

WORLD HISTORY

Class Notes (English)

- Emergence of Ancient & Medieval World
- Rise of Modern West
- Enlightenment and Modern Thinkers
- American Revolution, American Constitution & American Civil War
- French Revolution
- Europe After 1815
- Disintegration of Old Empire
- Industrial Revolution
- Socialism and Marxism
- Colonialism and Imperialism
- First World War
- Paris Peace Conference
- First Crisis of Capitalism (First World War)
- Second Crisis of Capitalism (Great Economic Depression)
- Destructive Response against World Economic Depression- Fascism and Nazism
- Europe after the 2nd World War
- Condition & Direction of the World in Post World War Era
- Contemporary World



KHAN GLOBAL STUDIES

Most Trusted Learning Platform

World History

The Specific Methods of Study

■ Topics of World History

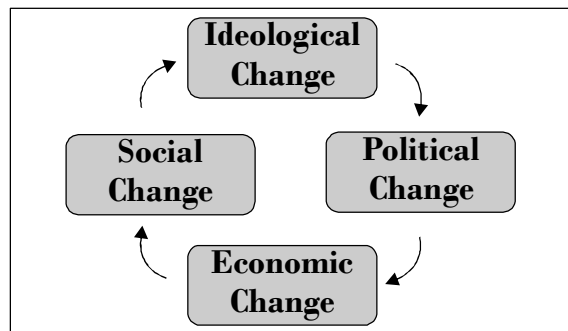
- Demarcation of national boundary and the rise of nation state. (Although this is a phenomenon of 17th and 18th century, for gaining the proper knowledge of the topic one should broach first topics like Renaissance, Reformation, Commercial Revolution and Mercantilism before coming to the period of thirty years war.)
- **Enlightenment**– This topic requires a wide ranging discussion with reference to the modernization drive in Europe.
- **American Revolution** and American Constitution
- **French Revolution** and its Aftermath, particularly the Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- **Liberalism and Nationalism in Europe and their impact on Europe** : Unification of Italy and Germany, Ottoman Empire and Balkan Issue.
- **Industrial Revolution** in Britain, Industrialization in Germany, Russia and Japan.
- **Imperialism** in Asia and Partition of Africa.
- **Origin and impact of the First World War** – political, economic and social impact, Paris Peace Conference and subjugation of defeated party, policy of Western powers towards Arab world and West Asia.
- **Global Economic Depression, Fascism and Nazism** in Italy and Germany.
- **Mussolini's and Hitler's foreign policy** and the Second World War, Its impact - Decolonization in Asia and Africa.
- **Cold War and NAM**, Big International Crises like Suez canal crisis, Cuba Missile crisis, Vietnam crisis, etc.

■ What is the larger significance of the study of world history?

- As it is the part of the syllabus so it forms the part of the question paper as well. But

its their indirect benefit is much larger than direct one. It opens the vistas of knowledge for various disciplines.

- **Gateway to the knowledge of international Relations** - All existing international issues pertaining to west Asia, Europe, America, Africa and southeast Asia etc. are having their antecedent in world history.
- **Proper understanding of evolution of international economy**- The background of global economy was prepared in course of Commercial Revolution and mercantilism in 17th century. Right from that period till the present era of neo-liberal economy the evolution can better be perceived through world history.
- **To perceive the ideological evolution of the world** - It is through the study of world history one can attain the knowledge of important ideology such as liberalism, nationalism, socialism, Marxism, Anarchism, Fascism, Post modernism etc.
- **What should be the proper strategy for the study of world history?**
 - To study history means to underline the elements of change in political, economic, social and cultural fields. Simultaneously, the intrinsic relations among different fields i.e. political, economic etc. also need to be underlined. Following diagram denotes it-

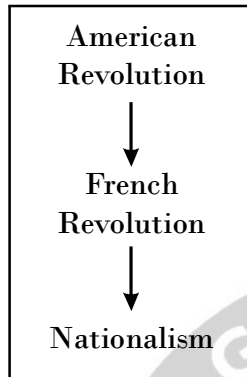


- The diagram imparts that changes are interrelated. Change in economic structure brings social change through accentuating change in class equation. It means the decline of the old class and the rise of a

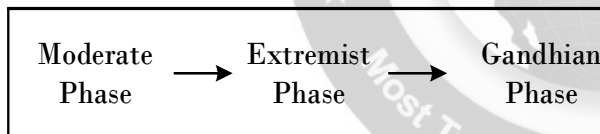
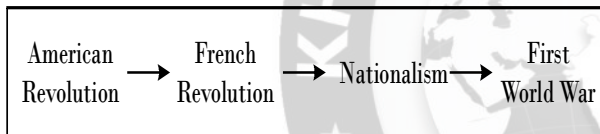
new one. It gives supports to ideological change as newly emerged class would give support to a new ideology. Again ideological factor gives boost to the change in other fields. Thus change continuous .

■ **The specific methods of study**

- **Vertical approach**– To make a wide study of a single topic such as-



- **Horizontal Approach**– To link one topic to other while underlining the elements of change-



World History (Part-I)

Emergence of Ancient & Medieval World

- World, which is visible today, is completely different from what it had appeared to be thousand of years earlier. We need to underline the elements of changes while going through years after years, decades after decades and century after century while measuring the contours of world history. Then a complete picture comes before us.
- But before making a survey of world history we should be aware of the fact that more or less world history is still obsessed with Euro-Centric approach. That's why changes which occurred in different parts of the world are generally viewed in relation to western world. Moreover, the history of modern world starts with colonization of rest by west. Obviously, it is a compulsion for us to observe the progress of world history while keeping Europe in the centre.

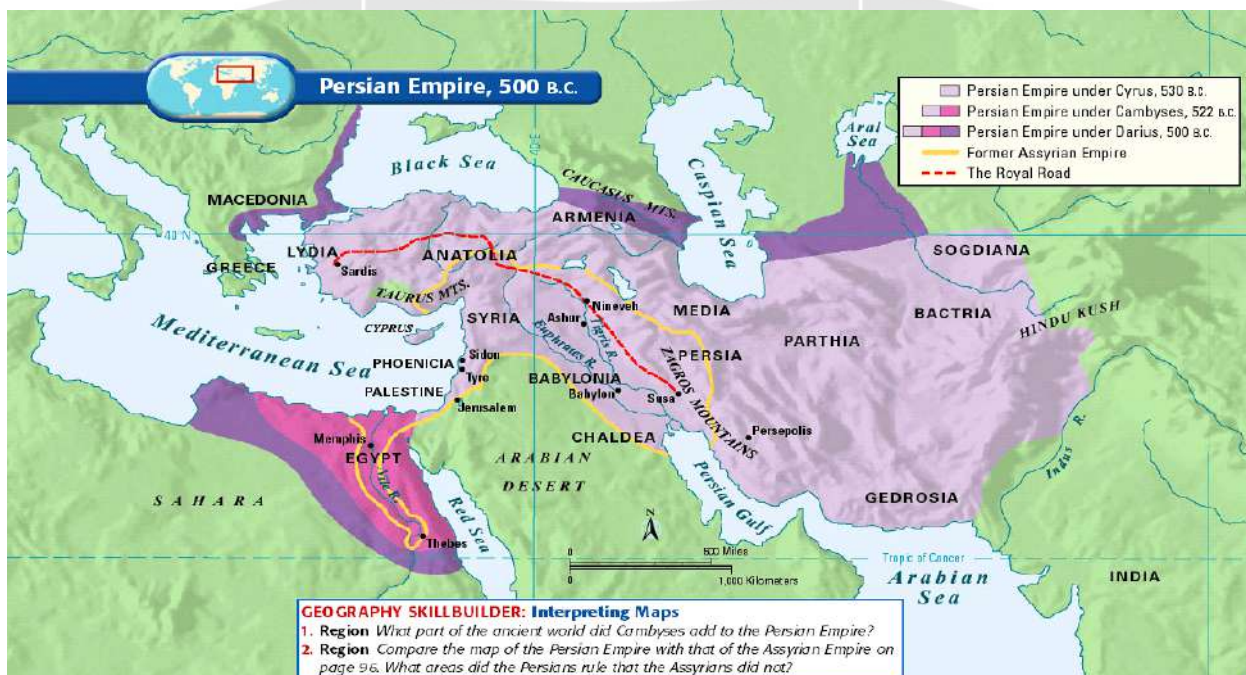
Ancient Europe

■ Political Structure-

- Persian Empire**– Nearly in 700 BCE, Persian Empire emerged to be a world empire under the great monarchs like Cyrus and Darius first. It is characterised as the

first world empire. It covered a vast region, Aegean sea to North West India including North-west Africa and a part of central Asia. As a Greek scholar Herodotus noted that Indian region was 20th kshatrap (province) of Persian empire and this region used to provide to Persian government 360 talent of gold per annum as tax.

- Greek Empire**– Up to 4th century the decline of the empire set in and it created a political vacuum in the region which could be filled up by the rise of a Greek empire under Philip and his son Alexander. In fact, among Greek states Macedonia emerged to be a powerful state under an ambitious king Philip. He conquered Italian city-states. In 336 BCE, he was succeeded by his son Alexander the great, who established a Greek empire on the ruins of Persian one. His empire included the vast area of Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, some parts of Central Asia and a part of North West India upto the river Vyas, beyond which Alexander's soldier refused to move further. Just parallel to it, Magadh Empire was being created in India. It expanded from the river Beas in the west to Bengal in east to the river





- Godavari in South India. Then just after Alexander's exit from India Magadhan empire took a formidable size after seizing even the Greek region in north-west. This empire stretched upto Hindukush in north-west to Brahmigiri in Karnataka. If we are moving further east in China under Qin dynasty empire-building started, although Qin dynasty quickly disappeared. Then, Han dynasty appeared which unified a vast region under an empire and maintained it for coming four centuries.
- Once again returning to the west we can underline the demise of Alexander's empire just after his death in 323 BCE. It was divided among his there ambitious military commanders. One of them Selyucus Nikator got the empire of Syria which was situated in the neighborhood of Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta Maurya. As an Empire works as a carrier of culture, so Alexander's imperialistic project was accompanied by the spread of Greek language, Greek script and Greek culture including Hellenistic art. Later eastern expansion of Roman Empire was supported by the same Greek cultured world created earlier by Alexander.
- Roman Empire**– Nearly three hundred years after Alexander, there appeared a new empire, Roman Empire. During ancient period Roman Empire was the largest and the longest empire. Its nucleus region was Italy but quickly it covered whole Mediterranean region. In 509 BCE Roman state was established as a republic. Earlier then that even Greek city - states were founded as tiny republics. But from modern standard, the term republic should not be applied either to ancient Greek or ancient Rome, as there the actual power was being enjoyed by a handful of elites. Under the Roman states these elites were known as patrician.
- But whatever was the nature of the republic, later republican form of government gave way to monarchy under ambitious rulers like Augustus and Tiberius. Upto early Christian century, Roman empire became formidable in size particularly when it came to conquer Carthage Empire in northern Africa. Then, at the time of Diocletian, the empire was divided into two - Western Roman Empire and Eastern Roman empire or Byzantine Empire. The capital of Western Roman Empire was Rome while that of the

Eastern Roman Empire was Constantinople. In Roman Empire, Greek and Latin both languages were officially encouraged. Eastern part of the empire more directly inherited the legacy of Greek civilisation.

- From 3rd century onwards, Western Roman Empire came to face the onslaught of German invasion as a result of which, Western Roman Empire broke into pieces while eastern Roman empire continued for the next 1000 years, till the Turkish invasion eclipsed it in 1453.

■ **Economic Condition-**

- Whenever we are studying about ancient world empires we can underline two important features about these empires: - Firstly these empires represented a very complex economic structure. In other words, the process of empire building was deeply linked to the initiative of having control over important trade routes. These are true of almost all empires i.e. Persian Empire, Greek Empire and Roman Empire. All were inclined to have control over the main trade routes in West Asia, Central Asia and also the routes leading to the east. Not simply that, to a greater extent even their survival depended over their ability to control these routes. Apart from that, in ancient Greece and Rome, slavery system was prevalent. Their agrarian economy was based on slave labour.

■ **Social condition-**

- The society of ancient Greek and Roman empire was mainly divided into two categories– the masters and the slaves. The landlords generally lived a luxurious life upon slave labour.

■ **Religious Condition-**

- Polytheism was prevalent in ancient Greece and Rome and idol worship was also prevalent. Later, in west Asia, Judaism flourished and it professed monotheism. Its prophet was Abraham. Further, Jews were settled in Syria-Palestine region first which fell under the control of Roman Empire and then persecution of Jews started as

monotheism propagated by Judaism was incompatible with idol worship promoted by cult of monarchy under Roman Empire.

- Later in the same region Jesus Christ was born. He was born at Bethlehem in Jerusalem. At the age of 30 after receiving a message from God he continued to propagate his ideas. Even Christian theology was based on monotheism. Monotheism of Christianity and Jesus Christ's communion with commoners both were offensive to Roman Empire. In fact, Christian concept of monotheism was antithetical to idol worship promoted by the Roman Empire. Likewise, Jesus' cacophony with the common people gave a signal to the Roman Empire that he was likely to organise a rebellion against the empire. Thus, he was crucified by Roman Governor of Judia. Earlier the identity of Christianity was blurred with that of Judaism, but later it got recognition as a separate sect.

Medieval Europe

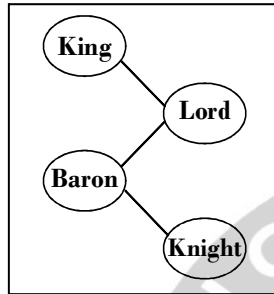
■ **Political Structure-**

- Western Roman Empire declined upto the end of 5th century CE due to persistent barbarous German invasions. Then invaders were neither having inclination nor sagacity to revive the empire again, therefore different German tribal chiefs started to rule independently in different regions. Later, as a result of internecine conflict and coordination a hierarchical political system was created under different chiefs. At the same time, with the disintegration of Western Roman Empire, decline was visible in long distance trade, money economy, urban centers as well. All these changes combined together were characterized as genesis of feudalism in Europe.

■ **Feudalism-**

- Feudalisation of administrative structure was one of the most important features of medieval Europe. As we have observed earlier due to barbaric German invasion

Western Roman Empire disintegrated. Then invading German tribes neither had acumen nor inclination to revive the empire again. Instead different chiefs preferred to establish their rule in different regions and continued to collect taxes from peasantry. In absence of any organised state for securing protection even peasants submitted before local chiefs. Thus emerged feudalism which was based on a hierarchy in which king was on the upper most level.

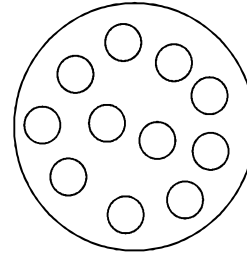


- The king used to provide jagir to lords or Earl who in return rendered military service to the king. Then even the lord offered a part of his fief to a subordinate Baron who also used to give patronage to Knights. All were bound to each other through loyalty and patronage. In this system the position of the king was weak as he depended on subordinate lords for military support and also for feudal dues.

■ Economic Structure-

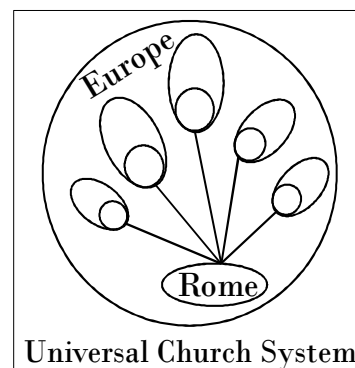
- Feudalism was having an economic dimension too. After the fall of the Roman Empire, trade and urban economy were also declined. Feudalism is marked by ruralisation of economy in which trade and money economy played an insignificant role. On other side, the role of agrarian economy increased. Both feudal lords and peasants were dependent on agrarian economy. The feudal lords used to make the peasants tied to the land. Peasants or tenants could not vacate the land and had to provide free labour on certain days of the week. This was called serfdom.

Europe- Feudalism



■ Universal Church System-

- Earlier Christianity was simple and free from rituals and it was ideologically inspired by two saints, Saint Paul and Saint Augustine who emphasized on the efficacy of 'faith'. But later Christianity came to be guided by the ideas of two other saints Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas. These saints gave specific emphasis over 'Good works' but the term was defined in a parochial manner. It meant 'guidance by the priests and seven sacraments'.
- Thus started Universal Church System which came to dominate socio-cultural life of European people. Apart from that, church came to own landed property as well. Under this system headquarter of Church was established at Rome while its branches were spread to different parts of Europe. It was headed by the Pope of Rome and patronized by Holy Roman Empire.
- The regional churches used to impose religious taxes on the people. They had monopoly over education and knowledge.



■ Rise of Islam and Crusades-

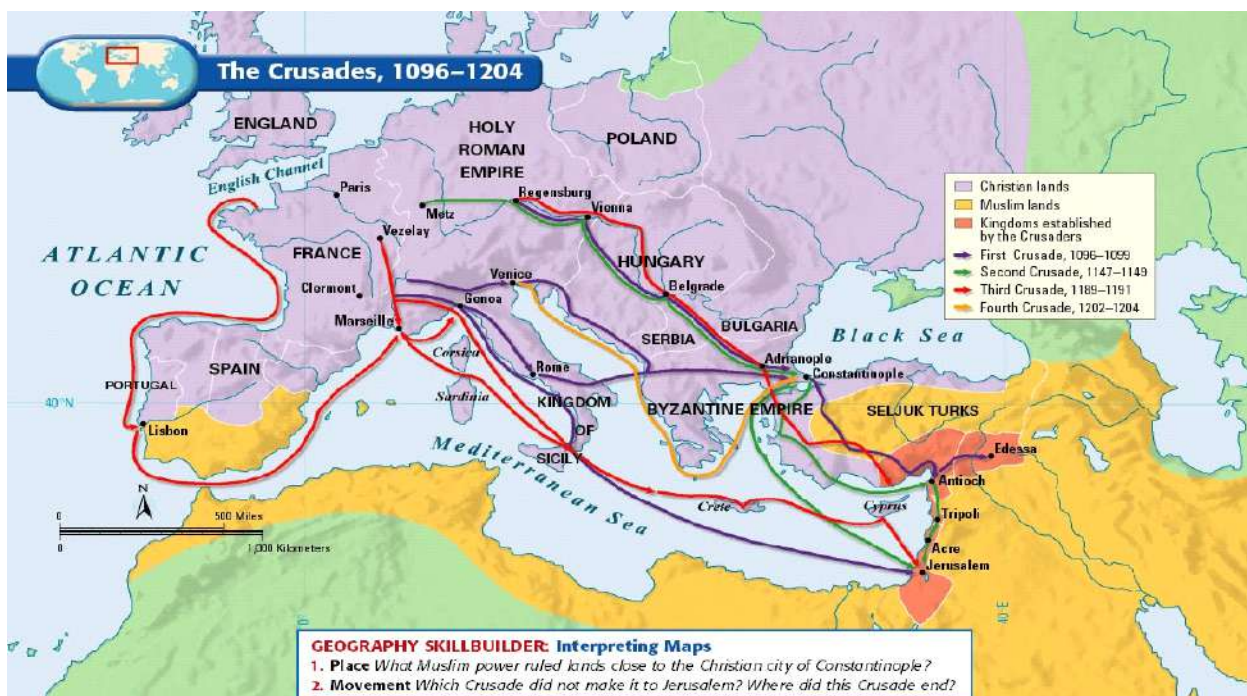
- Arabian region was a desert region. Except some green felt at Mecca there was dearth

of agriculture land. This region was peopled by different tribesmen who were known as Bedouin. As an occupation they adopted trade because due to continuous military conflict between Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Empire the main trade route was disturbed. So a new route through Syria and Yaman provided these tribes new opportunity in trade. Even Prophet Muhammad associated with a tribe known as 'Quraysh'. Most of the tribes were idolater. Mecca, apart from being an economic centre, was a religious centre as well. On a wall of a structure at Mecca there was a black stone. It was known as Kaba. Different tribes placed an idol of their god in the shrine of Mecca.

- In relations among different tribes apart from religious issue, economic issue also was involved. Due to continuous intra tribal conflict and war, trade was hampered. Islam through propagating monotheism and the concept of universal God, tried to remove tribal and religious division both. In 610 Muhammad had an intense spiritual experience, which marked the beginning of prophethood for him. Within a few years, Muhammad had a small group of Meccan followers who accepted his religious ideas. They came to be known as Muslims i.e. those who had submitted to Allah. The religion itself was called Islam, a term implying submission.
- But very soon prophet was opposed by vested interest in Mecca. Its interest was threatened by undiluted monotheism propagated by prophet. So Mecca turned to be a hot bed for prophet who departed to Medina with his followers due to safety reasons. This incident took place in 622 and in the history of Islam this incident was marked by the beginning of Hijri era. It was at Medina that prophet laid the foundation of Islamic state. Islam was different in nature from other sects, as under Islam religious and temporal power both were combined into a single person

that was Prophet Muhammad. After him a series of caliphs continued his line of succession. Prophet captured Mecca in 630 dint of military force. So, Mecca and Medina became twin centres of Islam. He died in 632 and he was succeeded by some four caliphs –Abu Bakra, Umar, Usman and Ali.

- Islam apart from being a religious movement proved to be the biggest political movement in the history of medieval age. The fight which prophet had started for capturing Mecca was soon converted into a fight for expansion. Following factors made a contribution to expansionist policy under Islam. Firstly, Prophet Muhammad was declared to be the last one in a series of prophets which started with Abraham (prophet of Jews and he was followed by Jesus Christ). But difference lies in the fact that Islam claimed that prophet Muhammad's message was the latest and most authentic version. This made other religious sects incompatible with Islam.
- Secondly, Arabian society was a tribal society and there were many war mongering tribes which even after converting to Islam could not be turned into a peace loving community suddenly. Thus through the slogan of 'Jihad' internal conflict was channelized outside. Lastly, Islamic state was in need of more and more resources which could have been managed through war booties. This started unrestricted expansion of Islamic power conquering the region of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Persia, Central Asia and Sind in India. It also reached the door step of Europe. That resulted into Crusades.
- **Crusades-** Three Crusades were fought between Christian state of Europe and Islamic power in the period between 1095 and 1291 in order to capture the region of Jerusalem. This was caused due to the expansionist policy of Islam on one hand and changing political-economic condition of Europe on the other. In Europe, clergy



and aristocratic class were seeking peace for promoting prosperity in Europe. So, internal conflict was consciously exported outside and at the initiative of Byzantine emperor Alexios I and Pope Urban II Christian army moved to Syria and Jerusalem which had remained to be sacred place for Jews, Christian and Islam all.

- One creative impact of this destructive incident was opening of new routes to the east.
- **Society of Medieval Europe-** The society of Medieval Europe was divided into three sections-
 1. **Aristocratic class-** The feudal elites were at the top of the society. They had landed property and belonged to the privileged section of society.
 2. **Clergy class-** After the establishment of Universal Church System, a clergy class came into existence. It also had privileges. Since the churches had landed property, therefore they themselves became a landowner in the name of the Church.
 3. **Commoners-** Rest of the population such as peasants, craftsmen and artisans etc belonged to the category of commoners. They fell in the category of non-privileged section of the society and so they were

supposed to pay all kinds of taxes.

■ Holy Roman Empire-

- Holy Roman Empire originated out of Roman Empire. After disintegration of Western Roman Empire German tribesmen got settled in different regions. Among German tribes, Franco tribe played very significant role in history. It occupied the region of Gaul and created a powerful dynasty known as Carolingian dynasty under Charles Martin who earned a big name and fame after defeating Islamic army in the battle of Tours in 732. His successor, Pepin, created a big empire. Then most powerful and prestigious ruler in this dynasty was Charlemang on whose head, the Pope of Rome put the crown with his own hand and declared him to be the Holy Roman emperor. Till Crusades continued between Christian and Muslim power, Holy Roman Empire played a significant role in it and after Crusades it continued to work as a protector of the Roman Catholic Church system. After the decline of Carolingian dynasty, the Habsburg dynasty came to play the same role.
- During medieval period of Europe three institutions- Feudalism, Universal Church System and Holy Roman Empire existed and they worked as bulwark against

change. Therefore, for the rise of modern west the demise of these institutions was imperative.



■ Decline of Constantinople (1453)-

- The decline of Constantinople proved the game changer from the view point of the rise of overseas trade. In fact in 1453 Seljuk Turks defeated Byzantine Empire and captured its capital Constantinople. Constantinople was situated on a prime geographical location or at intersection of routes going to India. So almost all the routes leading to the East, were blocked by Islamic power. This incident encouraged sea voyages leading to the discovery of America, India and other regions. Actually, the introduction of new technologies like compass and astrolabes made sea-fering a bit safe.



- The basic motive was the economic gain from Oriental trade but even lofty ideals

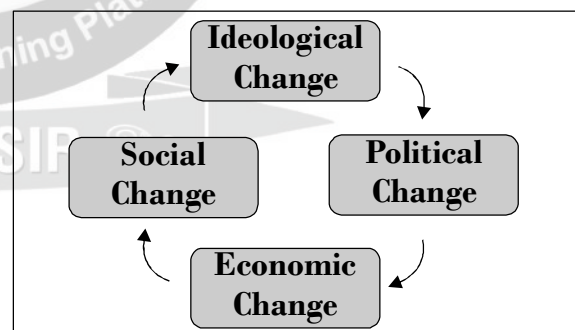
like national prestige as well as spread of Christianity were added to it. Thus was given the slogan 'Gold, Glory and God'.

- As the result of sea voyages, up to the 17th century except Australia and interior region of Africa almost all the regions came to light. So, European coloniser started to subjugate indigenous people in Latin America and northern America popularly known as Red Indians, likewise the indigenous people of Africa. On the other hand Asian States were too powerful to be subdued. Hence, in Asia, European merchants came initially with folded hands seeking permission for trade. These incidents heralded the advent of modern age in Europe.

Rise of Modern West

- Changes were required for the rise of modern west and the following formula can be used to understand the process of change-

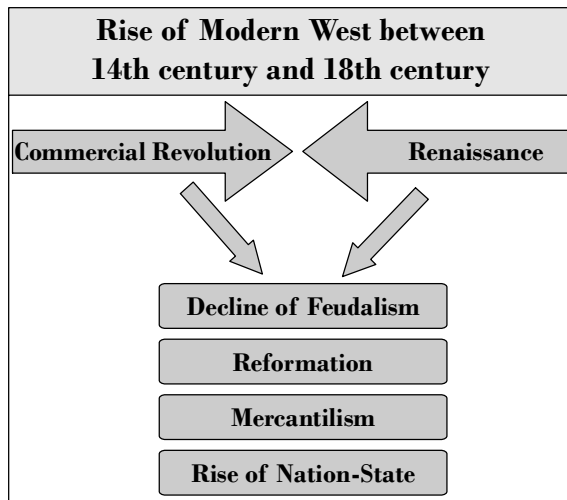
Economic Change → Changing class equation → Social Change → Ideological-Cultural Change → Political Change.



- The formula is very simple. Material change or economic change is the prime mover. As there is a change in economy, the hegemony of the dominant class faces challenges from the newly emerging class. It brings changes in social structures. Change in social structure led to the rise of a new class. Naturally with the emergence of a new class, a new school of ideology emerges and this new ideology brings political change.

Thus is created a cycle of change which is an ongoing process.

- Therefore, rise of modern west can be explained through the prism of the process of change. Moreover, the change in economic structure was accentuated through Commercial Revolution.

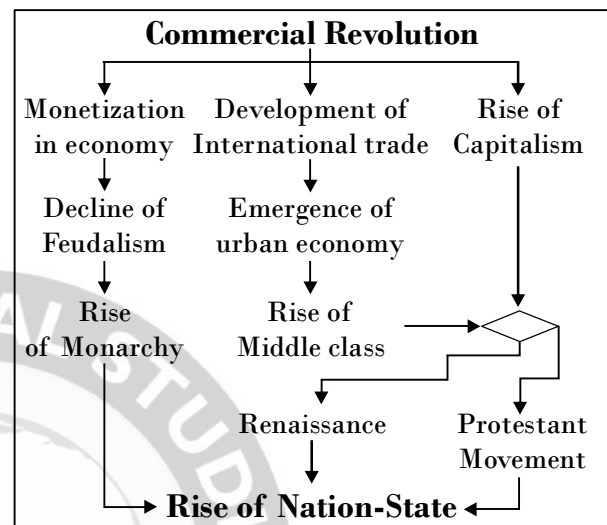


- **Commercial Revolution-** From 11th century onwards there was a structural change in economy as a result of which regional, static and feudal economy of Europe transformed into a world, dynamic and capitalist economy. Even banking and currency system came into existence.

- **Factors behind growing commercial activities-**

1. Some **technological innovation** in agriculture ensured better agrarian surplus, a part of which came to the market. Consequently, monetization of economy increased and it created rupture in feudal structure as lords preferred cash in place of service. As a result of which, a prosperous landed class came into existence and this class raised the demand for goods.
2. **The role of crusades-** Even crusades brought a major jerk in the economy. It opened trade route between North Western Europe and West Asia (Jerusalem). Thus, it gave a fresh boost to trade and Commerce.
3. **Decline of Constantinople (1453)-** It led to sea-voyages and also to discovery of new

regions America, India and other parts of the world except Australia and interior region of Africa. Although America was discovered as a matter of chance but it proved much beneficial for European trading countries as it is through precious metal procured from America, Asian trade could have been sustained.



- **Impact of Commercial Revolution-** As we know, the Commercial Revolution brought structural change in Europe and this change paved the way for further changes. These changes are as follows -

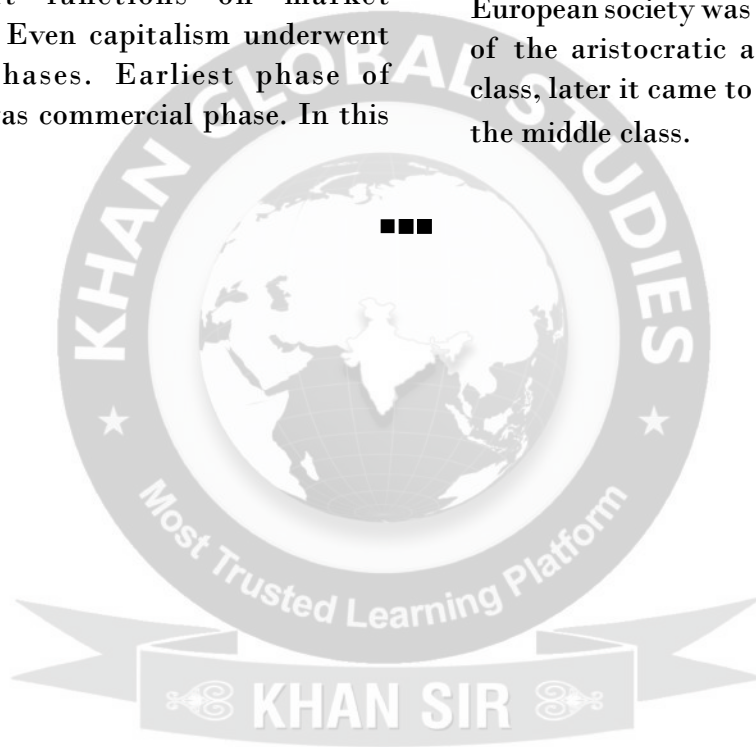
1. **Decline of Feudalism-** Feudalism implied a hierarchical structure in which a series of intermediaries were bound together through loyalty and patronage. But technological progress as well as development of three-field system manifested surplus agrarian production. As feudal system was based on a self sufficient economy, surplus production made the feudal structure crumbled. In other words, as a result of growing monetization in economy feudal structure could not survive because landlords preferably started to demand money instead of free labour from tenants.
2. **Rise of Autocratic Monarchy in Europe-** As a result of the decline of feudalism, which was a pan-European institution, European monarchs were most benefited. He tried to restore his power and also tried to

demarcate a national boundary. Among these rulers, Henry VI and Henry VIII of Britain, Henry IV of France, Frederick the Great of Prussia and Joseph-II of Austria were prominent.

3. **Rise of Capitalism-** Decline of feudalism led to the rise of capitalism. Capitalism represented a different mode of production. While feudalism was a system based on agrarian system, limited exchange and personal loyalty but capitalism was based on money economy and profit-making. It does not assess the value of a product on the basis of its internal merit but on its demand. It functions on market mechanism. Even capitalism underwent different phases. Earliest phase of capitalism was commercial phase. In this

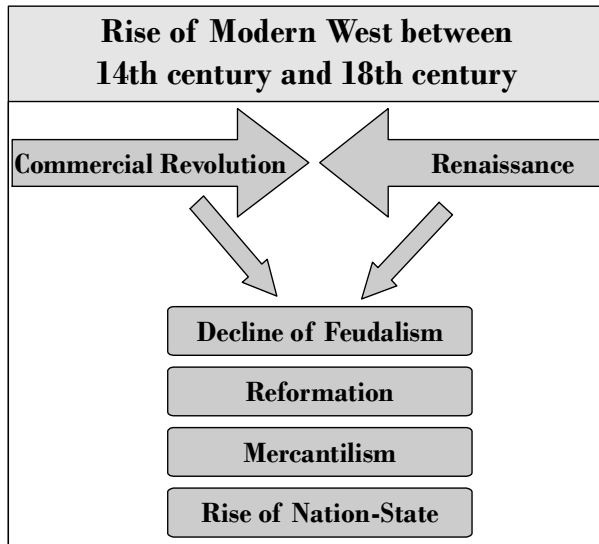
phase there was formation of mammoth seized trading companies which were procuring the products from one region and distributing them to others. Later, it entered into industrial phase and that of financial phase.

4. **Rise of Middle Class-** European society in medieval period was divided into three sections- aristocratic class, clergy class and commoners. But commercial activities gave birth to a new social class, mercantile class, which came to be characterized as the middle class.
- It is worth noting that earlier, whereas the European society was driven by the interest of the aristocratic as well as the clergy class, later it came to be guided by that of the middle class.



World History (Part-I)

Subpart-I: Rise of Modern west (Part-II)



Renaissance

- The period between 14th century and 16th century is marked by intellectual fermentation that was called renaissance. The literal meaning of Renaissance is 'reawakening'. It reflects an attitude of mind so, it is supposed to be an ideological-attitudinal change of European people. As a result of sea-voyages as well as geographical expansion, there was an exchange between Western and Eastern ideas and cultural values. At the same time, application of printing press boosted wider circulation of new ideas. The Renaissance was a mood or outlook, it was not an intellectual revolution. Its emphasis was on the following factors-
 - **Curiosity and the spirit of enquiry-** The attraction towards worldly life inspired a new kind of curiosity among the scholars. This factor encouraged scientific discovery. Thus emerged the great scientists of the age, Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler and Newton. When Newton saw the fruit falling down, he formulated gravitational theory having been inspired by curiosity.
 - **Spirit of adventure-** The growing importance of human strengthened the spirit of adventure in him. This encouraged geographical exploration and great voyages.
 - **Humanism-** It emphasized the dignity of man and material age.
 - **Individualism-** Greater importance attached to an individual led to composition of autobiography. For example, an artist, Cellini wrote his autobiography for the first time.
 - **Secularism-** Here secularism means the criticism of those priests, in whose words and actions there was a greater dichotomy. It led to decline of religion on human mind. In this way Renaissance encouraged new culture in Europe.
- **Impact of Renaissance-** In fact, the element of humanism, individualism and secularism became the basic ethos of the European civilization. It was that ethos which got expression in the compositions of Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, Cervantes, paintings of Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci etc. as well as in the political philosophy of Machiavelli etc. Likewise, the idea of secularism gave impetus to the Protestant movement.

Reformation

- When we talk about the Reformation two different pictures appeared before us. First one is that of **Counter-reformation Movement** which, under the influence of renaissance, targeted

- internal reforms within Roman Catholic Church system.
- The second one trend was a revolt against Universal Church System. That is known as **Protestant Movement**. It was first organised by a German priest Martin Luther. In 1517, he stuck 95 theses to the wall of the church of Wittenberg. He demanded a reply from the Pope. It symbolised an open revolt against Roman Catholic Church system.
 - Whenever we compare renaissance with reformation, we find that renaissance remained to be an intellect movement with elite base but the protestant movement was having a popular character.
 - Very soon it spread as a forest fire. In Germany itself another reformer Calvin became active while Zwingli carried the movement in Switzerland.
- **The factors which inspired the movement–** If we explore the causes of the protestant movement, we find that a religious cause was definitely there. But we should be aware of the fact that religious cause was not a major factor behind that. It was particularly due to the fact that reforms had already started within the Roman Catholic Church system under the influence of Counter Reformation. Hence, it was the contemporary economic and political factor which made protestant movement inevitable.
- **Corrupt religious practices-** Religious corruption was a big scar on the face of the Roman Catholic Church system and its climax being the sale of indulgences (in return of money priest were giving guarantee of heaven in life after death).
 - **The interest of the mercantile class-** As for the economic factor, we can say that this period was marked by extending trade and Commerce. Usury and profit making were the backbone of trade while the Roman Catholic Church denounced them. On the other hand, Protestants tried to legitimise usury and profit making. In this way it gave ideological support to rising capitalism in Europe. German sociologist, Max Weber, in his famous text '*Protestant ethics and spirit of capitalism*' projected Protestantism as a major factor behind the rise of capitalism. So, Protestantism got the support of the mercantile class.
 - **Political ambition of European Monarchs-** As for the political factor, we can say this period was marked by the rise of nationalist consciousness. Gradually different regions, cemented through linguistic and cultural uniformity and under the leadership of ambitious monarchs, were being crystallized into a nation but Universal Church system was antithetical to nationalist aspiration. That's why even some ambitious monarchs encouraged the protestant Movement in order to consolidate their own position.
 - So, in conclusion we can say that economic and political factors played a more decisive role in the protestant movement.
- **Impact –**
- **Rise of nation-state-** It paved the way for the rise of the nation-state by creating a rupture in the Universal Church System.
 - **Rise of capitalism-** It gave a major boost to capitalism by providing legitimacy to money lending and profit making.

