

Renaissance, Reformation and the Enlightenment

The 14th century in Italy was a century of transformation, if not Renaissance. Italians interacted with the Arabs leading to an exchange of new ideas. The most important among them were:

1. The importance of the **mortal realm**.
2. **Humanism** i.e. the importance of man, his ability to change his own destiny and the supreme and see of his genius.
3. The importance of **questioning** established beliefs and practices.

Early historians claimed that 14th century Italians simply re-learned the lost knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome. This thinking has changed over the last 50 years or so. Modern historians believe that the generation and transmission of knowledge is a continuous process. If the Greeks and Romans contributed to it, so did the Chinese, Indians, Persians and Arabs.

14th century Italy was characterised by a number of cultural, scientific and philosophical advancements.

The new writers, philosophers and artists compelled the people to observe, analyse and question their reality. This led to the demolition of many beliefs, practices and institutions and gave birth to the modern physical and social sciences.

Scientists like Copernicus, Newton and Galileo challenged the church's teachings.

- They proved that the earth is a spheroid rather than being flat.
- Gravity was used to explain the reason that objects fall as opposed to the churches teachings that the world is heavy because of the sense of man.
- It was also proved that the earth revolves around the sun.

Not only did these scientific findings transform the outlook of European society, it also set the stage for the **Scientific Revolution** and the **Age of Discovery**, which in turn paved the way to the rise of **Mercantilism**, the **Industrial Revolution** and **Colonialism**.

Poets, painters and sculptors also had a massive impact on European consciousness. The works of Milton, Shakespeare, Chaucer, da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, Bernini etc. **glorified the human form and human ability**. Through their works, they put human beings on a high pedestal close to God.

Religious reformers like Martin Luther and John Calvin started challenging the corruption within the church and the domination of the church in daily life. This challenge caused a schism within the Church forced the Catholic Church to reform itself to a certain degree.

The transforming economic structure had a major impact on politics. The emergent **traders and middle-class** were the first to bring change. They wanted uniformity in laws, taxes, currency etc. and thus supported a strong centralised monarchy instead of a fragmented feudal polity. This eventually led to the emergence of modern nation-states.

The Enlightenment

These changes went on to usher the **Age of Enlightenment**, during which a number of philosophers such as Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Kant etc. put forward their ideas about the nature of the European society, value system, polity and economy their evils, and their solutions.

John Locke: Natural Rights

- Man was free in the state of nature.
- The reason why the state was devised as an institution was to protect the life, liberty and property of individuals.
- Locke also emphasised that humans were born with these inalienable Natural Rights.

- He also questioned the idea of the Divine Right to rule.

Rousseau: Social Contract Theory

- He stated that the subjects of a state voluntarily choose to appoint an authority to govern them. The social contract exists between the subjects and the ruler that they appoint to ensure their welfare.
- Failure on the part of the state/ruler to uphold the social contract could result in the overthrow of the ruler by the subjects.

Voltaire: Secularism

- He argued that the source of all evil in European society was the church.
- He advocated for limiting the role of the church to religious affairs only and emphasised that it should not interfere in matters of state and the daily affairs of the people.

Montesquieu: Separation of Powers

- He argued that the source of evil in European society was the concentration of too much power in a single authority.
- Therefore he advocated for the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the state and vesting them in different authorities who could exercise a check on each other.

Significance and Impact

The ideas of enlightenment represented a powerful force which would go on to shape the history of Europe and the rest of the world for the next few centuries.

They unleashed the ideas of **liberalism and nationalism**, which inspired a series of **revolutions and counter revolutions** throughout the late 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Adam Smith's 'Laissez Faire' gave rise to the free-trade movement, which led to the acceleration of the **Industrial Revolution**, which in turn facilitated **colonisation and imperial competition**. Colonial exploitation led to the emergence of **nationalism in the colonies and decolonisation**.

Capitalist exploitation of the working class gave birth to the ideologies of **socialism and communism**, which later inspired communist revolutions such as the Russian and Chinese Revolutions.



American Revolution

Background

The discovery of the new world in 1492 opened a new source for exploration and opportunities. Many Europeans started migrating to the Americas as adventurers, explorers, outlaws, freethinkers, heretics and outcasts.

They colonised the eastern seaboard and established **13 British Colonies**. These colonies enjoyed a great degree of **political autonomy**. They elected their own legislatures and governors. They enacted their own laws and imposed their own taxes.

Although the British Parliament was paramount and enacted a number of laws affecting these colonies from the 1650s to 1750s, none of these laws were rigidly enforced.

They followed the policy of '**Salutary Neglect**' due to the following factors:

1. The British Government believed that coercive economic and political control over the budding colonies would **stifle** their growth.
2. More importantly, the **Anglo French rivalry** and French control of Canada was a major factor behind the policy. The British were concerned that any effort to exercise direct control of diminish American freedoms would drive the colonies into the arms of the French.

The **American experience** had been one of intense struggle, hardship and individual enterprise. They had built the entire country from the ground up. In doing so, they had to overcome America's unforgiving terrain and hostile natives.

Thus the Americans were fiercely independent and the right to property was considered sacrosanct.

Major Developments and Causes

The Seven Years War (1756-63) resulted in French defeat and the end of French influence in North America. Although the British had emerged victorious, the war had been a very costly affair for them.

1763 Onwards: Abandonment of Salutary Neglect - The British Prime Minister Greenville made provisions to enforce existing **taxes** on essential commodities such as lead, iron, paper, glass, tea, etc. in the American colonies. He also enforced the navigation act of 1651. In addition to this, new laws such as the Sugar Act, Stamp Act and Quartering Act were also passed by the British Parliament.

The British justified this with the logic that **Americans should pay for their own defence**. Further, they were emboldened by the **disappearance of the French threat** and felt confident to **abandon their policy of Salutary Neglect**.

By this period, the Americans had matured politically and desired greater political autonomy. Therefore, these acts were in direct conflict with their aspirations. However the British government continued to ignore them.

1767: Townshend Acts - the British Parliament passed a series of acts known as the Townshend Acts, designed primarily **to assert the right of the Parliament to govern the colonies**. They involved the suspension of a representative assembly and strict provisions for the collection of revenue duties.

These acts were resisted everywhere with verbal agitation and physical violence, deliberate evasion of duties, renewed nonimportation agreements among merchants, and overt acts of hostility toward British enforcement agents, especially in Boston. In response, in October 1768, Parliament dispatched two regiments of the British army to Boston.

1770: Boston Massacre - In Boston, a small British army detachment that was threatened by mob harassment opened fire and killed five people, an incident soon known as the Boston Massacre. The incident was used by American patriots to fuel anti-British sentiment.

1773: Lord North's Tea Policy and the Boston Tea Party - British Prime Minister Lord North made an exemption to the Navigation Act, allowing the East India Company to conduct direct trade in tea with the colonies. Further, the Company was granted a monopoly over tea trade.

Till now, American interlopers had been smuggling tea from China primarily via Holland to bypass the British tax on tea. The new policy would have made the Company's tea cheaper, destroying their competitive advantage. It was also a tool for legitimising the Crown's right to tax American trade.

As a sign of protest, a group of American patriots dumped a consignment of British tea harboured at Boston, into the ocean. This incident became famous as the Boston Tea Party. After this, the physical confrontation between the Americans and British troops increased. From now on, "**no taxation without representation**" became the watchword of the resistance.

1774: Coercive Acts - In retaliation, the British Parliament enacted four punitive laws collectively known as the Coercive Acts. Rather than intimidating the colonists, it had the effect of unifying them in opposition against the British.

1775: First Intercontinental Congress - All 13 colonies send representatives to Philadelphia and together put forward the demand for greater political autonomy. At the same time they were ready to accept British paramountcy. These demands were rejected by the British government.

1776: Declaration of Independence - On 4 July, 1776 the Second Intercontinental Congress was held and the colonies declared independence from British rule. This brought them in direct conflict with the British.

A series of battles was fought between 1776 to 1781. The Americans, assisted heavily by the French, used guerrilla tactics and kept the British

engaged in the South for long periods. Finally, the British were forced to accept defeat. Cornwallis, the commander of the British forces surrendered to George Washington, the American general at Yorktown in 1781. In this manner, the American war of Independence came to an end. The British formally recognised American independence through the **Treaty of Paris (1783)**.

American Constitution

Once American independence was formally recognised, now the biggest task before the Americans was to make a new constitution. A constituent assembly of 55 members performed this task in 1787-88. This four page document is considered to be one of the most important and forward-looking constitutions in the world.

The 13 colonies surrendered their sovereignty and ratified the Articles of Confederation to form a federation known as the United States of America.

The Constitution ensured liberty and equality along with several fundamental rights such as:

- Freedom of speech, thought and expression.
- Freedom of religion, movement and occupation.
- Right to a dignified life.
- Right to property.

The independence of the judiciary was well defined. However, the separation of powers was not watertight initially. This was established later through amendments.

The most important achievement of the Constitution was its Republican form of government. George Washington was elected as the first president of the US in 1789.

Significance of the American Revolution

The American revolution signalled the beginning of a new era. It marks the birth of a powerful **continent-sized republic**.

The American constitution **inspired many modern Constitutions**. The American Bill of Rights inspired the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens in France after the French revolution.

The American revolution was the **first practical example of the success of enlightenment era ideas** of philosophers such as John Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau.

It had a direct and profound impact upon the **French Revolution** which followed a decade later.

- The financial and military support extended by the French monarchy worsened the economic position of France, leading to proposals for increasing the burden of taxation on the French people thus precipitating a revolt.
- The French soldiers who participated in large numbers in the American revolution argued that the same ideals must be replicated/upheld in France as well.

The idea of republicanism was also very attractive. It inspired a string of **republican revolutions** in Ireland (1798) Latin America (1820s) and Europe (1830, 1848).

The American revolution also taught a hard lesson to the British. They had made the mistake of following the policy of benign neglect which was partly responsible for the revolution. They avoided the same mistake in India. The **Pitt's India Act of 1784** started the process of increasing direct government control over India's politics.

The essence of the American revolution had been liberty and equality. However the scope of these ideals was quite limited in the American constitution. The evil of **slavery** continued to persist. In fact the status of slaves as private property was confirmed by the Constitution. Further, there was **no political equality** between whites and non-whites or between men and women.

American Civil War (1861-65)

Causes

The **economic disparity** between the North and South American states is seen as the major cause for the civil war. The southern economy was a plantation and mining-based economy which needed intense labour provided by slaves. The northern economy was industrial and needed cheap labour which could be provided by freed slaves.

The American constitution had failed to abolish slavery. A section of Americans resented this on moral and religious grounds and in 1793, the **Abolitionist Movement** was born. It was viewed suspiciously by the South as a northern conspiracy.

The **Westward expansion** of the United States had also become problematic. Every time a new state was incorporated, differences would arise on its status as a 'free state' or 'slave state' and the Missouri Compromise (1820) and the Compromise of 1850 offered temporary truce but could not diffuse the conflict permanently.



The **election campaign of Abraham Lincoln** deepened the suspicion of the South. He had taken a strong anti-slavery position. After his election, although he did not make any moves to emancipate slaves, **11 southern states** led by South Carolina formed a **Confederacy** and declared independence from the union. They were able to do so because the **Constitution had not explicitly prohibited secession from the Union**.

Lincoln wanted to avoid a civil war and offered **amnesty** to the confederacy, which was **rejected**. Thus, he was left with no option but to declare war.

Consequences

The civil war proved to be the **bloodiest conflict** in American history till date. It proved that the military strength of America was quite weak and as a conscious effort was made to modernise and restructure the army. As a result, America emerged as **one of the strongest military powers** in the world.

After the war, the ambiguity regarding the rights of states to secede was clarified. The Constitution affirmed America's status as an **indestructible union of indestructible states**.

Slavery had been abolished through the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln in 1862. This was formalised by the **13th Amendment** to the American constitution.

The **14th Amendment** was adopted giving whites and non-whites **political equality**. Freed slaves were recognised as full **citizens**.

They were given the right to **vote** by the **15th Amendment**.

With the abolition of slavery, the inhuman **Atlantic slave trade came to an end**.

However, civil rights for African Americans would continue to be threatened especially in the deep south i.e. Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana and Texas. They would have to wait for another century until the **Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s**, which ended some of the worst policies of **segregation and Jim Crow**.

Industrial Revolution

- Definition
- Factors responsible for its emergence in England
- Different phases of the industrial revolution
- Impact/consequences of the industrial revolution
- Significance for Europe and the world

Definition

The term industrial revolution refers to the wider social, economic, cultural and political **changes which accompany the transformation of the production process** from traditional handicrafts based cottage industries **to machine based mass production in factories**. Capital plays a major role in organising the various factors of production.

Factors responsible for its emergence in England

1. Geographical

Britain is an **island nation** with a long coastline which was traditionally dependent on a strong navy for its security. This led to the development of a large and advanced shipping industry which was essential for carrying out trade and commerce.

It had vast resources of **coal and iron** in close proximity with each other which also facilitated industrialisation.

Navigation through rivers and canals was more developed in England than the rest of Europe. Transportation was improved further with the emergence of the Metallised Road/MacAdamised road.

Railways were introduced in the early 19th century. This further facilitated industrialisation.

Due to its **isolation from mainland Europe**, England also remained free from continental politics and wars.

2. Economic

An **agricultural revolution** had taken place in England during the 17th and 18th centuries as a result of the '**Enclosure Movement**' which had led to the consolidation of land holdings and the **freeing up of labour**. **Increased productivity** had led to a surplus which was sufficient to sustain the large industrial population.

Capital accumulation, which is essential for industrialisation, was maximum in England because of the agricultural revolution and England's maritime trading activities.

The **availability of credit** from large established banks also helped in the emergence of industrialisation. By 1800, London alone had more than 600 banks.

Training institutions were set up by industrialists to impart industrial skills on a large scale.

3. Political

After the **Glorious Revolution of 1688**, England emerged as a **constitutional monarchy** and Parliament became supreme. The **rule of law** became stronger and the rights to **property and personal liberty became sacrosanct**. This resulted in an impetus for private enterprise, open competition and bolstered investor sentiment. Elsewhere in Europe the economy was constrained by antiquated and arbitrary restrictions and the monopoly of guilds.

The late 18th century witnessed the **entry of capitalists into Parliament**. Naturally, they supported policies which favoured industrialisation such as free trade, the end of the monopoly of the East India Company, protection for domestic industries, etc.

4. Socio-cultural

The English society was far more **liberal** than the other European societies. As a result its people were more adventurous and enterprising.

Unlike continental Europe, the English society was **free from the control of the Catholic Church**. England had been a Protestant nation for more than 200 years before the beginning of the industrial revolution. Thus, the '**Protestant Ethic**' which emphasised upon the accumulation of material wealth was operating in the society. This favoured industrialisation.

The Protestant ethos of **questioning established practises** helped in the generation and circulation of **new ideas**, leading to several inventions and discoveries. Between the 1780s and 1820s more than 3000 inventions were made in the textile, metal, chemical and other machine industries.

Different phases of the Industrial Revolution

1. Phase 1: 1760-1800

During this phase, the **textile industry** developed the most with new inventions in weaving, spinning and ginning respectively.

Inland waterway navigation expanded rapidly after the invention of the steam engine in 1769. During this phase, all the city's of Britain were connected by a network of canals and waterways.

2. Phase 2: 1800-1820

During this phase, the **iron and steel industry** developed the most because of the use of coal instead of charcoal or wood.

In the same phase, the **railways and road** networks were also expanded.

3. Phase 3: 1830s onwards

After the 1830s, the **chemical, cement and heavy machine industries** witnessed rapid development. This quickly made England the most developed industrial nation in the world.

Impact/consequences of the industrial revolution

1. Economic

The industrial revolution resulted in the creation of huge amounts of wealth, making **England the richest country** in the world.

It led to the growth of industrial centres located mostly in cities, leading to rapid **urbanisation**.

It resulted in changing the nature of the English economy from a primarily agricultural to **primarily industrial**.

Many banks and financial institutions were established leading to the **expansion of the credit and insurance market**.

2. Socio-political

As the industrial revolution accelerated, the **capitalist class became increasingly influential in British politics**. Many industrialists themselves entered Parliament. The government was also dependent on the capitalists for economic strength and offshore colonies. Many acts and laws favouring the industries were made.

Two major classes were born due to the industrial revolution

- Industrialists
- Workers

The **working and living conditions for industrial workers were extremely poor**. Working conditions in the factories and mills were not regulated. There were no laws related to working hours, minimum wage, job production, workers' insurance or holidays. They lived subhuman lives of filth and squalor in slums. Diseases were rampant and malnutrition was widespread.

The close proximity of workers led to the birth of **class consciousness**, resulting in the emergence of trade unions which agitated on behalf of workers. They were also supported by some intellectuals who played an important role in shaping the **socialist ideology**.

3. Socio-cultural

The industrial revolution brought a **new trend in literature and arts** such as theatre, painting and sculpture.

Novels and modern fiction became extremely popular. They often revolved around themes such as the struggles within the rapidly transforming English society, the differences between the classes and the cultural bridges which united them and the stark differences between the urban landscape and the countryside. The characters in the stories were more realistic and grey rather than black and white.

On the other hand, painters and sculptors depicted the real life of the industrial workers, their struggles, their class consciousness, their anger, frustration and hopes.

Thus, the changes brought about by the industrial revolution in society had completely transformed the cultural landscape.

Significance for Europe and the world

The industrial revolution prepared the ground for the **political hegemony of Britain**. It was the richest, most technologically advanced and militarily superior country in the world.

It also intensified the **rivalry** between England and other European countries who had been left behind in the race for industrial supremacy and were forced to rapidly industrialise.

The industrial revolution became a major cause for the **rapid colonisation** of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since colonies were reliable sources of raw material as well as captive markets, the late entrants to the industrial revolution, such as Italy, Germany and Russia started scrambling for them, resulting in frequent **colonial conflicts** between different European powers.

The industrial revolution brought **new technology to the colonies** along with modern means of transportation and communication. Although these had been introduced for efficient exploitation by the colonial powers, eventually the people of the colonised world used them to their own advantage.

