially fatalistic system is less conducive to social movements, particularly those with a strategy of societal manipulation, than one that emphasizes the perfectibility of human beings and their control over their fate.

### Other theories

Since the early 1970s two new strands of theory and empirical research have arisen, one in the United States and one in western Europe. The first, called resource mobilization theory, takes as its starting point a critique of those theories that explain social movements as arising from conditions of social disorganization and strain and as finding their recruits among the isolated and alienated in society. By contrast, research mobilization theorists argue that the success of social movements rests mainly on the resources that are available to them; this means forming coalitions with already-existing organizations, securing financial support, and mounting effective and organized campaigns of political pressure. As a result of this emphasis, resource mobilization theorists downplay the factor of ideology and irrational factors generally in the study of social movements.

The second theory is the new social movement theory. It derives from an intellectual dissatisfaction with the predominantly Marxist view that treats social movements as reflecting a fundamental struggle among classes organized around economic production. That theory, it is argued, has become less relevant as these classes have been drawn into collective bargaining, the welfare system, and other social advancements within the state. The “new social movements” that have arisen in their place are interpreted as struggles against the social inequalities, the dominance of the mass media, and other features of post-industrial capitalism and the welfare state. These include youth, feminist, peace, ecological, civil rights, and racial justice movements. Jürgen Habermas, a German sociologist, interpreted such movements as protests against the excessive size and rationality of the state and its bureaucracies and their intrusion into the private worlds of individuals.

### The consequences of social movements

It has been suggested that committed participants in a social movement undergo a psychological reorganization. Their new sense of security and importance is acquired at





the sacrifice of autonomy. As loyal members they tend to let the leaders do their thinking for them, suppressing doubts as to the validity of the ideology and the wisdom of the leaders' decisions. They repeat their arguments dogmatically, not in the movement, and find it difficult to debate with them since they start from different premises. Their perception is selective in a different way from the perceptions of persons outside the movement. The ideology, for example, may lead them to view all governmental authorities as villains, while ordinary citizens view them as legitimate leaders, some good, some bad. The end product of this surrender of autonomy may be an altered worldview. Some things taken for granted before becoming part of the movement will never seem the same again, even after leaving the discipline of the movement.

The end products of social movements as collectivizes attempting to change the social order cannot be analyzed simply in terms of success or failure. Failure may come as a result of ruthless suppression of the movement or through widespread apathy. A movement may wither away because too few take it seriously and it does not develop enough power to force its program on society. Sometimes the remnants may linger for a long time as a cult, oriented inward toward the gratifications that the members obtain from participation but making no serious effort to change the social order.

Success is most apparent when a movement manages to have its power legitimized as an authority. In a successful revolution, the social movement becomes the new source of authority and respectability, and opposition to its values is defined as counterrevolutionary. In other instances, the movement achieves power through secession. Failing to compel acceptance of its values in the larger group or society, the members withdraw into a new social system in which they can attempt to implement the values separately from a hostile or indifferent society.

A less obvious form of success is the institutionalization of the values or some part of them. Accepting the legitimacy of the movement's values, the traditional associations in the society incorporate them into their values and implement them without a transfer of authority to the movement. Thus, the Socialist Party of America (1901–72) saw many of its proposals adopted by the two major political parties and the government without winning a major election or overthrowing the government. Sometimes the social movement itself is institutionalized by being accorded authority as the legitimate custodian of the new values. The movement is then transformed into a bureaucratic association, as happened with the American labor movement of the early 20th century and the Congress Party of India after British rule ended.

#### 4.4 IDEOLOGIES OF NAZISM AND FASCISM IN GERMANY AND ITALY

Fascism and Nazism though ideologically similar emerged in Italy and Germany respectively during the inter-war period and turned out to be the harbinger of the Second World War. A Fascist State was established in Italy in 1922. Nazis came into power in Germany in 1933. The term Fascist was derived from the Italian word *fascio* which meant 'bundle' and figuratively, a bundle of rods and an ax, a symbol for the party flag. To the Italians 'Fascisti' suggested national unity and strength. Benito Mussolini formed his Fascist party in 1919.

Nazi was a term associated with the members of the National Socialist German Worker's Party of Adolf Hitler. (To be called a Nazi was not a derogatory term at that time; rather it was used for a person who was fanatically dedicated to or sought to seek control over some activity/ practice). Italy in 1919 was politically disgruntled and economically shattered. She suffered from the post-war neurasthenia and could fall easy prey to an aggressive and ambitious political program. Italy had joined First World War (1914-18) with hopes and ambitions of having plenty after the war for its poor peasants and workers. However, the war rendered Italy great illusions, disappointment, and unemployment. The Peace Settlement of 1919 better known as the Treaty of Versailles too turned out to be dissatisfactory to Italy. On the other hand, the defeat of Germany in the First World War had witnessed important developments such as the Treaty of Versailles es; the continuation of the age-old rivalry between France and Germany; the emergence of the first communist state in Russia; and the economic depression in the 1930s. These developments were directly or indirectly responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Fascism and Nazism, in turn, were primarily responsible for the commencement of the Second World War in 1939.

#### **ITALY: THE PRISONER OF THE MEDITERRANEAN**

Situated in the southern part of Europe, Italy's geographical position is one of the strongest determinants of its external policies. Italy's mainland is a narrow peninsula and the distance from the sea coast is not more than seventy-five miles. It is so situated that it can easily be subjected to blockade from the sea. That is why it has been described as the "prisoner of the Mediterranean." It means if the Mediterranean was controlled by an enemy, Italy had no choice but to go to war. Accordingly, Italy has always nursed an ambition to become a Mediterranean power and establish its supremacy to safeguard its commercial and maritime interests. It was this pride and aspirations that have been a strong motivating factor for strong nationalistic fervor among the Italians. Benito Mussolini was intelligent enough to comprehend this nationalistic feeling and capitalize on the same to capture the power and institute a dictatorial Italy.

Rise of Mussolini and Fascist Party Economic distress facilitated the rise of socialists and revolutionaries in Italy. Workers and agricultural laborers were often on the streets of the countryside protesting against the misdoings of the State. Factory owners and landlords were being forced to grant higher wages and shorter work hours to the workers. The establishment of Communist International (Comintern) inspired the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) and it got affiliated with the same. ISP gave a call for the establishment of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in Italy. It also contested the elections of November 1919 and secured one-third of the votes cast thereby emerging as the single largest party in the Chamber of Deputies – the lower house. Soon the Catholic peasants, inspired by religious orthodoxy, seized the lands of the landlords in central and southern Italy. Socialist workers seized and controlled the factories of northern Italian cities in September 1920. The Liberal Government of Prime Minister Francesco Nitti (1919-20) and then of Giovanni Giolitti (a five-time prime minister between 1892 and 1921) became helpless and refrained from taking any action for fear of an upsurge of violent revolution. However, the ranks of Socialists witnessed a split with consequent decline. The revolutionary Socialists formed a separate Communist





## NOTES



Party in January 1921. The Socialist upsurge alarmed the landlords and industrialists. Consequently, they found refuge in a patriotic and nationalist movement that was rising under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The nationalists promised to restore the lost prestige and rightful respect for Italy among the comity of Rising of Fascism and Nazism nations. It was in this backdrop that Fascism emerged in Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Benito Mussolini, born in 1883, the son of a blacksmith with socialist-leaning, became the creator, soul, and guide of this movement and subsequently the Fascist party. Mussolini began his political career as a socialist agitator and was exiled to Switzerland. In 1912, he opposed the Italian aggressiveness, was against Turkey, and was captivated. He agitated for Italian participation on the side of the Allies when the First World War started in 1914. He was finally made to leave the Socialist party on account of supporting the war. He later participated in the war by joining the army. He got wounded in action in 1917. Subsequently, he became a staunch enemy of Russian Communism and throughout the rest of his life, he battled against it. The conditions and circumstances that existed in Italy during and in the immediate aftermath of the First World War were highly conducive to the rise of the fascist dictatorship under Benito Mussolini. He founded the first Fasci or club of patriots and intellectuals in March 1919 and thus started the Fascist movement in Italy. He became the rallying center for the unemployed youth and ex-soldiers. He received funds from the industrialists and landlords. He took cudgels against the socialists on behalf of these people. The army officers provided arms and ammunition to Mussolini with which his followers broke the meetings of the political opponents. Followers and workers of the party were enthused with discipline. Volunteers were known as 'Black Shirts' for their attire and were to salute their Duce (leader) with their hands stretched in the old Roman fashion. Fascists were thus reduced to a semi-military organization. Ever growing aggressiveness of the Fascists led to the subsequent decline of other parties. The Communists became special targets. The Fascists mustered 35 seats in the elections of 1921 against 122 of the Socialists and Communists in the Chamber of Deputies. Mussolini held a National Fascist Congress at Naples on 28th October 1922 and threatened to "March on Rome" with his men unless the reign of Government was entrusted to him. Following the delivery of a threatening speech, he entrained for Milan while thousands of armed Fascist militiamen began to concentrate on Rome. Thus, in October 1922 the Fascists felt strong enough to attempt the overthrow of the government by force. Meanwhile, the government decided to declare martial law. But King Victor Emmanuel III refused to sign the declaration. The liberal Government resigned on 27th October 1922 and on 29th October 1922, the King invited Mussolini to form the government. Mussolini at once left for Rome announcing "Tomorrow Italy will have not a ministry, but a government." The Parliament entrusted dictatorial powers to Mussolini and thus a Fascist dictatorship had begun in Italy. Mussolini's Coalition Government was approved by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 306 to 116. The Italians too gave their approval to the Fascist revolution and expected a firm government as was promised to them. From 1922 to 1943 the Fascist Party, under the dictatorship of Mussolini, was in power. The twenty-one years of rule by Mussolini gave the nation the appearance of being converted to the Fascist ideology, though in reality, a small minority of confirmed Fascists 20,000,000 strong alone were active while most people

simply submitted by accepting the new regime. Mussolini joined Hitler and entered the war in 1940. Italy was, however, defeated in 1943 and Mussolini's regime was overthrown.