Mercantilism

- Subsequently, commercial revolution assumed some new features which came to be known as mercantilism. Mercantilism was an economic programme guided by a political objective. In other words, earlier commercial revolution had been channelized according to the interest of the emerging middle class but when it came to be shaped according to the interests of emerging absolutist monarchy of Europe it was known as mercantilism. Mercantilism had the following features –

1. **Bullionism-** It meant seeking and preserving precious metal. In 16 century and 17 century Europe, gold and silver were taken as the mark of prosperity. So whichever country possessed a larger quantity of precious metal was supposed to be prosperous and powerful.
2. **Favourable balance of trade-** If some country did not own precious metal, it hardly mattered but it should have increased its export in comparison to its import so that the balance of trade could have been maintained in its favour.
3. **Colonialism-** Another aspect of mercantilism was colonialism. A colony was supposed to promote the interest of the metropolitan state (That which develops colony). Colony was compelled to provide precious metal if possible, if not it was expected to work as a supplier of raw material and to provide a market for finished goods.
4. **Economic nationalism-** For the balance of trade to be maintained in its favour,

the nation concerned had to maintain a higher level of production. So economic self-reliance became the main mantra that's why European governments forcefully encouraged production. It is said that in Britain, a legislation was initiated for the removal of slothness (laziness). If someone was caught sitting idle without work he was punished.

- During the period of mercantilism, the mercantile class or the middle class adopted a policy of cooperation towards the monarchy, while the monarchy strengthened its position against the feudal class with the support of the emerging middle class. So we consider mercantilism as an economic program guided by a political objective.

Rise of Nation-State

■ Contributory factors-

- **Decline of feudalism-** Due to growing monetization and surplus production feudalism crumbled. So the demolition of feudal structures could have resulted into either political anarchy or rule by the people. But in the meantime ambitious monarchs of Europe stepped into fill up the vacuum and tried to reassert their position.
- **Protestant movement (Reformation)-** It created rupture within Roman Catholic Church system which had so far worked as a hurdle behind demarcating the boundary of nation-state.
- **Mercantilism-** It strengthened the economic base of the nation-state. Actually, it was from the rubble of the feudalism that absolutist monarchy emerged. Now these monarchs were no more dependent on feudal levy. They established a modern taxation system,

insured prosperity of treasury through promoting mercantilist policy and they created a standing army and appointed professional bureaucracy. Louis XI in France, Maxmilian in Austria, Henry VII in England and Isabella and Ferdinand in Spain were absolutist monarchs who started organising standing army, a professional bureaucracy and national taxation.

- **Renaissance-** As an impact of renaissance old Roman code of law was revived and this code gave much emphasis over the power of monarchy.
- **Ideological support by scholars-** Scholars like Hobbes and Bodin advocated for powerful monarchy as they believed only powerful monarchy could ensure peace and stability in society.

Thirty Years War & Treaty of Westphalia (1618 - 1648)



- Thirty years war and the treaty of Westphalia gave a big blow to the old order. Thirty years war proved to be a turning point in European politics. In 1630 it started on a religious issue when Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand II tried to punish Protestants of Bohemia. Very soon it took the form of an all European war based on the polarisation between Catholic power and protestant

States. This war stretched for 18 long years.

- The most interesting aspect of this war is a sharp turn from religious to strategic interest of the European powers. An issue of dynastic supremacy came to be attached with this war. In fact, Holy Roman Emperor was associated with most prestigious dynasty, Habsburg dynasty while French emperor with Bourbon dynasty. Interestingly, Thirty Years War proved a contest between Bourbon dynasty and Habsburg dynasty for dynastic prestige, inspite of the fact that both were Roman Catholic powers.
 - France even after being a Catholic power gave support to the protestant states like Britain, Sweden and Denmark and directly rose against Holy Roman Empire in spite of the fact that Holy Roman Empire was the protector of Roman Catholic Church system. So this war ended the era of religious war and became a harbinger of realism in European politics.
 - As the result of the war both the parties were exhausted so finally in 1648 the 'Treaty of Westphalia' was signed. It is said that through the treaty of Westphalia the modern nation-state system came into being.
1. After this treaty, the Holy Roman Empire existed simply in name but practically, it was non-existent.
 2. In this treaty, the German states got freedom to conduct their foreign policy and declare war and peace.
 3. Likewise, in international-relation, the equality of all the states irrespective of their size was accepted.

4. Furthermore, as a substitute for war, international diplomacy started including exchange of ambassadors.
5. Last but not the least, at the initiative of a scholar Grotius international laws came into existence.
6. Above all, after the demise of Universal Church system and decline of the Holy Roman Empire, in inter-state relations the concept of balance of power became the most reliable tool. Moreover, France

and Britain both had their individual perception about balance of power. For France, the balance of power in Europe had to be maintained on disunity of Central Europe i.e. division of Germany. So right from the time of treaty of Westphalia onwards France was conscious about the fact that German region which was divided among nearly 200 tiny states should not be unified.

Interdisciplinary Approach

- **International Economy** – Global economy came into existence for the first time during the era of mercantilism (16-17th century). It was during this period, a wider trade network was established in a vast area from American continent to east and south-east Asia. In fact, mercantilism was an economic philosophy as well; it believed that the volume of international trade was fixed. Therefore, the surplus trade of the one nation was possible due to trade deficit of the other. So, every nation should have tried to maintain the trade surplus in its favour by adopting some artificial measures. But it was definitely a dangerous economic theory, as it used to create hurdles in the free flow of the goods among different regions. That's why in 18th century, a reputed economist Adam Smith gave a serious jolt to this theory through propounding a new theory of laissez faire (free trade).
- **Modernization of Europe** – This period is marked by the rise of new cultural values like humanism, individualism and secularism which carried Europe on the path of modernization further. So, Europe entered into the era of enlightenment in 18th century.



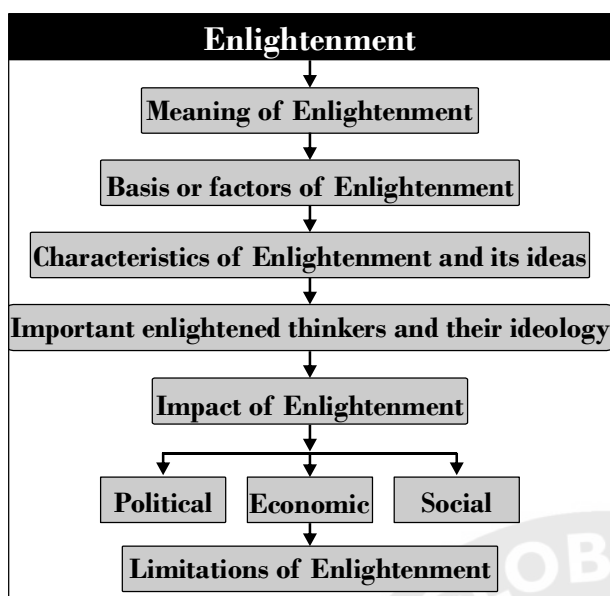
Part II- Liberalisation & Nationalism, Nation-State & Disintegration of Old Empires

- Chapter 4 Enlightenment & Modern Thinkers**
- Chapter 5 American Revolution, American Constitution & American Civil War**
- Chapter 6 French Revolution**
- Chapter 7 Europe after 1815**
- Chapter 8 Disintegration of Old Empires**

All the topics of Part-II are related to each other. You can underline the change in the totality. While reading these, you will be able to underline the following facts: The ambition of middle class is manifested through enlightenment. The American Revolution and the French Revolution occurred to implementation of that ambition and it led major changes in Europe. After the defeat of Napoleon (1815), the Vienna Congress attempted to suppress the ideas of the French Revolution and take u-turn in the course of history, but failed. Ideologies like 'Liberalism' and 'Nationalism' invited revolutions and changes in Europe throughout the 19th century. (But study material has been divided into parts and sub-parts for the convenience of candidates, so that they do not feel much pressure during their study.)

World History (Part-II)

Sub-part-I: Enlightenment

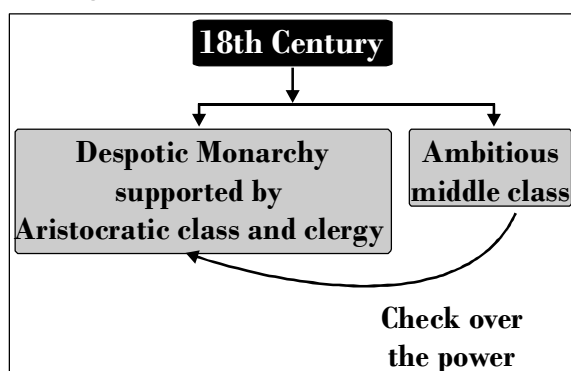


■ Meaning of Enlightenment

- After its rise, modern west moved to another stage of ideological fermentation that was known as enlightenment. Literal meaning of enlightenment was the dawn of light after a long night of darkness i.e. darkness of ignorance, that of superstition, that of intolerance and that of servitude to the past.

■ Basis or factors of Enlightenment

- As the name enlightenment suggests it was an intellectual movement but this intellectual movement had a strong material basis. From the view point of changing class equation following diagram represents the social basis of enlightenment–



- As we have seen earlier as the results of gradual change between 14th century and 18th century two power blocks emerged, one was despotic or absolutist monarchy and the second one was ambitious mercantile class or middle class.
 - A powerful middle class put a question mark to the hegemony of monarchy, aristocracy and Church. In order to maintain the despotic power, the monarchy tried to establish a coalition with the old enemy aristocratic class and the Church. However, upto 18th century even the middle class gained strength and self-confidence and put forward demands in front of the aristocracy class and the Church. Hence, in one sense this was enlightenment.
 - Scientific revolution of the 17th century shaped up the attitude of human beings to their surroundings. The scientific revolution impacted the human consciousness also. Apart from that, the middle class used this scientific ideology in order to strengthen its demand.
- #### ■ Characteristics of Enlightenment and its ideas
- Newly discovered ideas about God, nature and universe came to be applied in political, economic, social and religious spheres as well. Hence, Enlightenment gave emphasis over the following factors-
1. Scientific method could be applied in solving the basic problems in political, economic, social as well as ecclesiastical fields.
 2. Rationalism is the basis of knowledge and the future of man guided by rationalism is bright.
 3. Very much like nature, even political, economic and social institutions should

work according to their own eternal laws and there should be no scope for outside intervention.

4. It had a great optimistic attitude and there was emphasis over 'happiness' in life.

■ **Important enlightened thinkers and their ideology -**

- It was assumed that the evolution of enlightenment started when a French thinker Voltaire traveled to Britain. He compared the liberal society of Britain to the conservative society of France. France and Britain were influenced the most by the ideology of enlightenment and later it spread in other parts of Europe.
- Enlightened thinkers are those thinkers who believed in the fundamental ideology of enlightenment. In other words, they emphasized rationalism and scientific methods for human development. Among them, French philosopher **Voltaire** criticised the despotic nature of monarchy, superstition of Church and stupidity of aristocracy. He was a great advocate of individual freedom. Likewise, **Diderot** in his encyclopedia mentioned monarchical despotism. The enlightened scholar, **Montesquieu**, in his famous text 'Spirit of Laws', pleaded for the separation of power among three organs of the government i.e. legislative, executive and judicial power in order to preserve individual freedom. To protect the individual freedom **John Locke** enshrined the idea of limited monarchy. In this way, the enlightenment proved to be an important step in the evolution of modern constitutionalism.
- The matter of fact was that all contemporary thinkers did not recognize the ideology of enlightenment. Though Rousseau belonged to the same era but he

was ideologically different from the contemporary thinkers. He questioned rationalism of enlightenment, instead it gave emphasis over emotions. He rejected the method of science and declared that in the name of civilization man has lost proximity to himself. While the enlightened thinkers believed in constitutional monarchy, Rousseau envisaged democracy. He declared General Will is the sovereign Will.

- Rousseau has told every one of us are having two wills, one is sublime higher will and another is selfish instinct. What we know as the General Will is the aggregate of the higher sublime will of the members of the community. So he emphasised the power of community. Therefore, he came to be known as the father of socialism and modern nationalism.

■ **Impact of Enlightenment -**

- Enlightenment gave a new ideological twist to contemporary political, economic and social structure –
- **Political field** - It presented a model of limited monarchy. British scholar John Lock envisaged a new model of monarchy. Limited monarchy implied a monarch who governed with the support of an elected assembly, although on limited franchise. Having been inspired by enlightenment, many European monarchs adopted certain progressive ideas of the enlightenment. Therefore, they came to be known as enlightened monarchs e.g. Fredrick II of Prussia, Joseph II of Austria, Catherine the great of Russia, etc.
- **Economic field** - In economic field it was opposed to mercantilism instead it advocated for free trade. One of the great economists of the time was British economist, Adam Smith. He, in his

magnum opus ‘The wealth of Nations’, talked about how did wealth of nations grow better through the policy of free trade (Laissez-faire). Having been inspired by rationalism and promoted by enlightenment, he equated laws of nature with the laws of market. In other words, as nature functions according to its own laws so does the market, the laws of demand and supply. Adam Smith is characterized as the father of classical economics.

- **Social field-** In social sphere enlightenment promoted the idea of individualism and individual freedom. The Enlightened scholar, Montesquieu, in his famous text ‘Spirit of Laws’, pleaded for separation among three organs of the government in order to preserve individual freedom. In this way, the seeds of so-called republican or democratic ideas were sown during the period of enlightenment. So, under the influence of enlightenment, even the legal system and different organs of administration underwent a change. Apart from this, slavery system was attacked and ultimately its abolition became inevitable. Furthermore, enlightenment gave support to technological upgradation and also supported medical research as a result of which disease like Pox could be eliminated. Lastly, it also encouraged human passion for material pursuit.

- **Limitations of Enlightenment** - In spite of its unique character enlightenment had some limitations as well -
 - Enlightenment had a strong male, paternalistic, elitist and white racist flavor. It would be callous to ignore the fact that enlightened scholars had little

consideration for women, lower class people and the colonial people.

- Being the promoter of middle class interest enlightened scholars emphasized the dictum that the government should be for the people but not by the people. So, these scholars were opposed to democracy. Infact, enlightened thinkers preferred the limited franchise.
- According to the idea of enlightenment, human rights and individual freedom were exclusively meant for Europe, not to the colonies.

■ **Challenges to Rationalism -**

- Jean Jacquis Rousseau questioned rationalism of enlightenment instead it gave emphasis over emotions.
- Presently, post modernism gave challenge to modernism based on enlightenment’s rationalism. Enlightenment has declared scientific method as a full proof method for reaching the truth and attaining man’s perfectibility. But war, racial conflict and environmental degradation all put a question mark to enlightenment’s claim. Hence, post modernism declared that there is neither a single truth nor any single route leading to the truth.

■ **Enlightenment and American Revolution:**

- Enlightenment definitely gave ideological support to the American Revolution. In fact, American scholars were widely attracted to enlightenment it is due to the fact that the enlightened scholars of Europe highlighted American society as a model of enlightened society. Later some American scholars got so much attracted to European enlightenment that at least two scholars, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson visited Europe as well.

- **Enlightenment and French Revolution :** Napoleon Bonaparte was compelled to declare that, 'If there were no Rousseau, there would have been no Revolution
- Enlightenment gave ideological support to French Revolution so much that later even

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

Development of Modern Constitutionalism:

Enlightenment laid the basis of elected legislative assembly and constitutional monarchy and then, paved the way for development of modern constitutionalism.

In Britain, this process had started even before the Enlightenment. The British monarchy was trying to establish itself as an autocratic ruler, but an institution called 'Parliament' developed there, which came into existence after a long conflict with the monarchy. As a result, the power of the parliament gradually increased and the monarchy went on losing its power. It is important to underline that the British king John had to sign a Charter of Rights in 1215 CE which came to be known as the 'British Magna Carta'. It is considered as the source of human rights in the world. Then in the 17th century, the Parliament strengthened its position and in 1688 CE, there occurred a 'Glorious Revolution' and the Parliament removed the existing monarch, James II and installed on the throne its favourite monarch. Thus constitutionalism developed in Britain. Now it became necessary to have a legislature because without legislature, the executive could not function.

In a way, the British model had a profound influence on the thinkers of this age. Therefore, some thinkers favoured constitutionalism and they demanded to curb despotic rule of monarchy. Montesquieu, a French thinker, presented the concept of 'Separation of Power' to protect the freedom of people. Further it also influenced the nature of the US Constitution.

Changes in economic policy:

As we have seen, Adam Smith laid the foundation of classical economics. He believed that the market has its own rational, so the economy should be left to the market forces. Therefore he advocated for 'free economy'. According to him, there is a natural harmony among the interests of producers, workers and consumers. If the producer increases price of his product, then consumers will not buy it. Similarly, if the consumer wants to buy the goods at a rate below a certain limit, the producers will not sell their products to them. On the other hand, if producers do not give reasonable wages to workers, then workers will not work. On the contrary, if workers demand more wages, producers will not employ them. Through this way, interests of each other will continue to be balanced in the free economy. In this sequence, he gave the principle of 'equilibrium'. Further his free economy (Laissez Faire) theory was also gained support from other economists like David Ricardo. Thus, classical economics developed. Classical economics considered the market to be the most rational. In his view, there is a natural balance between production and consumption. More production means more employment and more employment means more demand creation. But subsequent events put a question mark on this theory.

Food for Thought

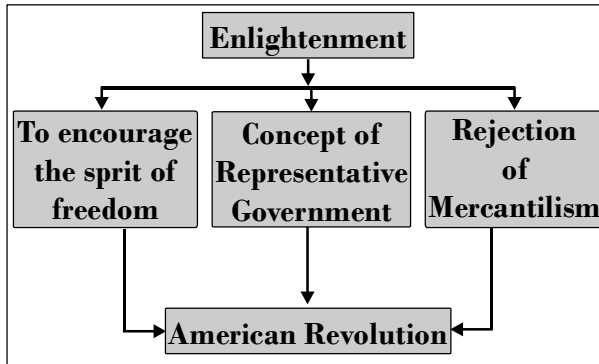
- Why enlightenment is treated as a middle class world view?
- To what extent do you think it is appropriate to consider the enlightenment as the harbinger of modern Age?
- How did the enlightenment lay the foundation for the idea of constitutionalism?
- How is enlightenment supposed to be seminal to modernism in Europe and how is post-modernism redefined modernism established by European Enlightenment?

■ ■ ■



World History (Part-II)

Sub-part-II: American Revolution & Civil War



■ Background:

- The American Revolution stands as one of the most significant landmarks in the history of the modern world. It became a symbol of the world's first anti-colonial movement. Apart from that, it assumed some other dimensions as well.
- In one sense the American Revolution was an extension of the European question as the American middle class revolted against the mercantilist policy that had continuously been criticized by the European middle class. It was not merely a coincidence that in the year 1776 the magnum opus of Adam Smith 'The Wealth of Nations' was published and in the same year American Revolution occurred. Furthermore, this revolution provided the new constitutional model and gave provisions of fundamental rights and federal system. Finally, this revolution resulted into transforming American colonies in economic and political superpower which played a decisive role in world history.

■ Structure of North-America :

- Different European powers such as the British, the Dutch and the French established their colonies in different parts of Northern America. For example, French captured Canada while Britain established thirteen settlements in the

eastern part of North America. Whenever we use the term 'American Revolution', we mean the revolt of these thirteen British settlements against the mother state.

■ 13 Colonies and their relations with Britain:

- In the early 1600s, Britain started to establish colonies in America. 13 colonies were established by the British in America and at the head in every colony, the institution of governor was established but there was a provision of a colonial legislature as well. These colonies enjoyed self-government for a longer time and simultaneously they grew vastly in economic strength, so upto the second half of 18th century Americans became so autonomous in their work and behavior that any sort of restriction over them by the mother state was quite intolerable for them.



■ What was the social composition of American Colonies?

- British-American society was divided in different classes. On the highest ladder of society there were aristocrats and the gentry. Beneath them there were the merchants, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, political leaders, students who could be characterized as middle class. Underneath the middle class there were peasants and

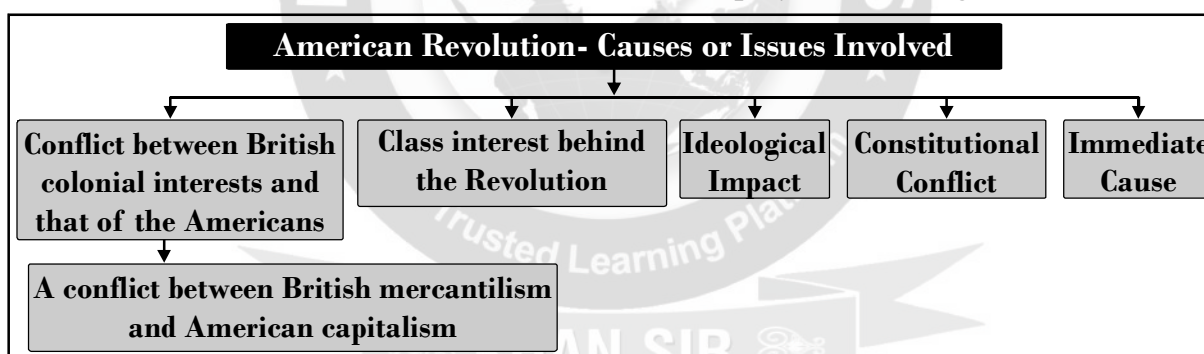
mechanics who belonged to the lower class. At the lowest ladder of the society there were slaves. Besides African and American slaves there were white slaves as well.

■ **Whether it was a war of independence or a revolution?**

- The American Revolution has a greater significance in the history of the world. Firstly, it was the first colony which got independence after fighting against its mother state. However, in comparison to French Revolution it was less radical but to call it as only a war of independence is not appropriate. As it ensured the freedom of American colonies so it was a war of independence. But, as it accentuated change in political, economic & social structure, so it should be characterized as a revolution as well.

■ **Why is the American Revolution called a middle class revolution?**

- In this revolution leadership was provided by the middle class. As it worked as an anti-colonial movement so it is generally it is believed to be a conflict between the British and Americans but in true sense in this conflict all Americans did not participate. Aristocratic class among Americans supported British side. So, in actual sense it was a fight between British monarchy under James III and the American middle class. Apart from that, it deserved to be called a middle class revolution even on the ground that the changes brought by the revolution conformed to the middle class ideology. For example, American Revolution did not ensure universal adult suffrage. In the same way, it did not ensure right to employment and right to food.



■ **Issues involved in American Revolution or the causes of the Revolution :**

As causes following factors can be highlighted–

1. **A conflict between British mercantilism and American capitalism :-** A major cause behind the conflict between Britain and America was clash in economic interest. Louis Hacker, an economic historian, has argued that it was a conflict between British mercantilism and American capitalism. British mercantilism was inclined to bring American economy under

strict British colonial control. With this purpose following steps were taken-

- Navigation Acts were introduced in 17th century. It tried to promote the British shipping industry at the cost of American one. For example, there was a provision that all sorts of exports to and imports from American colonies could have been done or carried on only in British ships or in the ships in which at least 75 % of employees should have been of British origin.

- Apart from that under the same mercantilist policy the British tried to bring monetary policy and export-import policy of American colonies under British control. Furthermore, on the purchase of two products, tobacco & maize, from American colonies, there was a complete British monopoly. Not simply that, the British even discouraged industrialisation in American colonies.
- The American economy was a fast-growing economy. In fact, the American shipping industry could not thrive if the British control could not have been relaxed i.e. American colonies could not go for industrialization in British presence. So, when the provisions of the Navigation Act were further tightened up by subsequent legislation than in opposition to this measure American capitalists revolted.

2. Class interest behind the Revolution :-

- American Revolution can be explained in context of class interest as well. Certain classes in American colonies welcomed the revolution-
 - Merchants moved for revolution as they were offended at Navigation Acts.
 - Smugglers were equally offended as the British government tried to enforce the 'Anti-smuggling Act' strictly.
 - Political leaders in American colonies visualized their bright future in independent America. So even they supported the Revolution.
 - Students & intellectuals were inspired by republican ideas. That's why they supported the revolution.
 - Tobacco growers of Virginia were in search of fresh land that's why they were making a westward expansion, but their progress was checked by the British government.

- But certain classes opposed the revolution as well. These were aristocrats, Red Indians as well as the peasants from Middle American regions. Aristocrats were opposed to the revolution as it was in the old order that their traditional privileges were duly recognized, Red Indians of America felt themselves safer under the British rule than under the new order. Likewise, peasants of the Middle American region were very cold about the revolution for the fact they were worried about uncertainties in their future.

3. Ideological inspiration :-

- American Revolution was having some ideological inspiration as well. They were greatly inspired by enlightenment and British thinkers like John Locke, Harrington & Milton. American colonies were rising from the status of a colony and taking the status of a nation. In a conference held by American leaders at Albany, an American leader Benjamin Franklin made an appeal to the British government to treat Americans differently, but the British government did not pay attention to this appeal.

4. Constitutional Conflict :-

- There was a constitutional conflict as well. According to the British, the parliament was an all-powerful institution and all other institutions were just subject to it. But Americans had remained all uncompromising on the issue of natural rights of man. They believed that man, by birth, inherited certain rights and these rights were above all institutions including the British parliament.

5. Immediate Cause :-

- The government of Granville adopted some measures in order to boost up British finance which enhanced discontentment

among Americans. Actually, the Seven Years' War created extra pressure on British treasury. Therefore, the government of Granville introduced other sorts of measures in order to mobilize sufficient finance so that a British army in American colonies could be maintained. So he took the following measures—

1. To enforce navigation laws strictly.
 2. To activate anti-smuggling laws.
 3. To impose some new taxes like the Stamp Act & Sugar Act.
- The delegates from 9 of the 13 colonies met in New York city and gave a slogan 'No taxation without representation'. In other words, there were no American representatives in the British parliament, so the British parliament was only authorized to impose external tax but could not impose internal tax on colonies. As a result of a series of events, the American colonies became independent by 1783.
 - **Importance of slogan 'No taxation without representation':** The slogan 'No taxation without representation' had a larger significance in the history of the world. It put a question mark on the relationship between colony and the metropolitan state. It rejected the prevailing mercantilist view that colony exists for the betterment of the mother state. Apart from that a colony demanded representation at a time when the larger part of European population was still unrepresented. Furthermore this slogan inspired constitutional movement in other colonies in future including India in twentieth century.

Question: - 'American Revolution was a conflict between British mercantilism and American capitalism. Examine. (UPSC-2013)

Ans:- Multiplicity of factors including ideological conflict, conflict between constitutional notions etc. played their role in American Revolution but the clash in economic interest between colonies and the metropolitan state definitely played a decisive role.

British mercantilism emphasized that the interest of the colonies is subservient to that of the metropolitan state. It was under this notion that navigation laws were introduced through the act of 1651. It ensured the primacy of British shipping industry at the cost of the shipping of other rivals as well as that of the colonies. It emphasized that all the exports or imports could be carried through ships on which three-fourth employees should have been from British origin. Apart from that industrialization in American colonies was consciously discouraged by British government. Furthermore, American colonists were supposed to sell certain products to British merchants alone. Lastly, British government imposed certain taxes like sugar tax and stamp tax on American colonies. So, it was clear that American capitalism could flourish only after the exit of the Britain from American colonies. Thus the protests which started on the issue of taxation were soon converted into a liberation movement.

It is in this context we can say that American Revolution was primarily a revolt of American capitalism against British mercantilism.

■ **Significance of American Revolution:-**

1. It resulted into the liberation of American colonies. Not simply that, a federal America could emerge as a world power and was likely to play a very significant role in world politics after nearly 150 years.
2. American liberation became a symbol of

‘Anti-colonial movement’ that influenced the liberation movement even in other parts of the world. The immediate impact was visible in Latin America.

3. After the revolution, American colonies emerged to be the first modern republican government. When Europe was at the stage of enlightened monarchy, British American colonies reached up to the status of a republic. In this way, ideologically American colonies went ahead of contemporary Europe.
4. After liberation, American colonies formed a federal government. In this way, Americans developed a new model of government that was much suited to multi-racial, multi-lingual & multi-cultural countries.
5. Americans sanctified fundamental rights for their people in the new constitution. So, USA became the first nation which had to provide the right to religious freedom and rights to conscience to their people.
6. Being a middle class revolution, it gave an ideological support to French Revolution as well. The American struggle inspired the French people to rise up against ancient regime.

Question: - With American Revolution Britain lost one colony but gained another one.

Ans: - With American Revolution Britain lost one colony, America while got another one, India.

So far as Britain continued to possess American colonies hardly did it pay proper attention to India. In 17th century Navigation Acts were introduced in context of American colonies so that British monopolies could have been ensured on American exports and imports. In fact

American colonies had remained to be a source of precious metal for Britain.

But, when Britain lost American colonies in 1783 finally, then it concentrated over its Indian possession. Following steps were taken to consolidate British control over India -

1. Pitts India Act (1784) – Just after loosing American colonies, British parliament adopted Pitts India Act after a long debate. Its objective was to ensure better control over company’s activities in India. On the basis of this Act a Board of Control was constituted and it had to maintain dual control on company’s affairs along with Court of Directors.

2. Reforms by Lord Cornwallis – Just after that Lord Cornwallis was sent to India as a new Governor General who carried all round reforms in India such as land revenue reforms, police reforms, civil services reforms etc. so that the base of British government in India should have sufficiently been strengthened. Thus, for more than 150 years India remained to be the most precious jewel in British crown.

That’s why American Revolution proved a major land mark in the evolution of British colonial policy.

■ **Challenge in the framing of the American constitution:**

- Thirteen American colonies formed an odd alliance to fight against the British and maintained unity till the liberation movements was going on. But after the exit of the British, internal squabbles started among them about their future constitutional status.

1. Federalist V/s Democratic debate- Big merchants, financiers, capitalists & bankers favoured a strong federal government as they believed only a strong federal government could give proper

protection to American economy against European competition. On the other, lower peasants and merchants opposed a federal government on the ground that such a government with the support of a strong army and police system would impose the tax on the people and would collect the tax with iron hand. Then, in 1789 in Philadelphia Congress, the constitution which was adopted was a compromise between the federalist and non-federalist. In this, the provision of the federal government was adopted but in order to satisfy the other sections of society 10 fundamental rights were enforced through constitutional amendment in 1791 and made the supreme court its custodian.

2. Another controversial issue was relations between **big states & small states**. The small state demanded equality in representation of states, while big states pleaded for representation on the basis of population of the states. Therefore, as a compromise between big states and small states, a bicameral legislature was accepted as the American Congress. In the upper chamber i.e. senate, all the states were given equal representation (2 representatives each) but in the lower chamber i.e. the House of representatives representation was given on the basis of population.
3. **Free states V/s Slave states**- There was a difference between capitalist northern American states and plantation aristocracy of southern states which presented and promoted the slavery system. Slave states demanded that while providing them the representation in the House of Representatives even slaves had to be counted. But, Free states opposed this move for the fear of losing the status

of majority in the lower chamber. So, in order to resolve the difference between Free states and the slave states, the slaves had to be counted in deciding the quantum of representation but the value of a slave had to be 3/5th of a free citizen.

- **Limitations of Revolution :-** In actual sense this constitution was very far from being the reflective of popular will. In this constitution, limited franchise with property criteria was introduced. It was in tune with middle class objectives which emphasized that the government should be for the people but not, exactly by the people. Above all, the declaration of liberty which was enshrined in American constitution was not applicable in case of millions of slaves who were just as chattel without any rights.

Question- The American Revolution “was a natural and expected event in the history a colonial people who had come of age”. Comment.

Ans:- The seeds of destruction were inherent in old colonial structure itself. whereas economic exploitation made colonial people grieved and restless association with the institutions established by metropolitan state made them more politically conscious and inspired them to political protest. The same sequence of events occurred in case of American colonies.

1. Economic exploitation - British government enforced mercantilist policies in American colonies and through navigation acts made American colonies subservient to British colonial interest. American industry, American shipping industry, American trade all were subjected to the strict British control. It created wider discontent in American middle class.

2. Growing nationalist consciousness – In American colonies British government

established the seat of governor and constituted an assembly to give representation to Americans. Naturally, it created political consciousness among American colonists who could organize a protest against unjust taxation and gradually moved towards freedom. As Americans were from British origin so they developed political consciousness a bit more earlier.

In this way American Revolution was a natural and inevitable event in the history of colonialism.

Question- The American Revolution laid the foundation of the modern world. Comment

Question Analysis- *This question is 'Hypothetical' in nature. It is needed to agree with the above statement. 'Keywords' are 'modern world' and 'foundation'. By 'modernity' means progressive changes in the political, economic and social fields.*

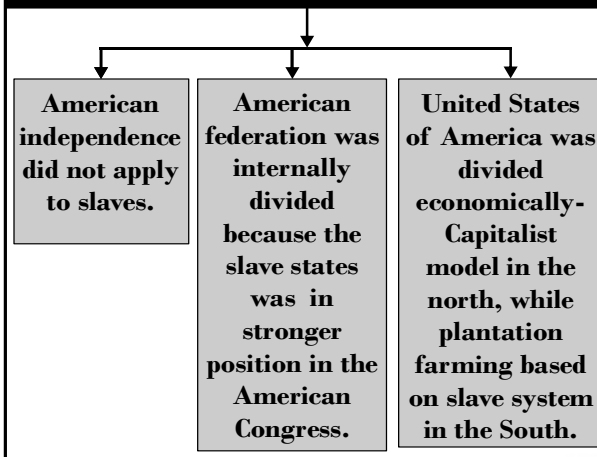
Answer – The process of modernity that initiated with the enlightenment was forwarded by the American Revolution. In other words, the American Revolution was an implementation of the ideas of the enlightenment. It was also global in its impact. That is, the changes brought by it impacted not only Europe, but also other continents. It encouraged modernity in following ways-

- **Rejection of mercantilism and colonialism–** It became a symbol of the anti-colonial movement. Its immediate impact was seen on the freedom movement of Latin America.
- **Establishment of Constitutionalism and Representative Government –** An important result of this revolution was the establishment of the first modern, written constitution and elected government.
- **Custodian of the human rights and individual rights–** USA became the first nation to provide fundamental rights to its citizens.
- **The harbinger of republicanism–** European countries were still at the stage of constitutional monarchy, while the American people were enjoying the stage of republic.
- **Federal System–** The American people presented a new model of government for the nations having huge size and pluralistic nature.

Above all, the notion of the American Revolution reached the upto continent of Asia via France, Europe and Latin American countries.

American Civil War (1861-65)

An attempt to fulfil the unfinished agenda (American Civil War)



■ American Civil War and transformation of United States of America :

- Hardly did any destructive event produce such a constructive impact as did the 'American Civil War'. But the most formidable challenge to American democracy was the civil war. However, this event transformed America and developed it as a new modern nation. It proved a very timely surgery to the politico-economic and cultural structure of America.

Abolition of slavery :-

- Slavery system is supposed to be a major issue behind the civil war. When we observe minutely we find that the slavery system was having a wider economic,

constitutional and political implications. Northern American states vehemently opposed slavery while the southern states did not support it.

- **Economic implication** - Northern and central parts of United States of America were economically more advanced and they were carrying industrialization. 'Free wage labour' was the demand for industrialization, but not slavery. On the other hand, slavery was the lifeblood of the economy of southern American states, as they were involved in plantation agriculture.
- **Constitutional issue** - USA was making a westward expansion with the slogan of 'Manifest Destiny' as an ideology. But, with the integration of every region, the question arises whether the region should be inducted as a Free State or a Slave State. This question was much important for the fact as it was associated with a constitutional issue. The growing number of slave states could have weakened the position of free states in the lower chamber the 'House of Representatives'.
- With growing tensions between the two, a compromise formula of mediation were failed.