French Revolution (1789)

- France on the eve of Revolution/ Causes of the revolution
 - Social Causes
 - Political Causes
 - Economic Causes
- Beginning of the French Revolution
- Phases of the Revolution
 - Phase 1: 1789 to 91 – National Assembly
 - Phase 2: 1791 to 93 – Legislative Assembly
 - Phase 3: 1793 to 94 – Reign of Terror
 - Phase 4: 1795 to 99 – Rule of the Directory
 - Phase 5: 1799 to 1804 – The Consulate
 - Phase 6: 1804 to 1813 – Napoleonic Empire
- Estimate of Napoleon's Contributions
- Significance of the French Revolution

France on the eve of Revolution/ Causes of the revolution

Social Causes

The French society was divided into three classes known as the **Three Estates**.

1. **The First Estate consisted of the clergy.** They numbered about 150,000 and enjoyed numerous privileges.
 - They owned around 30% of all the land of France and did not pay any taxes. Rather they had the right to collect 'Tithes' (religious tax) and extract 'Corvée' (forced labour).
 - The first estate was not homogeneous and there was a class division within it. The higher clergy, which numbered around 10,000, formed the elite section of the clerical class and enjoyed all the privileges and controlled most of the resources.

- The remainder of the clergy i.e. the lower clergy lived among the commoners and sympathised deeply with the interest and concerns of the third estate.

2. **The Second Estate consisted of the nobility or the aristocracy.**

They were the ruling elite who enjoyed hereditary titles and lands. They were dynastic in nature and monopolised all important offices of state. They were exempt from paying taxes and controlled another 30% of the land. They numbered about 200,000.

3. **The Third Estate consisted of the common people.** It consisted of peasants, artisans, craftsmen, traders, merchants and a small section of intellectuals and professionals.

- The **entire burden of taxation** fell upon their shoulders and they did not enjoy any privileges.
- They were **not allowed to hold any important state office** and were required to serve the first two Estates.
- Among them the position of the peasants was the worst. They formed about 80% of the French population, numbering roughly 20,000,000 and paid the heaviest rates of tax.
- It is estimated that an average French peasant in 1789 paid roughly 2/3 of his income as tax.

Political Causes

King **Louis XVI was an incapable and unwilling ruler** leading to indecision and anarchy. Queen Marie Antoinette, along with some corrupt ministers, was the de facto ruler. The people of France were deeply suspicious of her because of her Austrian heritage and lavish lifestyle.

Provincial and local administration was also in bad shape. Illegal extortion and atrocities by the authorities were common. Rule of law had broken down completely. Arrest warrants known as 'Letters de Cachet' could be purchased from the courts. Appointment to state office was not done on the basis of merit, rather the practice of selling government

office to the highest bidder had become common. This had made local administration even more exploitative.

Political thinkers also played an important role in engendering political consciousness among a section of the urban French. Writers such as Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu put forward ideas such as liberty equality, secularism, rule of law and the separation of powers. Some even supported republicanism. Many of them were inspired by the success of the American revolution.

In Paris, political activists such as Bailly mobilised a section of the **Parisian mob**. The mob, a volatile mix of the urban middle class and the Sans Culottes, motivated by hunger and rumour, became a major force in shaping the initial stages of the revolution.

To divert the attention of the people, the king tried to drag France into diplomatic and military conflicts. However, the local issues were too significant to ignore.

Economic Causes

Due to the Seven Years War (1756-63) and irresponsible spending, France had accumulated a **huge debt** both from internal as well as external sources.

The **budgetary practices of the French kings** were also to blame to a large extent for the economic difficulties of France. Instead of undertaking expenditure in accordance with the resources available, the French monarchy had fallen into the **habit of raising taxes and loans** to cover them. As a result, the taxes and interest rates were abnormally high.

The **French economy was not as diversified** as the English economy. Industrial production was negligible and agricultural growth had also stagnated.

The **tax burden was mostly on farmers** and traders since the nobility and clergy were exempt.

In order to overcome financial difficulties, new taxes were proposed. Since the Third Estate had been taxed to the highest level possible, **Necker, the King's finance minister suggested taxing the clergy and nobility.**

However, the nobility and clergy pressured the king not to impose these taxes and convinced him to convene a meeting of the Estates General, a feudal assembly with representation from all 3 Estates, which had not been called since 1614. They emphasised that only the Estates General had the authority to impose new taxes on the First and Second Estates. This episode is known as "**The Aristocratic Revolution**" in French history.

It was in this background that France witnessed consecutive floods and droughts, leading to **crop failures**. **Food shortages** caused the price of food grains to skyrocket and distressed **peasants started migrating towards cities** in search of work.

However, because of the economic downturn, demand was at an all-time low. There was no work to be found. The ranks of the unemployed, hungry and angry Parisian mob started to swell and a cloud of uncertainty and unrest hung over the city. The situation had become decidedly revolutionary. All that was needed was a spark.

Beginning of the French Revolution

In 1789, the king called a meeting of the **Estates General** which had not been convened since 1614. This itself was a revolutionary development because it symbolised the surrender of royal prerogative to tax subjects.

Traditionally, the three Estates were represented by 300 members each. They sat separately and considered proposals. Each Estate collectively had one vote.

The Third Estate demanded that its strength be doubled to 600, which was accepted by the king. However, he did not accept the demand of joint sitting.

On 5 June, 1789, the first meeting of the Estates General was held at Versailles. The representatives of the Third Estate complained about poor facilities and shabby treatment. From the very beginning, there was an air of mistrust.

On 17 June, 1789, the **members of the Third Estate clashed with the royal forces** after being denied entry into the assembly.

On **20 June, 1789**, the assembled at the Royal tennis courts where they took the famous “**Tennis Court Oath**”, that they would not disperse until they made a new constitution for France. They began referring to themselves as the **National Assembly** and took up the job of drafting a new constitution.

On **14 July, 1789**, the Parisian mob stormed the Bastille, an infamous prison where political prisoners were held. They killed a few guards and liberated the prisoners. The ‘**Fall of Bastille**’ is regarded as the “Real Beginning of the French Revolution”. It symbolised the overthrow of the ‘Ancien Régime’ along with all of its attendant features.

Phases of the Revolution

Phase 1: 1789 to 91 – National Assembly

A **new constitution** was drafted during this period. Its important features were as follows:

- The principle of **Constitutional Monarchy** was established bringing the absolute rule of the Bourbons to an end.
- **Feudalism was abolished.** The privileges of the first and second Estates were abolished and political equality was established among all French.
- The **Declaration of Rights of man and Citizens** guaranteed the right to life, liberty and property.

- The Constitution provided for free and fair **elections**, to elect a Legislative Assembly.

However, it was **not completely democratic** and created two classes of citizens i.e. Active (taxpayers) and passive (non-taxpayers).

- Only active citizens had the right to vote.
- Further, women were also denied suffrage.

The provisions of this Constitution clearly indicate that **middle class interests** had prevailed and the interests of the working class were largely ignored.

Phase 2: 1791 to 93 – Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly elected by active citizens, became **divided on the issue of the continuation of monarchy**. Those who favoured a constitutional monarchy sat to the **right** of the assembly and those who preferred a republican government sat to the **left**. The **Jacobins**, a group within the left, led by Maximilien Robespierre would play a very important role in the time to come.

Alarmed by the spread of revolutionary sentiment, Prussia and Austria, through the **Declaration of Pillnitz (1791)** declared their intention to restore absolute monarchy in France and mounted an invasion.

A **Committee of Public Safety** was established in order to organise the defence of France and safeguard the revolution. It came to be dominated by the Jacobins who used the invasion as an excuse to **persecute suspected royalists**. Although the French forces managed to repel the invasion, the war had not ended.

In **1792**, **Louis XVI tried to escape** from France to Austria. He was captured and brought back to Paris.

Phase 3: 1793 to 94 – Reign of Terror

Robespierre used this incident to further inflame the threat of a royalist conspiracy and gained the trust of the mob. The Committee of Public Safety organised a **Revolutionary Tribunal** and the guillotine became the main instrument of serving ‘revolutionary justice’.

The **king and queen were both tried for treason and executed**. The Reign of Terror witnessed the execution of **more than 20,000** people belonging to all three Estates.

During this period, some important agendas were carried out by force.

- Fixing the prices of commodities.
- Fixing minimum wages.
- Reforming education which was divested from the church.
- Introducing the decimal system in weights and measures. Ending special uniforms and dresses for the clergy and nobility.

Thus, while in the first phase of the revolution middle class interests had dominated, during the terror some working class demands were fulfilled.

The Reign of Terror ended with a coup and **Robespierre himself was guillotined** on the charges of treason.

Phase 4: 1795 to 99 – Rule of the Directory

The Committee of Public Safety was replaced with a five member Directory shortly after the execution of Robespierre.

This phase is associated with **ineffectiveness and weakness**. The internal policies of the directory could not revive the French economy, which had been ravaged by constant warfare. Its external policy was also weak and France faced reversals on all fronts.

Alarmed by the **rising popularity of Napoleon**, who was seen as the great French hope and had proven victorious in Italy, the directory sent him to Egypt instead of keeping him on the Austrian front.

Phase 5: 1799 to 1804 – The Consulate

It was in this background that Napoleon rose to power. His status as a national hero and the Directory's unpopularity allowed him to replace it with a **Consulate** consisting of 3 Consuls. **Napoleon named himself First Consul.**

The people of France welcomed Napoleon's rule because they were tired of continuous war and wanted stability. This was against the revolution and the ideal of republicanism. However, ten long years of war had **weakened the revolutionary zeal** of the people. They were **more interested in stability and security** which a strong leader like Napoleon could provide.

Phase 6: 1804 to 1813 – Napoleonic Empire

In 1804, Napoleon ended the French Consulate and crowned himself as the Emperor. His army defeated one European power after another and by 1807 he had become the undisputed master of Europe. He also introduced some far-reaching reforms in France:

In 1800, he established the **Bank of France** to rapidly industrialise the country.

He established the **Paris University** in 1800 and **re-organised the education system** by replacing private and religious institutions with government schools known as 'Lycee'. The curriculum was designed to promote the feeling of nationalism and national service. **Primary education was made free.**

The principle of **meritocracy** replaced nepotism in matters of state appointments.

Before Napoleon, France did not have a uniform code of laws. The ancient Roman code had been modified heavily alongside a number of local variations. Napoleon corrected this by qualifying all the civil and criminal laws of France. This is known as the '**Code Napoleon**' and it continued to guide lawmakers long into the future.

Napoleon also undertook a number of important **public works** such as the canal system of Paris, the railway network of northern France and the road network of France and Germany.

He also introduced a uniform civil service known as the '**Auditure system**'. Civil servants such as prefects, sub-prefects, inspectors and sub-inspectors were appointed directly by him and were answerable to him as well.

However, some of his policies were against revolutionary ideals. These were:

Napoleon's rule was a **despotic monarchical rule**. He had revived the institution of absolute monarchy and all powers of state flowed through him.

Freedom of the press, speech and expression were rigidly regulated.

He created a system of military honours known as the '**Legion of Honour**', which was a reincarnation of the old aristocracy.

Napoleon appointed his own brothers and cousins to high office including as monarchs of other countries.

Gender relations in the Napoleonic era were quite backward. He considered women to be nothing more than breeding stock, whose only role was to produce brave sons for France.

In this way, Napoleon was both a champion and destroyer of the revolution.

Significance of the French Revolution

The French Revolution ensured **numerous rights** for its citizens. Initially for the middle class and later for all classes.

It ended the **Ancient Regime**, removed the old monarchy and established a republic for a brief period.

The ideas of **liberty, equality and fraternity** took deep root within the French consciousness and **spread** to the rest of Europe through its revolutionary occupation armies.

A **series of revolutions** took place in Europe during the early half of the 19th century. The major ideals of these revolutions were liberalism and nationalism. They had emerged from the French Revolution and during the 19th century, France continued to provide ideological leadership to Europe.

It was due to the immense influence exercised by France over Europe that the Austrian Chancellor Metternich had famously commented “**When France sneezes, all of Europe catches cold**”.

The **colonies** of Asia, Africa and Latin America were also attracted to the ideas of the French revolution. A section of the educated urban intelligentsia in these colonies drew inspiration from their success and shaped their own **national movements** on the basis of these ideas.

Vienna Congress (1815)

After defeating Napoleon in the battles of Leipzig (1813) and Waterloo (1815), the members of the **Fourth European Coalition** i.e. Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia assembled at Vienna **under the chairmanship of the Austrian Chancellor Klemens von Metternich** to resettle the map of Europe.

Objectives of the Congress of Vienna

The major objectives of the Congress of Vienna were:

- To undo the changes introduced by Napoleon during his rule and turn the clock backwards so as to **restore the picture of pre-1789 Europe**.
- To lift Europe out of the frequent what is that it had found itself in during the Napoleonic years i.e. to **establish peace and stability between the different European states**.
- To **ensure continuity of rule and stability** within the states and to overcome the instability induced by the overthrow of monarchies across Europe.
- To **undo nationalistic impulses** of unifying all German-speaking and Italian-speaking areas into separate nations unleashed during the Napoleonic period.

Principles of the Vienna Congress

The Vienna Congress of 1815 followed **three essential principles** to erase the changes brought about by the forces of revolution in Europe.

- The Principle of Legitimate Rule
- The Principle of Balance of Power
- The Principle of Rewarding Victors

In accordance with the **Principle of Legitimacy**, the dynasties uprooted by Napoleon were restored across Europe.

- Bourbon Dynasty – France, Spain and Naples-Sicily
- House of Savoy – Piedmont-Sardinia
- House of Orange – Holland
- The Papacy – Central Italy
- Habsburg dynasty – Austria and the Italian territories of Parma, Modena and Tuscany

The Principle of **Balance of Power** was used to eliminate the possibility of French aggression in the future. After the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, European peace had remained disturbed for more than 20 years. To avoid this, the borders of France were restored to the pre-1789 frontiers and the territories annexed by Napoleon were distributed so as to create a ring of powerful states around France.

- Prussia was given territories on the Rhine
- Piedmont-Sardinia was strengthened by giving it Genova
- Hungary was integrated with Austria
- Belgium was unified with Holland

The principle of rewarding victors was used to undertake a number of territorial arrangements.

- Prussia received 1/3 of Poland and 2/5 of Saxony
- 2/3 of Poland and all of Finland were given to Russia
- Norway was taken from Denmark and given to Sweden
- The Italian provinces of Lombardi and Venetia were given to Austria

Impact of the Congress of Vienna

The aim of restoring peace to Europe was partially achieved as no major European war was witnessed for the next 50 years or so.

However the other objectives of the Congress of Vienna could not be achieved. The **European Revolution of 1830** was the first major setback to the European Order of 1815.

- The Principle of Legitimacy was shattered by the downfall of the absolutist Bourbon dynasty in France.
- Liberal constitutions were adopted in France, Spain, Portugal and Switzerland.
- The spirit of nationalism also resurfaced and Belgium attained independence from Holland.

The next major blow came in the form of the **European Revolution of 1848**

- The constitutional monarch of France abdicated and France once again became a republic.
- Metternich was overthrown in Austria after a popular uprising. Emboldened by this, Germans, Italians and Hungarians revolted against the Austrians.
- Hungary was given internal autonomy.

While the Congress of Vienna did seem to pacify Europe for about half a century, this peace was superficial. The forces of nationalism and liberalism unleashed by the French Revolution continued to course through Europe under the surface and resurfaced from time to time. The Concert of Europe orchestrated by Metternich was finally undone with the unification of Germany and Italy in 1870–71.

German Unification

Picture of Germany in the beginning of the 19th century/ Background

During the opening years of the 19th century, Germany was part of the **Holy Roman Empire**. Austria and Prussia were its two major states. There were more than 300 smaller states.

The **king of Austria was the sovereign** political head and Austrian domination was maintained through the **Frankfurt Parliament**, where representatives of all the German states used to sit under Austrian leadership.

After defeating the Austro-Prussian forces repeatedly, Napoleon imposed the Peace of Pressburg on Austria in December 1805. Through the terms of this treaty, the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved and the more than 300 smaller German states were amalgamated to create the **Rhine Confederation in 1806**. The **principle of linguistic unification** sowed the seeds of German nationalism among the people.

The **Vienna Congress** made every effort to turn the clock back to the pre-Napoleonic age. The Holy Roman Empire was restored and Austrian domination over it was re-established. However the political reorganisation of the lesser German states done by Napoleon could not be undone. The Congress of Vienna was forced to recognise the **German Confederation of 39 states**.

Zollverein (1819)

An attempt was made by Prussia to bring together all German-speaking states into a **common customs union**. The objective was to eliminate internal tariff barriers between the German speaking areas and to give preferential market access to Prussian industries. This would allow them to compete against the more developed British and French industries.

By 1834 a customs union known as Zollverein was established. It was **led by Prussia** and **all German states had joined it, except for Austria**. This resulted in the economic interests of the smaller German speaking states getting linked more closely with Prussia, than with Austria.

It allowed the Prussian industries to capture the German-speaking market and thus enabled the **rise of the Prussian economy**.

The economic progress facilitated by Zollverein resulted in the emergence of a **strong class of German capitalists**. They **strongly favoured the idea of a unified Germany** so that a strong German state could protect them against the more developed British and French industries.

The success of Zollverein and the resulting prosperity later enabled Bismarck to **finance the expansion of the Prussian army**. This proved crucial for bringing about the political

unification of Germany. It would thus not be wrong to say that the Bismarckian policy of Blood and Iron, to a large extent depended on the forces of Coal and Iron.

1848 - Failed liberal attempt to unify Germany

Metternich was overthrown in Austria by a popular uprising. This inspired the liberal nationalists of Germany to forge political unity by using liberal Parliamentary methods.

A special session of the **Frankfurt Parliament** was convened where a **new constitution** for a unified Germany was enacted. Germany was to be a **constitutional monarchy** and the **crown was offered to the Prussian King Frederick William IV**.

However, the crown was **rejected with prejudice**:

- Frederick William IV was an absolute monarch and considered the offer to be beneath his dignity. Accepting the crown would have vastly reduced his powers.
- It would also have antagonised Austria had drawn Prussia into a war for which it wasn't prepared.

The failure of the 1848 Revolution to bring about German unification was **seen as a failure of liberal methods**. German nationalists lost faith in the efficacy of liberalism. The disenchantment of nationalism with liberalism in Germany was responsible for the militarism of the Bismarckian era.

Bismarckian Era - Blood and Iron

Bismarck was appointed as the **Prussian chancellor in 1862** by Kaiser William I with the objective of bringing about German unification.

