

FRANCE QUEST FOR SECURITY AFTER FIRST WORLD WAR

❖ PART-I

1. The centre of the foreign policy of France between two world wars was security of the country. She remained obsessed with the idea that Germany after increasing her military strength would avenge the insult meted out to her.
2. Hence France remained on the lookout that Germany must be foiled in her efforts so that she may not enhance her power. For that reason Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France sought to take Rhineland in 1919 AD, but he could not succeed in his efforts.
3. After that he made efforts to secure Anglo-American support at that time of German attack. She was assured of support but when the American Senate rejected the Treaty the assurance given by Wilson came to an end. England too backed out by saying in the absence of U.S.A., England could not honor her pledge.
4. According to President Poincaré of France, '**It was our greatest disillusionment**'. Thus France was left alone and insecure by England and America.

❖ PART-II

1. When France failed to secure guarantee from England and America, she took resort to the security pacts and soon she started making pacts with the other European powers. She wanted to isolate Germany, so that she may not raise her head against France in future.
2. Bismarck of Germany previously adopted the same policy, the policy of French isolation. He had done so after defeating France in 1870.
3. France made similar policy of isolating Germany and made a pact with Belgium in 1920 according to which both of them promised mutual help in the event of German invasion. Similar pact was made with Poland in 1923 and with Czechoslovakia in 1924. After that France made pacts with Rumania in 1926 and with Yugoslavia in 1927.

❖ PART-III

1. Briand was the Foreign Minister of France from 1925 to 1932. He was a socialist. He was in favour of making friendship with Germany and Russia.
2. He signed **Locarno Pacts** in 1925. Through them Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy made a promise to defend Rhineland of Germany and Germany promised to take steps for the disarmament of Rhineland.
3. The separate pacts were made among France, Germany, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia through which it was decided that instead of settling the disputes

through wars they would settle all disputes through debates and negotiations or through the League of Nations and the Court of International Justice. Formerly era of Locarno was called **era of hope** but now it is called **years of illusion**.

❖ PART-IV

1. In order to give meaning to those pacts Kellogg, Foreign Secretary of USA and Briand decided in the conference of fifteen nations in 1928 that the wars must be forsaken.
2. In 1929 Russia also accepted the move and made such a pact with the western states.

❖ PART-V

1. Owning to the rise of Hitler the problem of French security arose again before the diplomats of Europe. Hence they tried to make alliance with some great power.
2. In 1935 France made treaty of mutual assistance with Russia who gave a word to help her in case of war with Germany, France tried to make alliance with Italy also. France was confused as well as divided.
3. Eventually French quest for security failed, when Hitler began an expansionist policy leading to Second World War

THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

❖ PART-I – INTRODUCTION

1. Appeasement policy is the policy which England, France and the U.S.A followed towards Germany and Italy in their foreign dealings during 1930's. It was the policy which aimed at not checking aggressive designs of these dictatorships known in fully well that these were opposed to the principles laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations.
2. The policy was intentionally followed, i.e. western democracies fully well known that their indifferent attitude was encouraging dictatorships and thus endangering world peace. By this policy democracies encouraged dictatorships in Italy and Germany and militarism in Japan to violate all international treaties and agreements.

❖ PART-II – FACTORS BEHIND THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

Sub-Part – I – Desire to Avoid of War

1. A very important question which arises is as to why such powerful nations as England, France and the U.S.A. followed appeasement policy knowing fully well that

they could check aggressive policy of Germany, Italy and Japan and also that such a policy was posing danger to world peace.

2. World had seen a horrible war and the memories of the war had not been forgotten as yet. It was a time when England and France was not in a position to face Germany single handed. Public opinion in democracies was not at all in favour of war. As late as in 1939 when Chamberlain and Daladier came back to their countries from Munich instead of facing a hostile public, they received appreciation also from the masses for their successfully avoiding the war.

Sub-Part – II – Economic Depression

1. Soon after the war, the whole Europe was faced with serious economic depression. The U.S.A. was the only country which was not worst hit by it. But in the case of the Great Britain and France their trade, both national and international, received serious setback. Prices of every commodity went down and unemployment increased.
2. This depression created many socio-economic problems and their solution needed top priority. Every nation was faced with the problem created by inflation. It was much concerned with solving economic problems rather than watching the activities of Germany and Italy. In this situation of economic crises these democracies were not prepared to challenge Germany on her threat of war.