NOTES



### Causes for the Rise of Fascism in Italy

1. **Treaty of Versailles:** Versailles Peace Treaty had disappointed the Italians since it could not obtain any share in the German overseas territories that the other allied powers had secured. Italy had joined the Allies after the secret treaty of London of 1915. The Allies had agreed to give Italy certain areas like Eritrea and Trieste and later backed out. This gave a justification to Italy's grievance against the Allies. The military leaders in Italy were disappointed as the victory had not benefitted their country in any way.
2. **Socio-economic conditions of Italy:** There was terrible confusion in the political, social, and economic life of Italy in 1919. The economic structure had collapsed due to war and natural resources were scarce. It was argued by the supporters of fascism that Italy, under such terrible conditions, will be saved by the Fascist revolution. However, a group of scholars has argued that the economic condition of Italy after the War, i.e., between the years 1919-1922, had improved considerably. They dispute the contention that the post-war conditions alone were responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy. Notwithstanding the short-lived post-war economic prosperity, the economic conditions in Italy, on the whole, were not satisfactory and there existed considerable unemployment. This resulted in strengthening the revolutionary movements, especially in increasing the influence of the revolutionary movements and the communist party. There were strikes, lockouts, and closure of industrial establishments. At the political level, the government was not able to save the situation as there existed chaos and corruption, and a loss of faith in the parliamentary institutions due to administrative inefficiency and disorder. Such a situation alarmed the middle classes and the well-to-do, who were haunted by the specter of Bolshevism. The success of the Russian revolution was another factor in making them suspicious about the intentions of the Communists at home. **Socialism and Nationalism:** These two forces were particularly more prominent in Italy than in any other country in Europe. Italians were disgruntled elements for the loss of spoils of victory compared to France and England which made them feel like poor relatives among the rich Western allies. This provided the ground to opposing forces like Nationalists and Socialists from 1920 onwards to discredit Prime Minister Giolitti's government for his inability to solve the mounting socioeconomic problems of post-war Italy. These two parties were also fighting against each other amidst an atmosphere of violence and rebellion. At this juncture, Mussolini appeared on the scene with claims to reconcile the seemingly conflicting forces of socialism and nationalism. His new political party suggested a happy union of nationalism and socialism.
3. **Rise of Communism:** Mussolini claimed that the post-war labor unrest and discontent in Italy were leading the country towards communism and his party, Fascisti, alone could save the society from the danger of communism. The Fascist activists and the Black Shirts opened a violent campaign against the Socialists and the Communists. Consequently, in 1921 the coalition government of Giolitti was defeated and the Fascists entered the Chamber of Deputies with 35 seats.



4. **False Aspirations of Italians:** The feeling of disappointment owing to the Rise of Fascism and Nazism marginalization and subsequent loss in the Peace Settlement of 1919 left a feeling among Italians that though Italy had won the war, it had lost the peace. The disappointments and frustrations of the Italians were fully exploited by Mussolini. He succeeded not only in uniting the people under his leadership but also in increasing his hold over Italy. The people had this feeling that their high ambitions which could not be achieved under a democratic Italy would be realized under Fascist Italy.

#### Impact of Fascism in Italy

1. **Rise of Totalitarianism:** Mussolini changed the laws to suit his interests of dominating the Parliament. He dissolved all political parties except his own. Fascists started terrorizing opponents making most of them flee Italy. Giacomo Matteotti, the socialist leader was killed mysteriously. He abolished the Chamber of Deputies in 1929. Fascist Grand Council was established as an apex body to make laws with Duce (leader) at its top, with most of the important portfolios with him like Foreign Affairs, Interior, Colonies, War, Air, and Marine. Strikes and lockouts were declared illegal to enhance agricultural and industrial production. Almost all walks of Italy's life were being controlled by the State.
2. **Territorial Expansion:** Mussolini gradually transformed the weak foreign policy of the previous government and tried to make Italy a world power. An increase in population, and the need for raw materials for industrial development, made it imperative for Italy to have territorial expansion. Italy thus adopted the policy of setting England against France; France and England against Germany; England, France, and Germany against the Soviet Union. Thus, through a systematic policy of dividing the major European powers and through invasion and conquest, Mussolini succeeded in expanding Italian territories. Aggressive Foreign Policy: Mussolini adopted an ambitious foreign policy and persuaded Yugoslavia to hand over the port of Fiume and acquired it in 1924. He established a protectorate over Albania in 1926 and subsequently annexed it in 1939. He also acquired some territory in East Africa and near Libya through negotiations with England and France. He conquered Abyssinia in 1936, which sounded a death knell of the League of Nations.
3. **Led to Second World War:** Mussolini joined the Anti-Communist Pact of Germany and Japan in 1937. Thus, came into being the Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis. During the Spanish Civil War, Italy helped General Franco. The victory of the General in the Civil War strengthened the position of Italy in the western Mediterranean. Italy was now in the German camp. Subsequently, Italy denounced 1938 the treaty made with France in 1935. Italy was right on the warpath when in May 1939 she concluded a formal military pact with Germany.
4. **Economic Reconstruction of Italy was a Success:** Italian industries and agriculture made great progress under the Fascist regime. He developed hydropower projects and facilitated industries to raise their productions. Automobile industries made rapid advances. Means of communication were also improved. Railways were modernized. Marine and merchant navy were developed with more induction of

ships. The armed forces of Italy were also modernized with more weapons and ammunition. Mussolini was quite successful in striving to home the majesty, might, and military glory of ancient Rome into the minds of Italians.

NOTES



### Fascist Doctrine

Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) was the chief exponent of the fascist doctrine and was a disciple of Hegel as well as a great admirer of Benito Mussolini. He had described the core elements of his philosophy as anti-intellectualism; the total submission to authority; and contempt for reason. He believed that there was no contradiction between the individual and the state and that “a maximum of liberty coincides with the maximum force of the state.” Gentile became the official philosopher of fascism and described it “as a total conception of life.” He further explained in 1928 that Fascism was not a philosophical system but a plan of action. Mussolini claimed that the Fascist state was to create a new socio-economic and political system as all other forms of liberal, democratic, and socialist or communist systems were defective. It advocated strongly the duties of citizens rather than their rights. Fascists were opposed to democracy, liberalism and all forms of socialism, be it revolutionary or evolutionary. Democracy was decried as stupid, corrupt, slow-moving and the worst form of government—‘a decaying corpse’. Parliament was ridiculed as a useless talking shop. He rejected the Marxist’s advocacy that everything in life was determined by economic factors and went on to say “economic well-being would reduce man to the level of animals.” Fascists also rejected the idea of class war and stood for cooperation between all sectors of society for the glory of the state. Fascism was based on narrow and extreme nationalism. Total commitment to the state was the utmost duty of citizens. Fascism was also opposed to international peace and harmony and advocated war as a national policy, as it alone provides an opportunity to demonstrate the strength of the nation. He said, “War is to man what maternity is to women.” Hence, territorial expansionism was the avowed policy of fascism.

### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When has Mussolini joined the anti-communist pact between Germany and Japan?
2. Write any two Causes for the Rise of Fascism in Italy.
3. How strong was the Soviet Union?
4. What do you mean by a prisoner of the Mediterranean?
5. What are the aims of Soviet Foreign Policy?

### RISE OF HITLER AND THE NAZI PARTY

“Periods of collapse are marked by the predominant activity of the worst elements”, writes Adolf Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). It was exactly under these circumstances that his party arose in Germany. Several parties and their factions emerged on the ruins of the German Empire, each with a strong will to capture power. The communists tried to achieve this end by revolutionary methods. The reactionary elements took advantage of the failure of the Weimar Republic and stirred up hostile propaganda against the Socialists. In their bid to capture power they blamed the Socialists, Catholics, and the Jews who they

## NOTES



said had “stabbed Germany in the back” during the War of 1914-18. This propaganda became very effective for the millions of middle-class Germans who were on the verge of becoming paupers on account of the economic crisis (1921-23).

They began to join the ranks of the National Socialists. These National Socialists were being backed by the landed aristocracy of Germany which were aghast at the instance of ever-expanding socialists. Adolf Hitler, the leader of the National Socialists, tried to capture power in 1923 by coup d’etat but failed. Hitler was arrested and jailed, and his party was proscribed and dissolved. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote the *Mein Kampf*, which was published in 1926. Adolf Hitler: Born in 1889, he was an Austrian and had joined the German army and had fought in the trenches on the ‘Western Front’ as an ordinary soldier. Hitler joined a group organized by Anton Drexler, which started the Nazi movement. Hitler was an influential member of the group which told the German people that Germany was not defeated in the war but was let down. This group infused a new spirit among the Germans and made the Nazi movement revolutionary and militant. Hitler said, “What we have to fight for is security, for our race and our nation, nourishment of its children and purity of its blood, freedom, and independence for the Fatherland.” He appealed to the tender sentiments of the Germans and told them that “the German Reich, as a State, should include all Germans.” He declared the aim of National Socialists must be to secure for the German people an extension of the space in which our people must live. He had major hatred for France which he considered an eternal and mortal enemy of the German nation. He denounced the Treaty of Versailles and advocated for its revision.

The Nazi Party: The National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NAZIs) assumed an aggressive role from 1926 and its following began to rise readily. The unemployed workers and poverty-stricken middle-class Germans were greatly affected by the hypnotic orations of the party leader and they were won over to the party by its promises of future greatness for Germany. Consequently, in the national elections of 1930, the National Socialists won 107 seats in the Reichstag which had a total strength of 576 seats. An elated Hitler burst with the words: “Heads will roll in this struggle.” Hitler contested the Presidency in 1932 against the grand old man, Hindenburg, and secured 37 percent of the German votes. Though he lost the election it convinced him that he was the man of the future in Germany. The Reichstag elections of 1932 gave him 230 seats out of a total of 608 and emerged as the single largest party. The Government ordered re-elections in which National Socialists won 196 seats in a House of 584. Though their votes and strength were reduced yet they remained the single largest party. Hitler was now invited by the President to become the Chancellor; when Hitler demanded powers to rule the country without the help of Parliament, it was denied to him. Hitler ultimately formed a coalition Government in January 1933. He soon ordered new elections to the Reichstag. The Reichstag building was put on fire on the eve of elections by some miscreants. Hitler blamed it on the Communists and pressurized the President to sign a declaration of Emergency. The constitution along with fundamental and all other relevant rights was suspended. He then let loose his storm troops on his political opponents. The Communist Party was declared illegal and banned along with many other parties. The reign of terror was organized by Hitler and the Nationalists. When

President Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler combined the office of the President with that of the Chancellor and himself became the Fuehrer (Leader) of Germany.