Bismarck's aims were:

- To bring about the political **unification of German speaking areas under Prussian leadership without Austria**.
- To establish **German domination** over Europe.
- To unify Germany not under a popularly elected government but **under the leadership of a strong monarchy**.

To achieve these objectives, Bismarck adopted the policy of Blood and Iron. It refers to a **strong, aggressive and ruthless approach based on militarism**. He firmly believed that the complex issues of the age could be tackled only through military action, and any solution derived through liberal methods such as resolutions, speeches, debates and votes is bound to be overturned.

According to him, a Germany unified through liberal methods would soon break apart. Only the use of force by the deployment of a strong military could unify all German speaking areas. Thus, **Bismarck supported the use of force as an instrument of state policy as the preferred strategy to bring about unification**. Longevity of the union could be ensured only if it is imposed from above using military might.

Phase 1: Schleswig - 1863

The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were located between Denmark and Germany. The majority of their population was German-speaking but the Vienna Congress of 1815 had placed them under the nominal control of Denmark. In 1863, Denmark completely annexed Schleswig and was trying to annex Holstein as well.

Bismarck joined hands with Austria, declared war on Denmark, which was forced to surrender the two duchies to the joint control of Prussia and Austria.

Holstein, located close to Prussia was given to Austria while Schleswig was merged with Prussia.

Phase 2: Austro-Prussian War and the creation of the North German Confederation - 1866

Bismarck instigated an anti-Austrian revolt in Holstein. Since he had no just cause for war against Austria, he manufactured this revolt in order to invite an Austrian invasion.

He had already prepared the external environment for this occasion. In 1863, he had helped Russia in suppressing a revolt of Polish peasants to ensure Russian neutrality. French neutrality had been secured by making indications of territorial gains to Napoleon III.

Angered by the revolt, Austria attacked Prussia, and to the amazement of Europe, the mighty Austrian Empire was defeated within seven weeks.

Through the Treaty of Prague (1866) Austria agreed to remain out of Germany and accepted the creation of the North German Confederation of 21 states.

Austria was treated with great honour and every effort was made not to humiliate her. Bismarck knew that Austrian neutrality would be required during the coming war with France.

Phase 3: Franco-Prussian War and the creation of the German Empire - 1870-71

The South German states were quite close to France because of religious affiliations. They also felt threatened by the aggressive moves of Bismarck. Therefore, Bismarck did not demand the integration of the south German states immediately. Instead, he waited for the right opportunity which soon arrived due to the impatience of Napoleon III.



Napoleon III had felt humiliated when Prussia emerged victorious in 1866 and Bismarck reneged on his promise of giving France some territories on the Rhine. Further, he also blocked the French effort to purchase Luxembourg and made these designs public. The South German states became suspicious of French intentions.

The issue of the Spanish Succession was used by Bismarck to inflame passions both in Paris and Berlin. He achieved this through the infamous Ems Telegram episode. Angered and frustrated, Napoleon III declared war on Prussia.

The Franco-Prussian war ended in a crushing defeat for France. Napoleon III and 83,000 French soldiers were taken prisoner and France was forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Paris (1871). Kaiser William I was proclaimed as the German Emperor in the Palace of Versailles, the French seat of power. The French territories of Alsace Lorraine were taken by Germany, which ultimately became a major point of discord between the two countries.

It is often argued that the germs of World War I were sown by the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Paris.

Italian Unification

In the beginning of the 19th century, Italy was just a geographical and cultural expression. It did not exist in a political sense. It was divided into a number of small states, many of which were under foreign rule.

Role of Napoleon in the unification of Italy

Napoleon conquered Italy in 1796-97 and carried out its politico-administrative reorganisation in lines with the ideals of the French revolution.

The various small states were amalgamated and three republics were created i.e. North Italy, Central Italy and South Italy.



In the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity, feudal institutions and the privileges of the church were curtailed. Freedom of the press was guaranteed and basic equality among all citizens was established. These reforms triggered a political awakening among the Italians, which continued to gain momentum with the passage of time.

Vienna Order and Italy

The Vienna Congress made every effort to reverse the reforms introduced by Napoleon.

The old monarchies were restored and Napoleon's political reorganisation was undone.

A large chunk of northern Italy was placed under the control of the Austrian Empire. Papal rule was re-established in central Italy and the Bourbon Dynasty was restored in the kingdom of Naples Sicily.

The civil liberties enjoyed by the people were ruthlessly crushed and the spirit of nationalism was aggressively suppressed.

However, the nationalistic urges of Italians could not be completely suppressed. From time to time, Italians had revolted against foreign domination and despotic rule. Such revolts had erupted in 1820, 1830 and 1848.

1848 Revolution

The revolution of 1848 witnessed the most intense nationalist uprising in Italy till date because by this time, Italian nationalism had matured.

The success of the revolution in Austria resulting in the overthrow of Metternich had inspired the Italians to declare war on Austria.

Charles Albert, the king of Piedmont Sardinia was persuaded to lead the Italian effort. Nationalist pressure also forced Pope Pius IX and Ferdinand II of Naples Sicily to support the war effort.

The War began with great enthusiasm but when the revolutionary temper of the masses subsided, Pius IX and Ferdinand II withdrew themselves.

Piedmont Sardinia alone was not strong enough to stand against Austria and was defeated. King Charles Albert was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Victor Emanuel II.

Italian nationalists realised that any unification effort could be led by Piedmont Sardinia alone and neither the Pope, nor Naples Sicily could be relied upon.

Count Cavour - The Architect of unified Italy

Count Camillo Cavour was an Italian statesman, deeply inspired by the cause of unification. He was appointed as the Prime Minister of Piedmont Sardinia in 1852. He went on to play a central role in the process of unification.

After becoming Prime Minister, he gave deep thought to the challenges and opportunities facing Italian unification.

He identified the following obstacles:

- Domination of strong foreign powers over Italy
- The presence of the Pope in Central Italy
- The weak position of Piedmont Sardinia

After understanding the challenges, he came to the following conclusion:

- Piedmont Sardinia had to accept the responsibility of leading the unification effort.
- Foreign help would be needed since Piedmont Sardinia alone was not very strong.
- Internal reforms were needed to transform Piedmont Sardinia into a strong model state to attract the support of other Italians.

Internal reforms of Cavour

Liberal reforms were initiated to transform Piedmont Sardinia into a constitutional monarchy. Citizens were granted political rights and legal safety. Freedom of the press was protected. The rights to life, liberty and property along with basic freedoms were guaranteed. Feudal and clerical privileges curtailed. Religious freedom was guaranteed and political equality was ensured at all levels.

In order to develop Piedmont Sardinia economically, the policy of free trade was adopted, cooperative societies were established, the transport network was modernised and financial institutions were set up to ensure the availability of credit.

The frontiers of Piedmont Sardinia were fortified and a strong military of 90,000 soldiers was raised.

Diplomatic Efforts of Cavour

1. Crimean War (1853-56)

Despite having no direct stake in the Crimean War, Cavour helped Britain and France against Russia with 18,000 soldiers.

The peace conference after the war was used by him to highlight Austrian misrule in Italy. Both Britain and France expressed sympathy and support for the Italian cause. He had thus ensured their neutrality in any future conflict with Austria.

2. Plombiers Pact (1858)

It was an agreement between Cavour and Napoleon III. In case of an Austrian invasion of Piedmont Sardinia, France would provide military assistance to the latter.

Lombardi and Venetia would be merged with Piedmont Sardinia.

France would get Nice and Savoy.

A marriage would be arranged between the Piedmontese Princess and Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon III's nephew. He would become king of Umbria and Marche.

Phases of Unification

Phase 1: Lombardi - 1859

Cavour instigated a revolt against Austrian rule in Lombardi and Venetia. In response, Austria declared war on Piedmont Sardinia.

France assisted Piedmont Sardinia in liberating Lombardi but suddenly withdrew before Venetia could be liberated.

Phase 2: Parma, Modena, Tuscany, Romagna and Bologna - May 1860

In the backdrop of the Austrian Sardinian war, nationalist sentiment reached fever pitch in these regions. Popular revolts broke out and finally they were merged with Piedmont Sardinia through plebiscite.

Phase 3: Naples-Sicily, Umbria and Marche - November 1860

The developments in northern Italy had triggered a popular revolt in Naples Sicily, Umbria and Marche as well.

However it was not possible for Cavour to interfere directly in Naples Sicily due to the fear of French reaction.

Thus, he used Garibaldi, a revolutionary mercenary to overthrow Bourbon rule. Garibaldi initially refused to join Piedmont Sardinia since he was a supporter of republicanism. He finally agreed to join the union after a plebiscite supported it.

Victor Emanuel II was coronated as the king of Italy.

Phase 4: Venetia - 1866

Bismarck and Victor Emanuel II entered an alliance before the Austro-Prussian War (1866). Although the Italian forces were defeated, Prussia emerged victorious and as per the terms of the treaty which followed, Venetia was merged with Italy.

Phase 5: Rome - 1870

Papal rule in Rome was being propped up with French support. However, when the Franco-Prussian War (1870) began, Napoleon III withdrew his troops from Rome. Taking advantage of this, Victor Emanuel II annexed Rome and was once again coronated as the king of unified Italy. Rome became the new capital of Italy and the Pope was allowed to continue his rule over the Vatican.

Bismarck's Foreign Policy

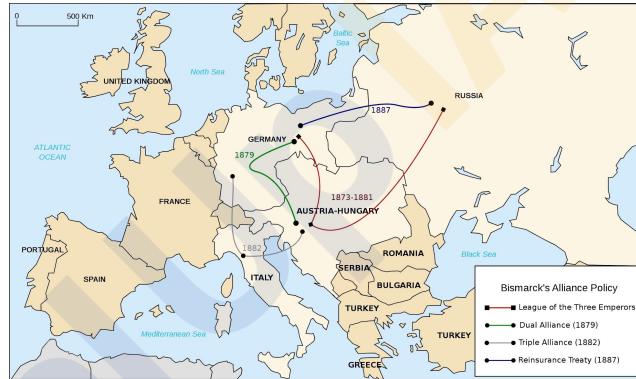
Germany had emerged as a satiated nation in 1871. All of its ambitions had been fulfilled and after unification, it had emerged as the most powerful nation in all of Europe. Now its only concern was to maintain the status quo.

In pursuance of this goal, Bismarck organised his foreign policy with the following objectives:

- To maintain relative **peace in Europe** which would allow Germany to prosper and ultimately dominate European markets.
- To establish **German supremacy** over Europe by Britain both economically and militarily.
- To **isolate France** diplomatically, which would inevitably attempt to undo the humiliation suffered in 1871.

In order to achieve these objectives, Bismarck adopted the twin policy of:

1. Creating a system of secret peacetime military alliances to keep France isolated in Europe.
2. To increase German military expenditure steadily, especially on the navy, so that Germany could surpass the British navy.



In accordance with this policy, the following alliances were made:

1. 1873 - League of 3 Emperors - Germany, Austria and Russia
 - Collapsed in 1878
2. 1879 - Dual Alliance - Germany and Austria
3. 1881 - League of 3 Nations - Germany, Austria and Russia
4. 1882 - Triple Alliance - Germany, Austria and Italy
5. 1887 - Reinsurance Treaty - Germany and Russia
 - Signed after the League of 3 Nations collapsed due to differences between Austria and Russia.

In this manner, Bismarck was able to pull the major powers of Europe into orbit around Germany while keeping France isolated and avoiding any large destructive wars. This period of relative peace was used successfully by the German military industrial complex to advance rapidly. Under Bismarck, Germany remained in a place of prominence in European politics.

However, relations between Kaiser William II and Bismarck deteriorated as the monarch was keen on expansion and not on maintaining the alliance system. In 1890 Kaiser William II refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia leading to Bismarck's resignation.

Evaluation of Bismarck's Foreign Policy

Although Bismarck's foreign policy was able to fulfil the objectives of isolating France, maintaining peace and becoming stronger militarily, overall the Bismarckian system was opportunistic and unstable.

It was based upon a network of interlocking military alliances which held till he remained in charge. However, the system soon broke down following his resignation.

Moreover, the increase in military expenditure and secret nature of alliances created an atmosphere of fear and instability that fueled an arms race and counter alliances. This resulted in the emergence of two heavily armed mutually suspicious military camps. The groundwork for a global conflict had been laid.

Imperialism and Colonialism

- When a country is occupied, settled or controlled by another country so that its resources could be used for the benefit of the mother country, the phenomenon is known as imperialism or colonialism. These words are often used interchangeably, but they have certain differences.
- Imperialism involves the establishment of political control by one power over another. It is associated with the process of empire building. On the other hand, colonialism entails the setting of one country by another.
- Throughout world history, several instances of imperialism and colonialism can be found. Each of these instances was different from the other in terms of methods, scope and impact. For instance, both India and Australia were part of the British Empire. While Australia was thoroughly colonised to the extent that its culture has become heavily Anglicised, the same is not true for India. The British never actively tried to settle India. They were only interested in establishing and maintaining their political and economic hegemony.

Causes of imperialism and colonialism:

- From the 16th-18th centuries, many countries such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, England, Holland and Denmark established extensive trading relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries.
- Initially, their main objective was trade, but soon, their ambitions turned towards political hegemony in order to exploit these regions.
- The discovery of new lands and new trade routes also facilitated colonialism.
- During this period, the population of Europe had also increased and that immigration was encouraged.
- From the very beginning, European oceanic trade wars and 'Armed Trade'. Success for merchant capitalists depended on their ability to control supply and establish monopolies. Thus, European merchants received naval support from their respective states. This military support also gave them immense coercive power while dealing with native rulers.
- The biggest cause of modern imperialism was the industrialisation of Western Europe. Colonies were valuable sources of raw material and served as captive markets for finished industrial products. As industrialisation spread throughout Europe, the pace of imperialism kept increasing.
- The weakness of Asian and African countries, the decline of big empires and their technological backwardness allowed the Europeans to establish their hegemony with relative ease.

The process and phases of colonialism:

- In some Asian countries, Europeans occupied territories, defeated local rulers and established their direct rule. India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Indonesia, Egypt and South Africa are some such countries.
- In some countries, the colonising powers established their 'Spheres of Influence' i.e. these Europeans powers became patrons of the local rulers who were reduced to the position of puppets. Direct rule was never established however European interests were secured through such puppet rulers. Such a system emerged in China and the Middle East. Southern China was forced to open her doors to European trade after the First Opium war and the Treaty of Nanking. By this treaty, the Europeans were given the right to set up their own settlements, govern their own people, sell certain products and preach Christianity.
- Often, the colonial competition was resolved through direct conflict between colonising powers. E.g. The Carnatic wars.
- However, European countries did not necessarily resort to violence in order to settle colonial questions. The 'Scramble for Africa' began in the 1870s after the unification of Italy and Germany (1870-71). Tensions were high and destructive wars seemed inevitable. In this background, Germany organised the Berlin Conference of 1884 and Africa was partitioned peacefully.
 - Southern and western Africa went to the British.
 - Germans controlled central and eastern Africa.
 - The northern and western parts of Africa came under French control.
 - The Italians received small colonies in eastern Africa.
 - Central Africa was given to the Belgians.
- This new phase of imperialism after the 1870s was known as Neo-Imperialism. It was characterised by:
 - The entry of new players such as Germany, Italy and Russia.
 - As compared to the previous phase of imperialism, new imperialism was much more rapid. While the previous phase beginning in the 16th century, had been going on for more than two centuries. Under new imperialism, almost the entire world was rapidly colonised within 20 to 30 years.
 - While old imperialism had been driven by mercantile capitalism, industrialisation was the main driving force behind new imperialism.
 - Old imperialism was guided primarily by economic interests. On the other hand, nationalism emerged as a contributing factor for new imperialism.

Consequences

Economic Consequences:

- Colonialism resulted in the enrichment of the colonising powers and the impoverishment of the colonised countries. Colonialism coincided with the growth and progress of capitalism (mercantile, industrial and finance capitalism). A common

feature of these phases was the exploitation of the colony for the benefit of the mother country.

- The wealth of the colonies was systematically and continuously drained by this process. It has been estimated that after 1906, roughly 1/4 to 1/3 of India's national wealth was drained to England every year. Other colonies had similar experiences. The main instruments of this drain were:
 - Direct plunder
 - Heavy rates of taxation
 - De-industrialisation
 - Commercialisation of agriculture
 - Using the colonies resources for imperial wars
 - Development of modern infrastructure in the colony as a means of investing accumulated wealth to extract profit and dividends while accelerating the process of exploitation.

Political Consequences:

- Colonisers established direct or indirect rule in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This led to a decline of local dynasties and the surviving rulers became colonial puppets.
- Colonisers introduced new politico-administrative systems and concepts such as nation-states, democratic institutions, separation of powers, equality etc. were also introduced by them. This helped in modernising the political outlook of the colonies.
- Imperialism drew a spectrum of reactions from the colonised people ranging from acceptance to non-violent protests to violent revolts and rebellions. In most of the world, popular nationalist movements based on modern political ideas emerged and gathered momentum in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Earlier, they were aimed at ending exploitation but later they tried to establish modern liberal democratic rule with guaranteed fundamental rights.
- Global conflict also intensified as industrialised nations competed for enlarging their empires.

Socio – cultural consequences:

- The colonists introduced modern education, Western liberal thought, social and physical sciences along with modern means of transport and communication. This had a massive impact on the native culture and society. It resulted in the emergence of an educated urban middle-class which provided leadership in the political and economic and cultural spheres. By and large this food for modern liberal ideas such as individual freedom, equality, human rights and fraternity.
- The colonists, at the insistence of native liberals, initiated social reforms against superstitious practices and social evils. Women in these colonies became the focal point of reforms.
- The introduction of modern means of transportation and communication generated the feeling of unity among the natives. By creating shared spaces they also brought about traditional social hierarchies, caste, religion and gender.

World War I

The First World War was fought between the **Central Powers** i.e. Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire on one side and the **Entente Powers or Allies** i.e. Britain, France, Russia, the USA and Italy on the other.

It proved to be the largest, bloodiest and most destructive war that had been fought till then. The immediate trigger for the war was provided by the **assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince, Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo by a Serbian nationalist**. However a deeper analysis is needed to understand the real reasons for the war.