Sub-Part – III – Selfish interests of Democratic States

1. Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. were guided by their selfish interest while dealing with dictatorships and thus preferred to follow appeasement policy rather than following a strong policy. The U.S.A. followed this policy because she was not prepared to risk a war for the sake of European affairs; she wanted to protect her own interests in the Far East where Japan was strengthening her position. She did not wish to waste her resources in checking Germany and Italy. Similarly, France wanted to follow appeasement policy towards Italy for two reasons. Firstly she wanted to use Italy to check Germany from whom she always feared. Secondly she was not in a position to single handedly fight against Germany. One additional reason was that her economic conditions did not allow her to risk a war.
2. As regards England she also did not wish to fight a war against Japan because she wanted to check Russian influence in the Far East by making Japan strong. Without Japan's neutrality it was not possible for Britain to check the interest of her nationals in China. She appeased Italy so that Germany's aggressive design could be checked to some extent.
3. She also appeased Germany for two reasons; first because she felt that Hitler alone could check the spread of Communism in Europe and secondly because she wanted to have Germany on her side in case there was a war with France.

Sub-Part – IV – Misunderstanding about Intentions of Dictators

1. One important reason for this appeasement policy was that both England and France did not properly understand the real meaning of what Hitler said. They accepted him on his face value. They miserably failed in assessing his intention. He always announced that he meant peace and that beyond a particular point he had no desire to expand territorially. They forgot that each acquisition of territory does not satisfy his land hunger but increases that.
2. Not only this but these nations were convinced that both Germany and Italy have real grievances and once these are removed their leaders will not disturb world peace but instead help in maintaining that. This wrong understanding of dictators not only resulted in following appeasement policy but in the outbreak of war also.

Sub-Part – V – Fear of Spread of Communism

1. Still another reason which weighed both will England and France was the fear of spread of Communism. It was this fear which compelled them to follow appeasement policy. Communist philosophy was great danger to democracy and capitalist system which they were following in their opinion danger from Red Soviet was more than even that of fascism and Nazism.
2. In their opinion Hitler alone could check the spread of Communism and as such they encouraged both Italy and Germany did not check their activities so that the spread of communism could be checked in Europe. Though it proved to be a wrong assessment of situation but at the same time proved to be an important cause responsible for following appeasement policy towards Germany and Italy.

Sub-Part – VI – Desire for Maintaining Balance of Power

1. Democratic states like France and England were keen to maintain balance of power in Europe. According to them one way for doing this was to see that Germany and Italy fought Russia and thus weaken themselves.
2. Once the power of Soviet Russia was destroyed and danger of spread of communism was checked. It would not be difficult to check aggressive activities of weak Germany. It was with this end in view that Germany was encouraged to isolate even the important provision of the Treaty of Versailles and Hitler's every aggressive posture was deliberately tolerated.

Sub-Part – VII – Over assessment of strength of Military Regimes

1. Democracies also followed appeasement policy because as the time passed with that these felt that both Italy and Germany were far more powerful than themselves. Their fears also increased because these states were militarily not prepared and their many matters did not see eye with each other.
2. On the other hand dictatorship were co-operating with each other as these wanted to take revenge of their humiliation and had greed for land and get back their lost territories.

❖ **PART- III – IMPACT OF THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT**

1. The appeasement policy had far reaching effects on the political situation of Europe. Germany and Italy became so powerful and bold that they did not care for any nation of the world. They practically sounded death knell of the League of Nations. It encouraged Germany not only to accomplish the union of Austria but she also got encouraged to occupy Czechoslovakia. It was too late when both England and France realized their mistake and guaranteed security to Poland. Romania and Greece. Both these countries wrongly continued to follow this policy even after 1937 when it became clear that Hitler and Mussolini wanted to dominate the whole of Europe.
2. It was because of this policy that both Italy and Germany could re-arm themselves and Germany could start conscription in 1935. Again, soft policy of England towards Germany and Italy resulted in differences between England and France. By following this policy West gave Hitler and Mussolini much needed time to strengthen their position, raise more armies, improve their quality and produce more dangerous and sophisticated war weapons. It also showed that western world was incapable of properly understanding the psychology and working of a dictator.