NOTES



### Causes of the Rise of Nazism

Following were the main causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany:

1. The war and the Peace Settlement left Germany disillusioned and crushed spiritually and materially.
2. The continuing hostile attitude of France, the quarrels over the Ruhr, the Rhineland occupation, the Saar, and the reparation it was made to pay.
3. The ceaseless wrangling over security and disarmament, all fed the indignation and anger of many Germans.
4. The Republic's acceptance of unfair disabilities, its policy of reconciliation, and its inability to assert itself more strongly in international affairs rankled in the hearts of many Germans.
5. During the period of temporary economic revival (1924 to 1929) these factors remained in the background.

It required a few years of hard times and increasing unemployment to bring them out in full force. These circumstances were capitalized by the Nazis through propaganda methods, oratory, posters, banners, songs, uniforms, ceremonies, rituals, discipline, historic traditions, theories of racial superiority of Germans, anti-Semitism, enthusiasm, the dynamic personality of Hitler, etc. were the major points of attractions for millions of Germans. Germans were strongly convinced that they needed a 'strong man who would restore the peace, prestige, and prosperity of Germany.

### Impact of Nazism

The impact of the Nazi rule was direct and severe on the people of Germany, indirect and yet paralyzing on Europe and the rest of the world. The Nazis adopted unscrupulous, ruthless, and terrorist methods – all in the garb of serving the nation and racial superiority of the German race. They had no regard for life and property. They had no political morals and adopted incendiary methods for the growth of their party. Terrorization was writ large which presented a sort of miniature civil war within Germany. People had only to join the party and that prosperity would be theirs. Such were the themes of the Hitlerite propaganda. Nazi adopted a twenty-five-point program with a major focus on forming a 'Greater Germany' by the union of all Germans in a single State.

1. **Germany becomes a Totalitarian State:** Hitler decided to crush all opposition Rise of Fascism and Nazism after assuming supreme powers both within and outside his party. Like the Fascist state of Italy and the Soviet State of Russia, Germany under Hitler became a totalitarian state.

Hitler declared in one of his first decrees: "There is only one political party in Germany, and that is the Nationalist Socialist Workers' Party. Trade Unions of the Communists and Socialists were dissolved, their offices were sealed and funds were confiscated. Criticisms of government in any form and on any forum were not to be tolerated. Reichstag meetings were just to applaud the Fuehrer. Hitler's will was



the will of the party and that of the nation. Hitler became dictator and proceeded to direct Germany's 'national resurgence' in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country. The Gestapo or the German Secret Police Service wiped out of existence all opposition to the Fuehrer. Individual liberty of any kind ceased to exist. Newspapers were either Nazified or abolished.

2. **Practicing Nihilism:** Reason is Impotent. Values are baseless. Morals are invented. Nihilism can be described as the idea that life, or the world, has no distinct meaning or purpose. There is no objective order or structure in the world except what we give it. Nihilism came out clearly in the terror and the murder of the innocents, the concentration camps, and the gas chambers. Nihilism was the essence of the Nazi process which manifested itself through the organized killings of millions of people by destroying the individual as a moral being. The purpose of Nazi nihilism was "to transfer a human being into a non-human and to restrict the quality of being human to those who were acceptable to the Nazi rulers."
3. **Rearmament of Germany:** Germany began rearming itself. Heavy armaments, particularly armored cars, tanks, and airplanes began to be made in huge quantities. Herman Goering, a close associate of Hitler and an ace pilot, was appointed the commander of the German Air Force. Nazis adopted the slogan "Guns not Butter". Compulsory military training was introduced in Germany in 1935 and Hitler blatantly repudiated the provisions of the Peace Settlement which placed limitations on its arms. Nazis were proceeding on the path of war to wash away the stains of humiliation and tear up the Treaty of Versailles.
4. **Racism and anti-Semitism:** Nazi racism and antisemitism are traced to the teachings of Rosenberg, who held the superiority of the Nordic race as responsible for the great cultures of Greece and Rome in ancient times. The decline of the German race was advocated on account of its intermingling with inferior races. The Jews were held primarily responsible for decadence and looked upon as the chief conspirators against Nordic purity. Hitler had also believed in such ideas as 'Lebensraum', living space for a nation. No nation could be strong unless its land was fertile and the peasantry contented. Hitler had classified people as 'culture-creators', 'culture-bearers', and 'culture-destroyers'. The Aryans were the culture-creators which included the Germans, the Dutch, and the British. Hitler regarded the Jews as enemies of the Aryan's supremacy since they were an embodiment of 'culture decadence' a gang of international bankers more interested in money and profits than the well-being of the German people.
6. **Schools became Propaganda machines:** The purpose of Nazi education was to shape young minds into good Nazis. Therefore, schools were transformed into propaganda machines. The school curriculum was rearranged to include subjects like race studies and genetics. Books that were not supposed to be read by good Nazis were burnt publicly. Liberal writers were black-listed and forced to stop writing. Thus, the thinking and writing too were controlled.
7. **Economic Growth:** When Hitler assumed power in 1934 there was an improvement in the economic situation and the credit for the 'economic miracle' was claimed by Hitler. Hitler began a series of four-year plans and centralization of industries in

the hands of corporations such as Krupps, to establish control over the economy. Owing to massive rearmament plans after 1935 Germany's economy was geared up and there was a boom in the heavy industry providing ample employment opportunities to Germans. Consequently, workers were willingly parting with their freedom and liberty and the labor unions lost their independence by becoming the Front organization of the Nazi party in exchange for employment and social security. Almost all stakeholders in the process of economic reconstruction lent their support to the Nazi party.

8. **Expansion of Germany:** The influence of Nazism was not limited to Germany only but its expansionist policy affected many other countries. It led to the denial of basic human equality and persecution of the Jews. Its expansionist military policy of Hitler led to military conscription in 1935, the militarization of Rhineland in 1936, the annexation of Austria in 1938, of Czechoslovakia in 1939, and the beginning of the Second World War by the invasion of Poland in September 1939. France was vanquished in 1940. The Nazis, while in possession of large parts of Europe, attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, and declared war on the United States of America in December 1941.
9. **Nazi Doctrine:** Nazism was greatly influenced by the teachings of Nietzsche, Hegel, and Rosenberg. Hegel gave the ideas of extreme militarism and narrow nationalism. Nietzsche's nihilism rejected the western ideas of morality and dignity of men, the consequences of which have been discussed above. First was their method of ruthless attack on opponents. The second was for repudiation and abrogation of the hated 'Treaty of Versailles' and St. Germain. The third was for the restoration of the German colonies to maintain the German people and provide a settlement for their surplus population. Fourthly, it also stood for a strong central authority and a national army. Fifthly, they wanted to abolish all unearned incomes. They pretended to give all things to all Germans.

#### 4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Both the rise of Fascism and Nazism were temporary phenomena but had devastating and some lasting impacts. Both emerged on the international horizon during the inter-war period. Both took the entire Europe in their strides resorting to authoritarianism and leading to the Second World War. They deified the nation; thought of the nation as a living being whose purpose was supreme to the purpose and well-being of an individual. More important than rights are the duties that individuals owe to the nation. A muscular and militaristic nationalism, preparedness for war for territorial expansion, innate belief in racism and doctrine of racial superiority, and hatred and destruction of the 'other' (Jews in the case of Nazi Germany) were the hallmarks of both fascism and Nazism. The end of the Second World War was the final death nail in their coffins. The World heaved a sigh of relief, "Never Again". How can we assess the success or failure of Soviet foreign policy between the wars? If the overriding aim of the Soviet leadership had been to avoid being attacked, then it had failed disastrously by June 1941. But to a large extent, much of the maneuvering of the Narkomindel throughout the entire interwar period had been from a position of weakness. The USSR was rarely able to influence world events and indeed was







often simply ignored at key moments, while being seen as useful at other times. It is true that the Soviet Union derived real benefits from its economic relationship with Germany throughout the period and that the secret military links had been valuable. The non-aggression pact with Hitler had also given Stalin a chance to expand his borders, but it was invariably Germany who called the tune. Perhaps this alliance had given Stalin a breathing space, but one is entitled to ask whether the time gained was used fully. Paradoxically, it was Stalin who must take the responsibility both for the disaster which almost overwhelmed the USSR in 1941 and for the ultimate victory which could not have been won without the industrial base created in the 1930s. For Stalin the lesson was clear. The Soviet Union had to be economically and militarily strong before it could either survive or play any significant role in world affairs.

#### 4.6 REVIEW QUESTIONS

##### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What conditions in post-war Italy favored the rise of fascism?
2. What were the main elements of fascist philosophy?
3. What were the conditions which led to the rise of Nazism?
4. Explain Fascist Doctrine.
5. Schools became Propaganda machines elaborate.

##### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Socio-economic conditions of Italy Causes for the Rise of Fascism in Italy. Elaborate.
2. What are the Causes of the Rise of Nazism?
3. What is the Impact of Nazism?
4. Explain the formation of the Nazi party.
5. Fascists were opposed to democracy, liberalism, and all forms of socialism. Explain.

#### 4.7 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Giacomo Matteotti, the socialist leader was killed mysteriously. He abolished the Chamber of Deputies in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. 1929
  - b. 1919
  - c. 1920
  - d. 1915
2. USSR stands for:
  - a. Union social Soviet republics
  - b. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
  - c. United states of soviet republics
  - d. None of the above

3. **It led to the denial of basic human equality and persecution of the Jews:**
  - a. Schools became Propaganda machines
  - b. Economic Growth
  - c. Expansion of Germany
  - d. Nazi Doctrine
4. **“To transfer a human being into a non-human and to restrict the quality of being human to those who were acceptable to the Nazi rulers:”**
  - a. Germany becomes a Totalitarian State
  - b. Practicing Nihilism
  - c. Rearmament of Germany
  - d. Racism and anti-Semitism
5. **They needed a ‘strong man who would restore the peace, prestige, and prosperity of\_\_\_\_\_.**
  - a. The U.S
  - b. Italy
  - c. Germany
  - d. All of the above
6. **The armed forces of \_\_\_\_\_were also modernized with more weapons and ammunition.**
  - a. Italy
  - b. German
  - c. Spain
  - d. U.S
7. **Mussolini joined Hitler and entered the war in \_\_\_\_\_.**
  - a. 1941
  - b. 1929
  - c. 1945
  - d. 1940
8. **The purpose of Nazi education was to shape young minds into good Nazis:**
  - a. Economic Growth
  - b. Schools became Propaganda machines
  - c. Expansion of Germany
  - d. Nazi Doctrine
9. **When Hitler assumed power in \_\_\_\_\_ there was an improvement in the economic situation and the credit for the ‘economic miracle’ was claimed by Hitler.**
  - a. 1932
  - b. 1936
  - c. 1934
  - d. 1930

NOTES



NOTES



10. The USSR had won the battle around Lake Khasan in \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. 1938
  - b. 1937
  - c. 1945
  - d. 1934

◆◆◆◆

# MILITARISM IN JAPAN AND SECOND WORLD WAR

---

## STRUCTURE

- 5.1 Learning Objective
- 5.2 Militarism In Japan
- 5.3 The Spanish Civil War
- 5.4 The Policy of Appeasement
- 5.5 The Munich Pact and Its Consequences
- 5.6 World War II- Its Origin, Nature, and Consequences
- 5.7 Chapter Summary
- 5.8 Review Questions
- 5.9 Multiple Choice Questions



## 5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

---

After learning this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the Militarism in Japan.
- Understand the Spanish civil war.
- Understand the Munich pact and its effects were a policy of appeasement and its impact.
- Understand the Origins, nature, and results of the Second World War.