Causes

Germany had emerged as the master of Europe after its unification in 1871 by defeating France. France had been humiliated badly and the German Chancellor Bismarck was convinced that it needed to be kept diplomatically and militarily isolated. France alone would not dare challenge German power. Thus, he devised a system of secret peacetime military alliances known as the **Bismarckian System**.

- In 1882, he had secured a Triple Alliance of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian empire and Italy.
- In 1887 he also secured an alliance with Russia through the Reinsurance Treaty.

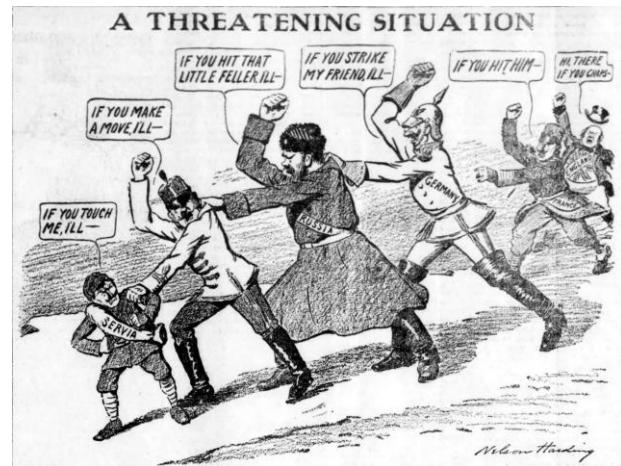
This system collapsed soon after Bismarck resigned and a system of **counter alliances** emerged.

- 1894 – Franco Russian alliance
- 1904 – Entente Cordiale between Britain and France
- 1907 – Triple Entente involving Britain, France and Russia

Suddenly, two armed camps with mutually exclusive interests had emerged. This made the possibility of a European war extremely likely.

The 19th century had seen the surge of **nationalism** in Europe. It was especially prevalent in the **Balkan region**. This was problematic because the Balkans were sandwiched between two large and culturally diverse empires who wanted to arrest the rise of nationalism. These were the **Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire**.

Austria had time and again frustrated Serbian nationalism because it was



considered to be the greatest threat to the integrity of the empire. On the other hand, **Russia**, which was seen as the leader of the Pan-Slav movement, considered itself to be the **champion of Serbian nationalism**. Thus, they found themselves at increasing odds with the Austrians.

The **Germans** found themselves in a difficult situation. Since **Austria was their only remaining reliable ally** in Europe, they had no option but to support it in case of a war with Russia.

Britain and France were convinced that Russia would not be able to withstand a combined Austro German onslaught and were resolved to defend Russia.

The emergence of this situation had been preceded by a **series of crises** which had steadily increased tensions and pushed Europe towards war.

- 1st and 2nd Moroccan Crisis (1906, 1911)
- Bosnian Crisis (1908)
- 1st and 2nd Balkan Wars (1912, 1913)

Nationalistic competition also played a major role in the buildup to the war. All European powers wanted to assert their economic and military superiority. This poisoned the already tense situation even further. To a large extent, this feeling of national competition was fuelled by the **industrial and imperial race**.

Driven by nationalism, **militarism** became an important part of European life during the period preceding the war. In the backdrop of uncertainty, European powers started seeking security in the strength of arms. It was believed that a credible deterrence could be created only by having a strong military. This led to an **arms race**. However, this was a false sense of security as was to be proven shortly.

Tensions were heightened further due to the **radical nationalist propaganda** of the European press. Leaders in all countries were forced to assume an aggressive external policy. This left very little room for negotiations and de-escalation, as they were under intense public pressure not to appear weak.

By the end, Europe was sitting on a heap of gunpowder, only a **spark** was needed. This was provided by the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince.

In 1898 itself, Bismarck had prophesied that a war would engulf Europe and it would begin because of the ‘Eastern Question’. His prophecy was proven true when Austria declared war on Serbia.

Consequences

Human consequences

The war resulted in the largest number of deaths as compared to all previous conflicts. Almost 80 lakh people had died and more than 1.5 crore were wounded.

This was the first war where the number of casualties was higher among noncombatants than soldiers.

The war displaced millions from their homes. This created a massive humanitarian crisis. These displaced people had no homes, no property and sometimes not even a country.

The war claimed entire generations. The most badly affected were the youth. In some countries such as Britain, Germany and Belgium, almost the entire generation of young men was wiped out. This created a major demographic crisis.

Due to the immense human misery, Europe was plunged into an atmosphere of pessimism and hopelessness. The trend of Nihilism and Atheism increased.

Economic Consequences

The war completely destroyed European industry. Most countries had to borrow heavily from the USA in order to rebuild their economy. They shifted the huge burden of this debt to their colonies. As a result colonial exploitation intensified.

Europe had lost its position as the industrial powerhouse of the world. It was replaced by America and Japan.

European financial institutions started collapsing. This further aggravated the economic crisis. Inflation started running wild and the currencies of some European economies failed completely.

Political consequences

The political map of the world was transformed. Germany was broken up and some of its territory was given to France and Poland.

Hungary was separated from Austria

The colonies of Austria and Germany in Asia and Africa were divested from them and placed under the mandate of Britain and France.

The league of Nations was created in 1919 with the objective of peace and disarmament. This was the first practical expression of internationalism in the world.

The hardships faced by Russians during the war led to the Russian Revolution (1917).

Socio-cultural consequences

World War I was the most technologically advanced war to have been fought till date, in which biological and chemical weapons were used. Intense research had gone into the development of these weapons. After the war, this knowledge resulted in the advancement of the chemical and medical sciences.

The war had liberated women in some respects. When all the able-bodied men had been called to the front, women had entered the workforce in large numbers. Having tasted social and economic independence, they were not ready to return to their traditional roles after the war. This led to a series of feminist movements resulting in some political reforms, which established political equality with men.

The war also heightened the issues of the working class and the idea of socialism became popular in many countries, especially after the success of the Russian revolution.

Questions:

- The First World War destroyed the old, so that the new could take its place. Comment.
- The Great War was as dramatic in its consequences, as it was horrifying in its buildup. Discuss.

Socialism and Communism

Origin and growth in different phases

- In the late 18th and early 19th century, many writers and thinkers started questioning the capitalist mode of production, which had created a huge gap between the haves and the have-nots.
- The emergence of class consciousness among the workers had given credence to their concerns. They started suggesting ways in which the relationship between industrialists and workers should be regulated. In this background, various theories and suggestions were put forward.

1. Utopian Socialists:

- They emphasised that the industrialists themselves should act as trustees of the workers. They suggested that industrialists should voluntarily ensure workers rights such as:
 - Minimum wages
 - Job security
 - Medical and life insurance
 - Free education
 - Proper housing etc.
- Some important utopian socialist were early 19th century English and French industrialists. The most important among them were Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Henri de Saint-Simon.

2. Fabian Socialists:

- The favoured state regulation of the relationship between the capitalists and workers through laws. They wanted to bring a gradual change in the condition of the workers and supported state intervention in the market mechanism. Important Fabian socialist included George Bernard Shaw, Sydney web and Beatrice Webb.
- Both utopias and Fabians faced criticism when their policies were not able to restrict the widening gap between the haves and have-nots.

3. Scientific Socialists:

- They made a scientific enquiry of the economy in a historical context. In this regard the pioneers were call Marx and Frederick Engels, who published their 'Communist Manifesto' in 1848. The tools used by them were historical materialism and Marxist dialectics.
- They differentiated between the industrial mode of production and the previous models and concluded that unlike previous phases, the have-nots in the industrial phase have the ability to bring change. This is because of their class consciousness i.e. the awareness of belonging to a distinct class with distinct interests which are different from the interests of the industrialists.

- Class consciousness would enable them to agitate for their interests. However these would not be fulfilled by the industrialist because of conflicting interests. They professed that a revolution would take place in which the bourgeois class would be overthrown and a dictatorship of the proletariat would be established.
- The workers would organise a socialist state, which would own, regulate and distribute resources. Its primary objective would be to ensure equal redistribution.
- Finally, the state would wither away and a classless, stateless society would remain. Resources would be produced by the people living in communes. There would be no private property and each person would produce as per his ability and consume as per his needs.
- The Communist Manifesto was well received and many political movements and parties based on Marxist ideology emerged in Europe.
- Two major international meetings of communists took place in Paris in the 1870s and 1880s. It was here that the slogan “Workers of the World Unite” was given. The tradition of celebrating 1 May as labour Day also began here.
- The Communist ideology was more popular in Russia and Eastern Europe than in Western Europe.

Consequences/ Significance/ Impact:

- With the emergence of socialism, ideological differences with capitalists emerged. The supporters of either ideological block started promoting the benefits of their ideology and denouncing the other.
- Many reforms were initiated in the Western Europe in countries with regards to workers rights. Late entrants into the industrial revolution were slow and reluctant to bring these reforms. As a result, socialism became immensely popular in Russia and Eastern Europe.
- The emergence of Communist ideology led to massive revolutions in Russia and China which were inspired by Marx but were quite different in their application and scope.
- In Russia, Lenin organised a planned and violent overthrow of the state by mobilising workers, peasants and soldiers. In China, Mao brought a similar revolution with the help of peasants only. This belied Marxist claim that communism could prevail only in heavily industrialised societies.
- The Cold War was a direct consequence of this clash of ideologies. The USSR led the Communist bloc whereas the USA led the capitalist. The world divided itself between the two poles and a multifaceted global conflict and competition started.
- Because of the socialist ideology, the prestige and status of peasants and workers improved considerably. Their bargaining power, especially in the democratic setup became considerable and the concept of welfare politics picked up speed because of this ideology.
- The effects of socialism can also be seen in culture, philosophy and art. In this context, the writings of Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky hold special significance.

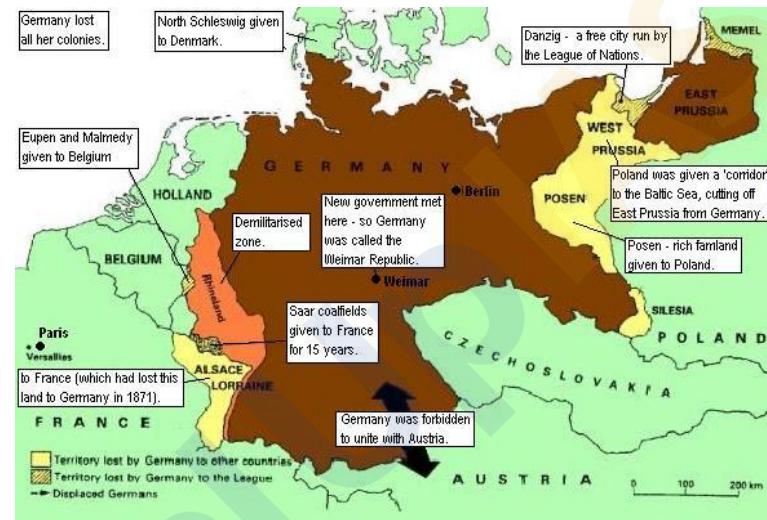
Relevance of socialist ideas in the 21st-century:

- Since the end of the Cold War and the victory of capitalism, the relevance of socialism has come under question.
- Modern thinkers believe that the state has an important role to play in reducing the gap between the rich and the poor. The very idea of justice has been equated to the provision of basic minimums. According to them, it is possible to establish a fair and just society if not an absolutely equal society.
- It has also been contended that socialism is important for the success of capitalism. In the absence of equality it would be impossible to ensure free and open competition without which capitalism would fail.
- The development of a healthy, educated and skilled labour force is essential for the success of capitalist economies. In this context, the state is well-equipped to intervene in the social sector.
- Capitalism is more likely to succeed if the consumers have high purchasing power. This can be ensured by removing poverty through social intervention and by providing equal opportunity to all sections.
- The perverse effects of capitalism can be restricted through timely and adequate state regulation. The state has emerged as not only a regulator, but also as an arbiter between the market and the consumers.
- In the absence of strong and independent regulatory institutions, corrupt practices, monopolies and cronyism may emerge.
- Socialist ideas are especially relevant in developing countries such as India, where the state must take on the added responsibility of ensuring economic progress along with equitable redistribution. India has been able to lift millions out of poverty because of its socialist credentials.
- Cutting edge research in the sciences and humanities is conducted by state funded institutions which also produce industry leaders.
- Public Sector Enterprises such as the Railways, GAIL, NTPC, etc. and Public Sector Banks do not only ensure economic stability but also accessibility and affordability.
- In the absence of adequate state intervention, inequality may rise and this can lead to social strife or political extremism. The Naxalite movement is a result of the same.
- Therefore socialist ideas would remain relevant till the time that the gap between the rich and the poor continues to exist.

Treaty of Versailles (1919)

Provisions

- After the end of WW1, the victorious powers that is, England, France, Italy and the USA forced Germany to sign the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.
- The German delegates were humiliated and forced to sign the treaty under duress.
- Germany was forced to accept the 'War Guilt' clause.
- Among the various clauses, Alsace-Lorraine which the Germans had captured in 1871 was given back to France.
- The Saar Valley was also given to France as compensation for the lengthy occupation and exploitation of Alsace Lorraine.
- The Rhineland region was demilitarised and Germans were forced to vacate it. Demilitarisation was to be overseen by French occupation forces.
- Many colonies of Germany were snatched away and entrusted to France and England as mandates.
- Germany itself had to part with some territories such as Sudetenland and the Port of Danzig.
- East Prussia was physically separated from the rest of Germany to give Poland access to the sea.
- Germany was also forced to reduce the size of its army to 1,00,00 soldiers. Its armoured Corps was destroyed and it was not allowed to modernise its navy.
- The impractical amount of 6,600 million pounds was fixed as war indemnity.



Critical evaluation of the Treaty of Versailles

- Despite American reservations, the British and French pursued an aggressive treaty. The US president Woodrow Wilson wanted soft treatment for Germany. However the French President Clemenceau insisted upon a humiliating and harsh treaty.
- The Germans never forgot this humiliation. The entire country was agitated. The opposition got a big opportunity to criticise the government. They were branded as 'November Criminals'. A section of youth, especially former soldiers and socialists organised the German Workers Party. The arrival of Hitler gave a new lease of life to

this party. In his autobiography 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle), he said that his objective was to avenge the humiliation of Versailles.

- Similar trends were also visible in Italy which felt cheated after the Treaty of Versailles. The unpopularity of the Italian government after the treaty was one of the factors behind the rise of Mussolini.
- Thus, the treaty instead of bringing peace, sowed the seeds of another war.

League of Nations (1919)

- During the course of WW I, the American President Woodrow Wilson came up with the idea for the league. This idea started gaining currency when the war escalated leading to large-scale death and destruction.
- Victory for England, France and Italy had proven to be empty. It had been a costly affair and had led to the destruction of their industry, agriculture and workforce.
- Many political thinkers, activists and a section of the civil society started promoting the idea of peace and disarmament. They realised that there are some contentious issues which became the reason for war. They wanted a lasting solution for these issues. In this background, internationalism and the League of Nations became attractive ideas.

Objectives

- **The league had well-defined objectives:**
 1. Peace
 2. Disarmament
 3. Resolving disputes mutually
 4. Promoting social harmony
 5. Improving health of ordinary citizens
 6. Improving working conditions for labourers
 7. Standard of life for women
 8. Punishing violators, firstly through diplomatic channels and economic sanctions and finally military action

- **Organs of the league**

1. General Assembly
2. Council
3. Secretariat
4. International Labour Organisation
5. World Court

General Assembly

- It was an assembly of all members. Each member country had one vote each. The doors of the League of Nations were open to all, but due to rivalries between nations and contradictions between the League's objectives and actions of its powerful members, several major countries did not join it.

Council

- It was the core body of the League of Nations having four permanent members England, France, Italy and Japan.
- There were four non-permanent members, nominated by rotation. The most crucial decisions and policies were initiated, adopted and passed firstly in the Council and later approved by the General assembly. Thus, the council shaped the destiny of the League of Nations.

Secretariat

- Top executives known as secretaries were posted here to implement the agenda and resolutions of the League. Secretaries were elected by member countries.

International Labour Organisation

- This body was created to fulfil the social objectives of the league i.e. to improve the living conditions of workers in organised and unorganised sectors, to ensure minimum wages, to regulate working hours, provide health and insurance cover, to end discrimination and to provide job security security.

World Court

- It was set up at The Hague with judges to settle disputes among member countries and to hear their grievances.

Critical Evaluation

- The league of Nations registered a modest degree of success in reducing conflict during the 1920s and 1930s. Some possible wars were averted because of its timely intervention. However, by the late 1930s, it had lost its sheen. It failed due to the following reasons:
 1. The objectives of the league and domestic and foreign policies of its important members were often contradictory. All members continued to increase their armed strength and modernise their armies. Even its permanent members such as France frequently violated its conventions.
 2. Border and territorial disputes among member countries especially France, England, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia could not be resolved. This proved to be a constant irritant in European relations.

3. The league did not have its own permanent force. Thus, military action could never be implemented and violations went unpunished. Economic sanctions were often undone because of national economic interests of the members. Even diplomatic pressure proved to be ineffective because of secret understanding between violator and powerful members.
4. Big powers like the USA and the USSR did not join the league. In fact they often worked against the policy objectives and agenda of the league. Thus, success was bound to be limited.
5. After the rise of totalitarianism in Italy and Germany, the league became almost irrelevant. Hitler and Mussolini had no respect for this toothless body. They preferred individual heroism over international cooperation. Thus, they ridiculed and finally withdrew from the league.

- **Despite these shortcomings, the league would remain historic because:**

1. It paved the way for the emergence of the UNO in which many of its shortcomings were corrected.
2. The International Labour Organisation was a success story of the league. It helped raise labour issues across the globe and persuade many countries to enact progressive labour laws. It created awareness among the labourers to organise and raise their demands. It also helped in raising their standard of life.
3. The World Court which later transformed into the International Court of Justice was another success of the league. It allowed members to peacefully resolve their disputes without going to war.

The Great Depression (1929)

- The capitalist mode of production is cyclic in nature and is vulnerable to periods of boom and bust. It has been observed that 2 to 3 major shocks occur almost every century. The great depression of 1929 was one such shock. It was triggered by the crash of the New York Stock Exchange, an event which is infamous as 'Black Tuesday'.
- The sudden crash frightened investors. They lost confidence in the economic system and started making panic sales and withdrawals from banks. This pushed the market even further down and almost all major banks were forced to shut their doors.
- After the First World War, the European economy was completely shattered. The process of rebuilding was funded primarily by American loans. As European economies recovered, their industries became more and more dependent upon American banks. The sudden crash was thus felt world over. The lack of demand and lack of availability of loans caused several industries to shut down. Within a year, 14 million Americans, 6 million Germans and 3 million British became unemployed.