❖ **PART- IV – CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT**

1. According to some thinkers appeasement policy was need of the hour. In their opinion allied nations had already fought a war and were not in a position to fight another war. Their military strength and fighting resources were very meager and these nations needed time when these could prepare themselves for another war. Public opinion in no European democracy was prepared to risk another war. The threat of spread of communism was looming large everywhere and it was considered more necessary to check that rather than Fascism and Nazism. In case appeasement policy had not been followed, there was no guarantee that the Allied powers would have won another war particularly when it was not prepared for it.
2. But much can be said against the supporters of appeasement policy, both man power and material resources of the victors of World War I and the U.S.A. were far more than those of Italy and Germany, which had been deprived of their resources and thus were short of raw materials. Then it is also said that if defeated nations with low morale and under the watching eyes of victors could become militarily strong to challenge the supremacy of victors, then why could democracies not get ready for another war but on the other hand were compelled to follow appeasement policy.
3. The real reason appears to be the intention, whereas intention of the defeated nations was to prepare themselves to fight a war if need be, the non-intention of democracies made the yield and follow appeasement policy. Had democracies a desire to face challenge posed by aggressive dictatorships, these would not have been compelled to follow appeasement policy, which was posing serious threat to international peace.

4. But whatever may be said in favour of appeasement policy it can be safely said that it was a wrong policy which was based on wrong assumptions and which threw the world in the jaws of a deadly war. It was a mistake which was realized when it was too late. Had this policy from the very beginning not been followed perhaps war would have been averted for quite some time to come.

MUNICH PACT OF 1938

❖ PART – I – CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO MUNICH PACT

1. Munich pact was attempt to avert war Europe over Czechoslovakia.
2. It was signed on 29th September, 1938 at Munich. The Munich conference was attended by British Prime Minister Chembelian, French Prime Minister Deladier, Mussolini and Hitler.

❖ PART – II – MAIN PROVISIONS OF MUNICH PACT

1. Sudetenland will be vacated by 10th October, 1938 without any damage to installations, but evacuation process would start on 1st October. If any damage was done to any installation for the Czech government would be responsible. To this the governments of United Kingdom, France and Italy agreed.
2. Evacuation conditions will be laid down by an international commission consisting of representatives of Germany, French, Britain, Italy and Czechoslovakia.
3. The commission will also decide about the territories in which plebiscite will be held. These will be occupied by international bodies until plebiscite is completed. The commission will decide the basis on which plebiscite is to be held taking Saar plebiscite basis as the condition. The plebiscite was to be held before the end of November.
4. The commission will determine the frontiers and the territories which will be transferred without plebiscite and for the purpose make recommendations to four powers namely United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy.
5. There will be option right into and out of the transferred territories within six months from the date of this agreement.
6. A provision was made for setting up a German Czechoslovakia commission which would decide the details of the option and suggest ways of transferring population and principles, if any, arising out of the said transfer.
7. The Czech government will release all Sudeten prisoners from its jails.
8. The Czech government will release any Sudeten German from its military and police service within four weeks, if he so desire.
9. Both France and Britain guaranteed the new Czechoslovakia frontiers.