## 5.2 MILITARISM IN JAPAN

---

### The Rise of Militarism

As the Japanese government became more conservative, the military gained increased influence over the country and its civilian rulers. Japan moved toward a policy of militarism, and the liberalism of the early 1920s gave way to increasingly authoritarian rule. The structure of the Japanese government, with its roots in tradition, helped encourage military influence. The Japanese government was set up as an oligarchy, in which power was in practice shared by an emperor, his unelected advisors, a prime minister, and military leaders. Among these military leaders were cabinet ministers for the army and the navy, who could consult with the emperor directly rather than reporting to the prime minister. This practice, in some cases, lets the military set government policy without the knowledge or approval of the prime minister. Members of the government had close ties to the zaibatsu – the huge corporations that ran most of Japan’s industry and business. Zaibatsu families were often active in politics and regularly contributed large sums to political leaders. In the 1930s, these business leaders also generally agreed with the policies of military leaders and often worked to increase the power of the latter.

Economic problems in the late 1920s also brought the country closer to military rule. A financial panic gripped the nation in 1927, followed by a depression in 1929. By 1930, one million Japanese were out of work. Many of them returned to their home villages, only to face famine as crops failed. Many Japanese threw their support behind the military because military leaders made clear their sympathy for suffering peasants and because military ideas for territorial expansion seemed to offer a solution to economic problems.

**Changes in foreign policy.** While military leaders gained more power within Japan, increasing discrimination against Asians by Western nations in the 1920s fed the fires of militarism and turned the Japanese away from international cooperation. For instance, the United States Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924, which forbade Japanese immigration to the United States. After the worldwide depression began in 1929, the Japanese lost Western markets for silk and other goods, as many nations imposed high tariffs to protect their industries. In the face of such policies, the Japanese felt less obligation to cooperate internationally. Expansionist and militarist groups inside and outside of government began to have stronger voices. If the Japanese could not emigrate and if other nations’ tariffs limited Japanese export income, they said, then the nation had only one alternative: territorial expansion.

### The Seizure of Manchuria

Those in Japan who favored territorial expansion looked first to Manchuria, a province of northern China. Manchuria had mineral resources Japan lacked, as well as rich farmland and new markets for Japanese products. In September 1931, a group of Japanese officers stationed in a part of Manchuria under lease to Japan blew up a section of railroad near the city of Mukden, then blamed the act on troops of the Chinese warlord who controlled the area. Using this “Mukden Incident” as an excuse, the Japanese officers directed their soldiers to attack the warlord’s army and “restore order.” Japanese forces quickly took over much of Manchuria. When the League of Nations condemned Japan’s seizure of Manchuria, Japan withdrew from the organization. Within Japan, extreme nationalists began to call moderate leaders who disapproved of the army’s action “enemies of the state.” In 1932, these nationalists began a campaign of terror at home. Moderate political and business leaders were wounded or killed. Press censorship was imposed. Socialists and Communists were suppressed. Political unrest and violence at home caused even more Japanese to support strong military rule, while protests from other countries increased nationalist fervor. Military leaders quickly gained effective control over the government, setting up an authoritarian rule. Although the government was neither fascist nor fully totalitarian, its leaders expected citizens to commit themselves to the state.

Meanwhile, expansionism seemed to pay off economically. The production of arms for military expansion and an increase in the production of export materials helped bring Japan out of depression and put people back to work. To many Japanese, nationalism took on an almost spiritual quality. Radical nationalists believed the use of force was necessary to return Japan to its former glory. “Heaven,” they said, had “chosen Japan as a champion of the East.”

### History in Focus

During the 1920s and 1930s, forms of totalitarian rule arose in four separate nations with very different histories, cultures, and circumstances. The root causes of totalitarian rule, therefore, seem to lie not in these individual nations, but worldwide forces. Industrialized nations all over the globe were subject to the same forces of social conflict, economic crisis, and political instability. Democracy in nations such as the United States and Great Britain survived only because of the strength of their democratic traditions. Where totalitarianism did take root, it was not brought on singlehandedly by unusually strong, evil leaders, nor by the characteristics of a particular culture or people. The complete domination of individuals by powerful states would not have been possible without the development of mass communications technology, without the international rivalry caused by imperialist expansion, and without the social conflict caused by both industrialization and rapid social change. Totalitarian rule arose in nations most dissatisfied with the results of World War I, and where governments were least successful in dealing with the pressures and strains that followed the war. In Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan, those who preached the destruction of their nations’ unsuccessful governments rose to power. These leaders’ methods of dealing with internal and global crises gained their support; however, they would bring the world to the point of violent confrontation once again.

NOTES





### 5.3 THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

**Spanish Civil War**, (1936–39), was a military revolt against the Republican government of Spain, supported by conservative elements within the country. When an initial military coup failed to win control of the entire country, a bloody civil war ensued, fought with great ferocity on both sides. The Nationalists, as the rebels were called, received aid from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The Republicans received aid from the Soviet Union as well as from the International Brigades, composed of volunteers from Europe and the United States.

The war was an outcome of a polarization of Spanish life and politics that had developed over previous decades. On one side, the Nationalists, were most Roman Catholics, important elements of the military, most landowners, and many businessmen. On the other side, the Republicans, were urban workers, most agricultural laborers, and many of the educated middle class. Politically, their differences often found extreme and vehement expression in parties such as the Fascist-oriented Falange and the militant anarchists. Between these extremes were other groups covering the political spectrum from monarchism and conservatism through liberalism to socialism, including a small communist movement divided among followers of the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and his archrival, Leon Trotsky. In 1934 there was widespread labor conflict and a bloody uprising by miners in Asturias that was suppressed by troops led by General Francisco Franco. A succession of governmental crises culminated in the elections of February 16, 1936, which brought to power a Popular Front government supported by most of the parties of the left and opposed by the parties of the right and what remained of the center.

A well-planned military uprising began on July 17, 1936, in garrison towns throughout Spain. By July 21 the rebels had achieved control in Spanish Morocco, the Canary Islands, and the Balearic Islands (except Minorca) and the part of Spain north of the Guadarrama mountains and the Ebro River, except for Asturias, Santander, and the Basque provinces along the north coast and the region of Catalonia in the northeast. The Republican forces had put down the uprising in other areas, except for some of the larger Andalusian cities, including Sevilla (Seville), Granada, and Córdoba. The Nationalists and Republicans proceeded to organize their respective territories and repress opposition or suspected opposition. Republican violence occurred primarily during the early stages of the war before the rule of law was restored, but the Nationalist violence was part of a conscious policy of terror. The matter of how many were killed remains highly contentious; however, it is generally believed that the toll of Nationalist violence was higher. In any event, the proliferation of executions, murders, and assassinations on both sides reflects the great passions that the Civil War unleashed.



*Picture: Spanish Civil War Republican troops manning a machine gun during the Spanish Civil War, 1937.*

NOTES 

The captaincy of the Nationalists was gradually assumed by General Franco, leading forces he had brought from Morocco. On October 1, 1936, he was named head of state and set up a government in Burgos. The Republican government, beginning in September 1936, was headed by the socialist leader Francisco Largo Caballero. He was followed in May 1937 by Juan Negrín, also a socialist, who remained premier throughout the remainder of the war and served as premier in exile until 1945. The president of the Spanish Republic until nearly the end of the war was Manuel Azaña, an anticlerical liberal. Internecine conflict compromised the Republican effort from the outset. On one side were the anarchists and militant socialists, who viewed the war as a revolutionary struggle and spearheaded widespread collectivization of agriculture, industry, and services; on the other were the more moderate socialists and republicans, whose objective was the preservation of the Republic. Seeking allies against the threat of Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union had embraced a Popular Front strategy, and, as a result, the Comintern directed Spanish communists to support the Republicans.

Both the Nationalist and Republican sides, seeing themselves as too weak to win a quick victory, turned abroad for help. Germany and Italy sent troops, tanks, and planes to aid the Nationalists. The Soviet Union contributed equipment and supplies to the Republicans, who also received help from the Mexican government. During the first weeks of the war, the Popular Front government of France also supported the Republicans, but internal opposition forced a change of policy. In August 1936, France joined Britain, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy in signing a non-intervention agreement that would be ignored by the Germans, Italians, and Soviets. About 40,000 foreigners fought on the Republican side in the International Brigades largely under the command of the Comintern, and 20,000 others served in medical or auxiliary units.

*MILITARISM IN  
JAPAN AND SECOND  
WORLD WAR*





*Picture: Spanish Civil War Gen. Francisco Franco's troops in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War, the late 1930s.*

By November 1936 the Nationalists had advanced to the outskirts of Madrid. They laid siege to it but were unable to get beyond the University City area. They captured the Basque northern provinces in the summer of 1937 and then Asturias so that by October they held the whole northern coast. A war of attrition began. The Nationalists drove a salient eastward through Teruel, reaching the Mediterranean and splitting the republic in two in April 1938. In December 1938 they moved upon Catalonia in the northeast, forcing the Republican army's there northward toward France. By February 1939, 250,000 Republican soldiers, together with an equal number of civilians, had fled across the border into France. On March 5 the Republican government fled to exile in France. On March 7 a civil war broke out in Madrid between communist and anti-Communist factions. By March 28 all of the Republican armies had begun to disband and surrender, and Nationalist forces entered Madrid on that day.