- This economic crisis led to political unrest and instability, which was used by political opportunists like Hitler and Mussolini to grab power, establish their totalitarian rule, militarise their countries and threaten world peace.
- Unemployment caused poverty and even starvation. Even agriculture wasn't spared. It had become increasingly mechanised and dependent upon formal credit. The depression had caused agricultural demand to plummet. This resulted in crashing food prices. Instead of selling food cheaply, powerful agricultural lobbies pressurised their governments to dump millions of tonnes of grain into the sea in an attempt to revive prices.
- This paradox is an important feature and shortcoming of capitalist economies.
- On the other hand, the Russians through their socialist model demonstrated that state regulation can prevent such catastrophes and that leaving the economy completely at the mercy of the market is imprudent.
- Many capitalist nations became cautious and instituted regulatory mechanisms to prevent such depressions in the future.
- Keynesian economics (counter-cyclical measures) became popular. After the Great Depression, President Roosevelt of the US introduced the historic 'New Deal' with its focus on 'Relief, Recovery and Reform'. It included the following important programmes/measures:
 - **Tennessee Valley Authority:** for construction works.
 - **Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA):** funds for states and local governments.
 - **Federal Reserve Bank:** for providing loans.
 - **Security Exchange Act 1934:** licence to the stock exchange.
 - **National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) :** Raise worker wages, lower working hours.
 - **Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA):** compensation to farmers, raise agriculture prices.
 - Collective bargaining between employer and workers.
 - Restriction of work hours.
 - **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC):** to protect depositors' accounts.
 - **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC):** to regulate the U.S. stock markets.
- The threat of communism increased because of unemployment and poverty during the depression. The success of socialists influenced intellectuals and commoners alike. The ideology became immensely popular in colonies and to a large extent, shaped their freedom struggles and post-independence policies.

Russian Revolution (1917)

Russia before the Revolution

- In 1861, serfdom was abolished by Czar Alexander II. This created a large labour force which could be accommodated in Russia's new industries which developed rapidly between the 1860s and 90s.
- The living condition of Russian workers was extremely poor. As a result, Russia became a hotbed for Communist activity. Many socialist political parties had emerged. In 1898 the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was created.
- Russia's defeat to Japan in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05) was a huge blow to the prestige of the Czarist regime. It also led to economic difficulties and the prices of essential goods skyrocketed. Food shortages resulted in bread riots and oppression by the royal troops led to the First Russian Revolution of 1905.
- Although the revolution was crushed, Czar Nicholas II initiated some reforms and a Duma (representative assembly) was established. However, the underlying issues of Russian workers and peasants remained unresolved.
- The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party became increasingly popular and in 1912, it split into two groups, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. The former was led by Kurensky and drew its support from the Russian middle class. The latter was headed by Lenin and was popular among workers and peasants.

Causes of the revolution

- The First World War brought untold misery to Russians. Over 6 lakh Russian soldiers had died and more than thrice that number were wounded or maimed. Most of these soldiers came from poor families and people started questioning the rationale behind the war. They wanted Russia to withdraw from the war.
- The disastrous Russian campaign also earned heavy criticism for the Czar who was personally leading the Russian war effort.
- The war led to a serious financial crisis due to food shortages. The prices of essential items had risen by 4 to 5 times. This led to daily protests.
- Peasants and workers were organised by socialists through local Soviets. They had regular meetings and discussed local issues. Newspapers, pamphlets, posters, street plays etc. also played an important role in creating awareness and class consciousness among the working class.
- Lenin who was in exile in Switzerland gained popularity through his writings. Workers saw in him a liberator. He was also a gifted orator and organiser.
- In February 1917, the Mensheviks with the help of some military officers succeeded overthrowing the 300 year old czarist regime. The Czar and his family were arrested and a Menshevik government headed by Kurensky came to power. They brought some important changes:
 - A. End of monarchy and establishment of a republic

- B. Freedom of the press, thought, speech and expression
 - C. Right to life and property
 - D. Equality among all citizens; the clergy and nobility lost their powers land and privileges
- However, the Bolsheviks were not satisfied with these reforms and branded them as Bourgeois reforms.
 - Lenin returned from Switzerland and organised workers, peasants and red soldiers around the following agendas:
 1. Industries should be under the control of workers.
 2. Land should be under the control of peasants.
 3. Non-Russian living in Russian territory should be given citizenship.
 4. Russia should withdraw from the First World War.
 - In October 1917, the Bolsheviks attacked Moscow, overthrew Kerensky's government and established Bolshevik rule.

Consequences

- National resources such as banks, financial institutions, railways, roads, canals etc. were nationalised and the concept of private property was abolished.
- Several reforms were initiated for workers. Minimum wages were fixed, working hours were regulated and the right to work became a fundamental right. This was the first in modern world history.
- Russia withdrew from WW1 and made peace with Germany. This came at a heavy price and Russia had to part with several Western territories.
- Land was taken away from landlords and churches. Cooperative farming was introduced.
- Non-Russians living in vast parts of Central Asia were declared as Russian citizens and given equal rights.
- However, Russia had to undergo a bloody civil war between 1917–21. The communists i.e. Reds had to fight the reactionary i.e. Whites who are supported by big landlords, old royalists and western capitalists especially the US, Britain and France. They were afraid of the success of the Marxist ideology in Russia and had joined hands to contain its growth.
- Lenin organised the 3rd Communist International. Its declared agenda was to spread communism across the globe. This was a major threat to the capitalist bloc.
- In 1921, Lenin introduced the new economic policy and brought some moderate changes. Heavy industries continued to remain under state control. However small-scale and cottage industries were allowed in private hands. This allowed for rapid planned growth.

Significance in world history

- The workers of the world celebrated the success of the Russian revolution. They felt that their dignity had been restored. Workers in other countries were inspired by its success. They organised trade unions, held strikes and demanded the same rights as available to Russian workers.
- Most governments were afraid of the rising tide of communism and did not want similar revolutions in their countries. Thus, they too initiated some reforms to provide relief to their workers. Such reforms were made by most European countries and were introduced even in colonies such as India and Sri Lanka.
- The concept of cooperative farming gained popularity, especially in colonies and peasants started organising collective movements.
- Intellectuals across the world were inspired by the Communist success. They started praising Marxist and Leninist thought and challenged capitalism. The Marxist worldview also became predominant in academics, especially the Humanities.
- The success of the Russian revolution was reflected in literature, theatre, painting, sculpture and cinema as well. It inspired the creative urges of artists and protagonists were no longer princess or lords but industrial workers and porters.

Russian Revolution (1917)

- Industrialisation: Russia
- Causes of the revolution
- Early Policies
- Civil War & War Communism
- New Economic Policy

Industrialisation: Russia

Obstacles for Russian industrialisation

- Russia was blessed with large reserves of natural resources. But **poor connectivity and excessive cold** made them virtually inaccessible.
- **Feudalism** was prevalent and the **middle class was absent**.
- There was a **dearth of private capital** for investment.
- The labour market was restricted by **Serfdom**.

Bid for industrialisation in the 18th C.

- **Peter ‘the Great’** initiated the process of industrialisation in Russia in the 18th century.
- But his attempt **failed** in the absence of structural infrastructure.
- Also industrialisation based on **slave labour** had little chance of success.

Industrialisation in Russia in 19th C

- In earnest, Russian industrialisation started after the **abolition of serfdom in 1861** by Czar Alexander II. His finance minister Sergei Witte encouraged industrialisation based on the **Gerschenkron model**.
 - According to this model, late entrants to industrialisation should follow their own path.
 - In countries where some essential ingredients of industrialisation are missing, the **state should lead from the front**.
- So in Russian industrialisation the state tried to compensate for the dearth of private capital by playing the role of an **investor**. For this purpose it adopted two strategies.
 - Firstly, it **taxed** the peasants of Russia heavily.
 - Secondly, it **borrowed** heavily from external sources.

Features of Russian Industrialisation:

1. Emphasis on **basic and heavy industries** such as iron and steel, cement and railways leading to **shortage of consumer goods**.
2. **Strict state control** prevented the birth of an independent middle class.
 - Therefore, **democratic reforms did not take place**.
3. **State led industrialisation** through heavy taxation and borrowing resulted in **poor efficiency and low productivity**.
 - Thus the state lacked resources for social sector spending.

- Therefore, **poverty and inequality** was extremely high.
- 4. **Unbalanced growth** due to the concentration of most industries in specific regions.
 - Since the working class was confined to a few cities, it led to **growing class consciousness**.

Thus it is not hard to see how the seeds of the Bolshevik Revolution lay in the specific features of Russian Industrialisation.

Causes of the Revolution

- With the abolition of serfdom in 1861, a large labour force was created, which could be accommodated into Russia's emerging industries.
- The working and living **conditions of Russian workers were extremely poor**.
 - As a result, Russia became a **hotbed for Communist activity**.
 - In 1898, the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was created.
- Russia's defeat to Japan in the **Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)** was a huge blow to the prestige of the Czarist regime.
 - It also led to **economic difficulties** and the prices of essential goods skyrocketed.
 - Food shortages resulted in bread riots and atrocities by the royal troops led to the **First Russian Revolution of 1905**.
- Although the revolution was crushed, **Czar Nicholas II initiated some reforms** and a Duma (representative assembly) was established.
 - However, the **underlying issues of Russian workers and peasants remained unresolved**.
- The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party became increasingly popular and in **1912**, it split into two groups, the **Mensheviks** and the **Bolsheviks**.
 - The former was led by Kurensky and drew its support from the Russian middle class.
 - The latter was headed by Lenin and was popular among workers and peasants.
- The **First World War** brought untold misery to Russians.
 - Over 6 lakh Russian soldiers had died and more than thrice that number were wounded or maimed.
 - Most of these soldiers came from poor families and people started questioning the rationale behind the war.
 - They wanted Russia to withdraw from the war.
- The war also led to a **serious financial crisis** due to food shortages.
 - The prices of essential items had risen by 4 to 5 times. This led to daily protests.
- The disastrous Russian campaign also earned **heavy criticism for the Czar** who was personally leading the Russian war effort.
- Peasants and workers were mobilised by socialists through **local Soviets** by the Bolsheviks.
 - They had regular meetings and discussed local issues.

- Newspapers, pamphlets, posters, street plays etc. also played an important role in creating awareness and class consciousness among the working class.
- **Lenin** who was in exile in Switzerland **gained popularity** through his writings.
 - Workers saw him as a liberator. He was also a gifted orator and organiser.
- In **February 1917**, the Mensheviks with the help of some military officers succeeded in **overthrowing the 300 year old Czarist regime**.
 - The Czar and his family were arrested and a **Menshevik government** headed by Kerensky came to power.
- They brought some important **changes**:
 - A. End of monarchy and establishment of a **republic**
 - B. **Freedom** of the press, thought, speech and expression
 - C. **Right** to life, liberty and property
 - D. **Equality** among all citizens: The clergy and nobility lost their powers and privileges.
- However the **Bolsheviks were not satisfied** with these reforms and branded them as **Bourgeois reforms**.
- Further, the Mensheviks were also **unable to bring an end to the war**.
- **Lenin returned** from exile and mobilised workers, peasants and red soldiers around the following agendas:
 1. Industries should be under the control of workers.
 2. Land should be under the control of peasants.
 3. Non-Russians living in Russian territory should be given citizenship.
 4. Russia should withdraw from the First World War.
- In **October 1917**, the Bolsheviks attacked Moscow, overthrew Kerensky's government and established **Bolshevik rule**.

Early Policies

- Banks, financial institutions, railways, roads, canals etc. were **nationalised**.
- Several **reforms were initiated for workers**.
 - Minimum wages were fixed, working hours were regulated and the right to work became a fundamental right.
 - This was a first in modern world history.
- **Land** was taken away from landlords and churches to be **redistributed**.
 - Cooperative farming was introduced.
- **Russia withdrew from WWI** and made peace with Germany.
 - This came at a heavy price and Russia had to part with several Western territories.
- **Non-Russians** living in Central Asia were given full **citizenship** with equal rights.

Russian Civil War and War Communism

- However, Russia had to undergo a bloody **Civil War (1918–21)**.
 - The communists i.e. '**Reds**' had to fight the reactionaries i.e. '**Whites**', supported by big landlords, old royalists and western capitalists, especially the US, Britain and France.
 - The Western powers were afraid of the success of the Marxist ideology in Russia and had joined hands with the reactionaries to contain its growth.
- Lenin had to rely upon '**War Communism**' to defeat the whites.
- War communism was the **economic and political system** that existed in Soviet Russia during the Russian Civil War, from 1918 to 1921.
 - This policy was adopted by the Bolsheviks with the goal of **keeping towns and the Red Army stocked with weapons and with food**.
 - The system had to be used because the ongoing war disrupted normal economic mechanisms and relations.
- The **worsening food crisis** became the reason for the introduction of war communism.
 - By January 1918 there were severe food shortages in Petrograd and Moscow and some other cities.
 - Lenin was convinced that the better off peasants (**kulaks**) were hoarding huge quantities of grain in protest against low payments.
 - Lenin's new secret police, the **Cheka**, was given the job of dealing with grain hoarders and speculators.
 - However, its atrocities **aggravated the distress**.
- **War communism included the following policies:**
 1. Nationalisation of all industries with strict centralised management
 2. State control of foreign trade
 3. Strict discipline for workers, with strikes disallowed
 4. Obligatory labour duty on non-working classes
 5. Requisition of agricultural surpluses (in excess of an absolute minimum) from peasants for centralised distribution
 6. Rationing of food and most commodities, with centralised distribution
 7. Private enterprise became illegal
 8. Military-style control of railways
- Because the Bolshevik government implemented all these measures in a time of civil war, they were **far less coherent and coordinated in practice than they might appear on paper**.
 - Large areas of Russia remained outside the Bolsheviks' control, and poor communication meant that even those regions loyal to the Bolshevik government often had to act on their own, lacking any orders or central coordination from Moscow.

Impact of War Communism:

Military

- War communism was **largely successful** at its primary objective of aiding the Red Army in halting the advance of the White Army and reclaiming most of the territory.

Socio-Economic

- In the cities and the surrounding countryside, the population experienced **extreme hardship**.
- **Peasants refused to cooperate** in producing food, leading to severe food shortages.
- **Factory production also declined** sharply.
 - The **Rouble collapsed** due to inflation and **barter** increasingly replaced money as a medium of exchange.
 - 90% of all wages were paid with goods rather than money.
- A **black market** emerged despite the threat of martial law against profiteering.
- This further intensified the urban food crisis.
 - Workers began migrating from the cities to the countryside, where the chances to feed oneself were higher.
 - Between 1918 and 1920, Petrograd lost 72% of its population, whilst Moscow lost 53%.
- However, food requisitioning, combined with the effects of seven years of war and a severe drought, contributed to a **massive famine** that caused millions of deaths.
- There were a series of workers' **strikes** and peasants' **rebellions** all over the country.
 - The Cheka reported 118 separate peasant uprisings in February 1921 alone.
- The turning point was the **mutiny at the Kronstadt Naval Base** in March 1921.
 - A government claiming to represent the people now found itself on the verge of being overthrown by that same working class.

New Economic Policy-1921

- From early 1921 Lenin faced the formidable task of **rebuilding** an economy shattered by the First World War and then by civil war.
- In March 1921, the Kronstadt mutiny seems to have convinced Lenin that a **new approach was needed to win back the faltering support** of the masses.
- The **co-existence of private and public sectors** was the central principle of the NEP.
 - Small industries and trade in their products were also restored to private ownership, though heavy industry such as coal, iron and steel, together with power, transport and banking, remained under state control.
 - Lenin also found that often the old managers had to be brought back, along with capitalist incentives such as bonuses.
 - Foreign investment was encouraged to help develop and modernise Russian industry.
- The NEP had a **new agricultural policy**.

- The state allowed private landholdings because the idea of collectivised farming had met with much opposition.
- Peasants were now allowed to keep surplus produce after payment of a tax representing a certain proportion of the surplus.
- This, plus the reintroduction of private trade, revived incentive, and food production increased.
- NEP labour reforms linked labour to productivity
 - Incentives were given for cost reductions and greater efficiency.
 - Labour unions became independent civic organisations.
- NEP reforms also opened up government positions to the most qualified workers.
 - The NEP gave opportunities for the government to use engineers, specialists, and intelligentsia for accounting, equipment purchasing, efficiency procedures, railway construction, and industrial administration.

Rise of Fascism in Italy

Causes

- Italy had won WWI but lost the peace in Paris.
 - Italian demands and expectations were neglected at the Paris peace conference.
 - This was seen by the Italians as a weakness of their democratically elected government.
- The war had destroyed the Italian economy.
 - Both industry and agriculture were ruined and **unemployment** was extremely high.
 - Ex-soldiers and the youth were roaming the streets aimlessly, leading to **social unrest and law and order problems**.
- The **inability of the Italian government** to improve this situation eroded its credibility even further.
 - The people were looking for a saviour and Benito **Mussolini capitalised** this opportunity.
 - He organised the out of work soldiers, youth and peasants into the **Fascist party**.
 - Bands of Fascists started roaming the streets armed with batons.
 - They started terrorising ordinary citizens who they suspected of supporting the government.
 - The **government was not able to contain the situation** because many government officials sympathised with the fascists.
- Once Mussolini was convinced that all opposition had been frightened into submission, he **marched into Rome in 1922** and forced the king to invite him to form the government.

Domestic policies of Mussolini

- Within 2–3 years of assuming power Mussolini established a **dictatorship**.
 - The **Chamber of Deputies** (the Parliament) was reduced to the status of a **rubber stamp** and all political parties except the Fascist Party were banned.
- **Opposition leaders were arrested**, especially the socialists. All public meetings were banned and freedom of the press was curtailed.
- He initiated a series of measures to **revive the Italian economy**:
 - Agriculture was expanded by **bringing wasteland under cultivation**.
 - **Irrigation** facilities were developed and **cash crops and horticulture** were encouraged.
 - **Infrastructure** was revitalised with new roads, railways, dams, canals, ports and a renewed focus on the iron and steel and chemical industries.
 - This helped Italy industrialise rapidly.
- **Some critical industries were owned by the state, however most capital and consumer goods industries were privately owned**. These private enterprises were directed and guided by the state.
 - **Banks and financial institutions** were strengthened to provide soft loans for setting up industries.
 - Exports were encouraged and imports were discouraged through **protectionism**.
 - Italy also entered several **trade agreements** in Asia and Europe to sell her manufactured goods.
 - Special focus was given to the **shipping industry**.
 - The **prices of essential commodities were regulated**. This helped control inflation and restore the value of the Lira.