❖ PART – III – IMPLICATIONS OF MUNICH PACT

1. Munich Pact had far reaching effects on world politics. It has been called as a disaster of the first magnitude. The Munich Pact was the culmination of the appeasement and warrant of death for the western democracies. It was the symbol of collapse of collective security.
2. Munich Pact provided for plebiscite which was abandoned, Czechoslovakia lost about 11000 square miles as well as many fortified and industrial areas. Russo-Czecho friendship came to an end and Poland got Teschen. The League of Nations practically became a dead body and Soviet Union got completely isolated. Since Russia was not invited to Munich Conference therefore, she termed it an aggressive alliance against herself. Soviet Union also considered privileges given to Germany as an attack on herself and she got suspicious about the real intentions of western powers. The pact prepared ground for the destruction of Poland.
3. The pact also increased the desire of both Hitler and Mussolini for more territories. Mussolini now began to cry for Tunis, Corsica and Nice.
4. The states like Yugoslavia and Romania began to realize the uselessness and futility of alliance with France. All the states felt that their security was in danger. On 17th March, 1939, British Prime Minister Chamberlain observed. "Hitler had manifestly departed both from his assurances at Munich as to the extent and nature of his claims, and from his undertakings to deal with any further questions in consultation with Great Britain." The pact was not at all acceptable to British people and there was wide spread feeling of humiliation that they surrendered to the threat of force.
5. Because of the violation of the Pact, the Policy of Great Britain and France towards Germany underwent a radical change; they decided not to appease but to resist Hitler. They now promised full support to Poland in the event of German invasion. Churchill said once about the Pact that "Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonor. They choose dishonor and they will have the war. "Munich Pact opened doors for World War II.
6. Thus Munich Pact was a wrong step which the parties at the conference took. Instead of Hitler's remaining satisfied with what he had got his desire to acquire more territories increased and that led Europe to World War II

❖ THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Meaning of Continental System

Continental system is the term commonly applied to economic warfare waged by Napoleonic France on England during 1805-1812. The origin of the Continental System lay in the contemporary political and economic condition of Europe and again. England, a rival land an obstinate enemy.

By the year 1806, Napoleon found that he had become master of Continental Europe by humbling Austria, Prussia and Russia. But his most obstinate enemy was England. She was still unmolested due to her insular security. She tried to organize series of European coalitions

against him. If Napoleon was the master on land: England was the mistress of the seas. If he could boast of his epic victories of Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena: England could point to her laurels won at Nile, Trafalgar and Copenhagen.

As the things stood, no one could strike the other by ordinary military means: yet, neither would seek peace. Napoleon's lynx eye revealed to him that unless England was defeated he had no chance of enjoying a durable victory and no chance of having a peace. The problem challenged his genius and the Continental system was answer to this. Attack on English commerce and industry surest means to cripple England.

Napoleon's logical mind could analyze the situation plainly. Since he had no chance of using his army against insular England, he must think of striking her by other means than conventional war. He must attack her in what appeared to her most vulnerable spot-commerce and industry.

Plan to coerce England to surrender

Napoleon argued that England's economy was predominantly based on manufacture and trade. The goods produced by artisans were sold in European markets by her traders. It was this trade which made England prosperous. He further argued if the trade was cut off. Her whole economy would be upset. The traders and artisans who formed the bulk of the population of London and other cities would be unemployed and ruined. The British Government would fail to pay interest on huge national dept. There would be a general distress among "the nation of shopkeepers." The economic conclusions would compel the British Government to sue for peace on terms dictated by Napoleon.

The Concordat, 1801

In 1801 Napoleon made an agreement with the Pope which is known as the Concordat. (1) The pope concurred to the confiscation of the church property and suppression of the monasteries by the French State. (2) The State was to nominate the bishops and the Pope was to invest them. The priests were to be bishops with consent to the government. (3) The clergy were to receive their salary from the state. (4) Catholicism became a recognized religion but it came under state supervision. By the concordat the church lost its sprawling acres, tithes, and influence. Napoleonic bishop was an official niggardly paid by a jealous state. He said no civil power.

Limitations of the Reforms of Napoleon

1. If Napoleon was "the child of Revolution" he was a genius of reaction against it." He trampled upon Liberty which was one of the three great ideas of Revolution. He established despotism under a constitutional wig of plebiscite. That wig soon fell when he overthrew the republic and proclaimed himself as emperor.
2. His rigid centralization of administration extinguished all local elected bodies. His principle of selection banished the principle of election. He even did not hesitate to police the soul by nominating the bishops. Legislative independence became a myth. Censorship of the press gagged the liberty of the press.