*Picture: Spanish Civil War A Mexican auxiliary battalion (fighting on the Republican side) marching through Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War, the late 1930s.*

The number of persons killed in the Spanish Civil War can be only roughly estimated. Nationalist forces put the figure at 1,000,000, including not only those killed in battle but also the victims of bombardment, execution, and assassination. More recent estimates have been closer to 500,000 or less. This does not include all those who died from malnutrition, starvation, and war-engendered disease.

NOTES



*Picture: Spanish Civil War Spanish Nationalists in position along the rugged Huesca front in northern Spain during the Spanish Civil War, December 23, 1936.*



*Picture: Spanish War Spanish Republicans, abandoned by the democracies and relying on aid from the communists, carried on a losing struggle against fascism. From *The Second World War: Prelude to Conflict* (1963)*

The political and emotional reverberations of the war far transcended those of a national conflict, for many in other countries, saw the Spanish Civil War as part of an international conflict depending on their point of view tyranny and democracy, fascism, and freedom,

*MILITARISM IN  
JAPAN AND SECOND  
WORLD WAR*

## NOTES



or communism and civilization. For Germany and Italy, Spain was a testing ground for new methods of tank and air warfare. For Britain and France, the conflict represented a new threat to the international equilibrium that they were struggling to preserve, which in 1939 collapsed into World War II. The war also mobilized many artists and intellectuals to take up arms. Among the most notable artistic responses to the war were the novels *Man's Hope* (1938) by André Malraux, *Adventures of a Young Man* (1939) by John Dos Passos, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) by Ernest Hemingway; George Orwell's memoir *Homage to Catalonia* (1938); Pablo Picasso's painting *Guernica* (1937); and Robert Capa's photograph *Death of a Loyalist Soldier, Spain* (1936).

## 5.4 THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

Appeasement is the foreign policy tactic of offering specific concessions to an aggressor nation to prevent war. An example of appeasement is the infamous 1938 Munich Agreement, in which Great Britain sought to avoid war with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy by taking no action to prevent Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 or Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938.

As the term itself implies, appeasement is a diplomatic attempt to "appease" an aggressor nation by agreeing to some of its demands. Usually viewed as a policy of offering substantial concessions to more powerful dictatorial totalitarian and fascist governments, the wisdom and effectiveness of appeasement have been a source of debate since it failed to prevent World War II.

### Pros and Cons

In the early 1930s, the lingering trauma of World War I cast appeasement in a positive light as a useful peacekeeping policy. Indeed, it seemed a logical means of satisfying the demand for isolationism, prevalent in the U.S. until World War II. However, since the failure of the 1938 Munich Agreement, the cons of appeasement have outnumbered its pros.

While appeasement has the potential to prevent war, history has shown it rarely does so. Similarly, while it can reduce the effects of aggression, it can encourage further, even more-devastating aggression- as per the old "Give them an inch and they'll take a mile," idiom.

Though appeasement might "buy time," allowing a nation to prepare for war, it also gives aggressor nations time to grow even stronger. Finally, appeasement is often viewed as an act of cowardice by the public and taken as a sign of military weakness by the aggressor nation.

While some historians condemned appeasement for allowing Hitler's Germany to grow too powerful, others praised it for creating a "postponement" that allowed Britain to prepare for war. While it seemed a reasonable tactic for Britain and France, appeasement endangered many smaller European nations in Hitler's path. The delays of the appeasement are thought to be at least partially to blame for allowing pre-World War II atrocities such as the 1937 Rape of Nanking and the Holocaust. In retrospect, the lack of resistance from the appeasing nations enabled the rapid growth of Germany's military machine.

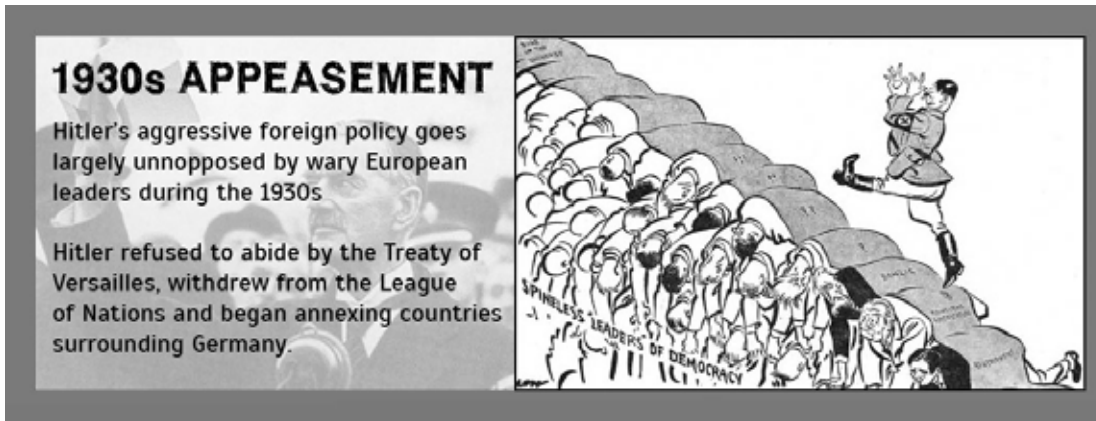
### Japanese Invasion of Manchuria

In September 1931, Japan, despite being a member of the League of Nations, invaded Manchuria in northeast China. In response, the League and the U.S. asked both Japan

and China to withdraw from Manchuria to allow for a peaceful settlement. The U.S. reminded both nations of their obligation under the 1929 Kellogg–Briand Pact to settle their differences peacefully. Japan, however, rejected all offers of appeasement and went on to invade and occupy the whole of Manchuria.

In the aftermath, the League of Nations condemned Japan, resulting in Japan’s eventual resignation from the League. Neither the League nor the United States took any further action as Japan’s military continued to advance into China. Today, many historians assert that this lack of opposition encouraged European aggressors to undertake similar invasions.

NOTES



### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When was the military uprising began?
2. Between whom on March 7 a civil war broke out?
3. Explain the seizure of Manchuria.
4. When was the republican government begin and by whom was that headed?
5. When and why did France join Britain, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy?

## 5.5 THE MUNICH PACT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Munich Agreement, (September 30, 1938), was a settlement reached by Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy that permitted German annexation of the Sudetenland, in western Czechoslovakia.

After his success in absorbing Austria into Germany proper in March 1938, Adolf Hitler looked covetously at Czechoslovakia, where about three million people in the Sudetenland were of German origin. In April he discussed with Wilhelm Keitel, the head of the German Armed Forces High Command, the political and military aspects of “Case Green,” the code name for the envisaged takeover of the Sudetenland. A surprise onslaught “out of a clear sky without any cause or possibility of justification” was rejected because the result would have been “a hostile world opinion which could lead to a critical situation.” Decisive action therefore would take place only after a period of political agitation by the Germans inside Czechoslovakia accompanied by diplomatic squabbling which, as it grew more serious, would either itself build up an excuse for war or produce the occasion for a lightning offensive after some “incident” of German creation. Moreover, disruptive political activities

*MILITARISM IN  
JAPAN AND SECOND  
WORLD WAR*

NOTES 

inside Czechoslovakia had been underway since as early as October 1933, when Konrad Henlein founded the Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront (Sudeten-German Home Front).



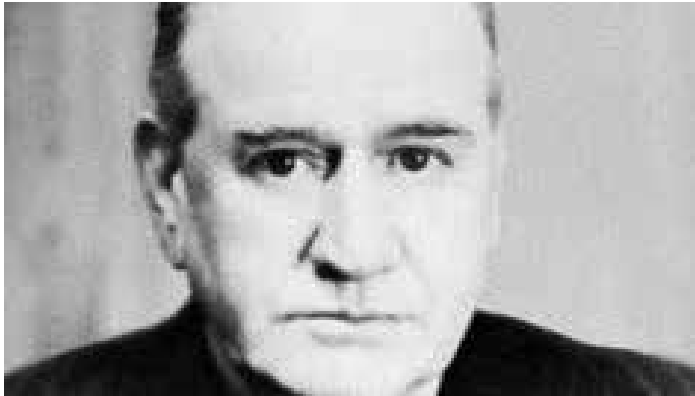
*Picture: Munich Agreement: Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Neville Chamberlain*



*Picture: Sudeten Germans*

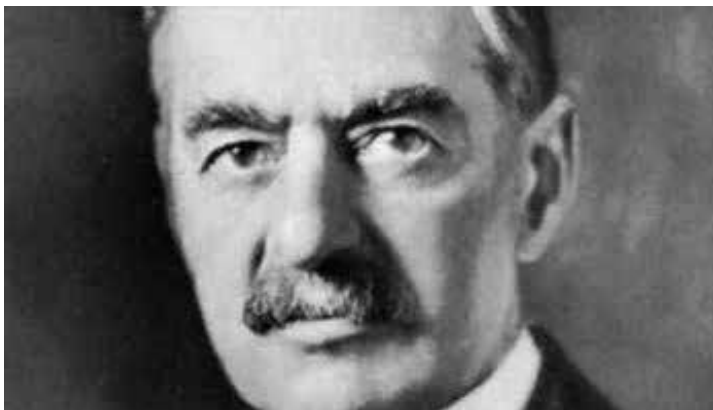
By May 1938 it was known that Hitler and his generals were drawing up a plan for the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovaks were relying on military assistance from France, with which they had an alliance. The Soviet Union also had a treaty with Czechoslovakia, and it indicated a willingness to cooperate with France and Great Britain if they decided to come to Czechoslovakia's defense, but the Soviet Union and its potential

services were ignored throughout the crisis.



*Picture: Édouard Daladier*

As Hitler continued to make inflammatory speeches demanding that Germans in Czechoslovakia be reunited with their homeland, war seemed imminent. Neither France nor Britain felt prepared to defend Czechoslovakia, however, and both were anxious to avoid a military confrontation with Germany at almost any cost. In France, the Popular Front government had come to an end, and on April 8, 1938, Édouard Daladier formed a new cabinet without Socialist participation or Communist support. Four days later *Le Temps*, whose foreign policy was controlled by the Foreign Ministry, published an article by Joseph Barthelemy, professor at the Paris Law Faculty, in which he scrutinized the Franco-Czechoslovak treaty of alliance of 1924 and concluded that France was not under obligation to go to war to save Czechoslovakia. Earlier, on March 22, *The Times* of London had stated in a leading article by its editor, G.G. Dawson, that Great Britain could not undertake war to preserve Czech sovereignty over the Sudeten Germans without first clearly ascertaining the latter's wishes; otherwise, Great Britain "might well be fighting against the principle of self-determination."