Foreign policy of Mussolini

- It was based on the following principles:
 1. To dismantle the Treaty of Versailles
 2. To promote trade and commerce outside Italy
 3. To recover lost territories.
 4. To acquire colonies in Asia and Africa.
- On the basis of these principles, Mussolini started the process of **strengthening Italy's military**.
- It also **started attacking many small and weak countries** of Europe and Africa.
 - In 1936, Italy was condemned by almost all European powers for occupying Ethiopia.
 - Hitler's Germany was the only country which supported Italy at this critical moment.
 - In 1936 itself, they entered into a historical defensive and offensive military pact known as the '**Rome-Berlin Axis**'.

- In 1937, Japan also joined this fact and the **RBT (Rome – Berlin – Tokyo) Axis** came into existence.
- History was once again repeating itself. The world was dividing itself into heavily armed camps. Thus, Mussolini's foreign policy can be considered to be an important factor behind World War II.

Rise of Nazism in Germany

- The **Great Depression** (1929) caused huge economic hardships for Germans. 6 million Germans became unemployed. This created ripe grounds for the rise of extremism.
- After World War I, **Hitler started mobilising ex-soldiers, industrial workers and unemployed youth** through the German Workers Party (**DAP**), which was later reorganised and renamed as the Nationalist Socialist (**Nazi**) Party.
- In his autobiography Mein Kampf, Hitler has outlined his **agenda**:
 1. To abrogate the **Treaty of Versailles**.
 2. **Pan-Germanism** should be followed.
 3. He gave the concept of **Lebensraum** (living space).
 4. **All former colonies must be recovered.**
 5. **France is Germany's arch enemy.**

Domestic policies

- After assuming power in 1933 through relatively democratic means, Hitler **crushed all democratic opposition** within one year.
 - He established one-party rule and arrested opposition leaders.
 - He banned all other political parties except the Nazi party and restricted freedom of the press.
- In the field of **economy**, following reforms were initiated:
 - Agriculture was improved with modern technology, irrigation, HYV seeds and cash crops.
 - Heavy industries were nationalised while others continued in private hands.
 - Financial institutions were strengthened to provide loans to German industries.
 - Heavy machine industry became the central focus.
 - Strikes were banned and tribunals were set up to resolve industrial disputes.
 - Two methods were used to create more jobs:
 - Women were not allowed to work
 - No worker was allowed to work for more than eight hours

Social cultural policies

- Hitler forced the **Church** to accept Nazism.
 - In return, the Church received state funding.
- The **education** curriculum of Germany was changed.
 - The history of **Aryans** was glorified and Germans were declared as the **master race**.
 - Non-Aryan races such as Jews, Slavs, Serbs, Africans, Mongoloids, Romanians etc were considered to be impure and inferior.
 - **Jews** were officially declared as **enemies of the state**.
- **Jews** were not allowed to serve in the government or conduct business with Germans.
 - This forced many of them to flee the country.
 - Many were arrested and sent to concentration camps.
 - The Jewish **Holocaust** is estimated to have taken 6 million lives.
- Another central feature of his social policy was **Kulture Kampf**, under which Germans were given the duty of producing healthy children.
 - Hitler wanted to rapidly increase the German population so that it could enlarge its military and workforce.
- **People with genetic disorders and disabilities** were not allowed to have children.
 - Often, they were either **chemically castrated or killed**.

Hitler's foreign policy

- His foreign policy was based on the following principles:
 - Establishing **German dominance** in Europe and the world.
 - **Militarism** and anti-internationalism.
 - **Opportunism** i.e. to formulate policies keeping in mind the strengths and weaknesses of opponents
- He continued to assume an **increasingly aggressive** stance with the passage of time.
- After becoming the chancellor in January **1933**, Hitler began his systematic disruption of the world order.
- **October 1933** – Germany **withdrew from the League of Nations** and **the Geneva Disarmament Conference**, calling them discriminatory.
 - This created suspicion among the Western democracies.
- **January 1934** – Hitler signed a **10 Year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland**.
 - The Polish-German border had always been considered volatile.
 - Even the British had not guaranteed its security under the Locarno Pact of 1925.
- **January 1935** – The **Saar Region was reunited** with Germany through a plebiscite.
- **March 1935** – Hitler introduced **conscription**.

- **June 1935** – the **Anglo-German Naval Pact** was signed in order to pressure the British and isolate France.
 - Under this pact, Hitler agreed to limit the size of its navy to 35% of the British naval strength.
 - However he was allowed to increase the size of his army.
- **March 1936** – the **Rhineland was re-militarised**.
- **October 1936** – the **Rome-Berlin Axis** was established.
- **1937** – Hitler supported General Franco in the **Spanish Civil War**. A republican government had been established in Spain in 1931.
 - It had come **under socialist influence**.
 - A group of army officers led by **General Franco** joined hands with big landowners and the Spanish Church to overthrow the government.
 - **Hitler wanted to test the strength of his new alliance** with Italy and the effectiveness of his new **army**.
 - Further, his support to the anti-Communist faction **won the trust of Western democracies**.
 - This was considered to be a **dress rehearsal for World War II**. The military tactics and strategies developed here were repeated later on a more ample stage.
- **November 1937** – The **RBT Axis** was established and emerged as the most powerful military camp in the world.
- **March 1938** – **Austria was merged with Germany** through revolution.
 - Hitler marched with his forces to Vienna and forced the Austrian Chancellor to accept the union.
- **September 1938** – The **Sudetenland** region of Czechoslovakia was merged with Germany through **plebiscite**.
 - The British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had pressured the Czechoslovakian government to accept the '**Munich Pact**' under which the fate of Sudetenland, which had a majority German population, would be decided by a plebiscite.
- **March 1939** – **Entire Czechoslovakia** was annexed.
 - Western democracies were stunned by Hitler's aggression.
- **April 1939** – Hitler demanded rail and road connectivity to Eastern Prussia through the Polish corridor.
 - This demand was firmly rejected by England and France.
- **August 1939** – Hitler gave another shock to the world when he signed a **10 Year Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union**.
 - Western democracies had been tolerating his increasing aggressiveness with the hope that he would act as a buffer against the spread of communism.
 - Thus, this pact was extremely threatening for the West.
- **The Policy of Appeasement** being followed by the western democracies towards the fascist powers, was considered by Hitler to be a **sign of weakness**.
 - He did not expect a serious reaction to his aggression against Poland.

- He was convinced that Britain and France would not risk a major war for the volatile Polish border.
 - **Disregarding their ultimatum, he invaded Poland** on 1 September, 1939.
-
- **He expected a short war with Poland.**
 - However, the western democracies transformed their resolve into action and the world was plunged into another World War.

Other causes for the world

- By the mid-1930s, **two military camps** had once again emerged in Europe i.e. the **Axis powers and the Allies**.
 - They entered into a series of secret offensive and defensive peacetime treaties, which created suspicion among other countries and made the situation increasingly dangerous.
- The **aggressive foreign policies of Italy and Germany** created a sense of insecurity among other countries.
 - It forced all of Europe to start building up its armed strength.
- The **policy of appeasement** which was meant to contain the spread of communism, allowed Germany and Italy to become stronger and increasingly aggressive.
- Harsh treatment of Germany and unfairness to Italy at **Versailles** is regarded as an important factor for sowing the seeds of World War II.
 - It pushed these countries towards totalitarianism and militarism.
- **Nationalism** was at its peak during the interwar period.
 - The **media** propagated nationalist ideas and pressured the political leadership towards aggressive foreign policy stances.
 - The leaders also tried to **divert the attention of the people from local issues by manufacturing external conflicts**.
- The **failure of the League of Nations** to reduce tensions and resolve disputes among nations was another factor behind World War II.
- It is also clear that **imperialism**, which itself was the result of **industrial capitalism**, became a major factor for the rise of extreme nationalism and militarism.
- Most of the factors mentioned above are also responsible for World War I.
 - The **major powers did not learn from their mistakes** and the inter-war period was not a period of peace rather a period of preparation for the second world war.

Consequences of World War II

- Like World War I, World War II **rearranged the world map**.
 - Many empires crumbled and new nations were born.

- World War II was followed by **many former colonies becoming independent.**
 - Both the victors and vanquished powers had suffered heavily and were in no position to hold on to their colonies.
 - Within a decade almost 100 former colonies in Asia and Africa became independent.
- The formation of the **UNO** was another major outcome of World War II.
- This war resulted in the emergence of a **new world order.**
 - The supremacy of Great Britain ended.
 - The USA and the USSR emerged as 2 global superpowers in a bipolar world.
- **Weapons of mass destruction** were used in this war.
 - For the first time the power of the atom was unleashed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
 - These detonations convinced the world that it could not afford to fight a Third World War.
 - The **frequency of international agreements**, treaties and trade pacts, thus increased after the war.
- At the same time, **ideological differences** between capitalism and communism led to the emergence of the **Cold War** and Bloc politics, which threatened world peace over the next several decades.

The Cold War (1945-91)

The Cold War refers to a period of **intense hostilities, without active confrontation** between the capitalist bloc, headed by the USA and the Communist bloc, headed by the USSR.

The term 'Cold War' was coined by the British author and essayist **George Orwell** in 1945. It was explained in the geopolitical and strategic sense by **Bernard Baruch**, the foreign policy adviser to President Truman in 1947.

Dimensions of the Cold War:

- It was essentially an **ideological conflict**. The USA was the champion of capitalism while the USSR was the communist leader. Both ideologies are antithetical to each other and because of this, a long drawn, extremely hostile silent war was fought between the two blocs.
- The Cold War was a **silent war**. The major powers maintained a friendly posture towards each other publicly, but made every possible effort to destroy each other behind the scenes.
- The Cold War was characterised by **bloc politics**. The bloc leaders made every effort possible to gain more allies, and at the same time, contain the spread of their opponent's influence.
- It appeared as if these blocs were preparing for a future conflict which could start at any time. Therefore, the level of **military readiness** was always very high and the Cold War involved a component of **arms race**.

- The Cold War was a **propaganda war**. It was fought in the realm of public opinion. Each side tried to discredit the opponent by exposing their weaknesses while highlighting their own strengths and achievements.
- It involved **psychological warfare**. Both sides tried to demoralise the other through pressure tactics such as aggressive military deployment, military exercises, arms race etc.
- It was **fought through proxies** since the bloc leaders could not afford direct confrontation, as it would have surely resulted in mutually assured destruction.
- In fact, the **nuclear threat** was a characteristic feature of the Cold War. It was probably the single biggest reason why there was no direct war between the USA and the USSR.
- The Cold War was **present in every arena of human life**, be it cultural, scientific, sports or the development of arms.

Background/Circumstances

- The background of the Cold War can be traced to the **Russian Revolution of 1917**. As a result of this revolution, a serious **ideological conflict** had emerged between the capitalists and the communists.
- During the **Russian Civil War (1918-21)**, the Western capitalist powers had supported the Russian anti-Communists i.e 'Whites'. This poisoned the relationship between the USSR and the West permanently.
- The **Policy of Appeasement** followed by the western democracies towards Hitler and Mussolini was considered by Stalin to be an attack on communism. As a result, the gulf between capitalism and communism widened further.
- In June 1941, when Hitler invaded Russia, the communists and capitalists were forced to join hands against Germany. However this was a **friendship of compulsion** and tensions between the two always remained high.
- Stalin was also frustrated by the **delay in opening the Second Front**. He had been demanding that the Allies should invade Europe from the West since 1942. However, the Second Front was finally opened only in June 1944.
 - Stalin felt that this **delay was deliberate**. According to him, the capitalists still considered communism to be a greater threat than Nazism. They wanted Hitler and the USSR to weaken each other irreparably before they could sweep in and dominate Europe.
- The **Soviet occupation of the East European countries** as Germany retreated, between March 1944 to February 1945 alarmed the western capitalist nations. They considered this to be a deliberate imperialist move by the Soviets.
 - The forcible installation of a **communist government in Poland** further intensified suspicions between the two blocs.
- Differences over the nature and character of the **peace treaty** further intensified hostilities between the capitalist and the communists.
 - The Soviet Union wanted to punish Germany for the devastation it had caused. More than 8 million Soviet soldiers and 26 million civilians had died.
 - On the other hand, the western democracies were not ready to repeat the mistakes of 1919. Thus, they negotiated a fair and mild treaty with Germany.

- Dropping the **atomic bomb** on Japan took relations between the capitalists and communists to their lowest point. Stalin had been kept in the dark about the existence of such a weapon.
 - Further, he felt that the detonation was supposed to be a warning to Soviet Russia rather than a means to end the war quickly.

Phases of the Cold War

Phase 1: The Beginning (1945-53)

February 1946: Stalin's radio address - In a radio address, Stalin asked for communists around the world to raise the banner of revolution. He promised Soviet support for all such communist uprisings.

March 1946: Churchill's Fulton Speech - Speaking from Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill called upon capitalist nations to ready themselves for another war. He said that the threat of communism was greater than that of fascism and that an 'Iron Curtain' had descended over Europe from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic. This speech further intensified hostilities.

March 1947: The Truman Doctrine - The American President Harry S. Truman announced a radical shift in American foreign policy. The new policy was encapsulated in the Truman Doctrine. The US abandoned its traditional isolationist position and assumed the leadership of the Capitalist Bloc. America pledged to support democratic forces fighting against communism across the world.

- This doctrine was applied for the first time in the **Greek Civil War (1946-49)**. The USA successfully supported the Greek government in defeating the communists.

June 1947: Marshall Plan - This plan was formulated by the USA to facilitate the recovery of the European economy. Communism was less likely to thrive in prosperous societies and thus, economic aid amounting to \$13,000 million was to be given to European nations over a four year period.

July 1947: Molotov Plan - Stalin did not allow the East European countries to accept American aid. He viewed the Marshall Plan as a strategy to expand capitalist influence in Europe and denounced it as '**Dollar Imperialism**'. Instead, the Soviet Union came out with its own plan for economic recovery in Eastern Europe, known as the Molotov Plan.

- However, it could not come close to matching the success of the Marshall Plan. The USSR responded by making the division of Europe even more watertight.

June 1948 to May 1949: The Berlin Blockade - In June 1948, the USSR blocked all routes connecting west Germany to West Berlin. This was done with the objective of forcing the capitalists out of West Berlin. The rapid recovery of West Berlin had become a major embarrassment to the USSR and the socialist economic model.

- However, the western nations were able to maintain connectivity through air and **NATO** was formed in April 1949 to counter the Soviet military threat. The blockade was finally lifted in May 1949, but by this time any hope for improving relations was permanently extinguished.

September 1949: the USSR becomes a nuclear power - The Soviets successfully tested the Hydrogen bomb making the west feel extremely insecure.

October 1949: Chinese Communist Revolution

February 1950: Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty - China formally joined the Communist Bloc. By this point, the balance of power had firmly shifted in favour of the communists.

1950-53: The Korean War - A war between the North, supported by the communists and the South, supported by the capitalist, took the Cold War hostilities to their peak.

Phase 2: Thaw and Escalation (1953-62)

During this phase, **significant improvements** were visible in the relations between the Capitalist and Communist Blocs. This was due to **the death of Stalin and the end of McCarthyism**.

- Stalin was extremely aggressive and personified the spirit of Soviet expansionism. His death resulted in significant reduction of Soviet aggression.
- Senator Joseph McCarthy had risen to power by fabricating reports of communist activity on US soil. This had resulted in the arrest and prosecution of a number of high profile Americans, including politicians, Hollywood personalities and senior civilian and military officials.
 - McCarthy was trying to advance his own political career by amplifying the threat of communism. However he was exposed and discredited after detailed investigations were conducted when he raised allegations of treason against the American President Eisenhower. This greatly reduced the threat perception among Americans.

The thawing of relations was reflected in:

- 1953 - The end of the Korean War
- 1954 - The suspension of hostilities in Vietnam
- 1955 - The USSR recognised Austria as an independent sovereign state
- 1955 - The USSR removed its military bases from Finland

However, this feeling of international cooperation proved to be false. Both blocs were busy strengthening themselves and hostilities escalated to the point that the world came within touching distance of nuclear war.

- 1954: The SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation) was established by the US, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand.
- 1955: The Warsaw Pact was signed by the USSR with its Eastern European allies as a countermeasure against NATO.
- 1955: The Vietnam War resumed with direct American involvement.
- 1956: The Suez Canal Crisis and the First Arab War.
- 1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis carried hostilities to their peak and a nuclear war seemed imminent.

Phase 3: Detente (1962-79)

During this period, significant improvements were observed in bloc relations. This was a phase of comparative international peace.

- The **Cuban Missile Crisis** forced both superpowers to take steps to improve relations.
- By the 1960s, the **arms race had started to strain the Soviet economy**. This forced Russia to tone down its aggression.
- **Relations between China and the US had also improved.** In 1971, the Chinese Communist regime was recognised by the US and in 1972, the American President Richard Nixon visited China. China used Ping-Pong Diplomacy to improve relations with the West.
- The **American withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973** also helped in improving relations. The US Policy of Containment had failed and was abandoned. The American leadership started looking for alternatives.

- **Eastern and Western European nations** also began **actively negotiating** with each other to improve relations. This urgency was a result of the realisation that Europe would be the worst affected in case of a war between the two blocs.
- The **NAM (Non-Aligned Movement)** also played an important role in improving relations between the two blocs. It acted as a bridge of peace between the two superpowers and a safe harbour from bloc politics.
- The phase of Detente witnessed a series of agreements between the two blocs:
 - 1968: **Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty**: powers with nuclear weapons agreed not to give any other countries nuclear technology.
 - 1971: **The US table tennis team played in China** and The US dropped its veto allowing China to join the United Nations.
 - 1972: The US President **Nixon visited China**.
 - 1972: Russia and America signed the **SALT I Treaty** (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreeing to limit their ballistic missiles and bombers.
 - 1975: The **Helsinki Agreement** recognised Soviet control over Eastern Europe, concluded a trade agreement, and the USSR promised to respect human rights.
 - 1975: Russian and American **spacecraft docked in space**.