- **Political issue-** USA fell prey to open attack and bitter criticism by European scholars due to existing slavery system.
 - **Moral issue-** North American states declared the system as amoral, on the other hand, southern American states tried to justify it on the moral ground while taking a reference from 'the Bible'.
 - **Immediate cause -** The election of Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of the Republican Party to the post of the president, added further fuel to the fire. Republican Party specified two objectives in the election manifesto- abolition of slavery and protection to North American industries. But southern American states tried to secede from the Union and made a confederation of states. But Lincoln rejected the theory of state sovereignty and clearly stated "America is an indestructible union of indestructible states". Then, he did not fight civil war in the name of 'Abolition of Slavery', rather in the name of protection of the American Union. In 1861 there started an American civil war which continued for four long years. It was during the course of the war itself in 1863 that Abraham Lincoln abolished slavery. Due to better mobilization of resources and more developed economy, the northern states won the civil war in 1865. Finally, the northern and southern states were reunited on the basis of the Louisiana Pact of 1877. So American Union was saved.
- **Significance of American Civil War**
- It did a successful social surgery to USA, as a result of which it emerged to be more powerful & healthy. It proved a capitalist movement due to following factors-
 - After abolition of slavery even southern American states moved for industrialization. Therefore, USA underwent a capitalist transformation as industrialisation became all-pervasive.
- Due to opposition from southern states, the government of USA could not have so far given protection to American industries, but after the civil war USA followed the protectionist policy in favour of its industries, more than half a century. It did so at a time when in the rest part of the world free trade policy was being encouraged. It was due to the success of its unequal policy that USA could emerge as the largest economy after the World Wars. (It is an irony that till the recent year USA criticized India & some other countries for promoting protectionist policy.)
 - It is not merely a coincidence that the economy of USA manifested the fastest rate of growth between 1870 and 1970. Here, the abolition of slavery worked as a major trigger.
 - **Respectable position of USA among international organizations -** Due to the prevalence of slavery system, America was criticized by European states. However, after the civil war slavery system was abolished through the 13th constitutional amendment. Aftermath, slaves were enshrined with human and political rights. In this way, the position of USA improved among international organisations and later it established as a custodian of human rights.
- **Limitations :**
- The Blacks remained segregated in American society even after the sanctification of constitutional and human rights. But as far as racial discrimination is concerned, it has continued till today and racist attacks and police encounters against black citizens are so common.

Food for Thought

- Why is American war of independence treated as the Revolution?
- Innumerable number of colonies could get freedom in coming one and half centuries but why did freedom of American colonies attract the attention of historians so much so that no other country could rival it.
- After freedom did British American colonies reach at a better level of democratization than Britain had achieved?
- Why should American Revolution be taken as supplementary to the publication of *Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith?

■■■



■ **Background :**

- The French Revolution is considered a very significant event in world history. The process of transformation of the middle age into the modern one, which had started from the period of Renaissance and Reformation, was completed during this period. Furthermore, a series of modern institutions came into existence in the course of the French Revolution. In fact French Revolution should not be evaluated in isolation rather it should be taken as the continuation of the event taking place right from the time of enlightenment. On one hand the American revolution encouraged the French revolution in terms of ideological factors and the success of the middle class gave new consciousness to the revolution on the other.
- French revolution tried to answer the questions which had been awaiting before Europe till 1789. These questions were such as- relations between monarchy and middle class, monarchy and aristocratic class, aristocratic class and middle class and lastly, middle class and lower class. The French revolution answered earlier three questions but the fourth one remained unanswered which later Russian Revolution tried to answer.

■ **How was it inspired by American Revolution?**

- The French revolution was significantly influenced by American Revolution in following ways -
 1. The French troops were sent to the American colony to fight against the British. So, there they were inspired by the ideas of revolution.
 2. The American revolution symbolised victory of the middle class, so it encouraged the expectations of the middle class in France.

3. The French monarchy had been facing a financial crisis for a long time. So, its participation in American war of independence brought it to the verge of economic bankruptcy. Therefore, financial distress became the immediate factor of French revolution.

■ **Political, Economic, Social and Cultural factors responsible for French Revolution -**

- **Political Situation** - In the situation of economic-social unrest & economic crisis, only a competent ruler could handle the situation in better way. But, unfortunately both the successors of Louis XIV, Louis XV & Louis XVI were not competent enough to tackle the situation. Therefore, economic & social unrest were allowed to escalate into a major political crisis which became a prelude to the revolution.
- **Economic Factor** - The most favorable situation for a revolution is a condition in which a long period of economic prosperity is being followed by a short period of economic decline. In the same manner, the French economy expanded widely between 1730s and 1760s, but from 1770s onwards depressionary situation prevailed in Europe. One of the reasons behind it was the disruption in the influx of precious metals from the New World (America). Naturally, it impacted France as well. Then incidents of crop failure in France consecutively in 1788 and 1789 made the situation more complicated and finally bread riots occurred.
- **Social Structure of France** - French society was internally divided between privileged section and unprivileged section. The first Estate comprising the clergy and the second Estate comprising the aristocracy were associated with the privileged section. These two estates enjoyed various sorts of economic & social privileges

- including not simply exemption from taxes but also the right to impose some taxes on commoners. The middle class as well as the lower class belonged to the Third Estate which represented the non-privileged section of society. The Third Estate consisted of the middle class and lower class.
- Middle class was highly dissatisfied with its position as its economic status was largely improved, but it was socially deprived. In other words, in France, there was a major contradiction between economically effective class & socially effective class. Even lower class was grieved due to tax burden and excessive feudal exaction. Therefore, it was looking towards middle class for leadership and was ready to link its future with that of the middle class.
 - **Intellectual and Cultural Factor** - The profound impact of the Enlightenment was seen on France and Paris became the epicenter of intellectual activity. It is said that an all encompassing event like French Revolution can never occur in the condition of intellectual vacuum. Therefore, the French scholars who influenced the course of revolution were Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau etc. Though they were middle class thinkers so they believed in peaceful transformation, not in revolution and these thinkers made their contribution to the revolution in following manner-
 1. They drew the attention of the people towards existing political, economic & social apathy through their ideas.
 2. They coined certain revolutionary terms like 'Rule of Law', 'Citizen', 'Motherland', 'Individual Rights' etc.
 3. They organised one of the earliest forms of civil society i.e. 'Club and Coffee houses' through which their ideas spread quickly.
 4. Revolutionaries used their ideas time & again to legitimise their position.
 - But there is another side of the picture as well. None of these thinkers were present during the time of revolution. Unlike American leaders Thomas Jefferson & Benjamin Franklin, they neither participated in the revolution nor did they form any political party. In fact, they had a very remote and indirect relation with the revolution. That's why the role of philosophers cannot be evaluated in dissociation with the objective material factor of the time.
 - **Immediate Factor** - The French monarchy had been facing the situation of financial crisis since a long time. Consequently, its participation in the Seven Years' War depleted its treasury even more and finally its participation in the American war of independence brought it to the verge of economic bankruptcy. Now the government had only one solution, i.e., to expand the tax base by including the aristocracy within its ambit. A financial advisor Colonne tried to talk to the nobles in the council of notables, but the nobles turned down the proposal.
 - At last, the French monarch, Louis XIV summoned the Estate General. The Estate General was a French Parliament, which had remained in the state of animated suspension for the last 175 years. The summoning of the Estate General had a symbolic meaning that the monarchy surrendered before the revolutionary forces.
 - So when, in May 1789, the session of Estates General started, it became almost impossible to conduct the business smoothly. In the session, differences appeared between the privileged sections and the members of the Third Estate on the issue of voting.

In fact, the Estates General consisted of three chambers. First Chamber and the

Second Chamber represented the clergy and the aristocracy respectively while the third chamber was represented by the middle class. Traditionally, voting was done in each chamber separately and then the decision was taken on the basis of the majority of chambers. This pattern of voting favoured privileged sections but this time the middle class demanded combined voting and a decision based on numerical strength. But the privileged classes rejected this proposal. As the matter could not be resolved, the representatives of the third estate boycotted the session and moved to Tennis Court Assembly in nearby region on 17th of June. It is here they were joined by artisans of Paris and peasants of France popularly known as 'Mob of Paris'. Thus, started the revolution.

- Here we should be conscious about the fact that even the third estate was not a monolithic class. It consisted of middle class as well as lower class both and both the classes were having divergence in their objectives. The objective of the middle class was to establish a limited monarchy, on the other hand, the objective of the lower class was to achieve economic & social democracy. So, even within the third estate, the class conflict was going on and it was this class conflict & the relative change in the position of the two classes which specified the nature of the revolution in different phases.
- **Why did this revolution occurred in France, not in other regions of Europe?**
- It is to be noted that the ideal condition for a revolution in any country are the presence of a strong middle class and deep discontentment among different classes. Apart from that, these classes should be ready to form an alliance among themselves against the system. As we know, such conditions existed only in France, whereas, Poland and Hungary lacked a

strong middle class, and in the Netherlands the peasants supported the counter-revolutionaries against the middle class. Furthermore, The French middle class differed from that of its European counterpart in that in France there was deeper contradiction between economically effective class and politically effective class.

Progress and Nature of Revolution (1789-1815)

First Phase - The phase of Constitutional Monarchy (1789-92)

- **Social basis :-** During this phase, the leadership of the revolution was in the hands of the middle class, but the lower class also influenced the revolution. That's why at some places revolution took a violent form but the middle class leadership maintained its hegemony, so revolutionary radicalism remained to be subdued to a certain extent. This phase is considered as the phase of constitutional monarchy. During this phase the following events occurred-
 1. **Decline of Bastille (July 14, 1789)**– On 14th July 1789, the Mob of Paris made an attack on Bastille. It was a royal prison and it was the symbol of the absolutist character of the government. The mob looted the weapons stored there while killing the royal guards. This event had a greater symbolic value, as it was tantamount to the decline of the royal autocracy.
 2. **Abolition of Feudalism (August 4, 1789)**– On 4th August 1789, National Assembly abolished feudalism and France became a nation of free peasantry. Feudal Lords or aristocrats had to loose their privileges like imposing taxes on others, exemption from the state tax and also judicial rights. Similarly, Clergy had to surrender their right to impose religious tax. All these changes meant that class privileges were abolished in France and legally all came

on the common footing. But things were not as simple as they appeared to be on the surface. In spite of the abolition of feudalism, Nobles could preserve their property rights. It meant, after losing relatively less important rights they could preserve more important rights.

- 3. Declaration of the rights of men & citizens (August 26, 1789)** – On 26th August 1789, National Assembly presented a Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens. It is supposed to be a major achievement of the revolution. It was the next and logical step to the earlier declaration of American revolutionaries. However, the declaration of the rights by the French revolutionaries were more significant and unique as it was theoretically guided by Rousseau's concept of 'General Will'. This declaration was not simply in context of France but rather in context of the whole world. In this, they promised the right to individual freedom, right to property, right to safety from arbitrary imprisonment etc., which reflected the interest of the middle class. But they did not bother about ensuring the right to work, the right to livelihood etc. that were desperately demanded by the lower class. Lastly, it was the declaration of rights of men, but not those of women.

- 4. Framing of New Constitution (1791)** – As National Assembly had been working as a constituent assembly as well, so in 1791, a new constitution came into existence. In this constitution, there was the hegemony of the middle class. As we know, having been inspired by the idea of Montesquieu, the concept of separation of power introduced in this new constitution. In this constitution, there was the provision for limited franchise, which suited to the interest of the middle class. The voting criterion was linked to the property criteria. There was a provision for

a unicameral legislature in the constitution but the assembly committed a major mistakes as it decided that the members of the constituent assembly could not be the member of National legislature. Due to this reason, the revolution lost those elements which were responsible for maintaining the balance between 1789 and 1791. But in spite of the limitations mentioned above, this constitution had a larger value, as this constitution was the first written constitution in Europe (British constitution was a gradually evolved constitution).

Second Phase - The phase of Radical Republicanism (1792-94)

- **New class equation** - During this phase, the middle class leadership was knocked out and the lower class seized the platform for the time being. The reforms and changes brought by the middle class could not satisfy the lower class. During this time, the two radical parties prevailed in France i.e. Jacobins and Girondists and they wanted to bring radical change in France. In 1792, radical members established their control on assembly through the second revolution and brought a new constitution in August, 1792. In this constitution, Universal Male Suffrage was introduced. These radical members abolished the monarchy by making the king captive and declared France a republic in September, 1792.
- **Formation of Jacobin Government** – Later on, the differences appeared even between Girondists & Jacobins. According to Girondists, after declaring republic the objective of the revolution was accomplished, so the revolution should have stayed there. But, according to Jacobins, the revolution had to move further on. The Jacobins were inclined to bring the revolution under the Mob of Paris. In fact, Girondists & Jacobians

represented two different social bases. Girondists represented the lower middle class while Jacobians lower class. As Jacobians were much more organized than Girondist so they eliminated Girondists completely and finally in June 1793, Jacobians came to establish a dictatorial government that is known in French history as “Reign of Terror” or “Jacobians Terror”.

- Actually during the phase of radical republicanism, the platform of the revolution was hijacked by the lower class. That's why the revolution became bloody & violent and Jacobian rule continued between June 1793 and June 1794 and it gave a terrible face to the revolution. So it became the first evidence of a modern type of dictatorship government. All powers were regimented under a single dictator Robespierre as he eliminated other leaders like Dante, Herbert etc. and established a one-man dictatorship. Quite surprisingly, this dictatorial government was formed in the name of “General Will of Rousseau”. In June 1794, the government of Robespierre declined and even he was eliminated. In French history, this incident is known as the 'Thermidorian Reaction', as it occurred on the day of 9th Thermidorian. In fact, Thermidorian was the name of French calendar. This incident was symbolic of the takeover of power by the middle class once again.
- **Positive contribution of Jacobin Government**– Jacobin government encouraged the republican and socialist ideas and also promoted secularism. It was for the first time that universal adult male suffrage was introduced in France. He encouraged socialist ideas through ensuring ‘right to work’ and ‘right to food’. Government started the rationing of grains for the urban artisans. Apart from this, the right to education, the right to property as well as the right to revolt

against an incompetent government were also ensured. Under this government, the system of 'military conscription' was introduced by a Military General ‘Carno’ and that became instrumental behind the military success of France.

- **Limitations of Jacobin government**– The ‘Reign of Terror’ is characterized as the darkest phase of the democratic revolution in France. This phase produced one of the worst dictatorial governments in the world. During the phase of Jacobin terror, the French Revolution started to devour its own children under Robespierre. Guillotine worked as a death machine and later it came to use as phraseology for the era of violence & dictatorship. The worst side of the picture was that the Reign of Terror was declared in the name of the betterment of the lower-class but the maximum number of people who were killed in this course were associated with the lower class itself.

Third Phase - Moderate Republicanism (1794-99)

- **Class Equation**– During this stage once again the leadership came into the hands of the middle class. At this turn of history, lower-class people were not so strongly organized. On the issue of rationing of grains to the artisans of Paris, differences appeared between peasants & artisans. As peasants were compelled to sell their grains at cheaper rates, that’s why the government of Robespierre declined.
- **Rule of Directory**– In this phase, the middle class again brought the changes in the nature of government according to its own world view. After the decline of Jacobin rule, a new constitution was introduced in 1795. Once again the provision of limited franchise was introduced in place of universal male suffrage. In this constitution there was a provision for bicameral legislature with the executive power vested in five directors.

This government is known as the 'Rule by Directory'. In this government, the political parties were consciously discouraged but at that time, no one surmised that the absence of a political party could automatically lead to the rise of an individual, and that was Napoleon Bonaparte.

Fourth Phase - The Age of Dictatorship and Imperialism in the name of democracy

(1799-1814)

- As we observed after 1794, the revolution turned in favor of the middle class. Though, Napoleon was also working in favor of the middle class, he dismantled the Directory rule in 1799 and established a new government with a new constitution. Further, in 1804 he abolished the republic in France and declared himself the emperor of France. Napoleon ended the radical reforms brought by the Jacobin government and tactfully ditched the revolution from the idea of equality and liberty and linked it to nationalism and military pride.

■ **Evaluation of Napoleon :-**

- **Positive Aspects: Child of the revolution or made a link between old France and New France-** It was the revolution itself that prepared the way for the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. The revolution opened the gate for the rise of talent. A newcomer like Napoleon could rise from the status of common man to the military General of France and further to the position of French emperor. It was the ideals of the revolution which legitimized the position of Napoleon Bonaparte on many occasions even after Napoleon departed from the set course of the revolution. Even when he declared himself to be the emperor of France, he declared that now republic laid in a single person i.e. Napoleon Bonaparte.

- Napoleon's reforms could also maintain certain ideals of revolution. In fact, the provision of equality before law, freedom of religion, property rights etc. were included in his civil code (Napoleon Code). Moreover, he emphasized the talent for the selection in government services. His tax policy was based on the ideals of revolution as it included the provision of distribution of taxes. Further, he established the 'Bank of France' for the smooth functioning of finance. Even outside of France, he was welcomed as crowned-Jacobian, as Napoleon projected himself as the representative of revolution.

- **Negative Aspects: Destroyer of the revolution** – Napoleon altered some important ideals of the revolution. He restored the monarchy in altered form and even tried to link his legacy to old Bourbon kings. For example, he called Louis XIV 'mon-oncle' means my uncle. Further, he sidelined the legislative body and carried his works through plebiscite. This became a common tool for future dictators like Hitler and Mussolini. Napoleon put a check over liberty, one of the ideals of the revolution. Although he permitted equality, for him the equality means equal opportunity but not economic equality. His Napoleon Code made female members of the family subordinated to the male ones. Likewise, the revolution had emphasized the method of direct tax but Napoleon gave more emphasis on indirect tax. In the same way, the revolution had emphasized more on the policy of laissez faire but Napoleon gave more priority to mercantilist policy. He maintained certain coercive laws, discouraged political parties and through secret police, eliminated his enemies. So he became an inspiration for future dictators. Napoleon separated the ideals of liberty and equality from French

Revolution and turned it into nationalism and military pride.



MAP 21.1 Napoleon's Empire at Its Height, 1812

■ How was the nationalism encouraged after the victory of Napoleon?

- The regions where Napoleon expanded his empire, the ideals of the revolution also expanded there. The ideals of the revolution gave legitimacy to the Napoleonic empire. Therefore, in his conquered territory he abolished feudalism and redefined the relations with the Church and implemented the Napoleonic Code. In fact, the reforms of Napoleon developed the essence of unity among the European nations and strengthened nationalism. Apart from that, he reorganised the Italian regions and formally abolished the Holy Roman Empire and consolidated the German states.

■ How did Napoleon link old Europe to New Europe?

- Actually the Napoleonic reforms were guided by certain exigencies. The radical phase of revolution destroyed old institutions completely but they did not create new institutions for compensating them. So a vacuum was created which Napoleon had to fill up and he took following steps-

1. Here old France meant pre-revolutionary France and New France meant the radical

France of the post-revolutionary era. Napoleon realized that the revolution has linked to the radical ideas of Rousseau. So he preferably tried to detach the revolution from the idea of Rousseau and to link it to that of thinkers like Montesquieu and Locke.

2. On the one hand, he tried to maintain equality but put a certain check on liberty. Even on the front of equality, he was a bit cautious as he promised to apply the equality of opportunity.
 3. He even tried to link his lineage to the Bourbon kings and in their fashion, he concentrated the power into his hand. Although his monarchy was different from the Bourbon monarchy in that it was approved by the popular support and plebiscite.
 4. Although he maintained the abolition of feudalism and talks in terms of equality of people. But he revived some old laws of Bourbon monarchs in which there was a provision of arrest even without a warrant.
 5. On the one hand he neglected the legislative body but on the other hand, he got the approval for his policy directly from the people through the method of a plebiscite. Likewise, through secret police, he preferred to eliminate his enemy.
- In this way, through adopting certain courses of action, Napoleon preferred to link New France with old one.

■ Continental System of Napoleon

- After continuous success, Napoleon was inclined to destroy his only rival, Britain. He realized that the power and strength of Britain lay in its commercial success. Napoleon therefore, implemented an economic blockade against Britain after the Treaty of Tilsit. With this purpose, Napoleon introduced, so called, Berlin Declaration and Milan declaration in 1806 and 1807 respectively. After the support

of Russia it was assumed the victory of this policy. According to this policy, British ships were not allowed to anchor at either French port or any port of its friendly country. There were two objectives of this policy, primarily it aimed to cripple the British exports and secondly, channelize European trade in favor of France. Britain responded to this policy and declared if anyone was barred from British goods he could not buy the same from other countries. But this system backfired damaging France. Due to the lack of sufficient naval force, France was unable to enforce this system strictly and due to the disruption of British merchandise goods, there was severe scarcity of consumer goods in the market. It created popular discontentment, so revolt against Napoleon started in Spain and Holland. Then European monarchs benefitted from this situation and they also started to make revolt against Napoleon one by one. When Russian monarch Czar Alexander I withdrew from this system Napoleon was so enraged that he decided to punish him. This started Moscow expedition of Napoleon in 1812. Therefore, this continental system proved more devastating to France than Britain.

■ Reason behind the collapse of Napoleonic Empire –

- Napoleon created one of the largest empires in Europe but right from the very beginning, this empire had continued to face some basic contradictions. So, due to the contradictions of Napoleon's imperialism and the strategic mistakes committed by him led to the decline of its empire.

Contradictions of Napoleon's imperialism -

1. The major contradiction was the incompatibility between the noble ideas of revolution and the reality of the Napoleonic Empire. In other words, whereas revolution professed the noble

ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity while outside of France Napoleon ruthlessly followed the imperialistic policies. Earlier Napoleon was welcomed by European people as a liberator but very soon in the light of noble ideas of revolution the imperialistic character of his rule was exposed. Obviously, the people turned against him and his empire in Europe was shaken.

2. One of the major factors behind the military success of France against Europe was military conscription or the concept of the citizen's army. It is on that basis, France could take excellence in other European countries. But later having been inspired by France itself even other European nations adopted the method of military conscription so France lost its specialty and now French soldiers could be outnumbered by other European nations.

Strategic mistakes–

1. **Continental system developed by Napoleon Bonaparte-** As Napoleon introduced the system without the proper planning and preparation so it resulted in a scarcity of essential goods from the market. It created wider public discontentment and this discontentment led to the revolution. This popular revolt was later joined by European power against Napoleon. So, Napoleon was defeated in 1813.
2. **Moscow expedition** was a major mistake on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte. In this expedition, a larger part of his soldiers was destroyed. In fact, on the western and eastern border of Europe, there were two superpowers, one was Britain and other was Russia. If any third power in Europe was inclined to maintain the dominance in Europe it needed the support of at least one of the powers. But a big mistake on the part of Napoleon was that he went on such a devastating expedition in the eastern part (Moscow expedition) while in west, Britain was still unconquered. The

same mistake was committed by Hitler 130 years later.

Question: French Revolution was the harbinger of democracy in Europe. Critically examine the statement.

‘Critically examine’ means you have not to take one sided view rather you have to go through pros and cons, merit and demerit, strength and weakness i.e. both side of the statement. Then you should take the conclusion. The conclusion should be in favor of any side depending on the issue which is involved in the topic.

Answer:- French Revolution proved a greater land mark in the history of France and Europe. It brought a momentous change in the nature of government, statecraft and the relationship between state and society. But in course of the revolution to what extent the gap between promises and fulfillment could be bridged, needs deep scrutiny.

The revolution started with the famous slogan liberty, equality and fraternity. Feudalism was abolished and then appeared the declaration of rights of men and citizen which was ideologically inspired by Rousseau’s concept of common will. The buck does not stop here but up to September 1892 monarchy was uprooted and France became a republic. Very soon French Revolution was converted into an all European Revolution when Napoleon’s conquest gave a serious jolt to old order in Europe.

But there is another side of picture as well. Gradually revolution diverted from its main course. Under Jacobian rule, the revolution turned to be bloody and violent. After that Napoleon Bonaparte tactfully diverted revolution from the slogan of liberty and equality and moved it towards military conquest and imperialism. After Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna tried to undo the changes which had earlier been made by the revolution. So, a gap appeared between promise and performance.

On this basis we find that for revolution objective of democratization remained to be a distant dream. But still we can give some

credit to this revolution for launching a process which was full of future potentialities.

■ **Significance of French Revolution and its legacy–**

- The French revolution brought immediate changes in France and Europe but in the long-term it changed the perspective of the whole world.

1. It promoted liberal ideology i.e. representative government, the declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.
2. The major outcome of the French revolution was to encourage popular participation in politics and this resulted in structural change in politics.
3. It was enshrined with the idea of modern nationalism, which was based on popular sovereignty, and as a result, the unification of Italy and Germany was possible.
4. Revolution gave impetus to ideas like republicanism and democracy.
5. During the reign of Jacobin, concepts like socialism or socialist ideas also thrived.
6. Furthermore, it produced its impact on the liberation movement in Latin America during the early decades of the nineteenth century.
7. It also left an imprint on Asian continent. For example, the nationalists like Raja Rammohan Roy and Tipu Sultan in India were also influenced by the ideas of the French revolution.

■ **Limitations of the French Revolution–**

- The revolution professed the noble ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity while it was far away from its implementation because it preferred limited franchise in place of universal adult suffrage.
- The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen came into existence on August 26, 1789, in which females were excluded. In fact, the universal adult suffrage was acknowledged in the year 1946.
- The French revolution remained unanswered to the question of relation

between the middle class and the lower class which was later answered by the Russian revolution.

Question: French Revolution failed to achieve what it intended to achieve. Do you agree?

Answer: It is undeniable that in course of the French Revolution the gulf between promises and performance remained to be unbridged but still its significance cannot be undermined.

French Revolution started with lofty democratic slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity but very soon it drifted from its course. Then firstly it fell a prey to Jacobian terror as a result of which the revolution started to devour its own children and finally the revolution was hijacked by a military Junta under Napoleon. Even in Europe what was offered in the name of the revolution was nothing but merely the ideas of the revolution.

But in spite of the limitations mentioned above we cannot underrate the extent of change brought by the revolution. In France, feudalism became a thing of the past. Declaration of Rights of Men and citizen reflected the spirit of General will of Rousseau. There started an era of popular participation in politics. Outside of France, in Europe, the revolutionary ideals of liberalism and nationalism worked as formidable forces of change. Even the Vienna order succumbed to these ideals which resurfaced in course of the revolutions of 1830s and those of 1848. Last but not the least, the unification of Italy and that of Germany was the victory of revolutionary ideas.

Therefore, we can say that although French Revolution achieved less than but not far less than what it had intended to achieve.

Question- The French Revolution changed France as well as Europe. Examine.

Question Analysis- *This question is 'Hypothetical' in its nature. We have to proof the statement with proper logic and examples. Its keywords are 'France', 'Europe', 'changed', 'examine'.*

Answer- The geographical spread, intensity and comprehensiveness of the French Revolution proved to be very effective. Through this, the transformation of France as well as Europe from Medieval Age to Modern Age became possible.

In France, this revolution gave death certificate to ancien regime. In the midst of the revolution, France became republic after abolishing the monarchy, feudalism came to an end, Rights of Men and citizen were declared. In this way, France went far ahead of Europe in the matter of ideology and institutional development.

So, what was the revolution in France, that took the form of a war in Europe and this war brought a new revolution in Europe. In fact, wherever Napoleon went, they brought their certain reforms. For example, he abolished feudalism, put a check over the church and introduced the so-called Napoleonic code. So, the French Revolution turned into a European Revolution. Further its impact was also seen on other continents.

Thus, the French Revolution changed France and Europe both.

Food for Thought

- Why did the French Revolution prove to be more radical than the American Revolution?
- What were the reasons for the dominance of the lower class in the midst of the French Revolution?
- Despite all the efforts, why did the lower class fail to establish its supremacy over the revolution?
- Why did the French Revolution take the form of the European Revolution and what impact did it have on Europe?
- Did Napoleon Bonaparte act as a harbinger of revolution or as a destroyer?

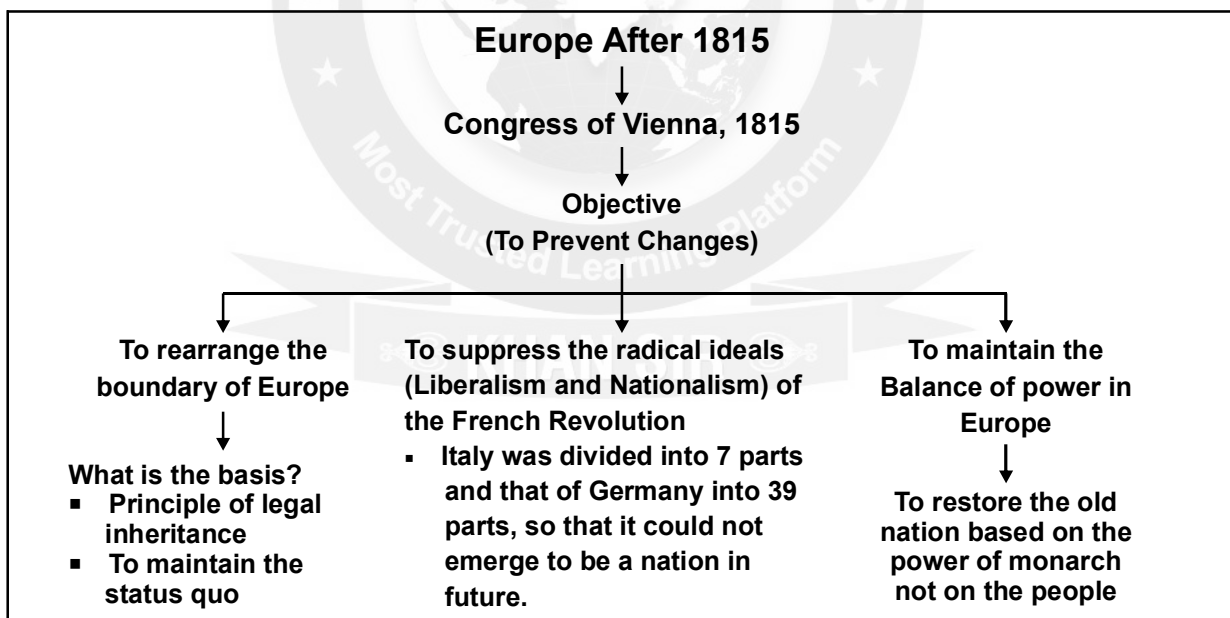


World History (Part-II)

Subpart-IV: (Europe between 1815-1850: Liberalism and Nationalism)

■ Major Issues :

- This chapter will enlighten the students about the phenomenon that how did French Revolution culminate into an all European Revolution and how did it leave its impact on European and world politics.
- 1. French revolution transformed France as well as Europe; and Napoleon was a harbinger of this Revolution in Europe. Therefore, after the decline of Napoleon, the conservative forces of Europe once again reasserted themselves with the support of the Congress of Vienna.
- 2. But the two ideologies which emerged from French Revolution, i.e. Nationalism and Liberalism gave a serious jolt to old order based on Vienna system. These ideologies encouraged the revolutionary forces and manifested themselves in the revolutions of 1830s and 1848.
- 3. Hardly did any other ideology influence the course of History as deeply as nationalism. It kept Europe busy for the next 150. Its impact can be manifested itself in following manner-
 - Nationalism worked as a pillar for the integration of western European countries.
 - In 19th century, nationalism unified the divided regions of Italy and that of Germany.
 - But on the one hand it encouraged the unification on the other hand it produced detrimental impact on old empires of central and Eastern Europe such as Habsburg Empire in Austria, the Ottoman Empire in Turkey and the Russian Empire.



■ Congress of Vienna

- After the decline of Napoleon, an all-European conference was convened at Vienna that was coined as the Congress of Vienna, as it was held in the capital of Austria, Vienna. In this Congress, the four major powers of Europe such as Britain,

Austria, Russia and Prussia dominated. But the key player was Prince Metternich, the chancellor of Austria. The main objective of the Congress of Vienna was to restore the old regime and bring the European system back to the pre-revolutionary order. So the Congress of Vienna bring the following programs -



Guardian and supervisor of the region. In Germany, there was the creation of Frankfurt parliament in which all the 39 states were given representation. Apart from that, even Austria was made a member so that she could work as a Bulwark against future change.

- Furthermore, Italy was geographically divided into 7 parts so that it should not

1. To rearrange the boundary of Europe -

- Napoleon had earlier disfigured the cartography of almost the entire Europe. So after the exit of Napoleon, the main objective of the Congress was to rearrange the geographical boundary of European countries. So, they consider the following principles -

- **To maintain the principle of legal inheritance** - The successor of the old king had to be restored on the throne, so that the change could be hindered.
- **To maintain the status quo in Europe**- The Congress of Vienna tried to reestablish the old order i.e. monarchy, aristocracy and the Church in Europe.

2. To suppress the radical ideals (Liberalism and Nationalism) of the French Revolution -

- To achieve this objective, Italy and Germany were divided under a well designed policy.
- Earlier, Germany was reorganized by Napoleon into 16 bigger states but the Congress of Vienna again reorganized them into 39 states and they were under the control of Prussia. But simultaneously, the Austrian Empire was made the

rise as a nation in the future. With this purpose, the region of Lombardy and Venetia in Northern Italy were placed under the control of Austrian Empire. Likewise, in Parma, Modena and Tuscany the ruler from Habsburg Dynasty came to rule. Furthermore, in southern Italy, Naples and Sicily, the king from Bourbon dynasty was placed and the middle region was under the control of the Pope. In this way, Italy was practically divided and according to Metternich it was merely a geographical expression.

3. To maintain the balance of power in Europe-



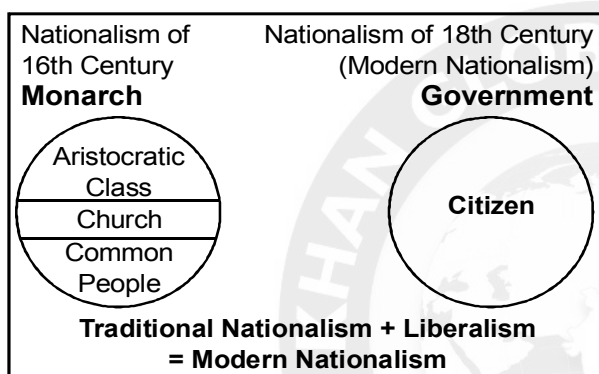
- Right from the time of the treaty of Westphalia, the concept of balance of power had become the guiding principle in European diplomacy but the French Revolution rejected this Westphalian model of the state system. The French revolution crossed the boundary of other states in the name of liberating the people while denying the institution of monarchy. So the nation of monarchs was replaced by the nation of the people. That's why, one of the major objectives of this Congress was to restore the nation of monarchs while suppressing the popular sovereignty. So, the following decisions were taken -
- Earlier Napoleon had removed the Holy Roman Empire and replaced it by the Confederation of Rhine. In this course he had reorganized tiny German states into bigger ones. Later Congress of Vienna replaced this Confederation of Rhine by a German Confederation which consisted of thirty nine states. Among them, Prussia was more powerful and it was offered extra territory in Rhine land and the region of Saxony so that it could have be competent enough to counter balance France on one hand and Russia on the other.
- In order to create a powerful state in the neighbourhood of France, Belgaum was placed under the control of Holland.
- Likewise to put a check over France from the north-east direction, Netherland was created by merging Holland and Belgium.
- Earlier Piedmont was ruled by the 'House of Savoy' in Italy, later Sardenia and Geneva were also placed under their control.
- **Forces of continuity established by the Congress of Vienna :**
 - The Congress of Vienna not only restored the old order but tried to sustain it. The old order or the forces of continuity were represented by monarchy, aristocracy and Church. As we have seen the old order of Europe had almost been destroyed by Napoleon. Therefore, Vienna Congress under the leadership of Austrian Chancellor Metternich was obligated to restore the old order. He was a complete reactionary (protector of old order and resistant against the change), so he had a very low estimation of popular revolution. Metternich guided a principle known as 'Metternich System' which was based on the principle of status quo and that of legitimate inheritance.
- **The forces of change challenged by the Congress of Vienna :-**
 - Simultaneously, the forces of change became active and started to challenge the Congress of Vienna. The force of changes expressed themselves through liberalism and nationalism at ideological level and the industrial revolution at material level.

Ideological forces:

- **Liberalism** - Liberalism represents a middle class world view. Its basis was prepared by enlightenment first. Later it was enriched further by American Revolution and French Revolution. It gave emphasis over the various factors:-
- In political field it emphasized limited monarchy. In other words, the power of monarchy should have been limited through an elected assembly. In the economic field it emphasized the principle of Laissez Faire or free economy, while in social field it pleaded for individual freedom. In other words, we can say that what is capitalism in economic field and individualism in social field, liberalism is

in the political field. All of the three were guided by middle-class interest.