*Picture: Neville Chamberlain*

On April 28–29, 1938, Daladier met with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in London to discuss the situation. Chamberlain, unable to see how Hitler could be prevented from destroying Czechoslovakia altogether if such were his intention (which Chamberlain doubted), argued that Prague should be urged to make territorial concessions to Germany.

NOTES 

NOTES 

Both the French and British leadership believed that peace could be saved only by the transfer of the Sudeten German areas from Czechoslovakia.

In mid-September Chamberlain offered to go to Hitler's retreat at Berchtesgaden to discuss the situation personally with the Führer. Hitler agreed to take no military action without further discussion, and Chamberlain agreed to try to persuade his cabinet and the French to accept the results of a plebiscite in the Sudetenland. Daladier and his foreign minister, Georges-Étienne Bonnet, then went to London, where a joint proposal was prepared to stipulate that all areas with a population that was more than 50 percent Sudeten German be turned over to Germany. The Czechoslovaks were not consulted. The Czechoslovak government initially rejected the proposal but was forced to accept it on September 21.

On September 22 Chamberlain again flew to Germany and met Hitler at Bad Godesberg, where he was dismayed to learn that Hitler had stiffened his demands: he now wanted the Sudetenland occupied by the German army and the Czechoslovaks evacuated from the area by September 28. Chamberlain agreed to submit the new proposal to the Czechoslovaks, who rejected it, as did the British cabinet and the French. On the 24th the French ordered a partial mobilization; the Czechoslovaks had ordered a general mobilization one day earlier. Having at that time one of the world's best-equipped armies, Czechoslovakia could mobilize 47 divisions, of which 37 were for the German frontier, and the mostly mountainous line of that frontier was strongly fortified. On the German side the final version of "Case Green," as approved by Hitler on May 30, showed 39 divisions for operations against Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovaks were ready to fight but could not win alone.



*Picture: Godesberg meeting The Dreesen Hotel in Bad Godesberg, Germany, where Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler met on September 22, 1938.*

In a last-minute effort to avoid war, Chamberlain proposed that a four-power conference be convened immediately to settle the dispute. Hitler agreed, and on September 29 Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini met in Munich. The meeting in Munich started shortly before 1 PM. Hitler could not conceal his anger that, instead



of entering the Sudetenland as a liberator at the head of his army on the day fixed by himself, he had to abide by the three Powers' arbitration, and none of his interlocutors dared insist that the two Czech diplomats waiting in a Munich hotel should be admitted to the conference room or consulted on the agenda. Nevertheless, Mussolini introduced a written plan that was accepted by all as the Munich Agreement. (Many years later it was discovered that the so-called Italian plan had been prepared by the German Foreign Office.) It was almost identical to the Godesberg proposal: the German army was to complete the occupation of the Sudetenland by October 10, and an international commission would decide the future of other disputed areas. Czechoslovakia was informed by Britain and France that it could either resist Germany alone or submit to the prescribed annexations. The Czechoslovak government chose to submit.

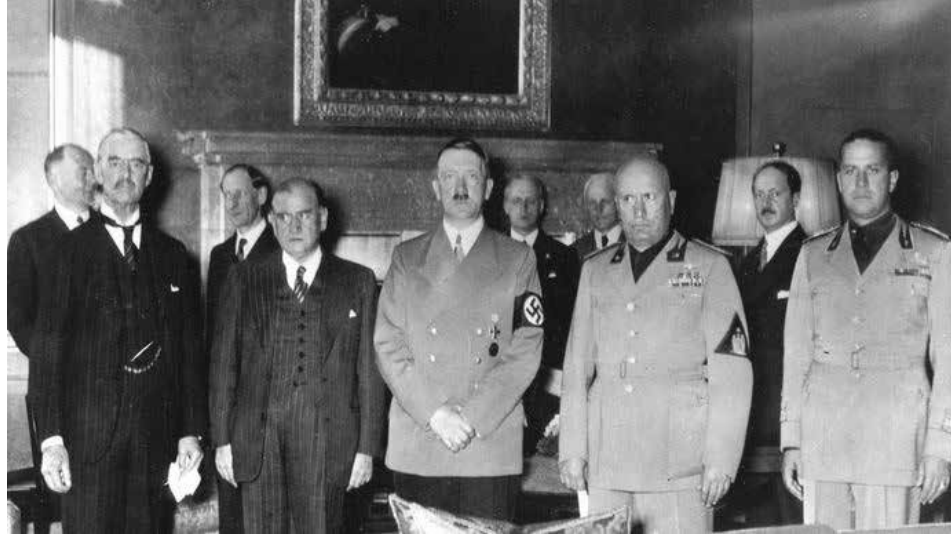


*Picture: Munich Agreement German Chancellor Adolf Hitler (left) and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (third from left) in Munich, Germany, shortly before the signing of the Munich Agreement, 1938.*

Before leaving Munich, Chamberlain and Hitler signed a paper declaring their mutual desire to resolve differences through consultation to assure peace. Both Daladier and Chamberlain returned home to jubilant welcoming crowds relieved that the threat of war had passed, and Chamberlain told the British public that he had achieved “peace with honor. I believe it is peace for our time.” His words were immediately challenged by his greatest critic, Winston Churchill, who declared, “You were given the choice between war and dishonor. You chose dishonor and you will have war.” Indeed, Chamberlain’s policies were discredited the following year, when Hitler annexed the remainder of Czechoslovakia in March and then precipitated World War II by invading Poland in September. The Munich Agreement became a byword for the futility of appeasing expansionist totalitarian states, although it did buy time for the Allies to increase their military preparedness.

NOTES 





*picture 2 Munich Agreement (From left) Neville Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Count Galeazzo Ciano meeting in Munich, September 1938.*

### CONSEQUENCES

On 5 October, Beneš resigned as President of Czechoslovakia since he realized that the fall of Czechoslovakia was inevitable. After the outbreak of World War II, he formed a Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London. On 6 December 1938, the French-German Non-aggression Pact was signed in Paris by French Foreign Minister Bonnet and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

#### 1. First Vienna Award to Hungary



*Picture: Admiral Horthy during the Hungarians' triumphant entry into Košice, November 1938*

In early November 1938, under the First Vienna Award, after the failed negotiations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as a recommendation to settle the territorial



disputes by the appendix of the Munich Agreement, the German-Italian arbitration required Czechoslovakia to cede southern Slovakia to Hungary, and Poland independently gained small territorial cessions shortly afterward (Zaolzie).

Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia lost about 38% of their combined area to Germany, with some 2.8 million German and 513,000 to 750,000 Czech inhabitants. Hungary, in turn, received 11,882 km<sup>2</sup> (4,588 sq mi) in southern Slovakia and southern Carpathian Ruthenia. According to a 1941 census, about 86.5% of the population in the territory was Hungarian. Slovakia lost 10,390 km<sup>2</sup> (4,010 sq mi) and 854,218 inhabitants to Hungary (according to a Czechoslovak 1930 census about 59% were Hungarians and 31.9% were Slovaks and Czechs). Poland annexed the town of Český Těšín with the surrounding area (some 906 km<sup>2</sup> (350 sq mi), with 250,000 inhabitants. Poles made up about 36% of the population, down from 69% in 1910, and two minor border areas in northern Slovakia, more precisely in the regions Spiš and Orava. (226 km<sup>2</sup> (87 sq mi), 4,280 inhabitants, only 0.3% Poles).

Soon after Munich, 115,000 Czechs and 30,000 Germans fled to the rump of Czechoslovakia. According to the Institute for Refugee Assistance, the actual count of refugees on 1 March 1939 stood at almost 150,000.

On 4 December 1938, elections in Reichsgau Sudetenland had 97.32% of the adult population vote for the Nazi Party. About half-a-million Sudeten Germans joined the Nazi Party, 17.34% of the German population in Sudetenland (the average NSDAP participation in Nazi Germany was 7.85%). Thus, the Sudetenland was the most “pro-Nazi” region in Nazi Germany.

Because of their knowledge of Czech, many Sudeten Germans were employed in the administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia as well as in Nazi organizations, such as the Gestapo. The most notable of them was Karl Hermann Frank, SS and Police General and Secretary of State in the Protectorate.

## 2. German invasion of rump Czechoslovakia

In 1937, the Wehrmacht had formulated a plan, “Operation Green” (Fall Grün) for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. It was implemented shortly after the proclamation of the Slovak State on 15 March 1939. On 14 March, Slovakia seceded from Czechoslovakia and became a separate pro-Nazi state. The following day, Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed independence as well, but after three days, it was completely occupied and annexed by Hungary. Czechoslovak President Emil Hácha traveled to Berlin and was left waiting, and orders to invade had already been given. During the meeting with Hitler, Hácha was threatened with the bombing of Prague if he refused to order the Czech troops to lay down their arms. That news induced a heart attack from which he was revived by an injection from Hitler’s doctor. Hácha then agreed to sign the communiqué accepting the German occupation of the remainder of Bohemia and Moravia, “which in its unctuous mendacity was remarkable even for the Nazis”. Churchill’s prediction was fulfilled, as German armies entered Prague and proceeded to occupy the rest of the country, which was transformed into a protectorate of the Reich. In March 1939, Konstantin von Neurath was appointed as Reichsprotektor and served as Hitler’s representative



in the protectorate. Immediately after the occupation, a wave of arrests began, mostly of refugees from Germany, Jews, and Czech public figures. By November, Jewish children had been expelled from their schools and their parents fired from their jobs. Universities and colleges were closed after demonstrations against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Over 1200 students were sent to concentration camps, and nine student leaders were executed on 17 November (International Students' Day).

By seizing Bohemia and Moravia, Nazi Germany gained all of the skilled labor force and heavy industry located there as well as all the weapons of the Czechoslovak Army. During the 1940 Battle of France, roughly 25% of all German weapons came from the protectorate. Nazi Germany also gained all of Czechoslovakia's gold treasure, including gold stored in the Bank of England. Of a total of 227 tons of gold found after the war in salt mines, only 18.4 tons were returned to Czechoslovakia in 1982, but most of it came from Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was also forced to "sell" war material to the Wehrmacht for 648 million of the prewar Czechoslovak koruna, a debt that was never repaid.