3. “Napoleon destroyed the Revolution” and harnessed it to the chariot of autocracy.” In Europe while he sowed the seed of the new ideas in one hand by introducing his beneficial reforms, on the other hand he destroyed its liberty by establishing its domination on it.
4. Yet, Napoleon’s claim, “I am the Revolution” has some truth. He upheld the two other ideas of Revolution Equality and Fraternity. His reforms were based on these principles and he tried to compensate the loss of Liberty by them.
5. The civil code of napoleon providing Civil marriage divorce liberated Europe from clerical tyranny on family life. For the first time since Constantine Europe accepted a code on secular life ordained by a secular state.
6. Napoleon’s civil code spread through Europe the fame of the institution of New France. He made revolutionary philosophy a practical one and combined liberty with order.
7. What he really did was to make a synthesis between the Revolutionary France and Old France and leave out those ideas like Liberty which stood on his way.

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA

1. Rise of communism in China and the appeal of communism to Chinese intellectuals lay partly in its promised solutions to pressing problems. The doctrine’s condemnation of the past justified attacks on traditional Confucian values; its justification of force offered a short cut to a modern China; and its demand for an end to colonialism supported the determination of young China to terminate the unequal treaty system. Moreover, acceptance of communist doctrine was encouraged by the New Culture Movement’s emphasis on positivism, pragmatism, and materialism. While all of these tents could be embraced by such an eloquent anti-Communist as Hu Shih, for others they inevitably suggested communist ideology. For them, positivism meant the Marxist science of the life; pragmatism, as applied to achieving social revolution was identified with Leninism; and materialism in general was regarded as first step toward making the dialectical materialism of Marx the reigning philosophy. Finally, some Chinese saw an affinity between the principles of communism and those propounded by Sun Yat-Sen. Sun himself had recognized that communism’s emphasis on a state-controlled economy, ruled by party elite under strong leadership, and struggle against colonialism could be constructed as identical with his doctrines of people’s livelihood, democracy, and nationalism.
2. CCP (Chinese Communist Party) emerged in the years 1919-21 and Mao emerged as one of the prominent leaders in early 1920’s (later became the man leader.)

3. Under the tutelage of Soviet advisers the CPP was transformed from a loose coalition of Marxist study groups into a band of professional revolutionaries, disciplined and trained to concentrate on the organization and seizure of power.

STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST AND WEAKNESSES OF NATIONALIST

❖ STRENGTH OF COMMUNISTS

1. The policies pursued by the communists in the area under their control seemed to indicate the answer to the question raised by the spread of communism in the face of opposition to it by a government which had at its disposal much larger military forces and infinitely greater resources.
2. The areas under communist control were agriculture rather than industrial, so that the development was toward peasant control rather than proletarian dictatorship. The communist policy had thus been directed toward the accomplishment of agrarian reforms.
3. Large landed estates had been broken up and the land distributed. A banking system, together with cooperative credit societies, had been instituted. Cultivation of poppy had been prohibited, so that land which had been forced out of food-crop production in order to enrich the military rulers of former days had again become productive of food. Irrigation and food-prevention work had been undertaken out of the revenues derived from public lands.
4. The tax system had been reformed, with a progressive land tax, bearing most heavily on the well-to-do, replacing the old system of levies which had the effect of pauperising the impoverished.
5. On the industrial side, in the town under soviet government, wages had been raised just as they had been for agricultural labourers, hours had been shortened, and in general policies had been pursued designing to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes.

❖ WEAKNESSES OF NATIONALIST

1. The nationalist government had been so much engrossed with military operations and expenses resulting from them that it had been unable to make much headway in the endeavor to achieve the social and economic reforms regarded by Dr. Sun as a fundamental part of his program.
2. Such reformative work as had been attempted, it was suggested by its critics, had been in the interest of the wealthier classes rather than of the impoverished

- masses. This had grown inevitably out of the right orientation of the party after 1927, and the deriving of its support from the wealthier merchant classes.
3. After power had been attained by the party, it tended to lose its revolutionary character for that reason.