- **Nationalism**– Theoretically, nationalism implied a community of the people who were linked to each other, were guided by the common customs and tradition and were the product of common historical forces. But this was definitely a very simplistic definition of nationalism which gradually evolved through thousands of years and its nature was bound to be more complex according to changing time and situation. The following are the two different models of nationalism -



- From 15th century onwards, with the rise of modern Europe, even nation state came to take shape under powerful and ambitious monarchs who were inclined to demarcate their national boundary through war, diplomacy and matrimonial relations. They continued to project themselves as National rulers while their region was being characterized as the nation state. Then very cleverly, they linked the interest of the nation with their dynastic interest. But upon minute observation we discover that this nation state was internally divided between privileged section and non privileged section, between unified region and semi autonomous regions etc. although the king was giving a veil of unity from above.
- But the French revolution proved to be a major game changer. Rousseau's ideas emphasized the concept of 'popular sovereignty'. So the centre of power moved from monarch to the people. Monarchy

was destroyed in France and it was followed by the establishment of a republic. In the meantime a war started between France and European countries. This war was unique in the sense that it was a war between European monarchs and the French people. Earlier all wars had been fought between monarchs, but this time it was the monarch and the people. So the concept of the popular sovereignty coupled with people's war gave a great stimulus to the ideology of modern nationalism. Later Napoleon Bonaparte, through conquest and war carried it to other parts of Europe as well.

- Between 1815 and 1848, both liberalism and nationalism had to go together while giving support to each other. The social basis of both the ideologies was prepared by the same middle class and both were the common enemy in the form of the same. It was after the revolution of 1848 that nationalism parted ways with liberalism and moved to take support from another monarchy.

Material-Economic Forces:

- **Industrial Revolution**– During the 19th century a great economic event occurred in western part of Europe which was known as the Industrial Revolution. The industrial revolution brought a change in the means of production. So, it prepared the way for social and political change as well. On one hand, this revolution strengthened the position of the middle class, it gave birth to the industrial working class on the other. Therefore, the aspirations of both the classes started to clash with the European system.
- However, the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe tried to maintain the old order in Europe but in spite of their best efforts the old order could not be maintained and the forces of change continued to pose a severe challenge to the old order. It was due to this fact, a series of revolts and revolutions occurred in

Europe between 1815 and 1848.

■ **Revolts of 1820s :**

- This revolt took place in France when some revolutionaries, inspired by the romanticist approach, assassinated crown prince Duke De Berry. Then from France, this revolt expanded to other parts of Europe. So, revolts took place in the Italian region along with Spain, Belgium and in Portugal also.
- It was the time when the Spanish colony in Latin America revolted against their master (Spain). When Spain sent its army to suppress the movement even the army revolted against the Spanish government. It was the time that some of the conservative members of Concert of Europe decided to intervene in the matter of Latin America and to send their army to suppress the movement there. But this proposal was opposed by Britain. Above all, it was American President Munro who propagated his famous doctrine and gave a serious warning to European powers for not intervening in the matter of American continent. In 1823 Munro made a declaration that "Latin America is the backyard of United States of America and if any power makes an intervention into the matter, it is just like making an intervention into the internal matter of U.S.A". This doctrine is known as '**Munro Doctrine**'. It had following results-
- After this declaration, the USA gave a new direction to its foreign policy, i.e. America won't intervene in European matters and simultaneously she won't tolerate European intervention in their internal matters. In other words, USA stuck to the policy of isolationism in foreign policy.
- After that, Latin American countries practically became the colonies of the United States of America.

■ **Revolutions of 1830s :**

- This also started from France and as a result of this revolution, the government

under Charles X who was the successor of Louis XVII declined and very soon it was replaced by another monarchical government under Louis Philippe. This development was a very clear denial of the Vienna system as it had rejected the theory of legal inheritance. Furthermore, a liberation movement started in Belgium and Belgium was separated from Holland. It also was an evidence of the rupture in Vienna system as it had denied the verdict of the congress. Apart from that, the liberal movement affected different regions of Europe. While the region of Italy and Germany felt the impact of nationalist fermentation, in Italy a movement was led by Mazzini who was inclined to unify Italy under a republic. Likewise some liberals were active even in the German region. Although, this revolution was relatively more successful in western Europe but not equally successful in central and eastern Europe. Even Metternich was surprised and exclaimed that whenever France sneezes, the entire Europe catches a cold.

■ **Revolutions of 1848s :**

- Even this revolution started from France and as a result of this revolution the government of Louis Philippe declined and in its place a republic was formed in France, But when in 1848 elections were held in this Republic, Louis Napoleon III illustrious nephew of Napoleon was elected as president. But within four years, he destroyed the republic and in 1852, he declared himself to be emperor of France. So it appeared as if history repeated itself.
- The revolution affected even other regions like Spain, Portugal and Britain. In Britain, it manifested itself in relatively peaceful manner that was known as chartist movement. In Italy and Germany nationalist movements resurfaced. In Italy, on the appeal of Italian nationalist Charles Albert, the ruler of Piedmont-

Sardinia, declared war against Austria with an objective to expel Austria from Italian region but he was defeated at the hand of Austria. It worked as a major setback to Italian nationalism. Likewise in Germany, the liberal members of Frankfurt parliament presented the crown of unified Germany to Persian monarch Fredrick William IV, but Fredrick William refused to accept it as to accept the crown by elected representatives was tantamount to accepting his position as a constitutional monarch.

- **Austrian Empire**– Revolution affected the Austrian empire as well being unable to crush it, Metternich fled from his country and took refuge in Britain. Then under the pressure of revolution, Austrian monarch submitted and showed his readiness to bring constitutional reforms. But after some time, with the support of Russian army, he quelled the rebellion.
- When we evaluate the impact of the revolution of 1848, we come to realize that just like the Arab Spring of 2010, it brought changes in limited regions. But still we cannot declare it to be a complete failure. It prepared the way for changes in future Europe. After this failure, nationalism learnt a lesson that it cannot proceed to success going through the path of liberalism. So after this failure, it got dissociated from liberalism and moved to militarism and the leadership of monarchy. Hence the rise of Cavour in Italy and that of Bismarck in Germany can be explained in this context.

■ **Crimean War (1854-56)**

- Crimean war proved a landmark event as it paved the way for the destruction of European order.
- France was revived under Napoleon-III and Napoleon-III was ready to play a major role in Europe. On the other side, Britain was suspicious about the Russian expansionist policy and its ambitious

plan in Balkan region. Therefore, Britain and France supported the Ottoman empire against Russia. Thus started the Crimean war.

- This war became a landmark event in Europe. In this war the reactionary power Russia was defeated and stayed away from the active politics of Europe. Not simply that, a conflict emerged between the two reactionist powers Russia and Austria. So, this was the clear cut decline of the reactionist power in Europe. Now, Austria was sole responsible for safeguarding the European system, but she was incapable of doing so. So, we have to understand the unification of Italy and that of Germany in this context also.

■ **Impact of Modern Nationalism in 19th century Europe :**



■ Unification of Italy –



- **Obstacles in unification of Italy** - The Italian region was divided into 7 states and obviously these states had independent rulers who did not accept the unification. Apart from that, northern and southern Italy was divided economically too. Northern Italy was relatively more developed in comparison to that of southern Italy. Furthermore, in the middle Italian region, some region was given to the Pope, so that the both parts of Italy could not be unified. On the other hand, there was also a difference of opinion regarding on the basis that what could be the nature of future unification and this unification could be carried under whose leadership– whether the unification should be carried out under the leadership of the Pope, or under the leadership of the monarch of Piedmont-Sardinia, or under the leadership of republic. In addition, one of the problems in the path of unification of Italy was that no change in Italy was possible without the approval of Austria.

- **Role of various personalities in the unification of Italy and the progress of the unification–**
- The Republicanist group wanted that the unification should be carried out under the leadership of the republic, as in Italy there was a long tradition of republicanism since the days of Roman Empire. The leader of this group was Mazzini and his disciple Garibaldi. But the course of events in future carried the movement of unification naturally in favour of monarchy. The monarch of Piedmont-Sardinia Victor Emmanuel II and his Prime Minister Count Cavour played very significant role in the unification.
- In this process, Count Cavour carried reforms in agriculture, worked for the promotion of industrialization. So, economically now Piedmont-Sardinia was in a better position. After that Cavour did a lot for the reorganization of the army of Piedmont-Sardinia. So, even on the military front, Piedmont-Sardinia became a powerful state.
- After strengthening internally, Cavour set his foot in international politics and befriended French president Louis Napoleon III while promising him to give the region of Nice and Savoy under the Treaty of Plombieres of 1858. He purchased the military support of France against the Austrian Empire. Then, after a military debacle of Austria, he could secure the region of Lombardy from the Austrian empire in 1859. Having been inspired by the success of Piedmont-Sardinia, a movement for unification started even in Parma, Modena and Tuscany in favour of Piedmont-Sardinia. Then once again Cavour, through French assistance, got success in conducting a referendum in these regions, as a result of which these regions were integrated with Piedmont-Sardinia. So the integration of

Northern Italy was almost over.

- Integration of Southern states became possible due to the role of Garibaldi who was a disciple of Mazzini, a republicanist. Through organizing a popular movement in southern Italian states Naples and Sicily, Garibaldi toppled the Bourbon government there, but still discarding his Republican ideals, he submitted both the states to the ruler of Piedmont-Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel II. Thus, a unified Italy emerged up to 1859-60. Italy could regain the region of Venetia from Austria and Rome from the Pope, one decade later, with the support of Germany. In this way, the unified Italy emerged.

■ Unification of Germany–



- **Obstacles in unification of Germany–** Germany was disintegrated into 39 states by the Congress of Vienna and each state ruled by independent rulers and they were placed under the control of Prussia. On the other hand, in Germany, there was a rivalry between the two powers i.e. Austria and Prussia. Apart from that, Germany was situated in the middle region of Europe so its unification could definitely hampered the balance of power in Europe. In fact, from the Treaty of Westphalia, European powers and especially France were stringent for the unification of Germany.
- **Progress in the unification of Germany–** At the beginning of 19th century there was

progress of nationalism in Germany and some German thinkers like John Herder, Fichte, Hegel rejected the universalism of enlightenment, rather they gave emphasis over the German unification. Further, the industrial revolution played a significant role in the unification of Germany. Infact, The Congress of Vienna provided the region of Rhineland to Prussia which was enriched with iron and coal. So, at the beginning of 19th century, industrial revolution had already been started in Prussia and it spread to the other parts of Germany. It resulted into the expansion of railways in Germany. So, the German market was better integrated as a result of the development of railways. Therefore, in 1834, there was the formation of a Custom Union known as Zollverein in Germany through which other German states became economically unified with Prussia. So, the economic-industrial factor played such a significant role in the unification of Germany. Even John Maynard Keynes, who was a British economist, declared that “It was not blood and iron rather iron and coal which made the unification of Germany possible”.

- It is true, economically, Prussia was integrated with the rest of Germany and Austria was isolated on this ground. But it is equally true that in spite of the economic integration, political integration was not possible till the demise of Austria as the political power. Therefore, an attempt was made by Prussia to bring a model of unification. The whole project turned out to be a failure due to the resistance from the side of Austria. So, the point became crystal clear that no future constitutional revolution in Germany was possible without a war with Austria. It is here, the role of Bismarck and the policy of blood and iron became decisive.
- Bismarck swam like a fish in the pond of international diplomacy and with a

proper mix between diplomacy and military might, he could give a concrete shape to the idea of unification. The following steps were taken by Bismarck -

1. Firstly, he moved to purchase the neutrality of France in a possible conflict between Prussia and the Austrian Empire. In 1865, through giving a vague hint to the French emperor Louis Napoleon III towards offering some region in Rhineland, he ensured French neutrality.
2. **Battle of Sadowa (1866)** - In this battle, Prussia militarily routed the Austrian Empire. Then on the basis of the treaty of Prague in March 1866, Northern German states were integrated with Prussia. So, northern German states were integrated with Prussia.
3. **Battle of Sedan (1870)** - Now, it had almost become clear for Bismarck that till Prussia knocked out France, German unification would not be completed as southern German states had remained under the influence of France and France would never have accepted their integration with Prussia. That's why Bismarck persistently provoked France for a war and finally his machination worked and France reacted to his provocation and finally the battle of Sedan took place in 1870, in which Prussia gave a crushing defeat to France. Then, on the basis of the Treaty of Frankfurt, France was forced to surrender the territories of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. It became a bone of contention between the two resulting in two world wars.

■ Destructive Impact of Nationalism—

- Nationalism produced both the impact, unifying as well as dividing, on Europe in 19th century. In context of Italy and Germany, it produced a unifying impact. But in the context of old empires of Europe like Ottoman Empire, Habsburg Empire and Russian Empire it produced

a destabilizing impact. All the three empires were multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious in their character. When the process of modernization started in Europe, these empires remained aloof from the changes and the empires of eastern Europe remained to be medieval in nature. They could not modernize themselves. So when did the challenge of modern nationalism emerge, it was very difficult for them to tackle it as every racial group tried to project itself as a separate nation. The Ottoman Empire fell as the first prey to this nationalist pressure but Habsburg empire and Russian empire succeeded to tackle the disintegration. However, after the First World War, the European powers disintegrated the Habsburg empire, while the Russian empire remained integrated till the last decade of the 20th century. Further, in 1991 Russian empire disintegrated and at that time it was known as the 'Soviet Union.'

■ What was Balkan Question and why did it remain the All European question?



- The region in southeastern Europe under Ottoman empire was known as Balkans. The situation of the Ottoman Empire was quite different from other contemporary empires. As it was a Muslim empire but there was a larger Christian population under its periphery, so it became much prone to intervention from the Christian powers of Europe in the situation of any

sort of racial tension. This had following aspects -

1. The minority group influenced by nationalism demanded a separate nation in eastern Europe of the Ottoman empire.
2. It was itself a Muslim empire but its subjects in Eastern Europe were coming from Christianity. So, apart from racial division, religious division was also existed there.
3. The policy of the Concert of Europe was to suppress the separatist forces, but in the case of the Ottoman empire, European powers were sympathised with the minority groups on religious ground.
4. But up to the beginning of 19th century, it was converted into a sick man of Europe. So, different European powers were having their longing eye over the Ottoman Empire and they were inclined to benefit from their weak position.
5. But the interests of the European power collided with each other, so, there was a big confusion in their policy towards Turkey in the Ottoman Empire. For example, Russia was a neighbouring power of the Ottoman Empire. It was having a short term and a long term objective in the Ottoman Empire. The short term objective was to have control over two straits, Dardanelles and Bosphorus. After having control over two straits, Russia could come directly to the Mediterranean Sea from the Black Sea.



- Likewise, its long-term objective was to make a complete dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and to capture a larger chunk of it. Britain was much suspicious about the Russian move, as she was worried about the fact that if the Ottoman Empire collapsed then the balance of power in Europe could be seriously disturbed. In that eventuality, the British route to eastern empire might have been blocked. That's why Britain always opposed to dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire but simultaneously, it was inclined to take some concessions from it. On the other hand, the Pan-Slav Movement was supported by Russia in Serbia and the Slav population demanded a separate Slav nation. But in this situation, with the Ottoman empire there was a possibility of dismemberment of Habsburg empire or Austrian empire and this resulted the discontentment between Austria and Russia.
 - So, the Ottoman Empire was neither permitted to survive, nor to die. It was in this duality in the approach of European power that the Eastern Question (Balkan Question) laid in that time. In this way, it was this collision of interests that made the matter more complicated. This is known as Eastern Question and Eastern Question always became an international question. In fact, this eastern question finally invited the two world wars.
- **Disintegration of Ottoman Empire and emergence of new independent states -**
- From the beginning of 19th century due to the rise of modern nationalism, the Ottoman Empire faced racial tensions. Then intervention by the European powers encouraged the process of disintegration.
 1. In 1821, Greece revolted against Turkey and finally got independence in 1832.

2. In 1859, the Rum population from Ottoman Empire got separated and there was the creation of separate Romania by combining Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859.
3. In the Berlin Congress, the independence of Serbia and Montenegro were confirmed in 1878.
4. With the initiation of the Bulagan population an independent nation Bulgaria was created in 1885.
5. In reaction to the Young Turk Movement, Balkan war started and the European powers intervened in the matter and the London conference took place in 1912-13. On the basis of this London conference, this war ended and an independent nation, Albania was created.



- With continuous disintegration, the Ottoman empire hampered and supported Germany in the First World War and they were defeated in the war. Therefore, an allied nation tried to abolish the Ottoman empire. Then, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, a Military General of Turkey, revolted against allied powers, when these powers tried to impose a humiliating treaty on Turkey. So, Turkey was saved from disintegration further. Now whatever was the remaining part of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Pasha converted it into a modern nation-state.

Question:- Nationalism was, definitely, a very powerful ideology of 19th century but it produced differing impact on contemporary Europe. Comment.

Answer: Nationalism emerged to be a major challenge to old order in Europe. Earlier it had worked in tandem with liberalism but latter it, while discarding liberal methods, moved to embrace opportunism. But on different parts of Europe its impact was visibly different and some time even contradictory. We can better understand it through following examples-

1. **As a Cementing Force-** West European countries had already been shaped up as unified states but then ideas of nationalism could give them a better internal consolidation. Therefore under the impact of new ideology countries like France, Britain, Spain etc. were crystallized as a modern nation.
2. **Unifying Force-** It worked as unifying force in context to divided regions like Italy and that of Germany. Italy and Germany were divided into separate states by the Congress of Vienna. Italy was fragmented into seven separate states while Germany into thirty-nine. But it was the force of nationalism coupled with military and diplomatic factors which made Italy and Germany unified.
3. **Destructive Force-** But, simultaneously nationalism produced detrimental impact on old empires i.e. Ottoman Empire, Habsburg Empire and Russian Empire. These were medieval empires and they were multi-racial and multi-lingual in nature. Under the influence of modern nationalism different racial and linguistic groups started to demand the right to self-judgment creating the fear of the collapse of these empires. Ottoman Empire came to face more formidable challenge in this regard.

In this way nationalism produced different impact on different parts of Europe.

Question:-French Revolution failed to achieve what it intended to achieve. Do you agree?

Answer: It is undeniable that in course of the French Revolution the gulf between promises and performance remained to be unbridged but still its significance cannot be undermined.

French Revolution started with lofty democratic slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity but very soon it drifted from its course. Then firstly it fell a prey to Jacobian terror as a result of which the revolution started to devour its own children and finally the revolution was hijacked by a military Junta under Napoleon. Even in Europe what was offered in the name of the revolution was nothing but merely the ideas of the revolution.

But in spite of the limitations mentioned above we cannot underrate the extent of change brought by the revolution. In France, feudalism became a thing of the past. Declaration of Rights of Men and citizen reflected the spirit of General will of Rousseau. There started an era of popular participation in politics. Outside of France, in Europe, the revolutionary ideals of liberalism and nationalism worked as formidable forces of change. Even the Vienna order succumbed to these ideals which resurfaced in course of the revolutions of 1830s and those of 1848. Last but not the least, the unification of Italy and that of Germany was the victory of revolutionary ideas.

Therefore, we can say that although French Revolution achieved less than but not far less than what it had intended to achieve.

Question: 19th century Europe continued to fight against the legacy of French Revolution itself. Examine the statement.

Answer: It is a well known proverb that dead Ceaser is stronger than Ceaser alive. It

happened in case of French Revolution as well. Although Napoleon, the emperor, was defeated in the battle of Waterloo but Napoleon, a revolutionary, survived this defeat and just as a specter continued to haunt the Ancien regime in Europe.

French Revolution left its legacy in the form of liberalism and nationalism which the Congress of Vienna had devised to dig dipper in the earth. But the Congress of Vienna was not able to bury these revolutionary ideas nor was it able to preserve the old order and a time came when Congress itself succumbed to the revolutionary forces.

The first big challenge before the Congress of Vienna was the revolutions of 1830s and those of 1848. These revolutions presented the demand of constitutional reforms in most of the countries but simultaneously the right to self-judgment in divided regimes like Italy and Germany, Vienna system received a jolt as the result of these revolutions as these revolutions resulted into the liberation of Greece (1832), that of Belgium (1833) and in the decline of legitimate government of France (1830).

But certainly, a more formidable challenge to the Congress of Vienna came from ambitious monarchy i.e. monarchy of Piedmont-Sardinia and that of Prussia. They completely shattered Vienna system through unifying the region of Italy and that of Germany under a single monarch.

But still the process did not stop here, nationalism as a much stronger ideological force started to threaten the unity and integrity of old empires i.e. Ottoman Empire, Habsburg Empire and Russian empires. Among them Ottoman Empire was certainly most affected entity as it witnessed its gradual fragmentation till the First World War.

Thus, it does not appear to be an exaggeration to say that French evolution left its wider imprint on 19th century Europe.

Food for Thought

- Who were opposed to changes in 19th century's Europe and why?
- How did Crimean War work as a major factor of change in 19th century Europe?
- How did Industrial Revolution help to consolidate the forces of change?
- How did nationalism create a situation of crisis within Ottoman Empire?

■■■



WORLD HISTORY

Part III

Subpart-I : Industrial Revolution

Subpart-II : Socialism and Marxism

Subpart-III : Colonialism and Imperialism

Subpart-IV : First World War

- How did the British Industrial Revolution appear as an unexpected event? Then different regions developed different models of industrialization according to the circumstances and how and why?
- How did industrialization act as a major factor of change in 19th century Europe?
- Industrialization strengthened the position of middle class on the one hand and it gave birth to an industrial working class on the other. Therefore, while Nationalism progressed as a middle-class ideology, Socialism and Marxism began to spread as a lower-class ideology.
- Consequently, it led to emergence of Neo-Imperialism and its spread. This gave rise to a globalized system.
- The outcome of interaction and conflict between imperialism, socialism and nationalism was the First World War.

World History (Part-III)

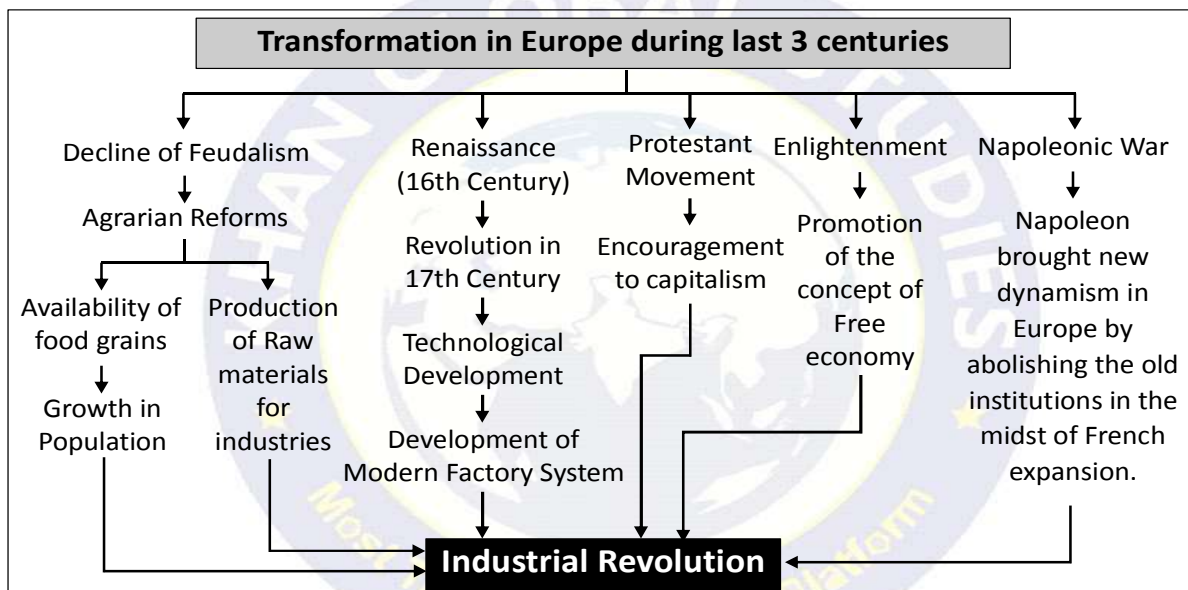
Sub-part-I: Industrial Revolution

■ What is meant by the Industrial Revolution?

- Many scholars including Arnold Toynbee coined the term 'Industrial Revolution'. It was called the revolution, not for the fact that the changes were excessive fast or sudden, rather it was called revolution as it brought a radical change in the means of production and that of transportation. Human labor was replaced by modern machines. So, it left a wider impact on contemporary society. The industrial

revolution implied the productive investment, the technological change, the rise of new production centers and the transformation in the social structure.

- The socio-economic transformation of Britain and Europe in the second half of the 18th century lay in the changes that had occurred in Europe over the previous three to four centuries. This can be understand through following diagram -

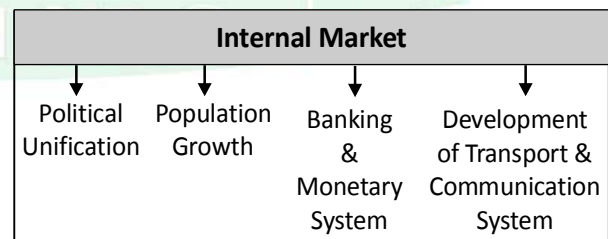


Industrial Revolution in Britain

■ Why did the industrial revolution start in Britain?

- As we know, in the commercial revolution, the earlier leading countries were Spain and Portugal then later Britain, Holland and France joined the race. Then why did other countries lag behind Britain in course of Industrialisation? Since these countries failed to transform the commercial capital into industrial one, but Britain successfully did so. In fact, Britain fulfilled certain conditions which could lead towards industrialisation—

1. Development of a home market increased the demand of commodities –



- Agrarian revolution and the improvement in the breeds of animals could lead to better availability of foods. So, it could result in population growth.
- In 17th century the different parts of the United Kingdom such as Britain, Scotland and Ireland, were duly integrated and it led to administrative

uniformity as well as the creation of a larger internal market.

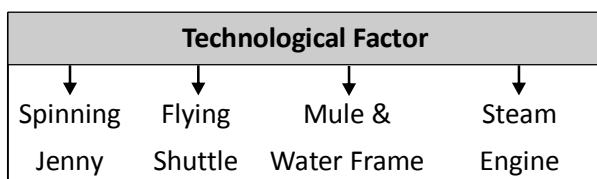
- There was a development of the banking system as well as the Chamber of Commerce. All these developments resulted in growing purchasing power among the people. So, the home market of Britain just expanded.
- This period is marked by the development of concrete roads and canals. They strengthened the means of transportation particularly the canals came into larger use for transportation of minerals from mines to the factory sites.

2. Development of External Market –



- Britain could develop a wider market for their industrial product in Asia, America and Caribbean region. It is an irony in history that, up to 18th century India was a great exporter of cotton goods but up to the beginning of 19th century Indian market was inundated with cotton goods from Britain. Furthermore, the British government enthusiastically supported its capitalist class. Today this is a common phenomenon among the nations of the world but even in 19th century the British foreign policy was completely subordinated to its economic policy. Through foreign trade, Britain could accumulate a large quantity of capital to invest in industrialisation. It is said that Britain invested 5% of the national income in industrialization, out of which 2% was transferred from India.

3. Technological Development –



- Technological development prepared the way for the rise of the modern factory system in Britain. One can underline upgradation in the following fields of technology in Britain - Cotton goods, Iron industry, Railways and Steam engine etc. The new technologies gave support to production of cotton. For example, Spinning Jenny of Hargreaves, Water frame of Archrite and Mule of Crompton multiplied the production of yarns. Finally it was the Power Loom of Edmund Cartwright which completed the technological advancement in cotton goods industries. Likewise, in the field of iron smelting the family of Abraham Derby made a major contribution. The development of steam engine brought a momentum in production and it also paved the way for the development of railways.

- In Britain, one special factor was a wider social acceptance of these new technologies. For example, it has been said that in Britain power loom was succeeded as it was artisans who accepted this, but in France, it did not get easy acceptance as it was imposed from above by the government.

4. Social Change -

- The rise of the middle class and their interest in savings and investment gave impetus to the industrial revolution.

■ Impact of Industrial Revolution on British Society -

- Industrialisation in Britain changed its national character. There was the rise of a strong middle class and simultaneously an industrial working class. The emergence of the new classes created a new base for the change. Under the demand of new classes, there was an expansion in the franchise.
- Industrialization in Britain to a greater

extent, solved the problem of production but complicated the problem of distribution. It encouraged a sharp division in society, increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. The peasants were thrown out of agriculture and they were compelled to migrate to towns which were lacking in proper infrastructure and civic facilities. So the industrial workers had to live in a pathetic condition. Even their working environment was quite unhealthy. For maximizing their profit, the capitalists used to employ women and children in a large number in their factories and even their working hours were very long and their wages were very low. Due to these reasons, the average life span of workers in industrial area was 21 to 17 years.

- Finally, the plight of the workers got the attention of some humanist thinkers. Industrialist, Robert Owen, was a humanist thinker among them. He drew the attention of the government towards the condition of the workers. So it was in this context that the Acts of 1819, 1833 and the Mining Act of 1842 were legislated to provide some protection to women and children employed as labour.

■ **Impact of Industrial Revolution on British Culture –**

- In Britain, the industrial revolution resulted in significant cultural changes. In the cultural field, there were two types of changes that were seen -
1. The Industrial Revolution encouraged many consumer-related products. So, there was a growing sense of consumerism among the people. It resulted in the decline in human compassion i.e. the sensitivity towards other individuals of his own group decreased.
 2. There was also a natural reaction against increasing urbanization, desolation of villages, devastation to nature and

increasing insensitivity. Moreover, a section of intellectuals was also showing their attraction towards the pre-Industrial Revolution situation. For example, the romanticist scholars Wordsworth, P.B. Shelley and John Keats showed their reaction against this. In the 19th century, author Charles Dickens, portrayed town life and working conditions of industrial workers quite vividly in his famous text 'Hard Times'.

■ **Expansion of industrialisation in other countries -**

- The industrialization progressed first in Britain and then it spread to other regions. The industrialisation of Britain was unplanned, but all subsequent industrializations in various nations were well designed. Naturally, the industrialization in one region encourages the deindustrialization in the other. So, it was very difficult for a new comer to maintain the pace of industrialization in the face of the competition from the country which had industrialized earlier. Therefore, the threat of deindustrialization loomed large on the head of those countries which continued the production with conventional method, for example, India and China. Therefore, to protect their industries and to compete with Britain, the other countries had to follow a separate model of industrialization. In this context, we can understand the other models of industrialization i.e., American model, German model, Russian model and Japanese model.

American Model of Industrialisation

- After its independence, America progressed towards industrialisation. But the biggest hindrance in the path of industrialization was to bring the change in trade structure. Before its independence, America was merely an

importer of British industrial goods and the exporter of agricultural produce. Apart from this, there was lack of proper infrastructure, for example, transport and communication system, centralized bank, monetary system etc. Therefore, the United States of America developed a model of industrialization different from British model. It gave emphasis on following factors -

1. **Powerful federal government based on the new constitution**– A strong federal government was formed in 1790, which played an important role in developing the United States of America as a unified market.
2. **Protection to American industries**– To compete with European products, the United States of America implemented a protectionist policy for their industries which became a model of American industrialization. This protectionist policy established America as an industrial power in the world. Hamilton, an economist and politician, laid special emphasis on protectionist policy.
3. **Development of modern transport and communication system**– Development of modern transport and communication system played an important role in connecting the internal market. For example, the federal government constructed some major roads and canals, including Cumberland road. Apart from this, initiatives were taken to construct highways and superhighways, railways and airports.
4. **Emphasis over primary education**– An important reason for the success of the American model was the emphasis over primary education by the American government. For example, in 1830 the primary school model was implemented. One of the objectives of this model was to provide basic education to the common

people so that they could value business matters and industrialization.

5. **Establishment of National Bank**– National Banks were established with the aim of strengthening the credit system for industrialization. The first and second banks known as the Bank of United States, were established in 1796 and 1816, respectively. Along with this, the monetary and insurance system were also established.
- Industrialization of America presented a different model of industrialization in comparison to British one because of its protectionist policy. In fact, the labor in America was costlier than in Britain. So, in American model there was greater emphasis on the efficiency of technology to compensate the labour. Therefore, through the research and development programme USA successfully developed a better technology. Because of which the American economy remained high-tech and an expensive labor economy. Therefore, any nation which tried to adopt the American model of industrialisation had to face many problems.
 - As we have observed, Britain was the first industrialised country. As it represented the first industrialisation in history. From 1860s there was the rise of the second industrialisation. While in the first industrialisation there was emphasis over mainly on cotton goods industries, woollen industries, iron-forging industry etc., but during the second stage, there was the foundation of basic and heavy industries like iron and steel industries, chemical industries etc. Furthermore, during this stage, there was the development of railways. During the second stage, industrialisation expanded from western Europe to the other parts of Europe and even to Asia (Japan).

Industrialisation in Germany

- In the second industrialisation, Germany emerged as a leading country but for its industrialization, Germany had to overcome a series of obstacles.

1. At that time Germany was a collection of 200 tiny states. The presence of such a large number of states created a barrier against a big market.
2. Likewise, serfdom was existing in German region. So, there was a dearth of sufficient labor force for industrialisation. Furthermore, in a major part of Germany, the old system of production i.e. guild system was still prevailing.
3. In Germany, unlike Britain, there was a dearth of individual capital for investment.
4. Apart from that, paternalistic laws were prevailing in Germany. These laws put a check over the free settlement of the people from one region to another region.

■ Germany's progress towards industrialization—

- In spite of these barriers mentioned above, Germany went for industrialisation and in future, it emerged to be the most industrialised nation in Europe.
- First of all, base work was done by Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon, after conquering Germany, just reorganized German states into 16 bigger states in place of 300 tiny states. So, this phenomenon led to the integration of the market.
- Furthermore, Napoleon Bonaparte introduced the continental system against Britain. Under this system, British goods were boycotted everywhere including Germany. So, naturally, this resulted in creation of a market for German goods in German region.
- In the Congress of Vienna, Prussia exchanged some Polish (Poland) region with iron and coal-producing Rhine

region. So, Prussia went for industrialisation and this industrialisation stimulated the same even in other parts of Germany.

- Gradually, serfdom was abolished and even paternalistic laws were discarded in 1849. It increased the movement of laborers which reduced the dearth of workers.
- In 1830s and 1840s, there was the expansion of railways in Germany. So, the internal market of Germany expanded. This market was integrated further due to the formation of Zollverein (1834), a custom union.
- Lastly, there was a question of investment in industrialisation. Here we come to know that the role which had been played by individual capital in Britain, the same role was played by joint-stock banks in Germany. In other words, Joint-stock banks fulfilled the need of investment and mobilise the capital for industrialisation. In this way, Germany went on the path of industrialisation.

■ Impact—

- Industrialisation in Germany was having a wider impact. As a result of industrialization Germany went far ahead of Britain in the field of basic and heavy industries like chemical industries, electrical industries and automobiles industries. What Britain had achieved in the last 100 years, Germany achieved only within 30 years. The immediate impact of Industrialisation was the unification of Germany. Then unified Germany created a major problem for the Balance of power in Europe. In fact, the German capitalist class created a social base for unification in the hope that a unified Germany could give support to the German industrialist class in the manner the British Empire had been giving support to the British

capitalist class. So, naturally, the unification of Germany resulted in a rivalry between the British Empire and the German Empire for the expansion of the market. Finally, it resulted in the First World War.

Industrialisation in Russia

■ Challenges in the path of industrialization–

- Russia was a country of continental size but due to its **climatic factor** and some other factors like the **dearth of individual capital** and the **feudal nature of society**, Industrialisation appeared to be a very difficult phenomenon in Russia. But in spite of the barriers mentioned above, Russia went for Industrialisation.

■ Russia's progress towards industrialization–

- **Bid for industrialisation in Russia in 18th century-** In 18th century, Russian emperor Peter the Great shown his enthusiasm for Industrialisation. For that, he decided to establish some industries producing weapons and in the industries, he employed slaves. But his initiative for Industrialisation did not produce the expected result.

- **Industrialisation in Russia in 19th century-** In actual sense industrialisation in Russia started in 19th century under the Russian emperor Czar Alexander II. Russian industrialisation was based on the Gerschenkron model. According to this model, whosoever country is going to join industrialisation later is not bound always follow the model of first industrialised nation. He may create his own model. Furthermore, if in that country some factors for industrialisation were missing that may be compensated through active participation of the state.

• Features of Industrialisation in Russia –

1. In Russian industrialisation, the state played a major role, while the middle class didn't play any significant role. It was the

state which acted as the investor, the producer and the consumer.

2. In order to mobilise the resources, the state imposed heavy taxation on the peasantry.
3. In the dearth of individual capital, the state played the role of investor in order to fulfill the need for investment, the state took loans even from abroad. So, up to the beginning of 20th century, Russia became the most indebted country in the world.
4. In Russian industrialisation, there was emphasis over the big as well as heavy industries.