Adolf Hitler on his visit to Prague Castle after the establishment of a German protectorate, on 15 March 1939 Chamberlain claimed the Prague annexation was a "completely different category" that moved beyond the legitimate Versailles grievances. Meanwhile, concerns arose in Britain that Poland, which was now encircled by many German possessions, would become the next target of Nazi expansionism. That was made apparent by the dispute over the Polish Corridor and the Free City of Danzig and resulted in the signing of an Anglo-Polish military alliance. That made the Polish government refused to accept German negotiation proposals over the Polish Corridor and the status of Danzig. Chamberlain felt betrayed by the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia, realized that his policy of appeasement towards Hitler had failed and so began to take a much harder line against Germany. He immediately began to mobilize the British armed forces to a war footing, and France did the same. Italy saw itself threatened by the British and French fleets and started its invasion of Albania in April 1939.

### 3. Strengthening of Wehrmacht armaments

Since most of the border defense had been in the territory ceded as a consequence of the Munich Agreement, the rest of Czechoslovakia was entirely open to further invasion despite its relatively-large stockpiles of modern armaments. In a speech delivered in the Reichstag, Hitler expressed the importance of the occupation for strengthening the German military and noted that by occupying Czechoslovakia, Germany gained 2,175 field guns and cannons, 469 tanks, 500 anti-aircraft artillery pieces, 43,000 machine guns, 1,090,000 military rifles, 114,000 pistols, about a billion rounds of small-arms ammunition, and 3 million rounds of anti-aircraft ammunition. That could then arm about half of the Wehrmacht. Czechoslovak weapons later played a major role in the German conquest of Poland and France, the last of which country had urged Czechoslovakia into surrendering the Sudetenland in 1938.

#### 4. Birth of German resistance in the military

Italy strongly supported Germany at Munich, and a few weeks later, in October 1938, tried to use its advantage to make new demands on France. Mussolini demanded a free port at Djibouti, control of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad, Italian participation in the management of the Suez Canal Company, and some form of French-Italian condominium over Tunisia and the preservation of Italian culture in French-held Corsica with no French assimilation of the people. France rejected those demands and began threatening naval maneuvers as a warning to Italy.

NOTES



## 5.6 WORLD WAR II- ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND CONSEQUENCES

### ORIGINS

Historians consider the First and Second World Wars part of the same struggle. First World War left all the European states desperate for security. Yet international conflicts persisted throughout the early 1920s. After a compromise on reparation between France and Germany in 1924, the European states entered into a period of improved relations that lasted for a decade. France and the US proposed that the nations of the world swear not to start wars of aggression. More than twenty states signed such an agreement in September 1928. Eleven years after this treaty, Europe plunged into a war of much greater destruction known as the Greater War. The terrible war happened because of the failure of the system of collective security and the growth of international anarchy. Britain and France had gone to war to defend a threatened ally and to stop the spread of fascism. The Second World War was a war for democracy.

Japan's unexpected victory over czarist Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) left open the door for Japanese expansion in Asia and the Pacific. The United States U.S. Navy first developed plans in preparation for a naval war with Japan in 1890. War Plan Orange, as it was called, would be updated continually as technology advanced and greatly aided the U.S. during World War II.

The years between the first and second world wars were a time of instability. The Great Depression that began on Black Tuesday, 1929 plunged the worldwide recession. Coming to power in 1933, Hitler capitalized on this economic decline and the deep German resentment due to the emasculating Treaty of Versailles, signed following the armistice of 1918. Declaring that Germany needed Lebensraum or "living space," Hitler began to test the Western powers and their willingness to monitor the treaty's provision. By 1935 Hitler had established the Luftwaffe, a direct violation of the 1919 treaty. Remilitarizing the Rhineland in 1936 violated Versailles and the Locarno Treaties (which defined the borders of Europe) once again. The Anschluss of Austria and the annexation of the rump of Czechoslovakia were a further extension of Hitler's desire for Lebensraum. Italy's desire to create the Third Rome pushed the nation to closer ties with Nazi Germany. Likewise, Japan, angered by their exclusion in Paris in 1919, sought to create a Pan-Asian sphere with Japan to create a self-sufficient state.

NOTES 

Competing ideologies further fanned the flames of international tension. The Bolshevik Revolution in czarist Russia during the First World War, followed by the Russian Civil War, had established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), a sprawling communist state. Western republics and capitalists feared the spread of Bolshevism. In some nations, such as Italy, Germany, and Romania, ultra-conservative groups rose to power, in part in reaction to communism.

Germany, Italy, and Japan signed agreements of mutual support but, unlike the Allied nations they would face, they never developed a comprehensive or coordinated plan of action.

### NATURE OF WORLD WAR II

Seventy-five years ago, in late summer 1943, famed war correspondent Ernie Pyle sat above a newly constructed port in Sicily—the island near Italy’s toe that Anglo-American forces had invaded in early July taking in the scene below. Pyle had sailed with Allied troops across the Mediterranean from North Africa.

Before D-day in Normandy eleven months later, the Sicily campaign, Operation Husky, was the largest seaborne invasion in history, involving an astonishing armada of nearly 3,000 ships. “There is no way of conveying the enormous size of that fleet,” wrote Pyle. “On the horizon, it resembled a distant city. It covered half the skyline. Even to be part of it was frightening.”



*Picture: U.S. tanks in Tunisia in July 1943 before Operation Husky.*

Those ships delivered 180,000 soldiers onshore but also 14,000 vehicles, 600 tanks, and 1,800 large guns half of this huge quantity during the attack's first 48 hours. Many landing crafts carried not people but supplies; 20 carried water alone. In subsequent days, other supplies would follow: food, fuel, ammunition, spare parts, medicine, maps, cigarettes, tents, radios and telephones, and much, much more, everything that a modern army needed, and modern armies needed a lot.

“We kept pouring men and machines into Sicily,” Pyle observed, “as though it were a giant hopper.”

American abundance of natural resources and the ability to mobilize and focus them- gave the Allied soldiers, sailors, and airmen a tremendous advantage.



*Picture: An assembly line near Niagara Falls, NY producing fighter planes for the American war effort.*

Watching the mountain of supplies on Sicily's shores grow higher and higher, an idea dawned on Pyle: “Suddenly I realized what all this was. It was America's long-awaited power of production finally rolling into the far places where it had to go.”

That power of production helped win the war. “To a large degree, the improvement in the military situation [in 1943],” historians Robert Coakley and Richard Leighton have written, “as a result of the huge outpouring of munitions from American factories and of ships from American yards.”

NOTES 

World War II was a war of thousands of guns, tanks, and planes a “gross national product war” according to one historian. It was total war mobilization of nearly all human and natural resources.



*Picture: Tanks rolling off a German assembly line in 1943.*

That meant it was also a war that shaped and was shaped by nature. “When we send an expedition to Sicily, where does it begin?” observed President Franklin Roosevelt two weeks into the campaign. “Well, it begins at two places practically. It begins on the farms of this country, and in the mines of this country.”



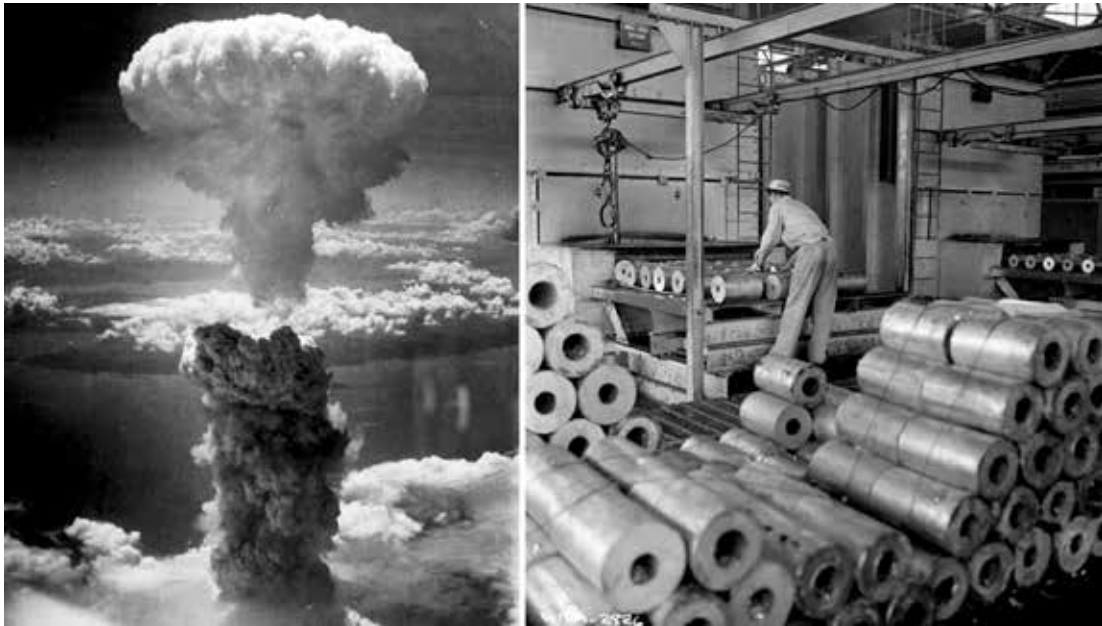
*Picture: President Franklin D. Roosevelt understood the importance of supply lines, and knew that America’s farms and mines were vital to the war effort.*

Wars can be understood in many ways strategically, politically, economically, socially, and personally. But also, environmentally.

In World War II, geography and weather shaped battles, and battles re-made landscapes, often dramatically. The war also remade landscapes far from battlefields through extraction, transport, processing, and pollution, but also new technologies, organizational strategies, and ideas.

“The areas where war is being fought are violently injured,” the conservationist Fairfield Osborn wrote in 1948, “Yet the injury is not local but leaves its mark even in continents far removed from the conflict because of the compelling demand that war creates for forest and agricultural products. These are in truth poured into the furnace of war.”

Fuelling the furnace of war in the mid-1940s reconfigured American relations with the natural world in long-lasting ways.



*Picture: Tanks rolling off a German assembly line in 1943.*

To begin with, great changes flowed from the nation’s vastly expanded productive capacity, which grew by 50% from 1940 to 1945, as well as from the extraction of materials from farms and mines needed to fuel it.