IMPACT OF CHINESE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

❖ IMPACT OF CHINA

1. After the revolution the authorities resorted to food rationing and the basic necessities of life were made available to the people. Even the least paid workers were able to procure these goods. To meet the demands of the people the government procured grains from foreign countries. With a view to prevent undue rise in the prices of necessities the revolutionaries' government resorted to varying pricing systems for stable commodities and for luxuries. Disease, banditry and crime were also brought under control.
2. The Revolution brought about significant changes in the rural economy. Before the Revolution, the peasantry lived under miserably condition and very little attention was paid to their needs and problems. The peasants had to work for long hours under most primitive conditions. Despite this hard work the peasants were often faced with starvation. On the other hand, the landlords and rich peasants enjoyed a high standard of life and possessed wide ranging opportunities for education and economic activities. In view of their dominant position, the landlords successfully exploited the peasants. In short the system rested on the principles of oppression and exploitation.
3. The revolution transferred the power into the hands of the peasants. The excess land holdings were expropriated on the plea that the wealth and power of the gentry was based on the expropriation of the fruits of the labour of others. The landless were given land to cultivate. However, this would not have solved the problem and therefore the government proceeded with the formation of mutual aid teams and creation of producers co-operatives.
4. The revolution also brought about changes in the position of women. In the pre-revolutionary China women enjoyed a position of inferiority. They did not enjoy any independent status and had to lead a subservient life. As daughter-in-laws the women were little more than servants of their mother-in-laws. They were also subordinate to their husbands.
5. One of the first things done by the Revolutionary Government was to emancipate these women from the lowly and servile position enjoyed by them in the society. It imposed a strict ban on the sale of daughters and wives and forbade concubinage, child brothel etc. Those persons who had contracted marriage under the old system and felt marriage as a burden were encouraged to dissolve marriages.

6. Now onwards marriage began to be treated as contract, freely concluded by man and woman. Both husband and wife were given the right to demand divorce. Women were given equal right in family property and legal responsibility for the care of the children. They were also granted equal rights to work, education etc. Brothels were closed down and the prostitute was given new opportunities to start a new life.
7. While affecting a change in the position of women, the revolution also brought a change in family life. In place of primacy of family loyalty (which was a basic feature of family in the pre-revolutionary period) the Revolutionary government attached more importance to the welfare of all encouraged people to help fellow-workers, neighbors etc. The care of the old, children etc. was considered as the responsibility of the community. In short, the revolution brought fundamental changes in the overall life in the country.

❖ **IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

1. The Chinese revolution of 1949 left a deep impact on the course of International Relations. In the first place it gave a serious setback to the prestige of United States. The American Government provided lot of economic and military help to the nationalist government of China after the defeat of Japan. Still the Communists succeeded in inflicting a defeat on Chiang Kai Shek. According to Schuman, the Chinese revolution was the first victory of Soviet Union in post-world war period and the first defeat of America.
2. The emergence of Communist China provided a new tilt to the balance of power between the Western powers and Communists. After the Second World War, Soviet Union was the only leading Communist country of the world. No doubt, communist governments were established in a number of countries of Eastern Europe, North Korea and Outer Mongolia but the balance of power was very much in favour of Western powers. With the emergence of Communist China, its vast population military power and economic resources tilted the balance in favour of superiority. After the emergence of Communist China, the Communists acquired a dominant position from the view point of population, even though militarily they were not in a position to outweigh the Western powers.
3. The emergence of Red China also left a deep impact on the policy of Soviet Union. Though initially the Soviet leaders considered the emergence of communist in China as a boon because of considerably increased military power, but soon they discovered that China was posing as a rival for leadership of the Communist world. This gave rise to struggle for supremacy and ideological conflict between Soviet Union and China and posed a serious threat to Soviet leadership of the Communist world.
4. The emergence of China produced revolutionary impact on the whole of Asia. On the one hand, it greatly influenced the nationalist forces in Asia and Africa and on the other hand, it became an experimental ground for the industrial development

of all the backward countries. It also became symbolic of the superiority of Communist system, over capitalist system and naturally upset the Americans.

5. The revolution left a deep impact on Africa. The Communist Government of China soon after assuming the regions of power openly declared its support to the nationalist movements everywhere, which provided impetus to national struggle which was being waged by the Africans against the imperialist powers.
6. The Revolution of 1949 marked the advent of Communism in Asia. So far Communism existed only in the Western countries. The Chinese revolution made a beginning for the emergence of communism in Asia.
7. It not only gave rise to new problems but also accorded new dimensions to the East-West Conflict and transformed South-East Asia into a focal point of world politics.