■ Impact:-

- Whenever we observe the impact of industrialisation in Russia, we come to the point that in one sense it was Russian industrialisation that prepared the way for Russian Revolution as well as the success of the Communist Party. For example, due to heavy taxation peasants were offended, so they joined the revolution. Then two factors ensured the success of the Communist Party.
- First one was the weak middle-class in Russia. As we know, the Russian middle-class didn't play any important role in industrialisation. So, it was in a weak position in Russia and whenever there was the rise of the Communist Party, the middle class could not counter the communist movement in Russia.
- Second one factor was the specific nature of Industrialisation in Russia. In fact, in Russia, most of the industries were established in a particular region, so the movement of the working-class was confined to that particular region only. This resulted in growing consciousness among the working-class and finally the success of the Communist Party in Russia.

Industrialisation in Japan

- Japanese industrialization was the product of an unusual course and it trailed towards a unique path. The reason for this unique path was the challenges Japan had faced during the industrialization -

■ Challenges -

1. Japan was a victim of western imperialism. In fact, he lost the right to protect his industries by levying taxes. So the challenge was how to protect its newly established industries.
2. The group of bankers in Japan believed that investment in heavy industries involved larger resources and a long gestation period in reaping the profit, so they found the investment in agriculture more lucrative than in industry.

■ Japan's strategy in the direction of industrialization -

1. Industrialization in Japan was a part of modernization programme which started with the landmark event of Meiji restoration in 1868. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan brought some changes in its administrative structure, legal system and form of government, which gave impetus to Japan's modernization.
2. Japan adopted the one important aspect of American industrialization, the development of primary education. But unlike the American model, Japan was having the availability of cheap labor, so Japan preferred the consumer-based industries like cotton textile industry, silk industry.
3. Furthermore, in order to develop its transport and communication system, Japan strengthened its railways and automobile industries.
4. Since initially Japan did not have the freedom to patronize its industries through imposing import duty (this became possible only after 1911), hence it

gave subsidy to the industries in order to make competitive.

■ Features -

- Since, initially the private investors in Japan did not take much interest in the industrialisation program, so the Japanese government itself took initiative in the industrialisation program. It led the foundation for basic and heavy industries but it did not prefer to maintain these industries under government control. So, except for certain industries with strategic importance, the government sold out all the industries to private investors at a subsidized rate.
- This industrialisation program of the government created a very unique situation in Japan. In other words, industrialisation in Japan could not give birth to any independent industrial class. In fact, it was the bankers of Japan who took initiative in purchasing industries, so it was a part of the banking capital which was converted into industrial capital and a group of bankers turned to be industrialist as well. This created some sort of deformity in Japanese capitalism.
- In fact, during the earlier phase of capitalism, there was generally a separation between banking capital and industrial capital. It was during the very late phase only amalgamation between the banking capital and industrial capital became possible. Thus appeared the monopoly capital and this monopoly capital was having a negative orientation as it started not simply to dominate the whole economy but also to influence the political policies of the government. Due to the specific nature of industrialisation, the sort of deformity appeared in Japanese industrialisation during the very early phase. For example, the Zaibatsu family was a big banker family; it possessed 34% of banking capital. Later, it captured

industries as well. So, now it started to dominate not only the economy but also the foreign policy of Japan.

- Japan was attracted towards the Western model and adopted their technological development but not adopted its ideology of liberalism rather Japan was influenced by the Samurai culture. In this way, industrialization of Japan presented a different model of capitalism.

■ Impact -

- The rise of monopoly capital and the influence of Samurai culture in Japan prepared the way for militarization in Japan. In fact, Japan was a tiny state so its home market was smaller in size. That's why the Japanese capitalists provoked the government to search for new markets abroad. Furthermore, the Japanese expansion could ensure even the raw materials for Japanese industries. The imperialistic ambition of Japan brought it in enmity with Russia first and then with USA and finally, it led to the attack on Pearl Harbour by Japan and Japanese involvement in the Second World War.

Industrial Revolution: A Continuous Revolution

■ First Industrial Revolution (1760-1840)

- **Major features**– Steam engine, Cotton textile, Woolen textile and Iron industry
- Limited to Western Europe only.
- **Impact**– Policy of free economy and search for market.

■ Second Industrial Revolution (1860-1914)

- **Major features**– Electric power, petroleum and internal combustion engines, automobile industry, development of telegraph, development of aircraft.
- **Expansion** in Central Europe, Eastern Europe and Asia.
- **Impact**– Spread of imperialism and colonialism, Partition of Africa, First

World War as a result of competition between Britain and Germany.

■ Third Industrial Revolution (1990s and after)

- **Major features**– The concept of third industrialization has been given by Jeremy Rifkin. The base of third industrialization is considered to be information technology and renewable energy sources.
- As far as India is concerned, it was deprived of the last two industrial revolutions, but it joined the third industrial revolution.
- **Impact:** The Third Industrial Revolution sheltered the socialist governments of Eastern Europe in the 1990s and the dictatorial regime in the Arab countries in 2011.

■ Fourth Industrial Revolution

- Recently the Fourth Industrial Revolution has been envisaged. It is linked to artificial intelligence, robotics, genome technology, nanotechnology, big data analysis etc.

Question: - Late comer Industrial Revolution in Japan involved certain factors that were marked by difference from what west had experienced. Analyze (200 words) (UPSC - 2013)

Answer: - Difference in experience between industrialization in Western Europe and that in Japan should be viewed in context of specific politico-economic condition of Japan.

In Western Europe industrialization was basically an economic programme but Japan's industrialization was guided mainly by a political project. It was the part of modernization programme that had started with Meiji restoration. Its objective was to make Japan a powerful nation so that it could counter western imperialism.

Unlike Western Europe, in Japan there did not emerge any independent

entrepreneurial class which could have initiated investment or industrialization. Thus, in Japan the whole process was initiated by ex-daimyo or ex-Samurai. So Japanese capitalism flourished under feudal set up.

Apart from that unlike Western Europe, in Japan government itself invested in industries and when industries became functional they sold them to private capitalists at subsidized rate. It produced two visible impact - firstly as we find the case in west it could not gave birth to an independent middle class that could have put a check over autocratic nature of the government. Secondly the purchasers of these industries were none else but Japanese bankers. So in Japan it was banking capital itself which was converted into industrial capital. Marriage between industrial capital and banking capital culminated into the rise of monopoly capital. In Western Europe this tendency appeared during late phase but in Japan it appeared very early. It was monopoly capitalism which added militarist flavour to Japanese foreign policy.

In this way in objective and in nature both industrialization in Japan reflected distinct features.

Question: - Why did the Industrial Revolution first occur in England? Discuss the quality of life of the people there during industrialization. How does it compare with that in India at present times? (UPSC-2015)

(Meaning of the question- England and the Industrial Revolution has been a well-known issue of world history. Even, the impact it had on life of the people in Britain has also been a common issue. But certainly, the question setter has tried to make this question more fundamental and complex in nature by asking aspirants to compare the standard of life in Britain with that in present India. Therefore, it is challenging for the candidates to deal with the latter part of this question.)

Answer: Many countries had participated in the commercial revolution, but the industrial revolution occurred for the first time in Britain. The following factors contributed for industrialization in Britain-

During 17th century, Britain was going through a process of socio-economic transformation. The agricultural revolution fulfilled the need for food grains and raw materials. The landlords started commercial farming by enclosing their land. On the other hand, a middle class emerged as a result of the commercial revolution and this class took interest in investing. Then this was the time when canals and roads developed as an easy means of transportation. Along with this, money and banking got encouragement during this period. Because of these reasons the domestic market of Britain started growing. Britain's external market was also quite extensive. Its colonies were established in America, West Indies and Asia from where it was getting capital as well as raw materials. Finally, the technological revolution played an important role in the emergence of the Industrial Revolution. The development of modern factory system would not have been possible without technological revolution. The development of spinning jenny, water frame, power loom etc. gave impetus to the cotton textile industry. Then the development of the steam engine laid the foundation for the modern factory system.

In the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, people in Britain suffered immensely. Due to the enclosure of land by the landlords, the small farmers were deprived of the land and thus they migrated towards cities. There they had to work on very low wages and allowances and in very unhygienic conditions. But gradually their condition improved. The government also implemented labour laws in 1819 and 1833 for their protection and their standard of living improved with increasing industrialization.

The situation in India is completely different from that of Britain. In true sense India could not go through the process of industrialization. Therefore, even at present, more than 50% of the population is dependent on agriculture, while the contribution of agriculture to the entire GDP is only about 15%. If manufacturing sector was developed, the population pressure on agriculture could be reduced. But, unfortunately this has not been possible till

now. We have definitely progressed in the service sector, but that sector has been able to provide employment only to high skilled professionals. On the other hand, farmers are troubled by the double loss due to the climate change and the economic liberalization. Still about a quarter of the population is below the poverty line. Therefore, the desired improvement in the quality of life of the people has not been achieved till now.

Food for Thought

- How did the route of industrial revolution lie in socio-economic-political changes which Europe had witnessed since the last three centuries?
- How did the industrial revolution in Britain create hurdles in the way of industrialisation in others?
- How did the countries like Germany, Russia and Japan chart their separate path of industrialisation?
- How can the social impact of the industrial revolution in Britain be compared with social impact of economic policy in India presently?
- How did Japan experiment with its own model of industrialisation and what impact did it produce on Asian continent?

■■■

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

Communist Manifesto (1848): In the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx said that 'be unite workers of the world, you have nothing to lose except a series of misery, but you can conquer the world in return. This proclamation of Marx put the proletarian movement parallel to the bourgeois movement and gave it a new identity. After this proclamation, it became clear that the future struggle of the proletariat would be primarily with the middle class and not with the monarchy and the nobility. Along with this, Marx also tried to balance bourgeois nationalism with proletarian internationalism through this declaration.

After studying the revolutions of 19th century, Marx realized that the bourgeoisie was opportunistic and selfish, using the proletariat as a subordinate force. But when their interests are fulfilled, they betray the revolution and even help the government to crush it. That's why he believed that the proletariat should have its own separate organization, separate programmes and separate leadership. In a sense, the Communist Manifesto tried to fill this void. Then Marx also realized that the bourgeoisie had many tools in their hands to divert the proletariat from their path. One of them was nationalism. As long as, workers are bound with nationalism, there will be no class consciousness in them. Therefore, Marx rejected the limits of this nationalism in his manifesto. However, he did not get much success on this front, as nationalism proved to be very long-lived and in the coming time it assimilated socialism in itself. However, the importance of Marx's proclamation lies in the fact that he was the first thinker who presented the outline of a world revolution.

Development of Constitutionalism: In the previous chapter, we have seen development of constitution in Britain and America. After French Revolution, France also prepared its written constitution. All above, France also became republican country. But if we take reign of Jacobian as exception, then French constitution was also based on limited franchise. After the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, constitutionalism also spread in other European countries. Further, country from western Europe to central Europe had adopted model of constitutional monarchy.

People's Politics - The biggest achievement of the French Revolution was the beginning of people's politics. Now people started taking part in politics and also started influencing everything from domestic policy to foreign policy.

Socialism

- The concept of equality was not a new phenomenon in history. The thinkers like Rousseau already declared that all are equal and all are descendants of nature. But in modern context, the concept of socialism is a product of industrial revolution. With the progress of industrial revolution the question of the exploitation of workers by capitalists emerged. Workers were compelled to live in very unhealthy and pitiable condition and to bear inhuman atrocities. The poor condition of workers drew the attention of some middle class thinkers first. They preferred to achieve their goal in a peaceful manner. They came to be known as early socialists.

■ **Similarities between the liberal thinkers and the early socialists:-**

1. Both were middle class intellectuals i.e. they belonged to the same social background.
2. Both believed in peaceful transformation but not revolution.

■ **Points of Dissimilarities :-**

1. While the liberal thinkers pleaded for a minimal state, the early socialists demanded the active role of the state and the direct government intervention in economy for uplifting the condition of workers i.e. maximal state.
2. While the liberals were inspired by the interest of the middle-class, but the early socialists by interest of the lower-class.

■ **The Early Socialist Thinkers: -**

- **Saint Simon:-** Saint Simon was a leading thinker of his time. Saint Simon suggested that nature has abundant

resources so in place of competing with each other all should exploit the resources with combined efforts the requirement of all will be fulfilled. He gave the slogan that 'from each according to his capacity to each according his work'. His view got wider audience at the time of the revolutions of 1830s but after the relative failure of these revolutions his popularity declined, sharply.

- **Charles Fourier:-** Another French thinker, Charles Fourier, presented a solution which was a bit different from that of Simon. He believed people should live either in a village or in a Qasba in place of a town in order to avert the condition of economic exploitation. He recommended the formation of flanges, which was the cooperative organization of nearly 1600 farmers and which had to function on the principle of collective farming and distribution of benefits among all members. But the initiative for the formation of such organization was taken in USA not in Europe.

- **Robert Owen:-** Being a British Industrialist, he laid the foundation of industry in Scotland. In this industry he provided all facilities for the working class then he came to realize that through extending better facilities to workers even the profit of the industry increased. Thus, he came to the conclusion; a satisfied worker is a real worker.

- **Louis Blanc:-** Up to 1832 the failure of utopian socialism became almost clear. Thus, some socialist thinkers emerged and activists who were more pragmatic in their approach. Louis Blanc was one of them. He advocated political power as a prelude

to economic empowerment of workers. He believed if the government would fall under the control of the workers only then the government could do something substantial for the betterment in their condition. He advised the government to open social workshops which could provide essential technology and capital to workers so that the workers could have been economically enabled for self-reliant. He asserted that if we were to define our conception of the state our answer would be that the state is the banker of the poor. The government would finance and supervise the production and the formation of social workshops.

- His ideas influenced the policy of the government of Louis Philip which had been formed after the Revolution of 1830. Then after the Revolution of 1848 he was inducted in to ministry. In this status he carried a number of reforms in favour of working class including opening of social workshops. But progressive reforms created a sense of fear among middle class people which strengthened the hand of new president, Louis Napoleon III, who brought a coup against the republic and

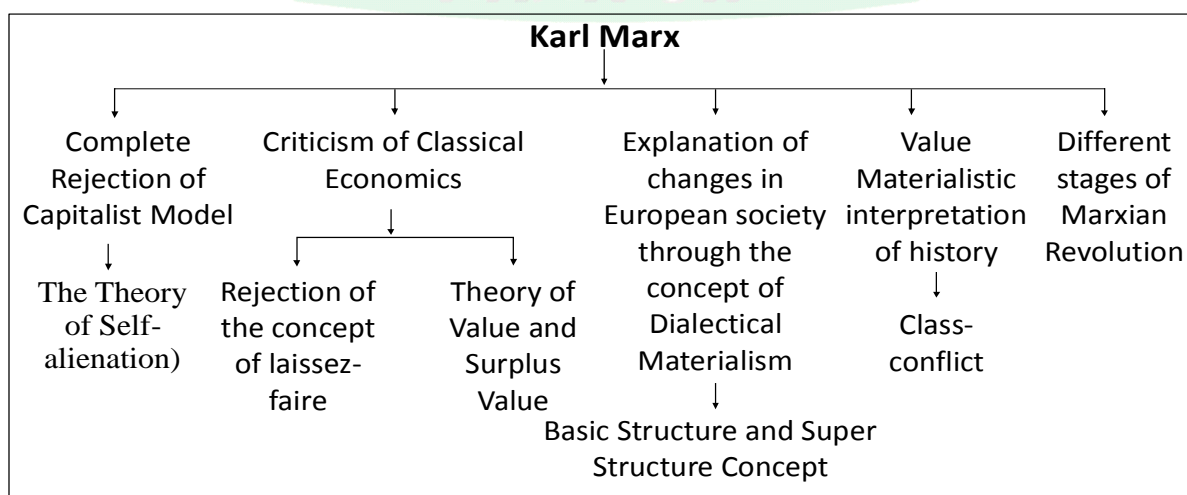
seized the power. So, progress of socialist ideas was checked in France very early.

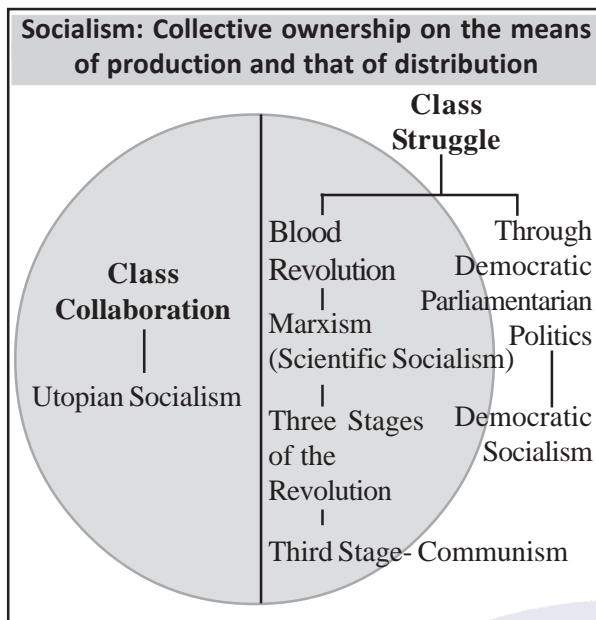
- **Positive Contributions of Early Socialist Thinkers:** - They were the earliest thinkers who raised the issue of the exploitation of labour by capital. So, they also worked as an ideological inspiration behind Marxism. Marx is supposed to be a member of the 'League of Just' which was inspired by the ideology of Saint Simon.

■ **Limitations:-**

- Very like the thinkers of the age of Enlightenment they believed in the basic goodness of man and perfectibility of the world. They believed in peaceful transformation but not in revolution. In fact, they were scared about the consequences of French Revolution as the revolution had started to devour its own children. They believed in the theory of class collaboration so it is through cooperation they tried to bring the change. Thus, on ground level hardly could they bring any substantial change in relation between capitalists and workers. That's why they were called Utopian socialist. Later Marx learnt a lesson from their failure and he went ahead of them.

Scientific Socialism or Marxism





■ **The above diagram interprets the following facts:-**

1. Socialism is a broad concept and Marxism is a part of it. Therefore all Marxists belong to socialist, but all socialists do not belong to Marxist.
2. More or less, all the socialists were guided by the same objective, that was the establishment of an egalitarian society, but there was a profound difference on the issue of the means of achieving the goal. Some socialists wanted to achieve this goal through class-collaboration, but Karl Marx considered it impractical and he talked about adopting violent means by emphasizing class-struggle.
3. Marx determined three stages of proletarian revolution. He characterized the third stage as the stage of a classless and stateless society. Marx called this stage as 'Communism', but this stage remained synonymous with Marxism and proved to be Utopia for Marx himself.

■ **Marxism-**

- As an extreme form of socialism Marxism put a question mark to capitalist mode of production. Marx had earlier become a member of an organization, League of Just, along with his friend and colleague, Engels, then he changed its name as Communist League. In fact, he was largely

influenced by the famous text written by Engels on exploitative nature of industrialization, 'The condition of working class in Britain'. At the dawn of the year of revolutions in Europe in 1848, Marx in association with Engels presented his famous 'Communist Manifesto' in which he declared that 'workers of the world unite. You are nothings to lose but only chains.....'. This declaration proved a land mark in that after this incident lower class revolution was separated from that of middle class forever. Then in 1868, Karl Marx authored the first part of 'Das Kapital', while Engels completed its second and third parts.

Specific Features of Marxism

1. Complete rejection of capitalist model:

- **The theory of self-alienation:** - Marxian theory of self-alienation focuses over the exploitative nature of industrial society. According to this theory, it is said that what makes man different from animal is 'rationalism' but in actual sense it is man's capacity to work which makes man different and distinctive. Actually when man works and the fruit of the work goes to him, the man gets creative joy but if he works but its fruits are reaped by some other person in that situation he develops a sense of self-alienation. In the industrial society workers naturally develops a sense of self-alienation as the workers are deprived from fruits of their labour. Then Marx gives a solution too. The workers can come out from this situation provided they develop a sense of class-consciousness. In other words if he links his self to that of his class he will be come out from the situation of self-alienation.

2. Criticism of classical economics:

- **Rejection of the concept of laissez-faire (free market)** – Adam Smith propounded the theory of free market. It had the following aspects-

- i. The commodity market operates by its own internal laws, i.e. the laws of demand and supply.
- ii. There maintained a natural equilibrium in the interest among the producer, the consumer and the workers.

But Karl Marx challenged the above assumptions and emphasised on the following arguments -

- i. There is no equilibrium between the interests of the capitalists and the labours, because while the labour struggle for bread, the capitalists struggle for profit. So it is obvious that the bargaining power of the capitalists is much more than that of the labours and they force the labours to work for low wages.
 - ii. Furthermore, Karl Marx was aware of the negative impact of mechanization. According to him, machines easily replace human labour, so the bargaining power of the workers further decreases. Therefore, what Adam Smith calls free market is actually a monopoly-based economy of the capitalists.
- **Theory of Value and Surplus Value** – Karl Marx gave the theory of Surplus Value which was based on classical economics. In fact, according to the classical economists, capital and labor play a significant role in production. Labour increases the value of an object by giving shape to it. But according to Marx, in every production, as labour plays a very significant role but most of the profit is appropriated by the capitalists. So, the labour is deprived of its due share. Consequently, on the one hand, this

phenomena leads to the accumulation of capital while on the other it leads to the exploitation of labour. Moreover, when the capitalists invest this accumulated capital in other sectors, then the exploitation of other workers also started. Therefore, Marx believes that industrial society is inherently unjust.

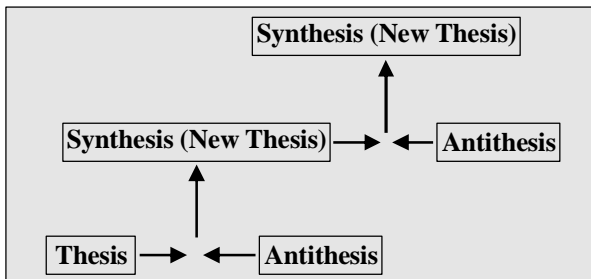
3. Explanation of changes in European society through the concept of Dialectical Materialism-

- **Different stages of development of European society** – Just as Charles Darwin argued about the gradual evolution of species in nature, Marx conceived the gradual evolution of European society. Marx divides European society into following stages-

Primary Communism -> Slavery System -> Feudalism -> Capitalism -> Socialism.

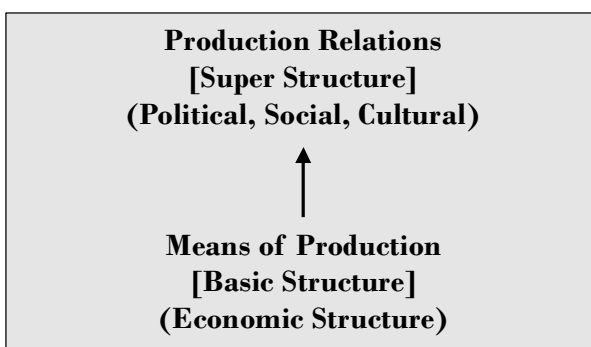
- According to Marx, society comes from one stage to another stage due to material change.
- **The Formula of Change– Dialecticism:** - In order to explain change he propounded the theory of dialectical materialism. In fact, Marx borrowed the concept of dialecticism from Hegel, a great German philosopher of 19th century. He was an Idealistic thinker. Hegel took dialecticism as a basic factor of change but, as he was an idealistic thinker so he conceived this dialecticism on an ideological basis. According to him, whenever there is a change in ideology it brings changes in society. But how the ideology changes, for this he gave the concept of dialectics. Hegel represented this dialecticism through the terms- 'Being', 'Not being' and 'Becoming'.
- Marx was greatly influenced by this concept. He was basically a materialistic scholar, so he applied it to the material base i.e. the means of production. So his dialecticism reflected itself through the

concept of class-conflict. He coined the term 'Thesis', 'Anti-thesis' and 'Synthesis'. On this basis he explained the changes in European society. According to him, if slavery was thesis and feudalism was anti-thesis, capitalism was synthesis. Similarly, if feudalism was thesis and capitalism was anti-thesis, socialism is synthesis.



4. Materialistic interpretation of history and Class-conflict:-

- Marx explains the change through basic structure and super structure relations. He calls economic structure or the means of production as the basic structure. He emphasizes that struggle goes on between two classes in order to have the control over the means of production. Then the class which emerges to be victorious develops control over the means of production. But as class struggle is not still over that's why he conveniently brings certain changes in political, social and cultural structure which Marx calls super structure. It was characterized as production relation as well. So, Marx proved that super structure is not independent rather it is shaped by the basic structure. In other words, it is the economic or material factor which gives shape to political change, social change, ideological change etc.



5. Different stages in Marxian Revolution:-

- First stage or Direct action:-** According to Marx, the proletariat class (industrial working class) could make an attack on the government through a bloody revolution and it will seize the power.
 - Second stage or the dictatorship of the proletariat:-** After seizing the power, the proletariat class could establish its dictatorship and while using the same state machinery through which bourgeoisie class had once exploited the proletariat, it would terminate the bourgeoisie class itself. Then it was during this stage the proletariat class should work for the spread of the revolution in other regions.
 - Third stage or Classless and stateless society:-** Naturally, a time will come when in every region there would be a dictatorship of the proletariat class. So, now there would be a single class that would be the proletariat class. After that, there would be no more any need for the state. Naturally, the state would wither away. This state was characterized as the stage of a classless and stateless society. Marx called this stage as 'Communism', but this stage proved to be Utopia for Marx himself.
- **Steps put forward by Karl Marx to organize workers in Europe:-**
- Karl Marx not only gave a strong ideological challenge to the contemporary capitalist model, but also made active efforts to spread that ideology. He believed that, the proletarian revolution will take place in the most industrialised nation because there will be maximum conflict between the interest of capitalist class and working class. It will lead to the excessive exploitation of workers and a sense of class consciousness will develop among them. Therefore, in London, he tried to organize the workers of Britain by forming a Workingmen's Association. Then, in 1864, he formed the 'Socialist

International' and tried to propagate his ideas through it. It could not last long, very soon it was disintegrated.

■ **The Impact of Marxism on Europe:-**

- Marx remained active during the Revolutions of 1848 but after the failure of Revolutions the progressive elements in society were suppressed and the reactionary elements resurfaced. Thus for some time even Marx was relegated to the background. But Crimean war turned to be a watershed in European history. It gave a serious jolt to old order in Europe and prepared the way for further changes.
- Marx once again became active during 1860s, and he formed the socialist international in 1864. Marx's motive was to organize the workers of Britain and France and to prepare them for revolution. Socialist international included, apart from Marxists, moderate socialists, anarchists and other thinkers as well.
- Although very soon socialist international collapsed but it encouraged changes in Europe. Firstly, now the workers turned from economic demands towards political demands. Now their objective was to capture political power. Secondly, political movements intensified in central and eastern Europe.
- Labour movement became intense in Britain. A major strike was organised at London dockyard in 1889. After that the Labour party was formed in London and it carried out various welfare works for the laborers. Thus Marxism's influence was on wane in Britain.
- After the battle of Sedan and the fall of Louis Napoleon III, Marxists became active in France. They toppled the government of Paris in 1871 and maintained their control over the government for two months. But soon reactionary forces overpowered them and their government declined. This government was known as Paris Commune.
- Social Democratic Party was formed in Germany. This party was also influenced by Marxism. Its objective was to topple the government by means of Proletariat revolution and capture the power. So, German Chancellor, Bismarck gave emphasis over welfare works to check the influence of this party. Finally the German working class diverted from the objective of revolution. Then Socialist Democratic Party too changed its objective. It now concentrated on entering the government by democratic process and work for socialist transformation. Apart from these countries, Marxists were active in other countries as well like Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland etc. But nowhere they get success in carrying out Proletariat revolution. Marx died in 1883.
- According to the prophecy of Marx, the proletarian revolution would take place in those countries which were most industrialized. So such revolution had to take place in Britain or Western Europe or in Germany. It is said that Marx himself organised the first Socialist International in order to spread socialist ideas in Europe. But in spite of the best of the efforts by Marx the condition of revolution was averted in Western Europe and in Germany.
- **Why was revolution averted in Western Europe?**
- Actually Marx undermined the capacity of capitalism to adapt itself to new challenges. Due to following factors the condition of revolution was averted -
 - i. Bourgeoisie class and the aristocratic class formed a joint front against rising proletariat class.
 - ii. Growing benefit of imperialism was the second factor. In other words, capitalists of Europe moved to colonies for fresh exploitation and spared their workers for some time. Rather the capitalists of Europe gave some profit to their workers

from the wealth they had carried from the colonies.

iii. After a threat from Marxism, west European governments introduced welfare measures for their workers. So naturally their workers were diverted from the path of revolution.

- **Did Marxism turn to be complete failure?**
- We can't accept this view. Although throughout 19th century nowhere any revolution of Marxian type could occur and Marx died in 1883 with his unrealized dream. But it is equally true that the spectre of Marxist revolution changed the behaviour of capitalism. Then West European governments adopted welfare measures for workers and in most of the constitutions of Western Europe the term 'Socialist Republic' was consciously introduced.
- **Progress of individualism parallel to Marxism**
- Just after Communist Manifesto, Charles Darwin composed 'Origin of species' in 1859. In this book Darwin argued that there is gradual development of species in nature. The more powerful and capable species survived while the weaker ones get eliminated. Thus Darwinism laid stress on merit and competition.
- Then the theory of social Darwinism was developed by Herbert Spencer (British thinker). He propounded the theory of 'Survival of Fittest'. Social Darwinism criticized the welfare policies of the government and argued that it is against the law of nature. In a healthy competition the stronger should survive and progress and the weaker should get eliminated.
- In this way social Darwinism encouraged rightist ideology which led to militarism, racism and imperialism in Europe. Thus in 19th century and the first half of the 20th century there started a conflict between the middle class and the lower class. Along with this socialism-Marxism

confronted ultra-nationalism, imperialism and militarism (Fascism).

Question: Marxian Communism is primarily the offspring of German Hegelianism and French Socialism. Comment.

Answer: Marxism was an extreme form of socialism and factors like the ideas of the French socialists and that of the German philosopher, Hegel played an important role in motivating it.

Role of French Socialists-

- French socialists like Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Louis Blanc inspired Marx in the following ways-
- 1. First of all, the French socialists exposed the exploitative nature of industrialization.
- 2. It was the French socialists, who, for the first time, demanded that the benefits of industrialization should go to the working class also.
- 3. They appealed to the government to take concrete steps to protect the interests of the workers. Louis Blanc motivated the workers to attain political power.

Yet Hegel's contribution to Marxism is far greater. The above mentioned socialist thinkers talked about class-collaboration, but Hegel's philosophy inspired Karl Marx for class-struggle. Marx borrowed the concept of dialecticism from Hegel and applied it to the material base, i.e. the means of production and he developed the concept of 'dialectical materialism'. So his dialecticism reflected itself through the concept of class-conflict.

Thus, Marxism is indebted to the ideologies of French socialism and that of Hegel.

Question: Critically examine the impact of Marxism on 19th century Europe.

Answer: In the 19th century, Karl Marx not only made a fierce ideological attack on capitalism, but also presented a complete framework for the working class movement. It is a matter of fact that he was partially successful in his objective.

Steps put forward by Marx-

1. He presented the framework of proletarian revolution while attacking the capitalist mode of production.
2. He formed the Workingmen's Association to organize the workers of Britain.
3. He tried to bring the consciousness about revolution among the workers by forming the Socialist International in 1864.

Impact-

Workers' activities increased in countries like Britain, France, Germany etc. For example, the Paris Commune in 1871, the progress of the Social Democratic Party in

Germany, and the formation of the Labor Party in Britain.

Although, it is true that nowhere this socialist revolution could take place or become successful but it is equally true that it was the fear of Marxism that changed the behaviour of the bourgeoisie government of western Europe. Now the capitalist governments took a welfare character and almost all the nations adopted universal suffrage.

Despite its partial success, Marxism remained the biggest threat to the capitalist world for nearly 150 years.

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

Important Thinkers of 19th century and their influence

Karl Marx, Charles Darwin and Friedrich Nietzsche were prominent thinkers who left a deep impact in the history of 19th century. As we know that Marx tried to explain economic relations through scientific method. In the same way, Charles Darwin explained the origin of human and various species through scientific method. He wrote 'Origins of Species' in 1859. In this book, he showed that the evolution of man took place in a gradual manner. There was constant struggle among various species. Among them those who were weak were wiped out and those who were strong came forward. In this way, powerful species evolved gradually from weak species. On the basis of it, the concept of Survival of the Fittest came to light. Darwin's ideology produced the following effect.

First, the Christian concept regarding the origin of the world, under which the earth was believed to be only a few thousand years old, collapsed and a scientific ideology emerged in relation to the origin of earth.

Secondly, though Charles Darwin's theory was in the context of the origin of the earth and animals only, but some individualist thinkers tried to apply it in social relations as well. This came to be known as 'Social Darwinism'. Herbert Spencer was an important thinker in this context. Before Darwin, He had already propounded the theory of survival of the fittest in social context. After Darwin's theory of evolution, this idea got further impetus. Herbert Spencer was just opposite to Marx. If Marx was a radical socialist, Herbert Spencer was a radical individualist. Herbert Spencer believed that even in the society the talented person should get the opportunity to progress and the weak people should be wiped out. Under the influence of this idea, he opposed the welfare works being done by the government. In his view, this would lead to wastage of state resources and efforts would be futile to save the weak. On the basis of this idea, he justified war also

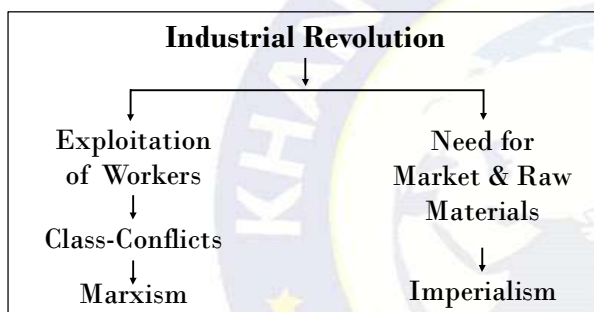
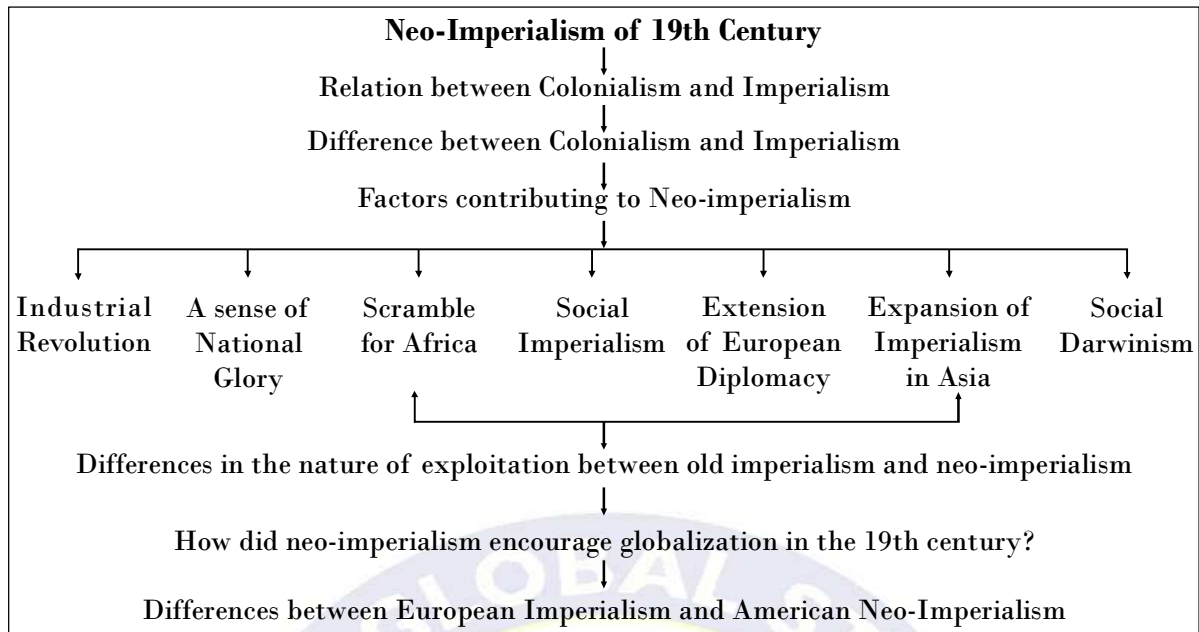
because through it, the weak are destroyed and the powerful get an opportunity to move forward. This idea of Spencer made a deep impact on American capitalists and they emphasized on open competition. Further, the influence of Social Darwinism was also visible on radical nationalists in Europe like Mussolini and Hitler.