Phase 4: New Cold War (1979-85)

During this phase, hostilities between the two blocs intensified because of the **Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979**. America responded by:

- Not ratifying the SALT 2 Treaty.
- Boycotting the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics.

In the 1980s, America revived the policy of **proxy warfare** by supporting the Mujahideen in Afghanistan against the Soviets.

Star Wars: The Space Race and Arms Race were also revived by the Strategic Defence Initiative, under which America planned to place nuclear weapons in space.

In 1983, the US President Ronald Reagan termed the USSR as the '**Evil Empire**' and asserted that the conflict between the two blocs was a battle between good and evil.

- The USSR retaliated by boycotting the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games.

Phase 5: End of the Cold War (1985-91)

- With **Mikhail Gorbachev** becoming General Secretary of the USSR in 1985, Cold War hostilities started declining.
 - The Soviets suffered **heavy losses in the Afghanistan war**. Gorbachev realised that the meaningless Cold War cannot be sustained indefinitely and made conscious efforts to reduce hostilities with the US. He wanted to revive the Soviet economy and safeguard the survival of the Soviet Union.
- By the 1980s, the **US economy had also started showing signs of stress** due to the arms race and space race.
- The **downfall of communism in Eastern Europe** in 1989-90 greatly weakened the communist bloc. Popular movements successfully brought down communist governments

in Czechoslovakia (1989), Romania (1990), Albania (1990), Bulgaria (1990), Hungary (1990) and Poland (1990).

- The **Berlin Wall**, which had become a symbol of the Cold War and the division of Europe was torn down in 1989. In 1990, East and West Germany were unified. These changes vastly improved relations.
- The **disintegration of the USSR** in December 1991 completely destroyed the concept of the second world. The Communist bloc was toppled and the Cold War came to an end.

Chinese Communist Revolution (1949)

Background

Up to the mid-19th century, China had been reluctant to open its doors to the outside world.

- However, western powers such as the British, Americans, French, Dutch and Portuguese forced their way in with the **Treaty of Nanking (1842)** after the First Opium War.

Slowly, the influence of **Western ideas** started permeating into Chinese ideology.

- A section of the urban educated intelligentsia were influenced by the ideas of **liberty, equality, democracy, nationalism, communism etc.**

In **1911**, the **Qing/ Manchu Dynasty was overthrown**. The flower of **democracy** bloomed in South China.

- The rest of China was plunged into chaos with power falling into the hands of **warlords**. The Period of Warlords (1912-28) is associated with unrest and regular conflict.

In **1912**, **Dr. Sun Yat-sen**, the leader of the Kuomintang (KMT) party established a revolutionary government in South China and began the process of Chinese reconstruction. He adopted the principles of:

- Nationalism
- Democracy
- Livelihood for All

In **1921**, a group of educated Chinese youth led by **Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong**, established the **CCP** (Chinese Communist Party). Their agenda was:

- Collectivisation and regulation of industries to benefit workers.
- Land for farmers or collective farming.
- To liberate China from foreign domination.
- To end the reign of warlords.

The CCP's policies and programmes were similar to the KMT. Therefore, the two **worked together** to build a modern China.

Progress of the Revolution

- **1925 - Chiang Kai Shek captured power** and established his despotic rule after the death of Dr. Sun.
 - He was strongly anti-Communist and tried to eliminate the CCP.
- This pushed China into a **Civil War (1927-36)**.
- **1931 - Japan invaded and occupied Manchuria.**

- While the CCP made efforts to expel them, the KMT kept on persecuting the communists, ignoring the foreign presence.
- **1934** - The KMT forces had encircled the CCP at Jiangxi in south-eastern China. However, Mao was able to break this encirclement and retreat to Shaanxi in north-western China. This historic retreat is known as the '**Long March**'.
 - The CCP covered a distance of more than **6000 miles through 20 provinces in 368 days**.
 - Along the way, **land** was taken from landlords and rich farmers and **distributed** among the peasants.
 - For this, both violence and persuasion were used.
 - The regions controlled by the Communist produced **better results** in agriculture, law and order, land distribution and inclusion of locals in governance.
 - About 90,000 communists had started the march, but by the end only 10,000 survived. However, the CCP and Mao became extremely popular.
- **1936** - **Chiang Kai Shek** was arrested by his own officers and **forced to join hands with the Communists** against the Japanese.
- **1937** - Japan orchestrated a full scale invasion of China and hostilities continued until its final surrender in 1945.
- **1945** - After Japan had been expelled, the **civil war resumed** and continued for four more years.
 - The KMT regime was supported by capitalist powers.
 - However, popular support was behind the CCP which received help from the Soviets as well.
- The **Communists emerged victorious** and China was proclaimed as a communist nation on **1 October, 1949**.

Reforms

Immediate Steps

China had been ravaged by decades of civil war and foreign occupation. The immediate priority of the CCP was to restore normalcy. This was achieved by:

- Provision of **basic necessities** such as food, shelter, medicine and clothing.
- **Food rationing** to counter the threat of famine.
- Bringing widespread communicable and vector-borne **disease** under control.
- Restoring **law and order** by suppressing banditry and crime.

Once order was restored, the CCP could implement its revolutionary agenda.

Gender Reform

- **Evil practices** such as child marriage, female infanticide and selling of girls into slavery, concubinage and prostitution were banned.
- The legal subordination of women to men was ended and gender **equality** was established by law.
- **Marriage** was now a **contract** which both men and women entered as equals.
- Women were also given an **equal share in family property**.
- Further, **discrimination** against women in the workplace was prohibited.

Land Reform

- Land was confiscated from landlords and rich peasants and distributed among the peasants through the model of collective farming.

Healthcare

- **Patriotic Health Movement:** Volunteers were sent to villages to spread awareness about the importance of hygiene, relationship between dirt and germs, explaining the mechanism of how diseases spread and preventative measures.
- **Barefoot Doctors:** 1 million volunteers were given six months medical training and sent into the Chinese countryside to provide primary care.
- **Opium Addiction:** Poppy fields for burnt and addicts were either sent to re-education camps or executed.

Education

- **Free primary education** was given to both boys and girls.
 - Additionally, **adult education camps** were organised in villages to provide literacy on a wide scale.
 - In 1949, China's literacy rate was around 20%.
 - By 1976, it had risen to 70%.
- To help with communication and writing, the government introduced a romanised phonetic form of Mandarin called '**Pinyin**'.
- This greatly eased the learning of Mandarin.

Religion

- **Mao said religion was as bad as Nazism**, and had to be eradicated.
 - Churches were destroyed, priests and monks mocked and beaten – ancestor worship was condemned as a superstition.
- In **Tibet**, the government feared the mixture of Buddhism and nationalism, and embarked on a campaign of religious persecution.
- In **Xinjiang**, the government feared the mixture of Islam and nationalism, conquered the area in a military campaign, and settled huge numbers of Han Chinese immigrants in the region to try to counter the local population.

Culture

- Mao believed that the Communist revolution should **brutally overthrow every aspect of the past.**
 - 1.5 million propagandists loyal to the party were charged with spreading the latest party message and sent to the countryside.
- The **government banned all traditional and western songs, dances, festivals and wandering poets.**
 - Instead, children were made to chant communist slogans.
- Many of Beijing's ancient houses and structures were pulled down and replaced by Soviet style block concrete housing.

Great Leap Forward

- It was Mao's vision to rapidly industrialise China and make it self sufficient in food production backfired and caused the loss of at least 20 million lives.
- It **exposed the weaknesses of centralised planning.**

Significance of the Chinese Revolution in World History

- The Chinese revolution was the **second successful practical expression of communism.**
 - Its success against the powerful and entrenched capitalist KMT regime proved the strength and efficacy of communism.
- Despite being the second communist revolution, it was **the first of its kind.**
 - This was because, for the first time **peasants** had organised themselves under the hammer and sickle.
 - The success of Chinese communism **inspired peasants** in South Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America.
 - The Maoist movements of India, Nepal, Vietnam, Korea, Myanmar etc. were inspired by the Communist revolution in China.
- The success of the Chinese revolution **intensified efforts by capitalists to contain the spread of communism.**
 - The Korean war and the Vietnam war were manifestations of the same.
- The emergence of Communist China also **destabilised Eastern and Southern Asia.**
 - It adopted an aggressive diplomatic and military approach.
 - Territorialism became an intrinsic part of the CCP's foreign policy.
 - The Chinese occupation of Tibet, war against India and ongoing territorial disputes are manifestations of the same.

Korean War

Background

- The origins of the war lay in the fact that Korea had been **under Japanese occupation since 1910.**
 - When the Japanese were defeated (August 1945), the USA and the USSR agreed to divide the country into two zones along the **38th parallel**, so that they could jointly organise the Japanese surrender and withdrawal.
- As far as the Americans were concerned, it was **not intended to be a permanent division.**
 - The United Nations wanted **free elections** for the whole country and the Americans agreed, believing that since their zone contained two-thirds of the population, the communist north would be outvoted.
- However, the unification of Korea, like that of Germany, soon **became part of Cold War rivalry:** no agreement could be reached, and the artificial division continued.
 - **Elections** were held in the south, supervised by the UN, and the independent Republic of Korea, or **South Korea** was set up with **Syngman Rhee** as president and its capital at Seoul (August 1948).
 - The following month, the **Soviets created** the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or **North Korea** with a communist government under **Kim Il Sung**, with its capital at Pyongyang.
- In **1949 Russian and American troops were withdrawn**, leaving a potentially dangerous situation
 - Most Koreans bitterly resented the artificial division forced on their country by outsiders, but both leaders claimed the right to rule the whole country.
- **Kim Il Sung** convinced both the **USSR and China** to provide assistance in uniting the peninsula and **invaded South Korea.**

The USA takes action

There were several reasons for President Truman to intervene:

- He took the attack as a deliberate challenge and saw it as part of a vast **Russian conspiracy to spread communism** as widely as possible.
- Some Americans saw the invasion as similar to Hitler's policies during the 1930s.
 - **Appeasement** of the aggressors had failed then, and therefore it was essential not to make the same mistake again.
- Truman thought it was **important to support the United Nations** Organization, which had replaced the League of Nations. The League had failed to preserve peace because the great powers - and especially the USA - had not been prepared to back it. Truman was determined that the USA should not repeat that mistake.

American troops in Japan were ordered to Korea. Then the USA went to the United Nations and got them to send troops to defend South Korea as well.

Stalemate

- After initially having the upper hand, the Americans were pushed back. The war dragged on for 3 years and resulted in a stalemate.
- Even though the Chinese and North Koreans were exhausted by the war and were prepared to end it by late 1952, Stalin insisted that they continue fighting, and the **Armistice was approved only in July 1953, after Stalin's death.**
- The agreement created the **Korean Demilitarized Zone** to separate North and South Korea. But officially they are **still at war** as no peace treaty has been signed.

The results of the war

For Korea itself it was a disaster:

- The country was **devastated**. About 4 million Korean soldiers and civilians had been killed and 5 million people were homeless.
- **The division seemed permanent**. Both states remained **intensely suspicious** of each other and heavily armed, and there were constant ceasefire violations.

The conflict brought a new dimension to the Cold War:

- **American relations were now permanently strained with China as well as with Russia.**
 - The familiar pattern of both sides trying to build up alliances appeared in Asia as well as Europe.
- **China supported the Indo-Chinese communists** in their struggle for independence from France.
 - At the same time, it **offered friendship and aid to under-developed Third World countries** in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
 - '**Peaceful Coexistence**' agreements were signed with India and Burma (1954).
- **Meanwhile the Americans tried to encircle China with military bases.**
 - In 1951, defensive agreements were signed with Australia and New Zealand.
 - In 1954, the US, UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan, set up the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (**SEATO**).

Vietnam War

Background

- Vietnam was an **independent country till 1859**, when the French East India company captured Saigon.
- **By 1885, the whole of Vietnam was under French control.**
 - The French colonial regime introduced extensive changes in socio-cultural and economic life.
 - **Catholicism** was propagated
 - **Western education** was promoted
 - **Plantation agriculture** was started

Anti-Colonial Struggle, World War II and Vietnamese war of Independence

- The **nationalist movement** started in Vietnam in the opening decades of the 20th century. The Vietnamese started organising themselves against French colonial rule.
 - In **1930**, **Ho Chi Minh founded the Viet Minh Party** to fight the French colonists.
- **Japan attacked French Indochina in December 1941** and conquered all of Southeast Asia within a few months.
 - Vietnam also came under Japanese control.
 - The Vietnamese were **abandoned**. French authorities withdrew and the French citizens were also pulled out of Vietnam.
 - The Japanese rule was so oppressive that by the end of the war in 1945, roughly 2 million people, roughly 10% of the population, had died.
- As soon as the war ended, the **French returned to Saigon** and began reclaiming their colony.
 - This triggered a long drawn **conflict (1946-54)**.
- In **1954**, the **Geneva accords** were signed between the French and the Vietnamese.
 - The French agreed to withdraw their forces from Vietnam and recognise it as a sovereign independent nation.
- The **17th parallel** was recognised as the cease-fire line and was to remain intact till general elections scheduled for 1956.
 - **North Vietnam** was under the control of the **Communist Viet Minh**.
 - **South Vietnam** was handed over to **Emperor Bao Dai** who had been a client of the French.

America Intervenes

- The withdrawal of the French was followed by **American intervention**.
 - They wanted to contain the spread of communism in Southeast Asia.
- Prompted by US support, **Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem overthrew Emperor Bao Dai and declared himself the President** of South Vietnam in 1955.
 - The **war** between the north and south **resumed**.

- Gradually, the **Americans got involved directly** and by 1965, there were more than five lakh American soldiers in Vietnam.
 - Despite the large American military presence, they were unable to overcome the North Vietnamese and were **forced to withdraw** after suffering heavy losses.
- In **January 1973, the Paris Peace Treaty** was signed to bring the hostilities in Vietnam to an end.
 - The Geneva Accords were accepted by all parties.
- By **March 1973, all American forces had been withdrawn** and in **April 1973 Saigon fell to the Communists**.
 - On 2 July 1976, North and South Vietnam were merged to create the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Israel Palestine Conflict

What is the Conflict about?

At its heart, the dispute is a result of **conflicting nationalism** - the Jewish Zionist Nationalism and the Palestinian Arab Nationalism.

The key issues are:

- mutual recognition,
- borders,
- security,
- water rights,
- control of Jerusalem,
- Israeli settlements,
- Palestinian freedom of movement, and the
- The Palestinian right of return.

The **origins** of the conflict can be traced back to **Jewish immigration** and **conflict in Mandatory Palestine** between Jews and Arabs.

Despite a long-term peace process, Israelis and Palestinians have failed to reach a final peace agreement.

History and Timeline of the Conflict

Background

- From 1517 to 1917, the Ottoman Empire ruled over much of West Asia including the region of Israel.
- In the 19th century, the population in the region of Israel/Palestine was almost 87% Muslim, 10% Christian and 3% Jewish.
- In the city of Jerusalem, the population of the three communities was roughly equal.
- From all accounts, the communities lived in peace with each other.

Jewish Migration to Palestine

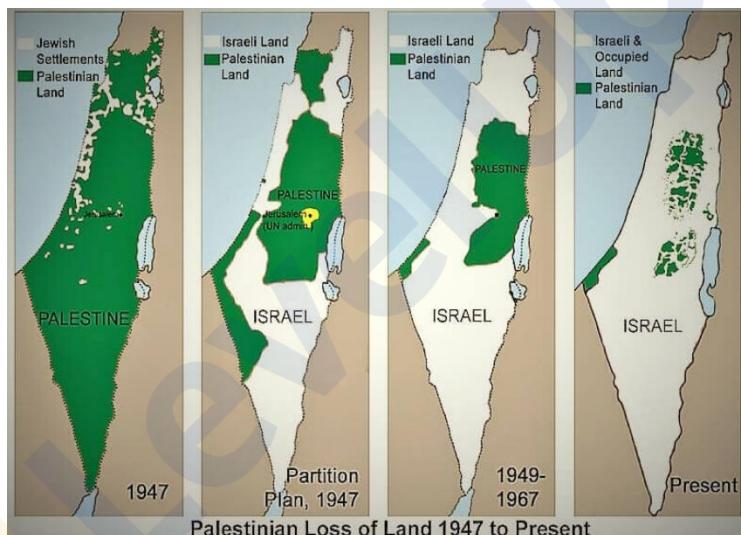
- In the late 19th century, an Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist, **Theodor Herzl**, propagated the idea of a **Jewish homeland in Palestine**. This idea came to be known as **Zionism**, which found many followers among the Jews in Europe, where Jews were facing discrimination and even pogroms.
- In 1897, The World Zionist Organisation was created in the U.S. to advocate for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.
- As a result, a **large number of Jews started flowing into Palestine**.

Genesis of the conflict

- **1916 - Sykes-Picot Agreement** - In a secret agreement between Great Britain and France, it was decided that Palestine would come under British rule after WW I.
- **1917 - Balfour Declaration** - Hoping to gain Jewish support for World War I, the British government announced “the establishment in Palestine a national home for the Jewish People”.
- **Mandatory Palestine (1917-47)** - The British, after the First World War, established a colony in Palestine maintaining that they would rule the area until the Palestinians were ready to govern themselves.
 - This was called Mandatory Palestine as it was according to the League of Nations mandate.
- **1920s & 30s - Jewish population increased** by hundreds of thousands, facilitated by the British.
 - They began acquiring land and established Jewish agricultural settlements.
 - Tensions between the Zionists and Arabs emerged due to rising competition for resources.
 - At the same time, the spirit of nationalism also began emerging throughout the Arab world.
- **1936 - Palestinian Arabs revolted** against foreign rule, but were suppressed by the British with help from Jewish militias.
 - After the revolt, the British issued a white paper that called for the establishment of a joint Jewish-Arab state in Palestine within ten years.
- **1939-45 - During World War II, many Jews escaping the Holocaust came to Palestine.**
- **Tensions escalated further** and the British handed over the problem to the newly established United Nations.
- **1947 - The UN voted to establish separate Palestinian and Jewish states** in the region dividing Palestine.
 - Jewish people accepted the agreement and declared the independence of Israel.
 - The Arabs rejected this plan.