New tools invented or vastly transformed and popularized by the war also reshaped American relations with nature atomic weapons, synthetics like plastic and nylon, new metal alloys such as aluminum, drugs like penicillin, DDT, insecticides, and herbicides, bulldozers (what Pyle called the “magic instruments” of the war), airplane technology including jet engines, sonar, assembly-line house construction, and the first computers. New “machines of wizardry,” David Lilienthal gushed in 1944, spun out “the stuff of a way of life new to this world.”

Combined with vastly expanded production, these new technologies dirtied the nation’s air and water in new ways and on a new scale. Because of skies darkened by smoke, steel towns like Pittsburgh had to turn the lights on during the day. Smog smothered Los Angeles. Michigan’s Willow Run, Seattle’s Boeing Plant 2, and hundreds of other military-industrial

NOTES 



NOTES 

sites spewed the noxious pollutants that would eventually make many of them Superfund Sites.

In 1941, Hooker Chemical, a defense contractor, began dumping the toxic substances into Love Canal that decades later would seep into the basements of unsuspecting families, causing a national scandal.



*Picture: The 1941 dumping of toxic substances into the Love Canal turned into a national scandal in the 1970s after unsuspecting citizens were exposed to its effects.*

Wartime imperatives also created a new military-industrial geography of extraction sites; chemical, munitions, and aviation factories; and hundreds of military bases linked by rail and a new road, shipping, and air systems.

Speed took on new urgency. So did cheap, plentiful energy. Electricity generated by New Deal dams powered new wartime industrial corridors in the Pacific Northwest and Tennessee Valley. Cheap oil and its infrastructure remade the Gulf Coast. In the search for new energy, physicists blazed new trails in America's sub-atomic landscape.



*Picture: Washington state's Grand Coulee Dam, constructed between 1933-and 1942, helped to power new industrial corridors in the Pacific Northwest.*

In the process, the war engineered a military material culture that would shape daily life for decades.

To the extent that we live in northern cities or the Sunbelt, work at defense industries or companies that support them, eat processed food from fertilizer-fed fields (and cover leftovers in saran wrap), smoke cigarettes (subsidized for soldiers), travel by airplane, wear and use petroleum-based clothes and products, use aluminum and a host of alloys, and rely upon antibiotics when we get sick, we are following patterns of life pioneered and popularized during World War II.

New ideas also sprang up.



*Picture: The destruction new technology wrought at Hiroshima and Nagasaki helped fuel a growing skepticism of its uses.*

## NOTES



Depression-era restraint gave way to no-limits optimism. Keynesian ideas of a consumption-driven “growth” economy took root. Guns and butter seemed newly possible. A “can-do” techno-optimism the motto of the Seabees—suggested that no natural hurdle was too high for American “know-how.”

A counter-response also sprouted. Deep skepticism of technology emerged, even before Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ecological views of environmental degradation and resource limits took hold. Awareness of pollution grew. The global conflagration transformed the thinking of Aldo Leopold, William Vogt, Rachel Carson, David Brower, and other architects of the post-war environmental movement.



*Picture: As awareness of pollution grew, so too did the burgeoning environmental movement.*

In sum, the war forged the world we live in not just the political and economic order but also the built environment, material culture, and intellectual topography, not to mention American landscapes near and far. The need to supply Allied troops to create the “might of material” that Ernie Pyle observed arriving in Sicily 75 summers ago spurred many of these changes.

### CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

- **The End of the European Age:** With the end of the Second World War, the European age had come to an end.
- **The rise of the US and the Soviet Union to superpower status:** When the Second World War ended, the US and the Soviet Union emerged as the superpowers, the main challenges of each other’s supremacy and leaders of two different ideologies.

- **The emergence of the Cold War:** As soon as the enemy was defeated, East-West ideological conflict re-emerged. Post-Second World War was different regarding the level of tension.
- **The beginning of the nuclear age:** The Soviet Union developed its nuclear weapon in 1949. Earlier only the US had its monopoly over nuclear powers. Thus, the nuclear age had begun.
- **The rise of nationalism and independence movements in Asia and Africa:** At the end of the Second World War, there occurred a decline in the influence of colonial powers. The two superpowers followed the anti-colonial approach.
- **A renewed effort to secure lasting peace through international organizations:** The United Nations was set up in 1945 to replace the League of Nations as it had failed to maintain peace.

NOTES



## 5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

As the Japanese government became more conservative, the military gained increased influence over the country and its civilian rulers. Japan moved toward a policy of militarism, and the liberalism of the early 1920s gave way to increasingly authoritarian rule. Those in Japan who favored territorial expansion looked first to Manchuria, a province of northern China. During the 1920s and 1930s, forms of totalitarian rule arose in four separate nations with very different histories, cultures, and circumstances. The root causes of totalitarian rule, therefore, seem to lie not in these individual nations, but worldwide forces. Industrialized nations all over the globe were subject to the same forces of social conflict, economic crisis, and political instability. **Spanish Civil War**, (1936–39), was a military revolt against the Republican government of Spain, supported by conservative elements within the country. When an initial military coup failed to win control of the entire country, a bloody civil war ensued, fought with great ferocity on both sides. The Nationalists, as the rebels were called, received aid from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The Republicans received aid from the Soviet Union as well as from the International Brigades, composed of volunteers from Europe and the United States.

## 5.8 REVIEW QUESTIONS

### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. That power of production helped win the war. Explain.
2. In Elections in Reichsgau Sudetenland how much population voted for the Nazi party?
3. Wars can be understood in how many ways?
4. New tools invented or vastly transformed and popularized by the war. Explain.
5. When and why Beneš resigns as president of Czechoslovakia?

### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Elaborate on the Pros and Cons of Appeasement.



2. What are the consequences of World War II?
3. Explain Phase 2: March 1918 to 1921 of the Soviet Union.
4. The Rise of Militarism explain.
5. Write a brief note on the Spanish civil war.

### 5.9 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

---

1. The Great Depression that began on Black Tuesday, \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. 1929
  - b. 1919
  - c. 1939
  - d. 1949
2. "You were given the choice between war and dishonor":
  - a. Daladier
  - b. Chamberlain
  - c. Hitler
  - d. Winston Churchill
3. The Soviet Union developed its nuclear weapon in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. 1939
  - b. 1949
  - c. 1959
  - d. 1999
4. That power of \_\_\_\_\_ helped win the war.
  - a. Agriculture
  - b. Production
  - c. Electricity
  - d. All of the above
5. The United Nations was set up in \_\_\_\_\_ to replace the League of Nations as it had failed to maintain peace.
  - a. 1947
  - b. 1938
  - c. 1945
  - d. 1944
6. Great changes flowed from the nation's vastly expanded productive capacity, which grew by 50% from \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. 1938 to 1945
  - b. 1945 to 1952
  - c. 1940 to 1947
  - d. 1940 to 1945
7. World War II was a war of thousands of guns, tanks, and \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Planes
  - b. Nuclear bomb
  - c. Knife

- d. All of the above
- 8. On September 29 Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini met in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Spain
  - b. Munich
  - c. German
  - d. Italy
- 9. Economic problems in the late \_\_\_\_\_ also brought the country closer to military rule.
  - a. 1930s
  - b. 1940s
  - c. 1950s
  - d. 1920s
- 10. By \_\_\_\_\_, one million Japanese were out of work.
  - a. 1920
  - b. 1940
  - c. 1930
  - d. 1910

◆◆◆◆

NOTES 

# ANSWER KEY

## UNIT I

Question	Answer	Question	Answer
1.	a	6.	d
2.	b	7.	a
3.	c	8.	c
4.	b	9.	b
5.	a	10.	d

## UNIT II

Question	Answer	Question	Answer
1.	b	6.	a
2.	d	7.	c
3.	a	8.	b
4.	b	9.	d
5.	c	10.	b

## UNIT III

Question	Answer	Question	Answer
1.	a	6.	b
2.	c	7.	c
3.	b	8.	a
4.	d	9.	d
5.	a	10.	b

## UNIT IV

Question	Answer	Question	Answer
1.	a	6.	a
2.	b	7.	d
3.	c	8.	b
4.	b	9.	c
5.	c	10.	a

## UNIT V

Question	Answer	Question	Answer
1.	a	6.	d
2.	d	7.	a
3.	b	8.	b
4.	b	9.	d
5.	c	10.	c

# NOTE



# NOTE

## Suggestive Reading

### Books

- Warfare from 1792 to 1945, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Calvocoressi, Peter & Wint, Guy, Total War: Causes and Courses of the Second World War, Penguin, 1974.
- Dupuy, Trevor, N., The Evolution of Weapons and Warfare, 1984, reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1990.
- Ellis, John, From the Barrel of a Gun: A History of Guerrilla, Revolutionary and Counter-Revolutionary Warfare from the Romans to the Present, London: Greenhill, 1995.
- Fussell, Paul, The Great War and Modern Memory, OUP, Oxford 1975, 2000.
- Gupta, P.S. and Deshpande, Anirudh (eds.), The British Raj and its Indian Armed Forces: 1857-1913, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Harvey W. Kushner, Encyclopedia of Terrorism, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991, Vintage Books, 1996.
- Joll, James, Europe Since 1870, Penguin, 1983.
- Kennedy, Paul, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000, Fontana, 1988.
- Killingray, David and Omissi, David (eds.), Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers c. 1700-1964, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Lawrence Freedman (ed.), War, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Omissi, David, The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994.
- Palit, D.K., Sentinels of the North-East: The Assam Rifles, New Delhi: Palit & Palit, 1984.
- Samaddar, Ranabir (ed.), Cannons into Ploughshares: Militarization and Prospects of Peace in South Asia, New Delhi: Lancer, 1995.
- Townshend, Charles (ed.), The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern War, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

### Web Resources

- [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey\\_Chaucer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey_Chaucer)
- [www.angelfire.com/m3/Chaucer](http://www.angelfire.com/m3/Chaucer)
- [www.luminarium.org/medlit/chaucer.htm-catched](http://www.luminarium.org/medlit/chaucer.htm-catched)
- [classclit.about.com/cs/profileswriters/p/aa](http://classclit.about.com/cs/profileswriters/p/aa)

- [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund\\_Spenser](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Spenser)
- [www.tnellen.com/cybereng/lit\\_terms-allegory.html/](http://www.tnellen.com/cybereng/lit_terms-allegory.html/)