Another thinker of the 19th century was Nietzsche. His thinking was also radical. He challenged all the ideas that had evolved since Plato. He declared that there is neither a single truth nor a single path leading to the truth. In a way, this ideology also became a precursor of post-modernism.

Just after these thinkers, another thinker emerged in the early decade of the 20th century. He was Sigmund Freud. If Marx applied the scientific method to the economic field and Darwin to the Earth and human evolution, Freud applied it to the study of human psychology and various approaches to life. The method he developed is called Psychoanalysis. He changed the basis of the analysis of human personality and tried to prove that human's work behaviour is more influenced by his subconscious mind than conscious one. As a result, it is now difficult to categorise a person between good and bad.

All the thinkers mentioned above gave a different direction to the history of the 19th century to the early 20th century and indirectly contributed to the First World War.





■ **Relation between Colonialism and Imperialism :-**

- The term 'Imperialism' became prevalent in the late 19th century. There is contradiction and debate about the relation between colonialism and imperialism. Generally, it is considered that if a nation establishes its political and economic control over another nation, this scenario is called imperialism. If the mother country formulates an economic policy for the exploitation of the colony it is called colonialism.

■ **Difference between colonialism and Imperialism (Neo-colonialism) :-**

- From the 16th and 17th century onwards the way for colonisation of the world was prepared by phenomena like geographical discovery and commercial revolution.

Colonialism was associated with commercial capitalism but old colonialism or imperialism was associated with industrial and financial capitalism. But during the end of the 18th century colonialism started to decline. This had following reasons -

1. The American war of independence gave a serious jolt to colonialism because it proved that they could not rely on the colony for their benefit for an unlimited period.
2. Furthermore, some of the important scholars of that time like Adam Smith, Richard Cobden and even James Mill through his text 'Wealth of Nations' started an ideological battle against mercantilism and colonialism. So, naturally, during this period European nations developed a sense of disenchantment with colonialism.
3. In the meantime, a liberation movement started in the Latin American colonies of Spain and Portugal. After 1815, under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, these colonies got independence.

4. Later in 1823, the declaration of '**Munro Doctrine**' in American continent gave a serious threat to European colonialism.
- From the 1870s onwards colonialism reappeared in altered form. That came to be known as '**Neo-Imperialism**'. What could be the reason behind this? A radical reformist J. A. Hobson in his famous text '**Imperialism- a Study**' tries to explain this situation. According to him, capitalism worked as an engine for imperialism. He tried to establish that the capitalist class in its enthusiasm for excessive profit deprives its labour class of its due share in profit. It leads to the shrinking of the market for industrial products. Therefore to compensate it, the capitalist class moves to capture other market.
- **Factors contributing to Neo-imperialism:-**
1. **Impact of the Industrial Revolution-** The intellectuals like Hobson, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg etc. linked the rise of imperialism with capitalism. Capitalism can be determined as a driving factor-
 - a. **The market for manufactured goods -** European powers were searching for the market for their products due to two factors. First, the volume of production was too large that domestic market could not provide enough demand and second, almost all European countries were imposing duties on the products from other European countries.
 - b. **Search for raw materials-** Industrial revolution demanded larger volume of raw materials.
 - c. **Capital investment-** It was a big question for imperial power where to invest the accumulated capital. Colonies became preferred destination because of availability of cheap labour. Cheap labour could ensure better profit.
2. **A Sense of national glory-** The Industrial Revolution was definitely a major factor, but it was not the only factor. We also have examples of countries which were not much industrialised, but were more imperialistic in their approach e.g. France. Therefore, somewhere the rise of neo-imperialism was also linked to a sense of national glory. For example, the British declared that there is no sunset in our empire while Germany gave a counter declaration- we also need land under the sun. USA declared that the 20th century is for Americans while the Japanese proclaimed that Asia is for the Asians.
3. **Social Imperialism-** The sense of national glory was deeply linked to even the important domestic issues of western powers. In fact, most of the governments were worried about the progress of the socialist and communist parties in their countries and these parties tried to promote class conflict. So, as a countermeasure, the western power preferred to export this conflict from internal to the external front so that the attention of the people from domestic issues could be diverted to the external front. In this way, Imperialism could serve the interest of the western governments in a better way. This is characterised as 'social imperialism'.
4. **Extension of European Diplomacy-** One important factor which promoted imperialism was the role of European diplomacy. For example, Germany under Bismarck was inclined to prevent the conflict of powers in Europe, so he consciously diverted European powers from Europe to African continent. Bismarck once forcefully declared that I see the map of Africa while sitting here in Europe and at his initiative, there was convening of the Berlin Congress in 1884. In this Congress, Africa was partitioned.

5. **Social Darwinism**– Social Darwinism was inspired by the racial superiority and it proclaimed that war and struggle was necessary to strengthen the nation. Therefore, social darwinism also encouraged aggressive foreign policy and imperialism.
6. In the search for colonies, even **Christian Missionaries** played some role. They encouraged their respective government to make expansion in the new region, where they could work to spread Christianity.

Practice Questions:-

1. *'The neo-colonialism of the 19th century was inspired by a sense of national glory, not by the economic factors.'* Critically examine the statement.
2. *Do you consider that the only industrial revolution was responsible for the neo-colonialism of the 19th century? Give answer in favor of your view.*

■ Partition of Africa -

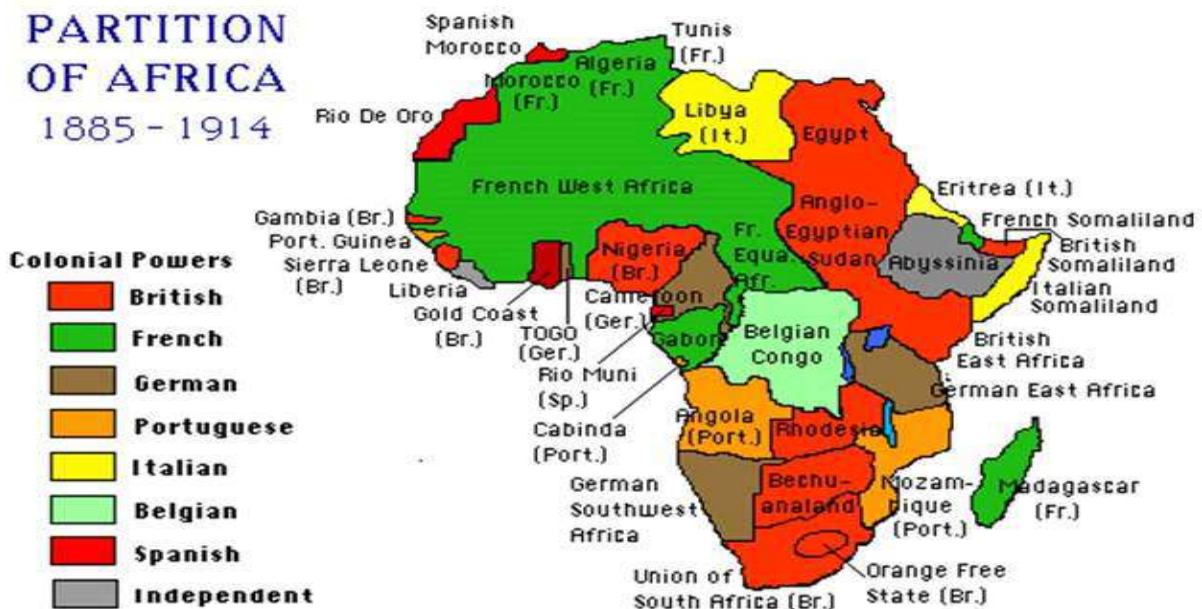
- From the viewpoint of geographical distance, the African continent was much near to Europe. Earlier European powers simply colonised the coastal regions and kept themselves away from the interior part. But after the 1880s, Africa was partitioned by European powers within 20 years and except Ethiopia and Liberia, all

the regions were under the control of European powers. This was the result of the 'Scramble for Africa' between the European powers.

■ Factors inspired European countries to penetrate the regions of Africa up to the end of 19th century–

1. After the discovery of 'Quinon' (anti-malaria) it was easy to fight against malaria. Apart from that, the invention of Machine guns helped to subdue African tribal chiefs.
2. European nations were attracted towards the exclusive products of Africa, which includes palm oil, mining materials, platinum, gold, rubber etc.
3. Furthermore, after the industrial revolution in search of the raw materials as well as market for their manufactured products, the European nations attracted towards African continent.
4. **Extension of European diplomacy**– The rivalry among the European powers on the issue of Africa enhanced to such an extent that it could take the form of an all European war. On the other hand, German Chancellor Bismarck wanted to avoid war at all cost. Therefore, at his initiative, there was convening of the Berlin Congress in 1884. In this Congress, Africa was

PARTITION OF AFRICA 1885 - 1914



partitioned. In the Berlin-African Congress 14 countries participated including the USA and Turkey. But surprisingly, no African states were given representation.

- **Distribution of African territories among European nations**– After the Berlin-African Congress of 1884, the scenario of the African continent was as follows-

Britain – Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda etc.

France – a big chunk of the region in North West Africa including Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco etc.

Italy – Libya, Somaliland etc.

Germany – Cameroon, Namibia, Tanzania etc.

Belgium – Congo.

■ **Impact of the Partition**–

- **Political Impact of the Partition** - The partition of Africa sowed the seeds of future conflicts within Africa. Actually the European powers just tried to impose a nation-state system modelled on the Treaty of Westphalia on African continent, while the basic identity in Africa was tribal not territorial. So, artificially different tribes were clubbed together as a single nation. But some tribes were hostile to each other and they didn't like this merger. As long as the national liberation movement continued, somehow unity and integrity was maintained among different tribes in the face of a common enemy i.e. colonial power. But soon after the exit of the colonial powers from this continent the old tribal feuds resurfaced and African nations like Ethiopia and Sudan disintegrated. This is not the end of the story as many other African nations have been facing the same problem.
- **Economic impact of the Partition** - Its economic impact was equally destructive. Economically, Africa was divided into two

regions. One region was in the control of European capitalists and had European technologies. This region was more developed, but the profit of this development could not pass to the concerned region, as it was under complete control of the metropolitan state (controlled by Europeans). The other regions still used traditional means of production and were controlled by Africans. African agriculture remained backward and despite its contact with Europe the African industries could not develop. Thus we can see that although Europeans benefitted the African economy, but Africa couldn't gain from European industrialisation.

Question: Africa was chopped into states artificially created by accident of European competition. Analyse. (UPSC-2013)

Answer: Africa continent was closest to Europe than other continents. Nevertheless, before 1880, European countries had shown their keen interest in spreading to other continents. In case of Africa they were confined to the coastal areas. But after 1880, they started spreading rapidly in the mainland of Africa. This resulted in the partition of Africa within twenty years. If we consider the main reasons for its partition, then we find that if the Industrial Revolution attracted European countries to Africa because of the need for raw materials and markets, then it was the European diplomacy which partitioned it into small pieces.

However, in order to reduce mutual competition and tension among European countries, 'Berlin Congress' was organized in 1884-85 and it divided the continent of Africa. This resulted in French control over Tunisia, Algeria and other regions. At the same time Britain occupied Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda etc. it was distributed so much so that even nations like Italy and Germany, which were unified later, did not lag behind in this

process. Italy and Germany also acquired a large chunk of land in Africa.

As we know that, African society was a tribal society, but European nations tried to impose their national political system on them. But this system was not suiting to the African society. This was the reason that, after the departure of the European powers, tribal tensions, civil wars and disintegration became too frequent events in Africa.

Thus we see that while the Industrial Revolution paved the way for the partition of the continent of Africa, European diplomacy practically implemented it.

■ Expansion of imperialism in Asia -

- During the phase of imperialism, European powers expanded to Asia as well, but in the phase of neo-imperialism, the new regions were captured and brought under their control. (In fact, as per Munro doctrine the expansion to the west of the Atlantic was restricted). Different regions of Asia was occupied by different powers like -

Britain – India, a part of Iran, Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaya Peninsula.

Russia – Siberia, Mongolia, North Persia.

Japan – Korea, Taiwan etc.

Holland – Indonesia

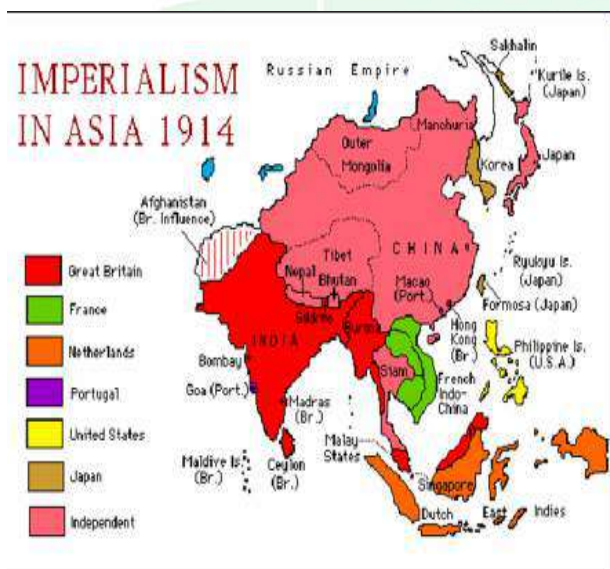
France – Vietnam

■ American Neo-Colonialism:

- The USA was the first colony to be liberated. After its liberation its first priority was to expand in its own continent. In one sense expansionism and imperialism are inherent in the American gene.
- With a slogan of “Manifest Destiny” the USA made a westward expansion and colonized new regions in its neighborhood in North America. Up to 1868 American westward expansion was almost over with the annexation of Alaska, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii Islands etc. When the USA faced the problem of overproduction, it was in need of a new market. So it planned a naval expansion in the Asia-Pacific region. Furthermore, in 1898 USA fought a war with Spain on the issue of Cuba & Philippines. After this war Cuba & Philippines were liberated and the Philippines was converted into a semi-colony of America. The USA tried to cover its colonial greed under the garb of an ideology. A British poet Rudyard Kipling composed a famous poem ‘White man’s burden’. In other words it was asserted that it is a white man’s responsibility to civilize the black. So it was known as American Neo-colonialism.

Question: How was American neo-imperialism in the Philippines different from Dutch imperialism in Indonesia and French imperialism in Indo-China?

Answer: The United States was pressurised due to Industrialization to acquire a market. But it was the first colony to gain independence and promoted itself as a symbol of liberation from colonial rule. That’s why it wanted to establish its colonies, but did not want to present itself as a colonizer. Due to this compulsion, on the one hand, it started its expansion policy in the Pacific region, while on the other hand it tried to legitimize the policy of expansion. American



neo-imperialism needs to be understood in this context.

The United States waged war against Spain on the issue of Cuba and the Philippines. Then it freed Cuba as well as the Philippines from the Spanish rule. It wanted to label this war with a different name. America stated that the war was fought for the independence of the Philippines. But in reality Philippines became the semi-colony of America. America announced that it was working for the growth and development of the Philippines. It was the time when an English poet Rudyard Kipling introduced the concept of 'White Man's Burden' and he tried to prove that it should be the responsibility of white people to civilize blacks.

This model of imperialism was certainly different from the Dutch and French models in East Asia as the Dutch and the French were openly exploiting in Indonesia and Indo-China respectively. These powers had established direct control over these colonies and used them as markets for finished goods and suppliers of raw materials. The Dutch had established a new system of exploitation in Indonesia. It has been named 'Dutch Culture System'.

In contrast, the American model established indirect control over the colony and legitimized American imperialism by declaring their objective as civilization and development of the colony. It was a sophisticated version of imperialism hence it is called neo-colonialism.

■ **Differences in the nature of exploitation between old imperialism and neo-imperialism –**

- **Old imperialism** - Old imperialism was inspired by commercial capitalism so under old imperialism exploitation occurred in many ways. Firstly, procurement of the goods of the colonies with the money earned from the colonies only, i.e. the colonies did not get any benefit in return. The cost of maintaining

colonies was outweighed the benefits accruing from them. Secondly, they looted precious metal from the colonies.

- **New imperialism** - This was inspired by industrial capitalism and this phase of imperialism also exploited the colonies in following ways -

1. Under new imperialism, colonies were converted into the producer of raw materials and importer of finished goods.
2. It led to the destruction of the traditional industries of colonies, which is known as deindustrialization.
3. Imperialist power developed the modern transport and communication system like railways and telegraph to exploit the market of colonies.
4. The European education system was implemented in the colonies so that it could create a class of society that would be attracted towards the industrial products of the mother country. In this way, the society of the colonies get divided.

Ques: Neo-Colonialism of 19th century was the product of a nationalistic phenomenon but not an economic one. Do you agree?

Ans: In the progress of neo-colonialism or imperialism during the second half of 19th century, nationalism definitely worked as a major catalyst particularly in context of those nations which were much advanced from the perspective of imperialist expansion but not equally advanced from that of industrialization. In spite of that, the role of economic factor should not be denied.

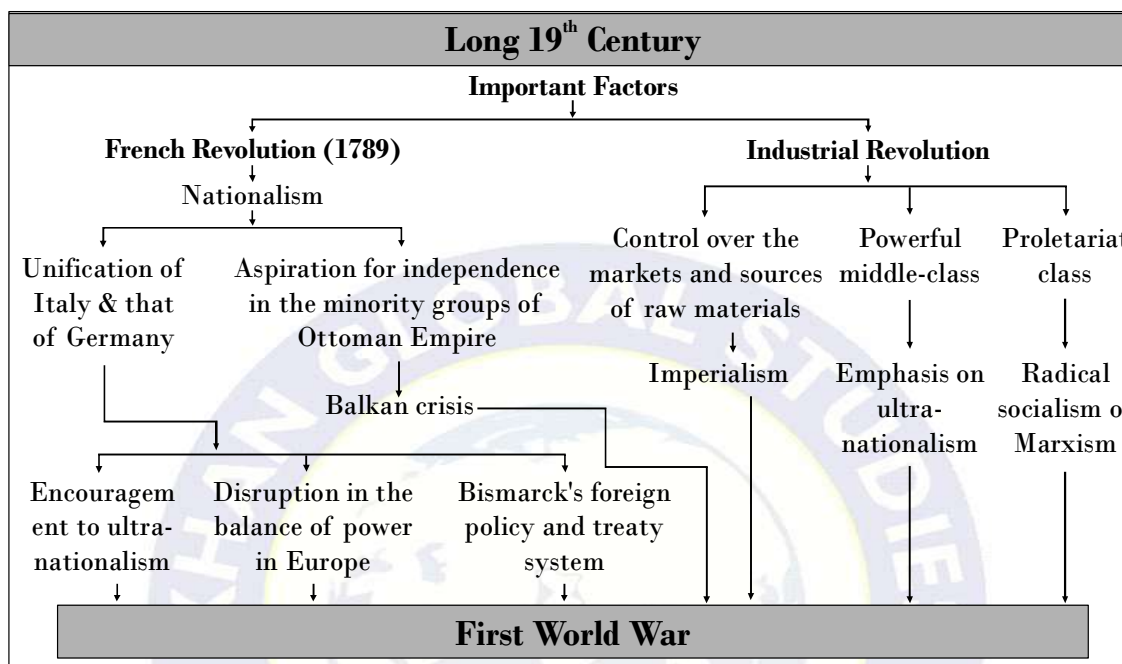
It is true that some nations like France, could achieve uncommon progress in land-grabbing particularly in African continent in spite of the fact that France lagged behind others on the front of industrialization. So, it seems that in context of France, nationalism worked as a major variable. Not simply France but almost all imperialist powers were guided, at least partially, by a sense of national glory. A British declared that there is no sunset in

our empire. In a reply, there appeared welt politics in Germany and its counter slogan stated that German race had to prevail in the world. In this way nationalism added fuel to the fire of imperialism.

But at the same time it was industrial revolution which added a strong material

motive to new-colonialism. Industrial revolution intensified the demand for market for industrial products and the source for new materials. Therefore, major industrial powers moved to the colonies.

Therefore, neo-colonialism should be explained in context of nationalistic and economic factor both.



Question:- The 19th century was a very long century which started from 1789 and ended in 1914. Comment.

Answer: The 19th century has been considered as a long century and an attempt has been made to prove that it started with the French Revolution and ended with the First World War. The following are the logical grounds behind this idea-

The 19th century was the century of two revolutions viz the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. Both the revolutions created such conditions that led to the First World War.

Revolution of France-

1. The French Revolution gave birth to nationalism, but very soon this nationalism took the form of ultra-nationalism.

2. Germany was unified under the influence of nationalism, but due to this the balance of power collapsed in Europe.
3. Under the influence of nationalism, the Balkan crisis took place, which eventually culminated in the First World War.

Industrial Revolution-

1. As a result of the industrial revolution, the European powers once again turned to imperialism to get markets and raw materials. Then the rivalry between the imperialist powers led to the First World War.
2. On one hand industrial revolution gave birth to a strong middle class, on the other it also paved the way for a proletariat class. Furthermore, the sense of ultra nationalism and national glory developed in the middle class worked as a catalyst for neo-imperialism. On the other, the

influence of Marxism on the proletariat encouraged class-struggle in most of the European countries and the threat of Marxist revolution emerged there. This encouraged the social imperialism.

Therefore, ideologies like nationalism and neo-imperialism developed from both the revolutions gave impetus to the First World War.

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

What was the globalization of the 19th century? How was it operated?

Even before the present era, the world has already attained a state of globalization. This development can be seen in the 19th century. In this period, the following factors that gave impetus to the process of globalization were-

1. Development of transport and communication systems like railways, steam-powered ships and telegraphs, and the opening of the Suez Canal increased the mobility.
2. Use of the gold standard as an international currency
3. The international economy was run by the imperialist powers. If any country refused to pay its debt, then these powers used to recover the debt forcefully from that country. This was seen in the context of Turkey, when the imperialist powers recovered the loan amount by force.

Impact of Imperialism on Western Countries-

Western countries benefited immensely from imperialism. First, the capital collected through imperialist exploitation was used for investment in industrialization. Secondly, after 1860, when the period of second industrialization came, they got many benefits from the colonies. In this period, capitalist industries obtained mining products as raw materials. Then, finished goods of mother country were exported to the market of colonies. For example, without establishment of Indian Railways, the British rail and steel industry would not have received that much impetus. Apart from this, colonial powers also used colonies for their capital investment. Thirdly, the demand of agriculture products increased in large amounts due to the increasing urbanization in the western countries. Thus, western imperialism exploited the agricultural economy of the colonies as well.

The colonial powers also had some indirect benefits from imperialism. In fact, industrial working class had been established in these imperialist countries as a result of industrialization. It paved the way for class struggle. This class struggle also supported imperialism in the respective country. In such a situation, they started running welfare programmes for their workers with the money brought from the exploitation of colonies. Then, workers left the path of revolution. Apart from this, due to the success of concerned country on the imperialist front, people's attention diverted from internal problems to the external front. This also hindered the progress of socialism.

Impact of imperialism on Colonies

It was a very miserable and painful experience for the colonies. The imperialist powers squeezed agricultural wealth of the colonies. Then, industrial products of the western countries gave a serious blow to the handicraft industries of the colonies. Due to this, the purchasing power of colonies decreased. Above all, European imperialism

exploited not only natural resources but also labour force of colonies. Earlier, slaves were sold on a large scale from the African continent. But by the second half of the 19th century, imperial tactics of exploitation began to change and this policy was coined as 'Whitemen's burden'. Therefore, now the slave system was replaced by the indentured labour. Indentured labour of the 19th century was also known as the 'New Slave System'. It is said that when the sun rises in the British Empire, the first ray falls on the Chinese islands. The British Empire developed its colonies in the Caribbean islands mainly Trinidad, Guyana and Suriname, Mauritius and Fiji and began sending indentured labour to those colonies. These workers were employed in various fields like mining, plantation, railway construction, but a large part of them was employed in sugar production.

Most of the indentured labourers were sent from present-day Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Central India and Tamil Nadu. Tamils were mainly sent to Sri Lanka and Malaya. In fact, when the slave system was formally abolished in the British colonies in 1833-34, it was compensated with indentured labour. Between 1834 and 1900, 5 lakh Indians were brought to Mauritius alone. Similarly, the first group of indentured labourers were brought to Guyana in 1838, but by 1917 their number reached upto two lakhs.

If we examine closely, we find that these indentured labourers did not migrate voluntarily to other countries but through exploitative British rule. In fact, the British industrial policy led to the decline of the Indian handicrafts industry. Due to this, a large number of Indians became unemployed. Similarly, due to the excessive rate of land revenue, farmers were losing their land and then they were forced to go somewhere as labour. Further 1900 CE onwards, Indian nationalist leaders strongly opposed this practice. Finally, this practice was abolished in 1921.

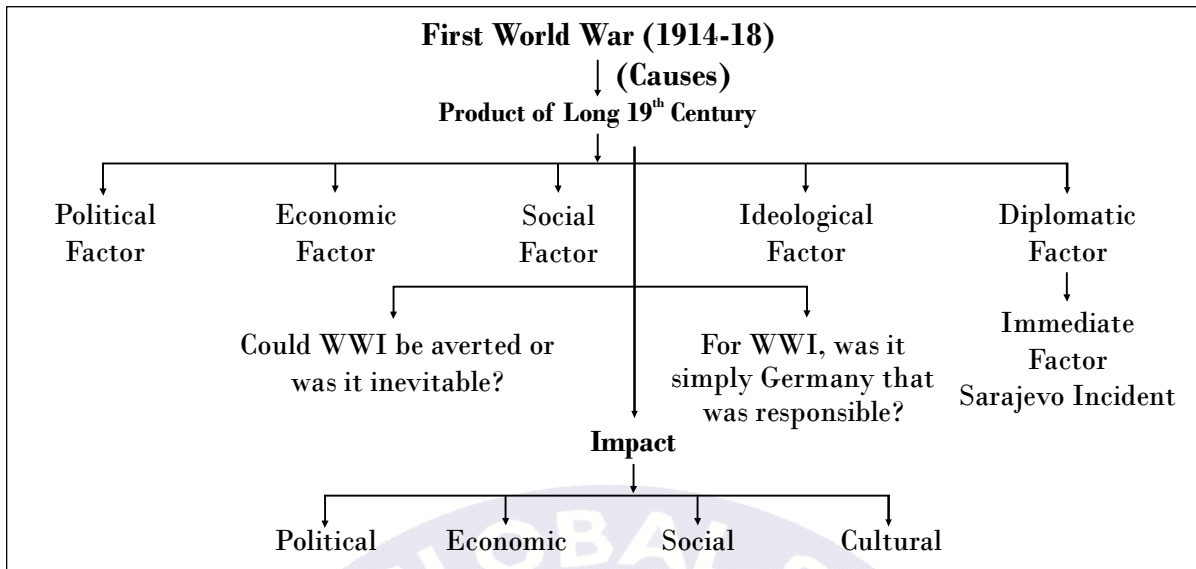
If we talk about their condition in the respective countries, then we find that some of them came back to India, but a large number settled in the country concerned. At present, majority of people in present-day Mauritius is of Indian origin. Some people of Indian origin made their mark on the global stage. Among them, Trinidad's VS Naipaul is prominent figure, who has also been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

These migrant people tried to alive their culture and identity. Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi etc. languages are also spoken in Mauritius along with Bhojpuri. Similarly, Indians came in Guyana with taste of spices and epic Ramayana. Sometimes, a situation of cultural tension has also been seen due to the emphasis on cultural identity in the area concerned. At many places, they also had to face racial discrimination.

Development of Constitutionalism

The European middle class had always emphasized on limited franchise, but fear of socialist revolution compelled capitalist governments to introduce welfare programmes for labours and also mentioned the word 'republican socialism' in the constitution.





■ **Factors responsible for the First World War:**

- The First World War was the culmination of Nationalism, Militarism and Imperialism, while the mutual distrust made a contribution to it. Although the war started on the issue of Sarajevo massacre, but for this incident a number of factors like economic, political, social and intellectual were accountable.

Political factors:-

- The treaty of Frankfurt and the alliance system developed by Bismarck is supposed to be a major factor behind the First World War. As we come to know, up to the beginning of 20th century, there was the creation of two big military alliances such as the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria & Italy) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France & Russia) in Europe. But, here we have to be cautious about the fact that after all, they were the defensive alliances. So, WWI was started after the Sarajevo massacre, not due to following the clauses of the treaty but to go beyond that. We can't take these alliances accountable for the war directly. But simultaneously, we can't undermine the role of the alliances behind the war. In fact, due to the presence

of the two military alliances, any conflict between the two nations used to result in an all-European question.

- Furthermore, the presence of military alliances led to military rivalry and the manufacturing of weapons. This measure created mutual distrust among European powers. Apart from that, it polluted public opinion as well. Above all, in course of the military preparation, the power of policymaking slipped out from the hand of civil authority to the military authority. It was a big danger for the future.



Economic factors :-

- A big economic factor before WWI was the Industrial Revolution. Industrial Revolution created multi-polar centres in Europe. So, after the Industrial Revolution, the imperialistic rivalry started along with the search for a market. Although imperialistic rivalry did not result in the First World War directly, it was having an indirect effect on the power equation. According to some critics, in one sense the industrial revolution worked as a safety valve as well.
- In fact, in course of Imperialistic expansion, the European powers were badly involved in the vast region of Asia and Africa, so Europe remained to be safe from the war. But, it is also true that the Imperialistic rivalry in Asia and Africa affected the power equation among European countries, so it created the situation for future war.

Social factors:-

- Behind WWI, even Social Imperialism was accountable. In other words, many European nations introduced aggressive foreign policy, while having them guided by their domestic policy. In fact, in many countries, the socialist and communist parties were making progress. So, in order to divert the attention of the people from domestic issues to foreign issues, aggressive foreign policy was introduced. This phenomenon also resulted in war and tensions.

Ideological factors:-

- Right from the time of Hegel, the state continued to be projected as a divine phenomenon. Hegel declared that the state is the march of God on earth. So, people developed great prestige for the nation. Likewise, a scientist of 19th century, Charles Darwin, propounded his famous theory "Origin of Species". In his

theory, he tried to prove that due to the conflict strong becomes stronger. This perception gave birth to Social Darwinism, which idealised war and conflict. In fact, the war was taken as a progressive phenomenon, such a perception changed the mentality of European people. So, when WWI started the European people enthusiastically welcomed the war.

Diplomatic factors:-

- One of the factors behind the war was the breakdown of the diplomatic process in Europe. There were two military alliances, but simultaneously, the diplomatic channel was not open. Due to the dearth of the diplomatic channel, a single incident at Sarajevo could result in a world war. If the diplomatic channel had been active through some diplomatic initiative the problems might have been solved. But unfortunately, this was not the case.

■ Could WWI be averted, or was it inevitable?

- Before coming to any conclusion, we have to observe the issues deeply. In fact, the assassination of a king and a prince was not such a big incident in itself that should have been resulted in a war. Even before this incident, the king of Italy and that of Portugal were assassinated in 1900 and 1909 respectively. But these incidents could not result in the war. So, the actual reason for the war was different and once we observe the deep cause then we come to the point that it was almost inevitable.
- Behind WWI, the basic interest of the European powers' was involved. For Italy, WWI was the extension of the unification of Italy. Through it, she would fulfill the unfinished agenda of unification. For Germany, it was a means for gaining the market. For Russia, the question was to maintain its credibility and to secure its

interest in the Balkan region. Likewise, for Austrian Empire, it was a last-ditch attempt for preventing its collapse. For Britain, WWI was a better means for maintaining the balance of power in Europe. Lastly, for France, there was a question for the restoration of her old power and prestige, which she had maintained before the battle of Sedan.

- In light of the basic interest of European powers mentioned above, we come to the conclusion that WWI was almost inevitable.
- **For WWI, was it simply Germany that was responsible?**
- Right from the time of the First World War there was a long controversy about Germany's responsibility behind that. Above all, the allied powers consciously made propaganda in this regard so that Germany could be awarded maximum punishment in Paris Peace Conference. Also, in the 'Treaty of Versailles', 'war guilt' clause was consciously imposed over Germany in the article 231 of the treaty. But on observation we find that although Germany could not be made free from the responsibility of the war but simultaneously even the allied powers made their own contribution in the war.
- Germany definitely created tensions in Balkan region by giving unconditional support to Austria on the issue of Serbia. But even Russia vitiated the situation further through giving support to Serbia on this issue. Even France showed irresponsible behaviour by giving support to Russia on this issue, in spite of the fact that she was not bound to support Russia on this specific matter. Now all hopes were on Britain, but as some critic has quipped that 'if other powers brought the world war through commission, Britain did it through omission'. In other words Britain

didn't make any serious attempt to resolve this issue at right time.

■ **The participants and the extent of the war:**

- **Central Powers** – Germany and Austria were the members of Central Power. Italy, despite being a member of the Triple Alliance, remained outside of this group because she believed that Austria was engaged in offensive war rather than a defensive conflict. Then Italy joined the group of Allied powers, whereas the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria joined the group of Central Powers.

- **Allied Powers** – Initially, it included Britain, France and Russia, then in 1915 Italy also joined this group on the basis of the secret Treaty of London and she was promised some territories in the Adriatic region. Similarly, the Allied powers made a secret deal with Japan in 1917 and she was assured the territory of Shantung in China. Likewise, China was also promised that the German occupied region of Shantung would be returned. So, China also joined this group. In April 1917, the United States also joined the Allied group. Rumania was already a member of it. But in 1917, Russia withdrew from the war, since there was an socialist revolution taking place in the country and it was going under a turmoil with internal revolution. Therefore, a total 22 countries participated in this war under the Allied powers.

■ **Why did the United States get involved in this war?**

1. The United States was determined to protect its markets in Britain and France.
2. Immediate cause- Germany's submarine attack on British passenger and merchant ship, which also had a large number of American citizens led the US Congress to declare war on Germany. Apart from that, British naval intelligence intercepted the

Zimmerman telegram, which urged Mexico to join the war effort on the side of Germany. British forwarded the intercepted telegram to the United States.

■ **Why is the First World War considered a Total war?**

1. Along with the soldiers, a large number of civilians also participated in this war.
2. The geographical extent of this war was very wide. It was fought not only in Europe, but also in other continents. It was fought on a massive scale, and involved millions of people.
3. The duration of this war was also relatively long. It was also a war of resources. The more resources the country had, the more it could survive in this war.
4. In this war, along with military bases, industries and other economic centers were also destroyed which resulted into huge economic destruction.
5. Whole population of the belligerent nation was involved in this war. A large number of men were sent to the war front, while women continued to work in offices, hospitals, educational institutions, etc. So much so that even children were also put into production.
6. During this war, along with conventional weapons, new types of destructive weapons were developed, e.g. chemical weapons and biological weapons.

■ **Impact of WWI :**

- The First World War certainly had a destructive impact, but at some points it had positive impact also. World War-I was coined as 'Total war'. Along with the soldiers, a large civilian population also participated in this. So naturally it affected European life on a deep level.
1. In the middle of the First World War, some old dynasties of Europe came to an end, such as Habsburg dynasty, Romanov dynasty and Hohenzollern dynasty. As a

result, democratic ideas got a boost.

2. But on the other hand the development of fascist ideology was also a product of the First World War. Aggrieved German and Italian nationalism arose in the form of Nazism and Fascism respectively and challenged the European system.
3. World War-I had encouraged war driven trade but after the war, the economy suffered with deep shock. Then in the late 1920s, a kind of imbalance occurred in the European economy which manifested in the form of Great Depression.
4. Economic reconstruction started in Europe after the First World War. With this, many types of economic and social problems occurred. In order to cope with these problems, the power of European governments increased and human freedom was curtailed.
5. WWI created social dislocation and adversely affected family life. The male members went on the border and female members were involved in the production in factories. Some of the critics believed that WWI proved a liberator for women because it was after WWI along with the working class even women got the franchise. But, when we observe minutely we find that whether WWI produced a positive impact on women's franchise that is not clear but it is clear that it brought a deep impact on families. For example, women had to perform in three spheres simultaneously. Firstly, they had to look after their kids, secondly they had to work in factories and lastly, as during this period there was the problem of rising price due to the scarcity in the market, so the women had to manage the commodities of daily necessities after doing hard bargaining in the market.
6. Culturally, WWI gave a serious jolt to the idea of freedom, humanism, and the idea

of progress; and in their place, it encouraged a sense of skepticism. Before WWI, it was emphasised by European scholars that European culture had reached up to the highest stage of civilization. But the WWI rejected such perception and rather tried to prove that human beings are still savaged or uncivilized and they could use weapons for mass destruction even against their fellow human beings.

7. Apart from that, it was realized that science, in place of assuring human comforts, ensured destructive machinery. So, once science and reasoning were questioned, there developed skeptical ideas. This sort of mental thoughts and ideas were reflected in contemporary art and literature.

Question: How far is it correct to say that the First World War was essentially fought to re-establish balance of power?

Answer: The First World War was a product of complicated circumstances. It was the result of the contradictions arising in the economic-political sphere of the 19th century. Factors such as the collapse of balance of power certainly played an important role in creating this contradictory situation, but some other factors were also associated with it.