Arab-Israel War (1948-49):

- Arabs saw the creation of Israel as a part of a conspiracy to move them out of their land.
- Five Arab nations - **Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt** - declared war on Israel.
- Israel emerged victorious and now controlled more area than it would have under the UN plan.
- As part of the ceasefire agreement, the **West Bank including East Jerusalem was given to Jordan** and the **Gaza Strip became part of Egypt**.
- It was the beginning of the **Palestine refugee crisis**.
 - Over 700,000 Palestinians fled and became refugees in neighbouring Arab countries.
 - The Palestinians call this war 'al-Nakba' 'The catastrophe', as they became stateless.
- This crisis led to the formation of the **PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) in 1964**, by refugees mostly from Jordan.
- Relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours remained poor, leading to further conflict.



Suez War (1956)

- The 1956 Suez War was a **joint Israeli-British-French operation**. After Egyptian President Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula and **British and French forces landed at the port of Suez**.
- Israel justified this as an attempt to **stop attacks upon Israeli civilians** and to restore Israeli **shipping rights through the Straits of Tiran**, which Egypt claimed was within its territorial waters.
- Britain and France agreed to withdraw under international pressure.
- **Israel also withdrew** from the Sinai peninsula in return for the **installation of United Nations Emergency Forces** and **guarantee of Israeli freedom of shipment**.
- The canal was left in Egyptian (rather than British and French) hands.



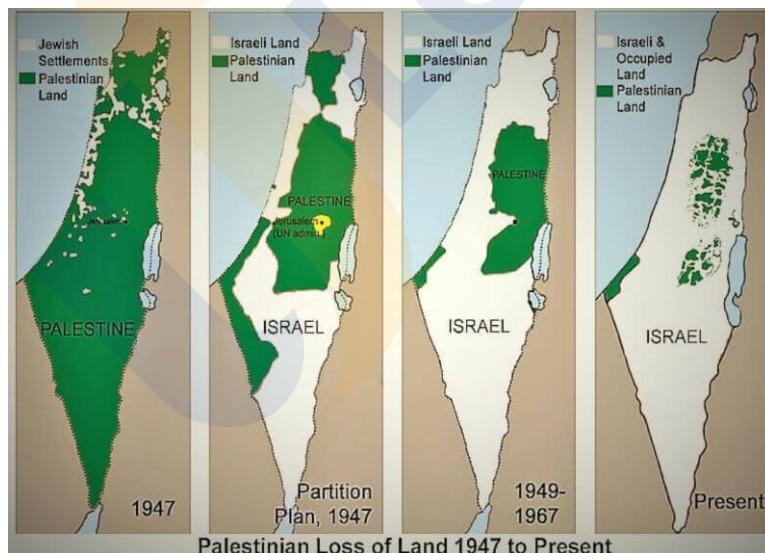
Six-Day War (1967)

The **Arab states** had not signed a peace treaty at the end of the 1948-49 war and were still refusing to give Israel official recognition. In 1967 they **joined together again in a determined attempt to destroy Israel**. Israel launched a preemptive strike against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

At the end of this Six-Day War, **Israel captured**:

- **Golan Heights** from Syria.
- **West Bank and East Jerusalem** from Jordan.
- **The Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip** from Egypt.

Gaza and Westbank are together known as 'Occupied Territories', after the 1967 war.



Yom Kippur War (1973)

- Under the UN Charter, there can lawfully be no territorial gains from war, even by a state acting in self-defence.
- Therefore, in response to the Six-Day War, the **UN Security Council adopted a resolution for ‘Land for peace’** and it mandated that Israel should return the captured areas back to the defeated nations.
 - In the light of Israel’s reluctance to return the captured territories, another Arab-Israeli War erupted in 1973 (Yom Kippur war).
- After initial setbacks, the Israelis were able to turn the tables. They succeeded in hanging on to all the territory they had captured in 1967 and even crossed the Suez Canal into Egypt.
- Both **the USA and the USSR** decided it was time to intervene to try to bring about a peace settlement.
 - Acting with UN cooperation, they **organised a ceasefire, which both sides accepted.**

Peace Process

Camp David Accords (1978)

- “Framework for Peace in the Middle East” brokered by the U.S. set the stage for **peace talks between Israel and its neighbours** and a resolution to the “Palestinian problem”.

Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty (1979)

- Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt (1982).
- Egypt became the first Arab nation to officially recognize Israel as a state.

Oslo Accords (1993)

- **Israel and the PLO officially recognize each other** and renounce the use of violence.
- The **Palestinian Authority** was established, which received **limited autonomy** in the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank.

Road Map for Peace (2003)

- The UN, EU, US, and Russia had released a road map in 2003, which outlined a clear timetable towards a Palestinian state.
- The roadmap was derailed as neither side was ready to take the first step.

Summary of the Conflict

What does Palestine want?

- It wants Israel to withdraw to **pre-1967 borders** and establish an **independent Palestine state in the West Bank and Gaza**.
- **Israel should stop all expansion of settlements** before coming to peace talks.
- Palestine wants **Palestinian refugees** who lost their homes in 1948 to be able **to come back**.
- It also demands **East Jerusalem as the capital** of the Independent Palestine state.

What does Israel want?

- Sovereignty over Jerusalem.
- Recognition of Israel as a Jewish State.
- The right of return of Palestine refugees only to Palestine and not to Israel.

The Way Forward

- The best solution is a “**two-state solution**” that would establish Palestine as an independent state in Gaza and the West Bank, leaving the rest of the land to Israel.
- The **democratization of the Palestinian society** through which new credible leadership can emerge.
- The need of the hour is to **treat this conflict as an Israeli-Arab conflict** rather than an Israel-Palestine conflict.
 - As we have seen, the conflict is not only between Israel and Palestine but also with other Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Iran, Syria etc.
 - All of them should participate in the negotiations and the final agreement should be recognized formally by each one of them along with the UN general assembly and security council.

Meiji Restoration

Introduction and Background

In 1839 and 1856 Asian nations were shocked by Britain's crushing victories over China in the two **Opium Wars**. Industrialisation—it was now pretty clear—gave massive advantages to European nations, including more money and better weapons.

In Asia, China had been the dominant power and richest economy. But the British navy, using new artillery and gunboats, easily defeated China's much larger military. These wars **demonstrated that European technology had far outpaced China's**.

Across the East China Sea, the **Japanese were determined not to fall behind** the Europeans the way China had.

The result was the 1868 political transformation known as the Meiji Restoration.

- Drawing from both Western models and Japanese traditions, the **Meiji Restoration allowed Japan to develop into a modern industrial nation-state that rivalled European nations** in both military and economic power.

When the Meiji emperor was restored in **1868**, Japan was

- militarily weak;
- primarily agricultural;
- technologically backward;
- controlled by hundreds of semi-independent feudal lords;

- forced to sign treaties with western countries that limited its control over its own foreign trade and required that crimes concerning foreigners in Japan be tried not in Japanese but in Western courts.

When the Meiji period ended, with the death of the emperor in **1912**, Japan had

- a highly centralised, bureaucratic government;
- a constitution establishing an elected parliament;
- a well-developed transport and communication system;
- a highly educated population free of feudal class restrictions;
- an established and rapidly growing industrial sector based on the latest technology;
- a powerful army and navy.

Japan before the Meiji restoration

By the nineteenth century, an emperor had reigned in Japan for around 1,500 years. But from 1185 to 1868, the actual emperor held very little power.

It was the Shogunate (government run by a Shogun) that dominated Japanese politics.

- **The shogun was a military leader who held power as a hereditary dictator.** While the emperor reigned as a "god on Earth", he was really just a figurehead.

Japan was divided into **several regions controlled by daimyo**.

- **Daimyo** were feudal lords who controlled their lands with the aid of samurai.
- The **samurai** were an educated military class who were granted land in return for military service to a daimyo.
- **Peasants** (around 80% of the population) were prohibited from working any job other than farming.

The Tokugawa family took control of the shogunate around 1600, bringing some welcome stability after a period of unrest.

The Tokugawa were also **extremely suspicious of European influence**.

- In 1636, the shogun announced the **Act of Seclusion**, which made it illegal for Westerners to trade in Japan.
- Though Japanese merchants could still trade in China and Korea, the Act of Seclusion effectively cut the Japanese off from Europeans.

The fall of the Shogunate

Japan's isolationist policies worked for over 200 years, but the Tokugawa Shoguns couldn't block foreign interference forever.

- On July 8, 1853, four American naval ships under the command of **Commodore Perry** anchored in Tokyo harbour as a kind of "shall we trade or shall we fight?" message.

Since the Japanese didn't have a navy, they knew they couldn't fight even Perry's small squadron.

- They opened up negotiations with the Americans.
- Through Perry, US President Fillmore **forced Japan to open its harbours** to US trade, breaking the centuries-long prohibition against foreign trade.

The **shogun was blamed** for Japan's misfortunes and a group of lower-ranked samurai began undermining the shogun by glorifying the emperor.

- Their slogan was **Sonnō Jōi**—"Revere the emperor, Expel the barbarian."
- They attacked foreigners at Japanese ports, and caused **local uprisings** against the shogun.

The Meiji restoration

The rebellious factions increased pressure on Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last shogun.

- **Yoshinobu stepped down**, then soon rebelled against those who had replaced him, only to be even more firmly defeated resulting in the **restoration of the young Emperor Mutsuhito 'Meiji'**.

This political revolution "restored" the emperor to power, but he did not rule directly.

- He was expected to **accept the advice of the group that had overthrown the shōgun**, and it was from this group that a small number of ambitious, able, and patriotic young men from the lower ranks of the samurai emerged to take control and establish the new political system.

They believed that the **West depended on**

- **constitutionalism for national unity**
- **industrialization for material strength, and**
- **a well-trained military for national security.**

Adopting the slogan "**Enrich the country, strengthen the army**" ("Fukoku kyōhei"), they sought to create a nation-state capable of standing equal among Western powers.

Japan becomes a nation-state

On April 17, 1868, the emperor announced the **Charter Oath** that all would swear to him. This oath represented the emperor's commitment to transforming Japan into a modern nation-state.

- **Deliberative assemblies** shall be widely established and all matters decided by open discussion.
- **All classes**, high and low, shall be united in vigorously carrying out the **administration of affairs of state**.
- **The common people**, no less than the civil and military officials, shall all be **allowed to pursue their own calling** so that there may be no discontent.

- **Evil customs of the past shall be broken off** and everything based upon the just **laws of Nature**.
- **Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world** so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule.

The feudal lords voluntarily surrendered to the Emperor, their fief, and became in the eyes of the law, ordinary subjects. The old warrior class Samurai also gave up their class privileges.

- In one stroke, **feudalism was abolished** which gave the way for the organisation of the state on a national basis.
- The **bureaucracy was reorganised, expanded, and opened** to those taking civil service examinations.

A change so sudden and inspired by such unselfish patriotism is rare in history.

Economic Revolution

The state played a major role in

- Expansion of agriculture (using traditional Japanese technology) and
- Expansion of manufacturing (using imported Western technology)

Agriculture:

The **abolition of feudalism and consolidation** under a strong national government that monopolised taxation, gave a strong push to the

- Extension of **farm credit**
- **Research** in indigenous farming techniques
- Diffusion of **best practices**
 - The **nationwide diffusion of seed varieties** spearheaded a substantial improvement in agricultural productivity.

Industry:

- A group of Japanese politicians known as the **Iwakura Mission** toured Europe and the USA to study their western economy, technology, and political systems.
- The result was a deliberate **state-led industrialization policy** to enable Japan to quickly catch up.
 - Government initiative dominated manufacturing because of **lack of capital and technology**.
- A **ministry of industry** was created in 1870 to establish overall economic policy and operate certain industries.
- **Model factories** based on imported technology were created to provide industrial experience, and an expanded education system offered technical training.
- Domestic industries were scaled up by **reverse engineering** the latest manufacturing machinery and technology.
- By providing political and financial security, the **government made investment in new industries and technologies possible**.

- The government **led the way** in this, building railway and shipping lines, telegraph and telephone systems, three shipyards, ten mines, five munitions works, and fifty-three consumer industries (making sugar, glass, textiles, cement, chemicals, and other important products).
- However this was very expensive, and strained government finances, so in 1880 the government **decided to sell most of these industries to private investors**, thereafter encouraging such activity through subsidies and other incentives.
- The **Bank of Japan** was established in 1882, laying the foundations for a private banking system backed up by a lender of the last resort.
- The Bank of Japan used taxes to fund model steel and textile factories.

Military Might and Imperialism

- During the era of the shogunate, each region had its own military, controlled by samurai loyal to their daimyo.
- Under the Meiji emperor, these **regional armies were replaced by a national army**, and **all male citizens were required to serve** in the military.
- The government **embraced new ideas and technology** brought to Japan by Western merchants and diplomats.
- Within two decades, **Japanese victories** illustrated the success of these military reforms.
 - They set their eyes on expanding into Korea, which was under Chinese control.
 - Japan's victory in the **First Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895)** forced China out of Korea and also gained Taiwan as a colony.
- However, Japanese control over the Korean peninsula was quickly challenged by European powers, like Russia which invaded Korea.
 - But the Japanese military had grown since the Meiji Restoration and the **Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)** ended in victory for Japan.
- This sent shockwaves through Europe and told the world that European militaries were not invincible.
 - Over the next 15 years, Japan dominated Korea's economy as it exerted military control over the peninsula. In 1910, Korea officially became part of the Japanese empire.

Objectives

The UN is a **legacy of the league of Nations**. In 1941 itself, the US and the UK had decided to create an international forum for disarmament, establishing peace and removing the circumstances responsible for war.

In its resolution adopted in 1945, the UN proclaimed that all **disputes** will be resolved primarily through mutual **dialogue**, and if necessary through the **intervention** of a third party or the UN itself.

The 26 founding members agreed to respect each other's **territorial integrity** and pledged that they would **not initiate any conflict**.

Further, they would work for **individual liberty, prosperity, equality, human rights and the development of poor countries**.

They would fight to remove **poverty, illiteracy and disease**.

Organs and their Functions

General Assembly:

- It is a general body in which each member country is represented. Every member can send up to 5 representatives. However, each country has one vote. Most resolutions are passed by simple majority. However some resolutions require a 2/3 majority.

United Nations Security Council:

- It is the main executive body of the UN and consists of 15 members (5 Permanent + 10 Non-Permanent). The 5 permanent members (P5) are the USA, the UK, France, Russia and China.
- The 10 Non-Permanent members are nominated for a tenure of two years on a rotational basis.
- All resolutions generally begin in the Security Council and once approved by it, are transmitted to the General assembly.
- The assent of at least 9 members, including all the permanent members is necessary to pass a resolution. If a permanent member rejects resolution, it comes to an end. This is known as the Veto Power.

The Secretariat:

- It consists of several Secretaries headed by a Secretary General. It is responsible for the day to day operations of the UN and implements the various resolutions adopted by the UNFC and General assembly.

- The Secretary General and other Secretaries are elected for a period of five years and may contest elections any number of times.

ECOSOC:

- It is meant to improve the per capita income, living standards and other human development indices of the member countries.

Trusteeship Council:

- This body looks after newly created countries or a country undergoing a crisis, which has been entrusted to it for its security and upkeep. Presently, this council is in a dormant state.

International Court of Justice:

- Its judges are appointed for a term of 9 years. It adjudicates disputes between member countries and has jurisdiction over the incidental issues arising from such disputes.

Other than the six organs, the UN has **15 sister organisations** for different objectives. Some of them include the ILO, UNESCO, UNHRC, FAO, ARC, etc.

Critical Appraisal of the UNO and its functioning

Over the past 70 years many resolutions have been moved in the UN with a modest degree of success.

In **1948** itself, **Syria, Yugoslavia and Iran successfully brought resolutions against France and the USSR** alleging that these two countries were violating their territorial integrity and interfering in their internal politics. The UN passed a resolution, directing the aggressors to withdraw their troops. This was the first major success of the UN.

Between the 1950s and 1990s, many such issues were brought before the UNSC and were resolved successfully, including the **Iraq-Kuwait Conflict (1990)** in which Kuwaiti security was guaranteed by the UN and finally its sovereignty was restored.

The **sister organisations** of the UN have played a significant role in **reducing poverty, child mortality, famine, malnutrition, human trafficking etc.** They have also worked to improve the condition of women especially in Asia and Africa.

UNESCO has played an important role in **increasing literacy** and has excelled in protecting the tangible and intangible **heritage** of the world.

During the **Cold War period**, the UN was successful in **toning down aggression** and made giant strides towards the goal of **disarmament**.

However it was **not always successful** in preventing conflict. Major wars were fought in Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East and South Asia.

The task of **disarmament remains incomplete** and in recent years countries have started building deadly weapons.

In the socio-economic sphere, the UN has been ineffective in arresting the rise of **inequality**.

The UN has also received criticism for the **flawed structure of the UNSC**.

- The **veto powers** of the P5 members are an important reason for several of its failures. Notably, the Vietnam War, the Israel-Palestine dispute, the Afghan crisis, the Cuban missile crisis etc. gravely threatened global security while the UN stood by helplessly.

It is seen that **national interest** prevails over international cooperation within the Security Council.

Lack of a permanent army is another reason for its failure. Member countries do contribute their troops for peacekeeping operations, however such contributions are voluntary.

Funding is another major issue which limits the U.N.'s effectiveness. Countries like the US, Britain, France and Japan contribute the most, because of which they dominate the agenda of the UN.

Future of the UN

Most observers suggest that the next few decades will be significantly different from the 20th century which was characterised by a bipolar world, bloc politics and eventually American ascendancy.

In the 21st century, American hegemony would be challenged and a **multipolar world** would emerge in which China, India, Japan, Germany, Africa and the Arab world would be at the forefront of economic development and military might.

Therefore, it becomes necessary to reform the global governance structure, especially the UN and its Security Council to reflect the emerging reality. Experts have made a few suggestions as follows:

- To **enlarge the size of the permanent members by including the G4** i.e India, Japan, Germany and Brazil.
- To **include at least one Arab and one African country** as a permanent member of the UNSC.
- To **remove the veto powers** of the P5 members.
- To **enlarge the UNSC itself without any permanent members**.
- To strengthen the General assembly and **do away with the UNSC**.
- **Funding structure should be rationalised** so as to avoid the monopoly of a few powerful countries.
- A **permanent army should** be created consisting of mandatory contributions from all members.