The balance of power in Europe rested to a large extent on the division of German territory. Therefore the unification of Germany almost destroyed the balance of power in Europe. One of the main reasons for Britain's return to continental politics and

forming an alliance against Germany was the effort to preserve the balance of power. In the words of British Prime Minister Disraeli, the reunification of Germany produced a greater effect than the French Revolution.

But with this some other issues surfaced. One of the main issues was the issue of the Balkan region. The Pan-Slavic movement in the Balkan region caused great tension between Austria and Serbia. Russia's support was with Serbia. Thus, as soon as Germany's support was extended to Serbia's enemy nation Austria, the issue of the Balkans became a pan-European issue. Apart from this, an issue of tension between France and Germany had been going on since the Treaty of Frankfurt since four decades ago. The defeat of Germany was necessary for France to once again be reinstated in the European politics. So France was trying to overcome its demographic and resource constraints by joining a larger European alliance. Thus the atmosphere of war prevailed in the early decades of the twentieth century, when the Sarajevo massacre played a role of an unknown catalyst.

The above facts show that the issue of balance of power was an important issue behind the First World War, but it was not the only issue. Even before this, the issue of protection of the balance of power had come up in Europe, such as during the time of Louis XIV and Napoleon, and after the Crimea War. But if it became a cause of world war in the beginning of the twentieth century, it means there were many other causes also.



Food for Thought

1. Why has the 19th century been characterized as long 19th century and twentieth century as short twentieth century?
2. Is it correct to say that the First World War was the product of deformities which originated in socio-economic and political structure of 19th century Europe?
3. Do you accept the view that the First World War has continued in West Asia and Arabian region since the last 100 years?
4. Was the First World War fought for maintaining balance of power in Europe?



PART-IV

This part describes the scenario of world politics between the two world wars. The following topics will be studied in this part.

Subpart-I : Paris Peace Conference

Subpart-II : First Crisis of Capitalism (First World War)

Subpart-III : Second crisis of Capitalism - Great Economic Depression

Subpart-IV : Destructive Response against World Economic Depression- Fascism & Nazism

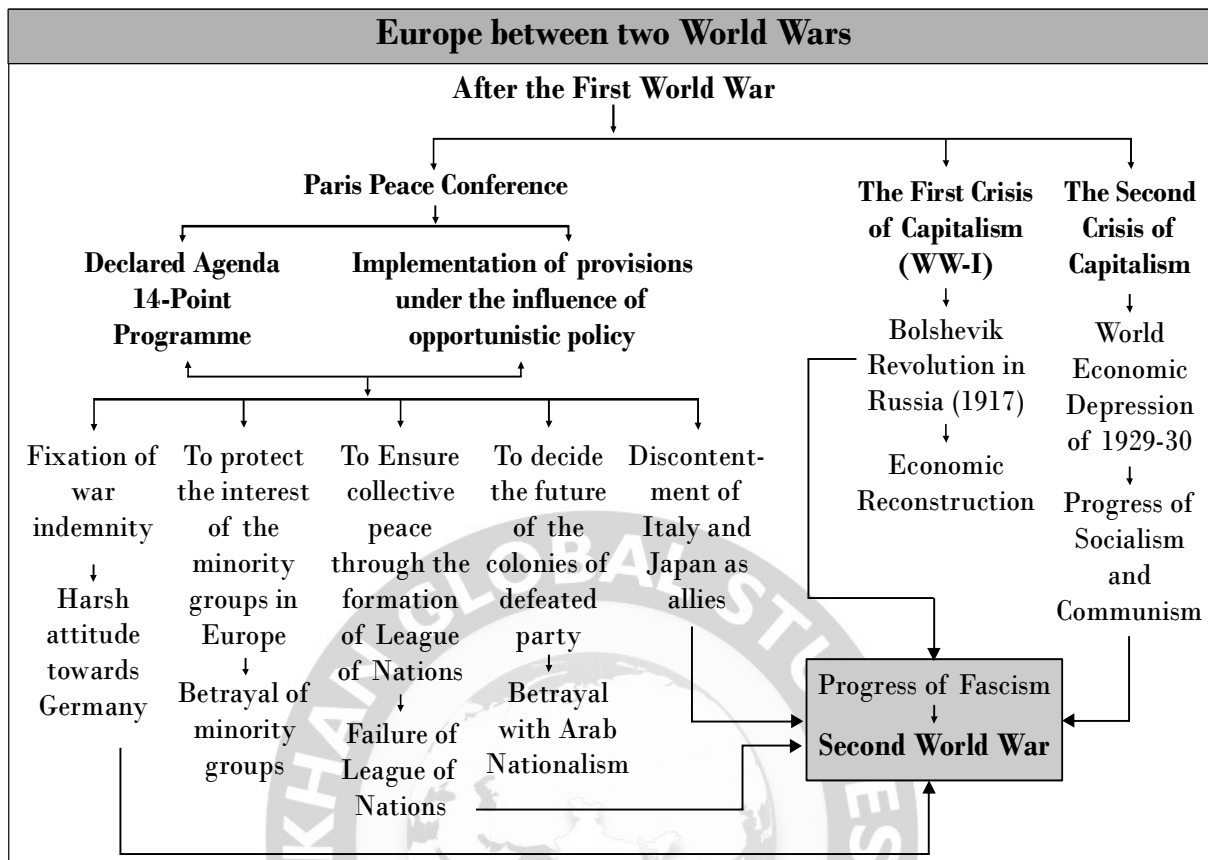
In the course of studying this part, you should try to underline the following things:

- Why is the Paris Peace Conference called a ceasefire of 20 years? Or why has any scholar termed the world war as a complete war of 31 years without considering it separately? Was the cause of World War II rooted in the consequences of World War I?
- Why is Russia's Bolshevik Revolution considered as crisis of capitalism?
- What change do you find in the Marxist ideology from Marx to Lenin? What further changes did Stalin bring in the nature of the Russian communist system?
- What changes did the world economic recession bring in the behavior of capitalism?
- What is the point of difference between capitalist and socialist economic models?
- Why is Fascism considered the outcome of the failure of capitalism?

- Manikant Singh

World History (Part- IV)

Subpart-I: Paris Peace Conference



■ Paris Peace Conference

- The First World War ended on 11th Nov 1918 and an international conference was convened in Paris on 18th Jan 1919. Four main leaders of the conference i.e. Big Four were, US President Woodrow Wilson, British PM David Lloyd George, French Premier Georges Clemenceau and Italian Premier Vittorio Orlando. Interesting fact is that, the Treaty of Versailles was signed in the same Palace of Mirrors where the defeated French emperor Louis Napoleon III put the throne of united German States on the head of Prussian monarch William I.
- The real power of this peace conference was vested in the 'Supreme Peace Council'. This peace conference differed from the Vienna Congress. While the purpose of the Vienna Congress was to crush the spirit of nationalism, the Paris Peace Conference emphasized the principle of nationalism

and self-determination in determining the geographical boundaries of European countries. Conflicting ideologies were clashing in this peace conference. On one side, there was the idealism of Wilson, on the other there was the realism of Lloyd George and Clemenceau. Similarly, on one side there were Wilson's 14-point programmes, on the other there were the secret treaties of the Allied powers. Vienna Congress was more pragmatic as it was not too harsh towards the vanquished nation i.e. France. It even included France in the European Congress thus making it a responsible power. This was the reason that, despite of many problems, peace was maintained for almost 40 years after the Vienna Treaty. Contrary to this, the Paris Peace Conference or the Treaty of Versailles turned out to be too harsh towards the vanquished power. Thus this treaty couldn't sustain peace for more than 20 years.

- **The declared agenda of the Paris Peace Conference**– The declared objective of the Paris Peace conference was to provide the right to self-judgment and absolute justice to every party on the basis of the 14-Point programme of President Wilson. Wilson believed that if this 14-point programme was implemented successfully, the First World War would prove to be the Europe's last war.

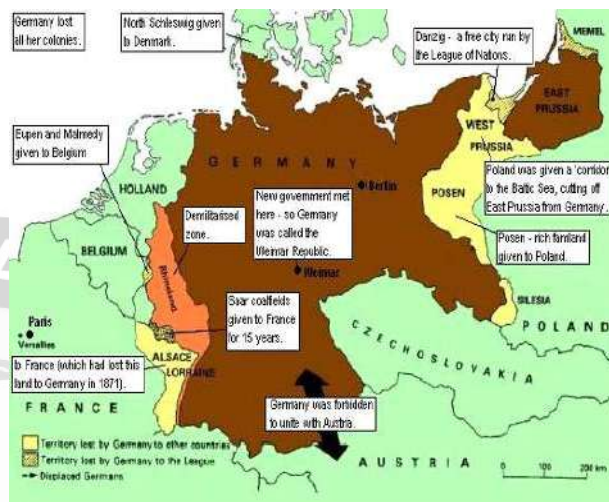
- **Implementation of provisions under the influence of opportunistic policy–**

- Due to certain compulsion on certain material conditions, the peacemakers in Paris Peace Conference diverted from the main objective on many occasions. In fact, Britain and France were representing realism or opportunism. The British Prime Minister was concerned about maintaining the balance of power in Europe, whereas the French Premier wants to emasculate the power of Germany and simultaneously to strengthen the neighbouring countries of Germany. In contrast, American President Wilson was representing idealism, but he also had some hidden agenda of his own and that agenda was to secure markets in Europe for American products.

- **Objective of the Paris Peace Conference:**

1. **Fixation of war indemnity**- Under this provision five separate treaties were concluded with defeated party -
 - i. Treaty of Versailles with Germany
 - ii. Treaty of St. Germain with Austria
 - iii. Treaty of Trianon with Hungary
 - iv. Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria
 - v. Treaty of Sevres with Turkey -As per this secret treaty a large part of Turkey, including Constantinople, was to be separated from it. But due to the resistance from Mustafa Kemal Pasha the treaty was modified and a new treaty, “Treaty of Lausanne”, was signed.

- **Treaty of Versailles**- On 28 June, German representatives signed this treaty. This treaty was too harsh towards Germany. In this treaty Germany was forced to part with nearly 13 percent territory and 13 percent resources. Thus for maintaining this arrangement cooperation from Germany was not possible.



- **Why do you think the treaty of Versailles was a dictated treaty?**

1. Germany surrendered in WWI after the assurance that there would be proper justice even to the defeated party but against the earlier assurance, Germany was penalized.
2. In the treaty of Versailles, not even the minimum courtesy of international diplomacy was maintained and German representatives were treated as criminals.
3. The treaty was too much devastating to Germany. In fact Germany had to loose 13% of his region and 13% of its resources. If this treaty could have been implemented in totality (as it is), then the German economy could have been completely destroyed. For example, the German populated region of Sudetenland was given to Czechoslovakia, likewise, Poland was given access to the sea while going across German region but

simultaneously, Germany was not permitted to merge with Austria. It is on this ground, an economist and representative in the British delegation, John Menard Keynes, resigned from his post. The prophecy of Keynes came true when, in the Lausanne Conference of 1932, allied powers were compelled to waive off 90% amount of compensation from Germany.

4. The term 'indemnity' was used in place of 'compensation'.
5. Although it was called a peace conference it proved the worst type of judicial court in which neither any pleading nor witness was permitted, and the decisions were taken arbitrarily.

Question: The Treaty of Versailles paved the way for World War II. To what extent do you agree with this statement? (UPSC-2013)

Answer: The Treaty of Versailles is established in world history as an event that gave rise to another more terrible world war in order to resolve WW-I. The extremely harsh conditions of the Treaty of Versailles were imposed on Germany which are considered to be an important cause for the Second World War, but there is a time gap between the Treaty of Versailles and the Second World War, this aspect cannot be ignored as well.

There were many such aspects contained in the Treaty of Versailles, which gave Germany a good reason to take a retaliatory stand. First, Germany surrendered on the basis of Wilson's 14-point programme, but still Germany was treated harshly. Secondly, even a normal diplomatic formality was not followed in the midst of this treaty and the German representatives were humiliated. Third, the right to self-determination was ignored which was an important aspect of the 14-point programme.

A large section of German population was cut off from Germany. Above all, the economic

terms of this treaty, as acknowledged by a famous British economist JM Keynes, were so stringent that its implementation was impossible.

Thus, the Treaty of Versailles contained all those factors which could prove to be important for provoking ultra-nationalism in Germany. But we should also keep in mind that there was a gap of about 20 years between the Treaty of Versailles and the Second World War. So it is obvious that there were some other factors which encouraged the Second World War. One of the factors was the Great Depression, which strengthened the fascist power in Germany, and the other was the failure of the Allies nations (Britain and France) to create consensus for the implementation of this treaty.

Thus we see that, although the Treaty of Versailles was instrumental in preparing the background for World War II, but the entire responsibility for World War II cannot be attributed only to the Treaty of Versailles.

Treaty of Saint Germain with Austria:

- This treaty was signed with Austria on 10 December 1919. As per the treaty, Austrian empire was disintegrated and nations such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary came into existence. The army strength of Austria was limited to 30 thousand and above all, Austria was warned with strong words that if she violated these provisions, her existence as an independent nation would be annihilated.

2. To protect the interest of the minority groups in Europe:

- Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, there was unrest in the Balkans due to nationalist aspirations shown by minority groups. Thus, Wilson believed that if the nationalist aspirations of the minority groups were fulfilled, lasting peace would be restored in Europe. So

driven by this objective in mind, the Habsburg Empire was disintegrated and independent nations like Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were formed.

- But here too, Wilson's 14-point programme was disregarded due to the opportunistic politics. In other words, in the Paris Peace Conference, one of the objectives of the allied power was to emasculate the power of Germany and simultaneously, to strengthen the neighbouring countries of Germany. To fulfill this objective, different minority groups were merged together. Not only this, in order to strengthen the neighboring nation, the German population was also merged with it. For example, the German populated region of Sudetenland was given to Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, Germany was not permitted to merge with Austria. Due to these reasons instability remained in these nations. Consequently, in 1993, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia disintegrated. So much so that a British historian Eric Hobsbawm had remarkably said that “it is a half-baked chicken of Paris Peace Conference which has come to be baked again.”



3. To Ensure collective peace through the formation of an international organization like League of Nations:

- After the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, the concept of balance of power was considered as an alternative to war, but this concept could not provide a real alternative to war. Therefore, after the First World War, European leaders and intellectuals started to think about an international organization. Then on the initiative of American President Woodrow Wilson, in the Paris Peace Conference, an international organization, ‘League of Nations’ was formed with the purpose of ensuring collective peace. It was an organization of 41 nations in 1919, which became 60 in 1941. Two important organs of the League of Nations were the Assembly and the Council.



Achievements of the League of Nations-

- i. It happened for the first time that, the victorious powers could not swallow the regions of defeated powers. The regions of defeated power remained safe under the supervision of the League of Nations.
- ii. The League of Nations was also successful in settling disputes especially in case of small nations. It is said that the League of Nations had to face a total of 40 disputes and it settled many of these disputes.
- iii. The welfare and humanitarian work of the League of Nations was commendable. For example, prevention of contagious diseases, ban on human trafficking, abolition of slave trade etc.

Later this organization failed due to following factors -

- i. There was a difference of opinion between Britain and the US on the one hand and France on the other regarding the nature of the League. According to French perception, it had to be made much powerful to tackle any situation, but according to Anglo-American perception, the organization had to deal with the situation softly.
- ii. Two important organs of the League of Nations, i.e. Assembly and Council, had equal powers.
- iii. In this organization no country was given special status which could motivate it to work for world peace.
- iv. There was an unanimity clause which was much difficult to implement.
- v. Above all the 'League of Nations' was an international organization but it didn't enjoy the participation of two superpowers of the time, i.e. USA & USSR.
- vi. Last but not the least, the First World War created such an environment of hatred that it was not possible for collective peace in Europe to survive for long.

4. To decide the future of the colonies of defeated party-

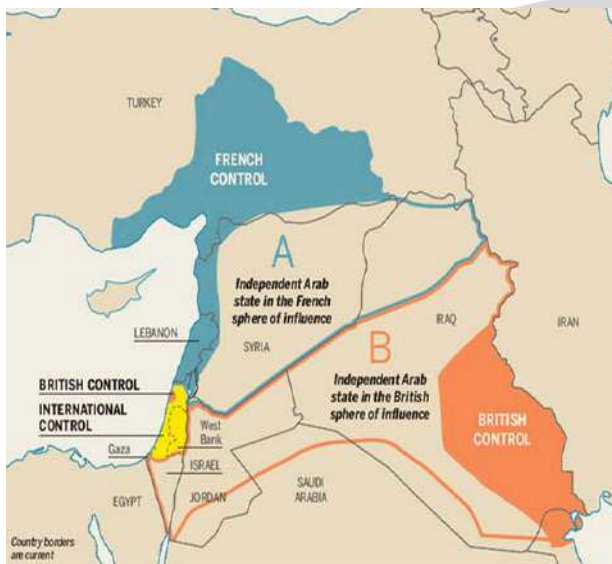
- During the First World War, some colonies enthusiastically supported their imperial masters in a hope that after the war they would get some reward, because the allied nations were fighting the war to protect independence and democracy. This created hope in the colonies. India was also hoping that after the war it would get some sort of 'Swaraj'. China was also enthusiastic. In the same way, Egyptian PM, Jaglul Pasha, was hoping independence from Britain. But they all were disappointed as the 14 point programme of Wilson, which had a provision of right to self-judgment, was not applicable to the colonies. Whether, Wilson made a promise to the people of the colony or not, but having been inspired by the Wilsonian concept of a right to self-judgment, Nationalist Movement started in Egypt, Rowlatt Satyagraha Movement in India, March 3rd Movement in Korea and May 4th Movement in China.
- On the other hand, after the war, the question arose regarding the future of colonies owned by the defeated nations. One option was to give them freedom, but the European powers were not ready to do so. On the other hand, Wilson was against the traditional form of colonialism. Thus colonialism appeared in an altered form, i.e. Mandate System. The colonies were divided into three groups, A, B & C and shared between different nations. The declared objective for this was the development of these colonies under the supervision of the master nation. But the actual objective was to divide the colonies of the defeated nations among the victor nations. The mandates were allotted by the League of Nations, thus legitimizing the system. For example, the German colonies in Africa were allotted to South

Africa. In the same way, in the Arab region, Syria and Iran were put under France, whereas Palestine went to Britain.

- It is said that, the First World War had continued for 31 years in Europe (till WW2). But in case of West Asia and Arabia it had continued for 100 years. In fact in the course of the First World War itself certain mistakes were committed by European powers which proved fatal for peace and stability in west Asia and Arabian region. Arab-Israel conflict, Kurd problem, Al-Qaida and ISIS are the legacies of those mistakes.

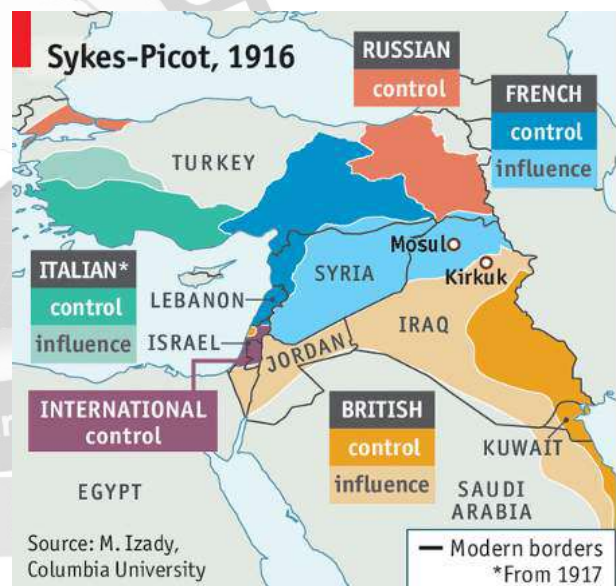


- Sykes-Picot Agreement (1915):-** It was a secret treaty between Britain and France that run counter to the first agreement. According to this agreement, Arabian region had to be divided between the British and the French party.



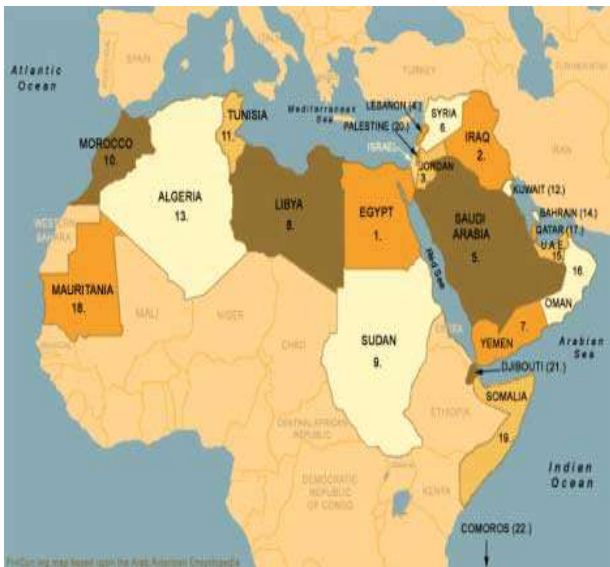
- The contradictory condition created by the ambivalence of European powers-

- Hussain-McMahon Agreement (1915):-** British concluded a secret treaty with Arabian leaders like Hussain, Grand Sherif of Mecca and his son Faisal. They had to organise a revolt against Turkey. As a reward after the war, they had to be offered a unified Arab nation.



- Balfour Declaration (1917):-** In 1917 Britain gave a secret promise to Jews for the creation of a separate nation in Palestine.
- **Arab Nationalism was betrayed in following manner-** After the war, the Arab region was divided into many nations and direct and indirect control of Britain and France was established over them. In Paris Peace Conference, Yemen was declared an independent nation. Then the region of Hejaz was separated and Hussein was made its ruler. Iraq was separated and

Faisal was declared its ruler. The second son of Hussein, Abdullah, was made the ruler of Trans-Jordan. But in practice Britain controlled the region of Iraq and Trans-Jordan. And as already seen, Palestine was put under British mandate, whereas Syria and Lebanon were placed under France. Egypt was already a colony of Britain. But in due course of time, there was nationalist upsurge in the region and as a result nationalist demands became intense. Thus, Arab nationalism was betrayed in the Paris Peace Conference.



- **Betrayal with the Kurds–** As we know, in the middle of the First World War, the Allies had given an identity to Arab nationalism and assured the Arabs that they would be given a separate nation. The question arises as, how they ignored the sovereign power of the Kurds when there was also large number of Kurdish population in the Arab region. So, the Kurds also raised the demand for Kurdistan. At that time the Kurdish population was under the Ottoman Empire and Iran. Then, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Arabian region was separated from the Ottoman Empire and the Arab regions were divided into several parts, then some Kurds moved to Iraq and Syria. Presently, Kurds are found primarily in four countries – Turkey, Iran,

Iraq and Syria. When Iraq was conquered by the US, it accepted the rights of the Kurds parallel to the Sunni Muslims, and while leaving Iraq, it granted autonomy to the Kurdish region. This boosted the morale of Kurds from other regions as well.

- At present, issue of Kurds is a major problem for the Turkish government. In present times, the Islamic fundamentalist ISIS has made its target not only to Shias, but also to Kurds. Therefore, the Kurds have played a significant role in countering ISIS in Syria as well as in Iraq.



- **Palestinian-Israeli Dispute–** During ancient times, Jews were settled in Palestine region. Later, Palestine fell under the control of Roman Empire. The anti-Semitic policies of Roman Empire forced the Jews to abandon the region and to settle in other parts of the world including Europe and USA. Jews were rich and prosperous, thus they started thinking in the direction of acquiring their own motherland. During the First World War, the British needed Jews' help, thus to appease them the British promised them a separate homeland in Palestine region. With this purpose 'Balfour Declaration' was made in 1916. Palestine was placed under a British mandate during the time. Thus, at the behest of the British, a large number of Jews began settling in the region between the two world wars. But

reactions started among the Palestine people who were being supported by Arabs. To avoid embarrassment the British government took the matter to the UNO. Then UNO, very like the Kashmir issue, gave a controversial verdict in case of Palestine as well. It divided Palestine in two parts - Palestine state and Jew state. About 65% of the territory was given to the Palestinian, while 35% of the territory was given to the Jews. The Jews readily accepted it, but the Arab nations objected to this decision and in 1948 attacked the Jew State. But they were defeated by Jews (America helped Jews in this war). This sowed the seed of Arab-Israel conflict which has continued till the present time.



- Therefore we can say that the First World War was a war that lasted only 31 years in Europe but has been going on for the last 100 years in the Arab and West Asian region. In this context, these lines seem to be highly relevant that- “It was a war to end all wars but it proved a war to end all peace.”
- 5. Discontentment of Italy and Japan as allies–**
- As we know, Italy was in the bloc of Germany and Austria, but later on the basis of the secret Treaty of London in 1915, it joined the Allies. It was assured

that after the war, it would be given a large territory in the Adriatic region. But Italy felt cheated in the Paris Peace Conference and Italian nationalism got hurt. Its natural outcome was the emergence of fascism in Italy under the leadership of Mussolini.

- On the other hand, Japan got the German territory Shandong in China on the basis of a secret treaty in the Paris Peace Conference, but the approach of the United States became tough towards Japan. Therefore, soon after this treaty, in the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-

22, the United States punished Japan and reduced its naval capacity to a limited extent as compared to its neighbors. At that time, Japan was forced to tolerate it, but it was very dissatisfied and angry with this treaty. This was an important reason, why Japan further joined the bloc of Hitler and Mussolini.

■ **Causes behind the failure of the Paris Peace Conference–**

- The Paris Peace Conference was an international conference, but sadly its provisions proved to be more short-lived than those of the previous European Congress. It couldn't sustain peace for more than 20 years. The following were the reasons behind this-

- i. The defeated countries were treated more harshly, especially Germany. Thus for maintaining this arrangement, cooperation from Germany was not possible. Contrary to this, Vienna congress ensured cooperation from France.
- ii. Wilson's 14-Point programme was openly neglected.
- iii. The largest nation of the world, USSR, was kept out of this treaty.
- iv. Soon after the Paris Peace Conference, USA returned back to its continent and, in Europe, there was lack of coordination and cooperation between Britain and France.

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

The First World War could not end the European Empires, but it put the first nail in the coffin of imperialism.

1. World War-I was fought in the name of 'Democracy & Freedom'. Resultantly, it waved the aspirations of colonies.
2. Wilson's 14 point programme added fuel to the fire.
3. World War-I caused a deep blow to the European economy and established the United States as a superpower on a global level.
4. Although after the First World War, the European imperialist powers once again sought to establish their strong grip over the colonies, but now it became clear that their departure from the colonies was only a matter of time.

World History (Part-IV)
Subpart-II: The First Crisis of Capitalism (First World War)

Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

■ **The Crisis of Capitalism:**

- Despite of all the efforts taken by Marx proletarian revolution didn't take place anywhere. But when capitalism faced a crisis, the Marxists saw a ray of hope. Lenin saw the First World War as the first crisis of capitalism. He believed that communist forces should take advantage of this situation. He himself used the opportunity and organised a revolution in Russia which is known as the Bolshevik Revolution or Russian Revolution.

■ **Russian Revolution:**

- Russian Revolution was unique in the sense that having been inspired by years' long discontentment and leadership that emerged in course of the revolution almost all the earlier revolutions occurred suddenly. But the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was organized through well-defined planning and program. So, it was known as a '**Textbook Revolution**' as well.
- Russian revolution was a next major step after French Revolution. It tried to answer some of those questions that had remained unanswered during the French revolution, i.e. the relationship between the bourgeoisie class and the proletariat class. This revolution influenced the course of history so deeply that some scholars believed it to be the most important event in 20th century.
- Russian revolution involved two revolutions i.e. March revolution and November revolution. It is always a matter of controversy that whether this revolution was an amalgamation of two revolutions or it was the two stages of a single revolution. On a deep observation, we find that it was the two stages of a single revolution, the bourgeoisie stage

and the proletariat stage.

- In fact, the significance of the Russian revolution lay in the second stage. If it would have stopped at the first stage, hardly it could go beyond the French revolution.

■ **Causes for the March Revolution or Bourgeoisie Stage:**

1. **Absolutist nature of Russian government:-**

In 1917, Russian monarchy was autocratic and it ruled without the support of any representative organisation. In fact, in 1917, the behaviour of the Russian monarchy was even worse than the French monarchy in 1789. As Russian monarch was more autocratic even than French monarch.

2. The **social division** that existed in France at the time of French revolution was visible in Russia as well. During mid of the 19th century, Russian society was divided between aristocracy and slaves. There was no middle class. The condition of agricultural slaves was worse. Russian monarch Tsar Alexander II started the process of reforms including abolition of slavery system in 1861. But as land redistribution was not carried on so the condition of slaves didn't improve.

3. **Russian Industrialisation-** The land reforms carried out under a financial expert, Stolpin, favoured rich farmers and not the poor ones. Apart from that, Finance Minister Sergei Witte started the process of economic reforms and promoted industrialization during the reign of Tsar Alexander II. But as industrialisation took place under the leadership of the state, so the middle class didn't play any important role in it. In fact industrialisation under state leadership could not give birth to a

- powerful middle class. Even the industrialization of Russia was having a unique character. Russia was not widely industrialized. In the words of some critics, Industries in Russia was an island in the vast sea. Most of the industries were concentrated in a particular region. So, there was a concentration of workers in a specific region. This phenomenon led to growing proletarianization among Russian workers. So, there was the formation of some workers' parties, like Social Democratic Party which later divided between Bolshevik Party and Menshevik Party. On the other hand, there was a peasants' party i.e. Socialist Revolutionary Party.
4. Before the revolution, there occurred some intellectual revolution as well. For example, scholars like Leo Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev and Dostoevsky etc. encouraged new ideas in Russia. Tolstoy instilled a sense of glory in the Russian public through his master-piece "War & Peace". Gorky, who himself was a member of the Bolshevik party, composed a revolutionary work called 'Mother'. Under the influence of these writers, a powerful intellectual class emerged.
 5. **Revolution of 1905-** The discontent against the Russian monarchy had been going on for years. Its first visible expression was seen in the revolution of 1905. When Russia suffered a humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, prestige of monarchy was tarnished. The movement broke out all over the country. Reforms were demanded, workers stopped working. The farmers started robbing the landlords. While observing the situation to be unmanageable, the Tsar was compelled to announce the reforms. He promised to establish a National Assembly Duma. But Monarchy proved to be a failure in running a parliamentary government with aristocratic people. In middle of such political upheavals, the Tsar again strengthened his position. He made the Duma powerless and made it merely an advisory body. By 1906, the tide of the movement turned down. In spite of its failure, the revolution of 1905 became a dress rehearsal of revolution of 1917.
 6. **The First World War** proved a big game-changer. It prepared the way for the revolution in following manner:
 - a. It created a further gulf between the executive and the legislative body.
 - b. The First World War gave a big boost to inflation and scarcity of goods. In fact, before entering the war, the government didn't formulate any practical economic plan. So after the outbreak of the war, Russia faced scarcity of essential goods. It encouraged popular discontentment. Government committed double mistake by issuing new currencies in the market.
 - c. As the Russian government followed the '**Scorched Earth Policy**' against the enemy, so, it created discontentment among Russian peoples as well.
 - d. Russian monarch Tsar Nicholas II decided to take command of the army himself. So he went on the battle front and in his absence his queen and her spiritual guide Rasputin dominated the court. They encouraged conspiracy & counter conspiracy. So, the prestige of the monarchy declined further.
- **The progress of the revolution:**
- In March 1917, due to the scarcity of goods, workers were much grieved and at least 4 lakh workers came on the roads of Petrograd. The governments passed an order to soldiers to open fire on the mob but the soldiers refused to follow the command. So, the government was helpless, and on 15th March government of Czar Nicholas II resigned. Thus

occurred the March Revolution.

- **The formation of Bourgeoisie government–** A bourgeoisie government was formed in April 1917 under the leadership of Lovav. But it could not function for long due to the following reasons–

- a. Apart from political freedom, Russian people expected socio-economic freedom as well.
- b. The Russian government became sandwiched between the Duma and Petrograd Soviet, as both had contrary opinions (Petrograd Soviet was a democratic alliance between peasants and soldiers).
- c. The land of the landlords were captured by the peasants during the revolution. So the future of that land had to be decided.
- d. One major challenge before the government was regarding the role of Russia in WWI.

- **Liberal Socialist Government–** The Bourgeoisie government declined in July 1917 and it was replaced by a new government under Kerensky.

■ **October-November Revolution or Proletariat Stage:**

- Lenin came back to Russia in April 1917 from Germany where he was deported by Tsar Nicholas II due to his revolutionary acts.

- **Contribution of Lenin in Bolshevik revolution–**

- i. **Ideological Contribution–** In a Marxist context, Russia was not a fertile ground for a proletarian revolution as it was not much industrialized. Thus, Lenin's ideological contribution was that he defined Marxist revolution as per the conditions prevailing in Russia. He declared that the world capitalist system was like a long chain. In this chain, the weakest link should be attacked and the whole chain would automatically

collapse.

- ii. **Contribution in Strategy–** Lenin chalked out the following strategy in his essay "Two tactics of social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution"-

- a. Russian proletariat should join with the peasants to carry out the first stage of the revolution. In case there is a dissention between the rich peasants and the poor peasants then the proletariat should take the reins of revolution and it should complete it with the support of the poor peasants in the second stage.

- b. Russian proletariats should make contact with proletariats of other regions so that the objective of world revolution can be accomplished.

- c. To strengthen the position of Bolshevik Party Lenin adopted opportunistic measures as well and formed an alliance with the opposition party for some time.

- d. Like Napoleon, he used to take timely decisions. He allowed the Liberal Socialists to form a government in July, as he knew that Bolsheviks were not in a position to capture power. Then, in October 1917 itself, he asked his companion Trotsky to seize the power with the help of selected band of disciplined volunteers.

- **Steps taken by Lenin to consolidate the revolution after seizing power–**

- a. **Withdrawal from the WWI–** The priority of Lenin was to consolidate the revolution in Russia, so he decided to end the war with Germany. It was definitely a bold decision as two earlier governments had hesitated to take any decision.

- b. Lenin signed the '**Treaty of Brest-Litovsk**' in March 1918 with Germany and submitted to Germany one-fourth of its European region, as Germany was not ready to give lenient terms. In reaction, allied powers invaded the Soviet Union, but the 'Red army' under Trotsky faced

the invasion boldly and since the allied powers too were exhausted due to WWI, they withdrew from USSR quickly.

- c. Lenin organised a secret police (**Cheka**) and unleashed coercive machinery against his rivals but simultaneously, he had learnt his lesson from the French revolution that application of terror should be external but not internal (within the party as in case of Robespierre). Apart from terror, he adopted the method of concessions with an objective to strengthen the position of Bolshevik party in Russia—
 - i. He permitted the peasants, who had already seized land from the landlords at the time of March revolution, to hold the land under their possession in spite of the fact that such a measure was running counter to the basic demands of Marxism.
 - ii. Marxism or Communism didn't recognize the racial or cultural division but Lenin accepted the distinct identity of minority groups in USSR. In the new constitution of the USSR, a special position of minority groups was accepted under Russian Federation. So, naturally Bolshevik party could enlist the support of different minority groups.
 - iii. After coming to power, Lenin initially adopted a very tough approach towards economic policy and tried to place the economy under state control. State started to fix the target of production for industries and in case of default, the management was punished. This system was known as '**War Communism**' and it was established in 1918. But by 1921, Lenin realised that the production in USSR was declining instead of increasing. So he brought a major modification in his system in 1921 and introduced the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**. Under this policy, nearly 90% of the Russian economy was placed under private capital. The NEP had the features of both capitalism as well

as socialism. For example—

- He abolished the policy of storage of grains from farmers (earlier farmers were supposed to collect grains instead of paying tax). Now they were permitted to sell it in the market.
- Foreign capitalists were allowed to run industries in Russia on the condition that their products would only be sold to government.
- Lenin was criticized for these measures as they were running counter to the basic tenets of Marxism. Lenin replied “after taking three long strides ahead, I have taken a single step back, even I am two steps ahead”.
- **Advent of Stalin and the phase of one-man dictatorship in Russia—**
 - Lenin's chosen successor was Trotsky but an ambitious leader, Stalin eliminated him and seized the power.

Changes by Stalin:

1. **Change in Ideology—** Lenin and Trotsky talked in terms of world revolution but Stalin abandoned that view and rather gave the slogan of '**World Revolution vs. Socialism in a single country**'. Stalin believed that due to the Russian emphasis on world revolution the western countries treated it as their arch enemy. Thus Russia should abandon this aim for a while and concentrate on strengthening the Russian economy. (Due to Stalin's policy the revolution couldn't move to the third stage and finally communism made a compromise with nationalism).
2. **Changes in Economy—** Stalin took the following steps to strengthen Russian economy-
 - a. He emphasised rapid industrialization and with this purpose, he introduced **economic planning** in 1928. Through the first three Five-Year Plans, Stalin built a strong industrial infrastructure in Russia.

- b. A strong agricultural base was required for industrialization. Thus Stalin abolished private property and the peasants' land was grouped together for collective farming (co-operative farming). Russian economy was completely transformed under Stalin. This was the reason that it could successfully face German aggression during the Second World War.

- c. In this industrialization, Stalin emphasized on two sector model. In other words, the goal of industrialization was to be achieved in two stages. In the first phase, Capital goods industries while in the second phase, consumer goods industries were to be established.

3. **Dictatorship of the government**– During his reign, the party rule changed into dictatorship of one man. All dissents were silenced with iron hand. For example, those who opposed him were either killed or were sent to a mental asylum. In the same way, the acquisition of land for co-operative farming was strictly pursued. During the process, almost 10 lakh people were killed and 50 lakh rich peasants were deported to Siberian region. Thus, the Communist government of Russia was an altered form of Marxism. It was a mixture of extremist Marxism and absolute Tsarism.

■ **Impact and Significance of Russian Revolution:**

- i. This was the world's first proletarian revolution. It was the Russian revolution that created opportunity for the Marxist ideology to be expressed materialistically for the first time.
- ii. After the Russian revolution, Europe was divided on the ideological lines in such a way that, it had never been divided after the Reformation Movement.
- iii. After the success of the Bolshevik

Revolution, there was a rapid spread of communist and socialist ideology in different parts of the world.

- iv. After this revolution, Soviet Russia presented an alternative model of economic development in the form of economic planning and state control. At the time of Great Economic Depression (1929-30), this economic model of Soviet Russia established its importance. After the economic success of Soviet Russia, this economic model was rapidly adopted in other regions of the world as well. Capitalist countries also adopted some of the characteristics of socialist economy after learning strong lessons from the world economic depression. Therefore, in a sense, the communist movement of Russia itself changed the nature of the capitalist system.
- v. The establishment of communist government in Russia gave impetus to the process of decolonization in different regions of the world. In other words, it provided an alternative view and perspective to the colonies, which inspired the freedom movement in those countries.
- vi. Further the whole world got divided on the basis of ideology. Therefore, the establishment of communist system in Russia gave impetus to the Cold War.

Question: Lenin's New Economic Policy, 1921 (NEP) influenced the policies adopted by India soon after independence. Evaluate. (UPSC-2014)

Answer: Lenin's New Economic Policy (1921) was a unique model of economy. It not only prepared a model of economic development for Soviet Russia and socialist countries of Eastern Europe, but it also left its imprint on a newly independent nation like India. It gave a new direction to Indian economic policy.

Lenin's new economic model had two important aspects-first, the two-sector model,

also known as the Feldman Model. Two sector model was influenced by ideas of Marx. According to this model, in the first stage initiative should be taken for the foundation of capital goods industries. Thus in second phase, consumer goods industries would naturally follow them. In other words, the establishment of consumer goods industries was seen as a natural follow up to the establishment of capital goods industry. This was called second generation industrialization.

India gave special importance to the economic model of Soviet Russia in the

Second Five-Year Plan soon after independence. P. C. Mahalanobis prepared the model of future industrialization of India under the Second Five Year Plan which was based on two sector model and capital goods industries.

In the industrialization of India, both the public sector and the private sector were given importance and special emphasis was given on the establishment of heavy industry. It was considered as the basic preparation for the future industrialization of India. Initially, this model was successful in both Soviet Russia and India, but later in Soviet Russia as well as in India, a kind of disruption was visible in this economic model.



World History (Part-IV)

Subpart-III: The Second Crisis of Capitalism: The Great Economic Depression (1929-30)

■ The Second Crisis of Capitalism:

- After the First World War, it was the 'Great Economic Depression' which emerged as the biggest threat to the global peace. In a sense, the phenomena of recessions and depressions are inherent in the capitalist economy. In over enthusiasm, the capitalist class destroys its own market for profit. However, if the labour was not given its due share, the consumer market was bound to shrink. This phenomenon is known as 'the phenomenon of under-consumption'. This under-consumption became the most dominating reason behind the Great Economic Depression of 1929-30.
- This worldwide recession of 1929-30 originated in the United States. On October 24, 1929, a sudden downfall occurred in the Stock Exchange of America's Wall Street. This day is known as 'Black Thursday'. It affected almost all countries of the world, whether they were industrial economy or agriculture based. The world economy collapsed. It was characterized by falling prices, declining production, shrinking trade sector and rising unemployment. Only Russia could escape from this cycle of depression, because it was not integrated with the international market at that time. Secondly, the socialist economy of Soviet Russia was not governed by market forces, such as the laws of supply and demand, rather it was operated through economic planning under state control.

■ Causes:

1. There was an imbalance of trade between western imperialist countries and the colonies, because the mechanization of the agricultural economy in the West led to a decline in demand for the agricultural products of the colonies. It hampered the

purchasing power of some of the colonies. Obviously, that made a curtailment in the import of manufactured goods from western developed countries. So, trade cycle between the two was disturbed.

2. There was an imbalance in trade between Europe and USA as well. Although in the course of the WWI, there was expansion of industries in Europe but those were mainly staple industries. On the other hand, USA emerged as the largest economy as well as the largest consumer goods producer. So consumer goods of USA just captured European market, particularly motor industries, but Europe was not in a position to export its products to USA. This created an imbalance in trade.
3. After the WW-I European economy was more or less functioning on American capital. In fact, after the war was over, the economic reconstruction programme was going on in a large number of countries and that was possible only through American credit. So it is crystal clear that if the supply of fund from USA was disrupted] European economy was sure to be dislocated.
4. In the meantime, some American capitalists started to take interest in speculation and they invested a large amount in share market. People were encouraged to buy shares on margin money to increase the sale of shares. Once the cost of a particular share shoots up capitalists used to sell the shares and take the profits. But this didn't continue for a long time and on the so called 'Black Thursday', on 24th October 1929, the share market crashed and it could not recover from the shock. It sent a sense of despair among the people all over the world.

■ **Methods adopted to tackle the economic depression:**

1. There was a world conference at Lausanne to discuss the issue but there were disagreements regarding the solution. On the basis of Lausanne Conference in 1932 almost 90% of the German loan was waived off.
2. In 1933, a conference was organised at London. It aimed to revive the global trade and to stabilize the exchange rate. But it ended without any concrete outcome.
3. Some countries tried to solve the problem on individual level. They tried to tighten their budget by curtailing their expenditure. But it proved counter-productive measures. It diminished purchasing power of people and it resulted in decrease in demand.
4. The Nazi government of Germany tried to give a better solution to this problem. Nazi government increased government expenditure. To generate employment, it started recruitment of army, construction of roads, arms production. But this led German economy towards war.
5. **Keynesian Economics-** In 1936, John Maynard Keynes published his famous text, '*The theory of employment interest and money*' and in this text, he attacked the gold standard and free market. Keynes prescribed demand management in the economy. For demand management, he talked about two rules, Taxation and Expenditure.
6. Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced an economic package in the form of 'New Deal' Policy in USA. He adopted the policy of public expenditure along with other economic reforms, like subsidies to peasants and unemployed, construction of Tennessee Valley project to generate employment etc. This economic package

helped USA to revive from this global economic crisis.

Question: What policy instruments were deployed to contain the Great Economic Depression? (UPSC-2013)

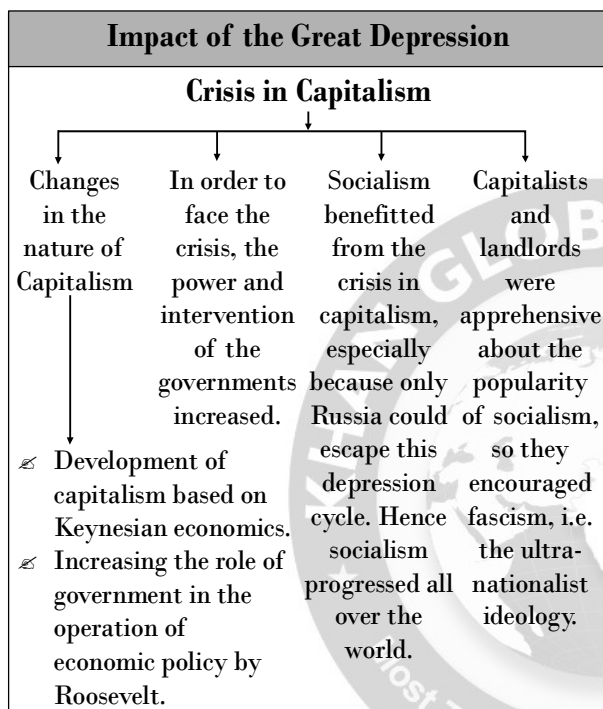
Answer: The state of recession lies in the science of capitalist economy itself. Almost every decade, a cycle of recession comes in the capitalist economy, but the global economic recession of 1929–30 was quite different in its intensity and extent. Naturally, the measures adopted for its solution also proved to be equally complex.

This was the first experience of capitalist countries to struggle with such a recession. Many steps were taken collectively and individually by these countries. As a collective solution, the Lausanne Conference was organized in 1932 and under this Germany's war compensation amount was waived off. Then in 1933, a conference was organized in London, but this conference could not reach any solution. In the end, various capitalist countries started making individual efforts. Attempts were made by France to cut public expenditure, but instead of solving the problem, it intensified the problem further more. At the same time, Britain adopted the policy of budget control. That also did not work. Then the capitalist countries tried to set up protectionist tax walls against each other to protect their domestic industries. Due to this, a kind of tax war broke out. Similarly, the policy of devaluation of currency for export promotion, compelled the abandoning of gold standard by various countries. This step was coined as '*Beggar thy Neighbor Policy*' by an economist Johnson. These all measures proved to be ineffective.

Further, the Nazi government of Germany emphasized on public works for employment generation. This method worked very well, but it pulled the German economy towards the war. On the other hand, steps were taken by

the President of the United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to increase demand by direct intervention in the American economy through 'New Deal' policy. This step proved to be very effective. But it brought a change in the nature of capitalist economy. Now this capitalism was based on state intervention, not on the principle of free economy.

Thus, different countries had reacted differently to the economic slowdown.



■ Impact of the Great Depression:

1. In order to face the great depression, the nature of capitalism itself changed. Capitalism adopted some of the features of socialist model of economy, e.g. economic planning. The ideological inspiration for this change came from an economist, John Maynard Keynes, who was in favour of government intervention in order to maintain the demand in the economy. Thus the nature of capitalism changed.
2. There was deep impact of the economic downfall on the political sphere. During 1920s, many parliamentary democracies were established in Europe, but in the 1930s, democracy could sustain only in Britain, France, Scandinavian countries,

Czechoslovakia and some other countries. Political upheaval was observed even in the countries where a democratic economy was prevalent. In order to face this economic recession, the power and intervention of the European governments increased.

3. It highlighted the weakness of the capitalist economy. Only Russia was able to escape from this depression cycle which resulted in the progress of socialism in the world. So, socialist economic model of Russia attracted the whole world. This posed further challenge to the capitalism.
4. The progress of socialism frightened the capitalists and landlords. Then in order to contain the spread of socialism, Western countries adopted the policy of appeasement and fascist powers were promoted. This was a major reason behind the rise of fascist rule. As a result, it played an important role indirectly in occurring of WW-II.

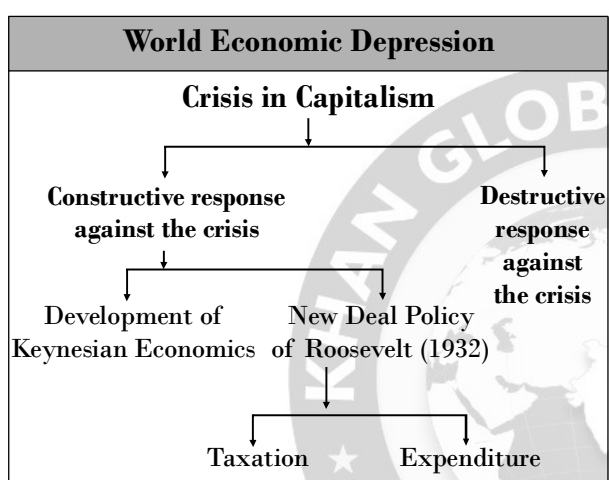
Question:- The world economic depression changed the economy and politics of Europe both. Analyze it.

(Question Analysis:- This question is 'Hypothetical' in nature. We have to explain the changes in economy and politics through thoughts and examples.)

Answer: The world economic depression (1929-30) reflects the crisis in capitalism. It not only brought changes in the nature of capitalist economy, but also brought upheaval in the politics of Europe.

The world economic depression gave a serious jolt to the policy of free economy based on classical economics. This resulted in the development of Keynesian economics, which emphasised the role of the state in demand management. With Keynesian economics, the concept of fiscal policy came into existence, as well as capitalism adopted some elements of socialism. It proved to be a constructive response to the crisis.

On the other hand, the destructive reaction against the crisis in capitalism manifested in the form of fascism and gave a different direction to the politics of Europe. In fact, due to the crisis in capitalism, socialism progressed in Europe. Being apprehensive, the capitalists supported fascism which was based on ultra-nationalism, so that people's attention would be diverted from internal struggle to external struggle. This resulted into the emergence of fascist leaders like Hitler and Mussolini which culminated into the Second World War.



■ Response against the second crisis in capitalism

• Constructive Response:

1. **Keynesian Economics and New Version of Capitalism**– Capitalism never experienced such a disastrous crisis in the past as it faced in 1930 in the form of ‘Great Depression’. It seemed that capitalism was going to an end. Classical economics faced a serious question mark. Classical economics talks about invisible hand and natural equilibrium in the economy, which was based on demand and supply. Economists from Adam Smith to J.B. Say contributed in its evolution. It was assumed that supply itself creates demand and aggregate income is equal to aggregate production/expense. There was no scope for unemployment. But during the Great Depression, a huge fall in demand was recorded and the rate of

unemployment increased up to 25%. Classical economists took it as normal recession which would be passed itself after a short span. Trade unions and industrial workers created upheaval because they did not let fall in wages.

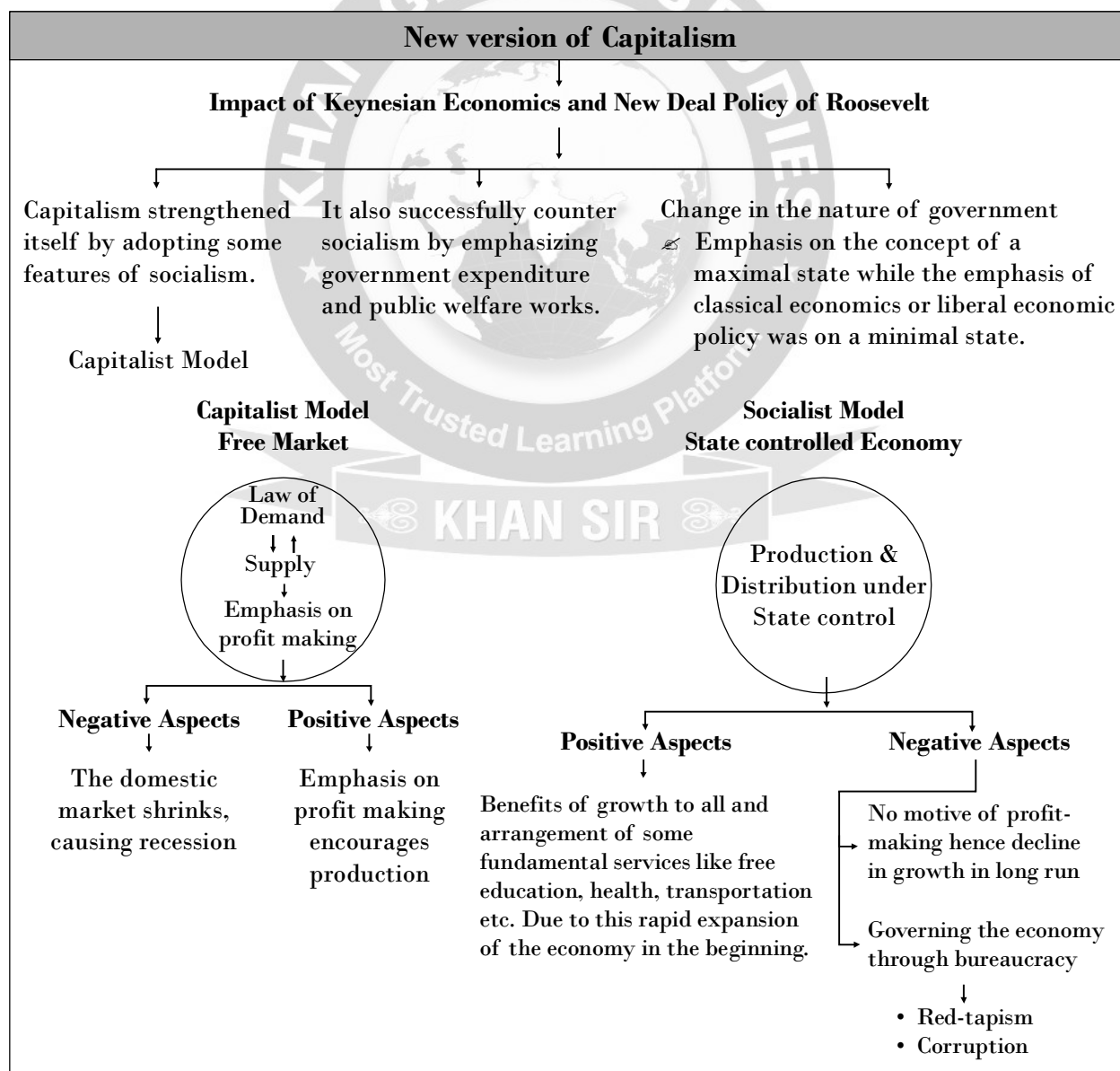
- In 1936, John Maynard Keynes published his famous text, ‘*The Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*’ and in this text, he attacked the gold standard and the free market. Keynes prescribed demand management in the economy. For demand management, he talked about two rules - (i) Taxation (ii) Expenditure

- Keynes assumed that the inflation would increase the employment, and it is necessary to decrease unemployment. So he recommended that whenever there is a slump in the market, the government should reduce taxes and increase the expenditure. So demand would increase, and this increased demand would create price-rise which would lead to an increase in the production and the employment. This cycle would continue till employment reaches up to nearly 100%. In that situation, there would be an inflationary pressure on the economy due to the excessive demand. Then government should increase the taxes and reduce the expenditure. This method was known as ‘fiscal stimulus’ and J.M. Keynes is characterized as the father of this policy. Thus developed the so-called macro-economics. Still, Keynesian model was different from socialist model in the sense that, whereas in socialist model, the economy is under total control of the state, in Keynesian model it is not under total state control. Keynes believed that, as the state had a lot of other important work to do, the economy should be run under the private sector. The government should intervene only for demand management.

2. New Deal Policy of Franklin D Roosevelt:

- The American president introduced the policy of 'New Deal' to counter world economic depression. In order to create demand in the economy, Roosevelt's government took several measures, such as giving subsidies to peasants and unemployed, encouraging construction works in order to generate employment like the construction of Tennessee valley project, which gave employment to nearly 20,000 people, reforms in banking laws etc. So American economy started to recover slowly, which led to the recovery of world economy as well. But here the point to be noted is that the 'New Deal' policy

changed the very nature of capitalist economy itself. New Deal no more accepted the principle of free economy, rather it prescribed government intervention in the economy for the purpose of demand management. So sometimes the question is raised, did capitalism borrow something from socialism and partly followed the model of socialism? We can't deny the fact that capitalism strengthened itself by borrowing some features from socialism. It was visible in 'New Deal policy' as well as Keynesian economics. Similarly, Lenin had borrowed some capitalist features in his 'New Economic Policy'.



■ **Impact of Keynesian Economics and New Deal Policy of Franklin D Roosevelt:**

- We have discussed above that a new economic model had been developed to overcome the crisis in the capitalist economy and in this sequence of events, Keynesian Economics and New Deal Policy of Franklin D Roosevelt came into existence. Although it was an economic outcome, its impact was also underlined in other areas also like constitution and governance.
- Classical economics talks about free economy and leaves economic activities in the discretion of market. It says that the role of state is limited to ensuring law and order. As a result, the concept of 'Minimal State' was put forward. But Keynesian economics and Roosevelt's New Deal greatly increased the role of state in economy. Now state started playing its role in demand management. In this direction, public welfare programmes were launched. Now state obviously increased tax rate and then, concept of 'Maximal State' came into light.
- This whole changed scenario gave a new direction to the constitution and government. It was very natural that increasing role of central government in economic field made it strong position. But it reduced the power of the provincial government. In addition to that, as we know that the government had three branches- legislative, executive and judiciary, among these three branches, executive had attained a strong position. In USA, Roosevelt's policy of new deal made centre more powerful in the centre-state relations. Now, the federal government started putting stress on the operational aspect of economic issues and the policy of social security. In this order, President Roosevelt faced a power struggle

with federal court and federal court also considered this change in the balance of power in these changed circumstances.

Capitalist Model

Capitalist model was not a uniform model. It has different face in different countries due to condition and circumstances of concerned country. Its general characteristics are mentioned below:-

1. Economy has been put under the ownership of private sector, not in state control.
2. Private investment, private entrepreneurship and private profit are promoted.
3. Economic activities are governed by market forces (law of demand and supply) because it is considered that market takes better decisions as compared to any state authority.
4. Capitalism focuses on growth and it assumes that the fruit of this growth finally reach to all.

Positive aspect:

- Promotion to private investment and private entrepreneurship enhance production and bring growth also.

Negative aspect:

- More emphasis on profit making and private entrepreneurship widen economic gap. Some people are benefited, but most are deprived. There is no scope for social justice. This economic inequality shrinks market for capitalist itself. It creates production related problems and further economic recession becomes an important characteristic of this economy.

Socialist Model

Socialist model of economy was formulated by Marxism, but Karl Marx personally did not present any economic model. Later, Lenin and Stalin adopted an economic model after lots of experiments and

this model was called socialist model of economy. Its characteristics are mentioned below-

1. State has direct interference in the market forces. State gives direction to it according to its convenience.
2. State enjoys full control over economy. State has land ownership and industries remains under direct control of state.
3. Market forces have been replaced by economic planning. In other words, production of goods is determined by market demand in the capitalist economy, but in the socialist economy it has been decided by the state.

Positive aspects:

1. Exploitation of resources on a large scale has become possible due to the state's interference. Through collectivisation of land, inequality has been removed from agriculture sector. It promotes increases in production and per capita income. Finally, it enhances demand.
2. Heavy industries and infrastructural based development have been given priority.

3. State has arranged some fundamental services like free education, health, transportation etc.

Through this model, Soviet Russia achieved 40% growth rate in its GDP.

Negative aspects:

- Profit is the main catalyst for production and labour force. Since this profit has been curbed, therefore economy has lost that motivating force in long run.
- Market forces enhance goods quality and reduce their prices due to market competition. But it is difficult to promote competition and maintain high quality of goods in the socialist economy.
- Since, production and distribution of resources remain under state's control, so it is state's responsibility for equal and fair allocation of resources. But on the one hand, it increases the size of bureaucracy and on the other hand, tendency of red-tapism and corruption become the part of system.

Inter-Disciplinary Approach

As we have seen earlier that we underline the elements of change in the study of world history. These elements of change have made impacts on contemporary polity, economy, society, constitution, culture etc.

If we take a look on long lasting impact, then we find the changes which are mentioned below-

Keynesian Economics and New Version of Capitalism

Capitalism never experienced such a disastrous crisis in the past which it had faced in 1930 in form of 'Great Depression'. It seemed that capitalism was going to an end. Classical economics faced serious question mark. Classical economics talks about invisible hand and natural equilibrium in the economy which was based on demand and supply. Economists from Adam Smith to JB Say contributed in its evolution. It assumed that supply itself creates its demand and aggregate income is equal to aggregate production/expense. There was no scope for unemployment. But during the Great Depression, huge fall in demand was recorded and rate of unemployment increased up to 25%. Classical economists took it as normal recession which would be passed itself

after a short span. Trade unions and industrial workers created upheaval because they did not let fall in wages.

In 1936 John Maynard Keynes published his famous text, 'The Theory of Employment, Interest and Money' and in this text, he attacked the gold standard and the free market. Keynes prescribed demand management in the economy. For demand management, he talked about two rules - (i) Taxation (ii) Expenditure

Keynes assumed that the inflation would increase the employment, and it is necessary to decrease unemployment. So he recommended that whenever there is a slump in the market, government should reduce taxes and increase the expenditure. So demand would increase and this increased demand would lead to an increase in the production and the employment. This cycle would continue till employment reaches up to nearly 100%. In that situation there would be an inflationary pressure on the economy due to the excessive demand. Then government should increase the taxes and reduce the expenditure. This method was known as 'fiscal stimulus' and J.M. Keynes is characterized as the father of this policy. Still Keynesian model was different from socialist model in the sense that where as in socialist model, the economy is under total control of the state, in Keynesian model it is not under total state control. Keynes believed that as the state had a lot of other important work to do, the economy should be run under the private sector. The government should interfere only for demand management.

New Deal Policy of Franklin D Roosevelt

The American president introduced the policy of 'New Deal' to counter world economic depression. He declared that 'in order to save USA and the world, I declare a new deal to fight depression'. Here the approach of Roosevelt seems to be different from Barack Obama. At the time of the 1st economic depression (1929) USA tried to make a compromise between its own economy and the world economy but at the time of 2nd depression (2007) Obama's government showed a self-centered approach when it decided to put a check over outsourcing to India. So he failed to show the leadership quality which had earlier been shown by Roosevelt. Taper tantrum on account of the ultra-cheap liquidity policy of American central bank is another example. In order to create demand in the economy, Roosevelt's government took several measures such as giving subsidies to peasants and unemployed, encouraging construction works in order to generate employment like the construction of Tennessee valley project which gave employment to nearly 20,000 people, reforms in banking laws etc. So American economy started to recover slowly which led to the recovery of world economy as well. But here the point to be noted is that the 'New Deal' policy changed the very nature of capitalist economy itself. New Deal no more accepted the principle of free economy, rather it prescribed government intervention in the economy for the purpose of demand management. So sometimes the question is raised that did capitalism borrow something from socialism and partly followed the model of socialism. We can't deny the fact that capitalism strengthened itself by borrowing some features from socialism. It was visible in 'New Deal policy' as well as Keynesian economics. Similarly, Lenin had borrowed some capitalist features in his 'New Economic Policy'.

Constitution and Governance

We have discussed above that a new economic model had been developed to overcome the crisis in capitalist economy and in this sequence of events, Keynesian Economics and New Deal Policy of Franklin D Roosevelt came into existence. Although it was an economic outcome, its impact was also underlined in other areas also like constitution and governance.

Classical economics talks about free economy and leaves economic activities in the discretion of market. It tells that the role of state is limited to ensure law and order. In result, concept of 'Minimal State' was put forward. But Keynesian economics and Roosevelt's New Deal increased greatly role of state in the economy. Now state started playing its role in demand management. In this direction, public welfare programmes were launched. Now state obviously increased tax rate and then, concept of 'Maximal State' came into light. As we have seen earlier that middle class was not in favour of such wider role of the state, but crisis in capitalism and fear of communism were in front of this class. So, middle class had to accept this change.

This whole changed scenario gave a new direction to the constitution and government. It was very natural that increasing role of central government in economic field made it strong position. But it reduced the power of provincial government. In addition to that, as we know that government had three branches- legislative, executive and judiciary, among these three branches, executive had attained a solid position. In USA, Roosevelt's policy of new deal made centre more powerful in the centre-state relations. Now, federal government started giving stress also on operational aspect of economic issues and policy of social security. In this order, President Roosevelt faced power struggle with federal court and federal court also considered this change in balance of power in these changed circumstances.

Capitalism vs Socialism

As we have seen that Russian Revolution had established first socialist government of the world. Further, it had developed a new economic model which was not based on market forces, but it was a planned economy. This model proved successful and it provided high growth rate to the Russian economy. At the same time, capitalist economy faced unprecedented slowdown, 'Great Depression'. It posed a big question mark on credibility on the capitalist model of economy. Simultaneously, socialist ideology progressed immensely on global level. In this scenario, Keynesian economics and New deal presented a practical solution in this crisis period and it introduced a new model as a middle way between capitalism and socialism. It had provided a human face to capitalism and enabled capitalism to fight against socialism. Soviet Russia's revolution attempted to attract labours and workers. On the other side, Keynesian model tried to face socialist propaganda through welfare programmes for labours. Therefore, capitalism received constant stimulation from Keynesian economics throughout cold war. Yes, it is true that socialist model got dismantled in later period, but it forced capitalism to adopt some socialist ideas.



■ Totalitarian State System

- Totalitarianism is a system in which a minority group imposed its hegemony on the majority on the basis of coercive power. In one sense the basis of a totalitarian state was prepared in 19th century itself. In fact its technological basis was prepared by industrial revolution (modern transport & communication) and its ideological basis by ideologies like nationalism and socialism (dictatorship of the proletariat).
- We can underline two different models of Totalitarian States-
 - i. Rightist model
 - ii. Leftist model
- Rightist model was being exemplified by Fascism and Nazism while the leftist one by soviet Russia under Stalin.

■ Fascism:

- Fascism is an established ideology, which gradually evolved from 19th century. Ideologically, it was inspired by social Darwinism as well as Freudian psychology. As we know, social Darwinism justified and idealized the conflict, likewise, Freud's psychoanalysis put a question mark to rationalism and reasoning and talks in terms of the subconscious mind and its impact on human behavior. In this way, the importance of faith in place of reasoning was promoted.
- Fascism was not any consistent philosophy rather it was a mixture of Hegelian idealism, social Darwinism, anti-intellectualism etc.

- **Characteristics of Fascism**– Fascism was having different manifestations in

different parts of the world, but still they were having some common points or certain points of similarity, such as –

1. The glorification of the power of the state.
2. The glorification of leadership and the promotion of the cult of hero-worship.
3. To promote status-quo in society and to give emphasis over customs and traditions to follow aggressive foreign policy.
4. To oppose democratic ideas like liberalism, socialism & communism.
5. To use all official machinery as well as almost all socio-cultural venues to promote this ideology.
6. To make use of mob psychology.
7. To promote class collaboration and to discourage class conflict.

■ Factors behind the rise of fascism in Europe:

1. Ideologies like social Darwinism and Freud's psychology pleaded for the primacy for an individual in society.
2. The basis of fascist ideas was prepared by the Treaty of St. Germain as well as the Treaty of Versailles which had been concluded under Paris peace conference.
3. The World Economic Depression in 1929-30 appeared to be a crisis in the capitalist model, so capitalism tried to save itself from aggressive communism through taking a formidable face.
4. The reaction of defeated soldiers to regain its lost glory e.g. General Ludendorff and General Hindenburg.
5. Fear among the capitalists and the landlords due to the increasing influence of socialism.

■ **Fascism in Italy and Mussolini:**

- The Fascist party which was originally known as Fascido Combattimento was formed at Milan in Italy in 1919. A 'bundle of sticks' was made the symbol of the Fascist party. Under the influence of Hegelian idealism, Mussolini glorified state power and made a declaration that "everything is within the state nothing is outside the state and nothing is against the state".

■ **Factors behind the success of Mussolini and Fascist Party-**

- The success of Mussolini in Italian Politics lay in his opportunist policy and organisational skill. He made a successful combine between the parliamentary politics and politics of the street.

1. He followed a thorough opportunist policy and gave false promises to the different social classes in Italy. Infact, earlier Mussolini was a socialist thinker and he was quite opposed to nationalism. But very soon same Mussolini made another declaration in 1922 but it was against Socialism. He declared- 'I am starting a war against Socialism & Communism'. It amply proves that he was basically an opportunist.

- Apart from that, he gave, although true or false, some promises to every class. He satisfied the ultra-nationalists by giving them the promise that he would surely undo the wrong done to Italy in the treaty of St. Germain. Likewise he gave the promise of employment generation to intellectuals, youths & students. To the industrialist class, he made a promise of giving it safety against workers' strikes. Likewise he even gave promise to working class to make it free from the fear of lock outs. Furthermore, for the members of

the middle class there was a promise for maintaining better law & order situation.

2. When fascist party under Mussolini progressed, both liberal party and communist party could not form a joint front against it. The liberal party made this point clear that we can't fight one dictatorship in favour of another one. So it was also a factor behind the success of Fascist party in Italy.
3. In the elections of 1921 his party bagged 35 seats but fascist party did not still get majority number of seats, so it was not in a position to form its government. Thus Mussolini adopted an alternative method to get the power. He started to suppress the communists and the radical groups in Italy. Then in association with 50,000 black-shirted volunteers of Fascist party, he carried a famous march towards Rome, the capital of Italy. So Italian monarch, Victor Emmanuel III, came under the pressure and invited Mussolini to join the government. In this way Mussolini became the Prime Minister of Italy.

■ **The regimentation of power by Mussolini in Italy:**

1. After coming to power Mussolini played the cards of democratic politics for a short while then he started to regiment all the powers into his own hand. For example, he became the head of the army, judicial system and the education.
2. Then he dismissed Municipal Corporation from towns and cities and in their place he started to appoint an officer named "Podesta" in smaller towns while in big towns & cities commissioners were appointed. These officers were made responsible directly to the centre.
3. From 1926 onwards, he tried to put a check on the political parties. He

destroyed almost the whole election process. Above all in 1928, he made severe attack on the last vestige of democracy when he brought a legislation in which there was a provision that the members of the legislative assembly could be elected only from the 400 names shortlisted by the fascist General assembly.

4. He brought the changes in the educational curriculum whose objective was to glorify fascist ideals and Mussolini.
5. With the support of a secret police organization, Ovra, he eliminated his enemies. In this way, he proved that the guns and the educational curriculum would manufacture the complete fascist government.
6. When the World Economic Depression threatened the capitalist system and promoted class conflict in society, Mussolini tried to give a reply to it through a corporate state system. With the support of this system, Mussolini could bring the whole economy under the strict control of the state. The idea of corporativism was not new. The basic intention behind this system was to replace the old sectional interests such as Trade Unions and Employer's organisations which so often produced conflicts between labour and capital.
7. In order to generate fresh employment, he organised a public works department (PWD) and secondly he made an invasion on Ethiopia. For completing this mission, he inducted nearly 3 lakh youths into the army. In this way he encouraged the war-push employment.
8. In order to consolidate his position in Italy, he improved his relationship with Pope of Rome. Right from 1870, when Italy had captured Rome the relationship between

Vatican City and Italy got strained so Pope refused to recognise this Italy as a nation. But here Mussolini developed a new understanding with Pope and on the basis of Lateral agreement Pope gave recognition to Italy.

■ Foreign Policy of Mussolini:

• Objectives:

1. The foreign policy of Mussolini was inspired by following ideas that unification of Italy was still an unfinished agenda, so, Italy should make fresh extension in Balkan region.
2. Apart from that, his objective was to make an expansion in the region of Africa as well.
3. Furthermore, as he was against the treaty of St. Germain, so, one of his objectives was to break the clauses of the treaty of St. Germain.
4. Above all, he followed a thorough aggressive policy as he was convinced over the fact that after all Italian unification had become possible due to the aggressive policy adopted by Italy.

• **Mussolini's Initiatives**— He started to breach the provisions of Treaty of St. Germain in following manner-

- a. In Paris Peace Conference, Italy was not offered 'Fiume Port' as it was a disputed region between Italy and Yugoslavia. This region was declared to be independent. But in 1924, by concluding a Treaty with Yugoslavia, Italy captured Fiume Port.
- b. Similarly, Italy had demanded its patronage over Albania in Paris Peace Conference but Allied power had refused it. Later, on the basis of Treaty of Triana (1927), Italy got the patronage over Albania.

- c. Mussolini invaded Corfu region in Greece and captured it. Although, under British pressure he had to vacate the region, however he got 5 crore Lira as compensation.
- Earlier there was a rivalry between Italy and France in Africa, the Mediterranean and the Balkan regions, but after the rise of Hitler, France and Italy came near to

each other and there was the conclusion of the Lohav-Mussolini Pact in 1933. But after the invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935, Mussolini was isolated. Infact, the League of Nations declared him aggressive and imposed economic sanctions on him. Then he decided to come near to Hitler. So, ultimately this phenomenon led to the formation of the Rome–Berlin axis.



■ Nazism in Germany:

• Factors behind the rise of Nazism–

1. According to some critics, the rise of Nazism was inherent in German history itself. Infact, Germany was having a long tradition of militarism. Germans always favoured a strong leadership.
2. The treaty of Versailles, in which Germany was humiliated, created a favourable situation for the rise of Nazism.
3. World economic depression also made a contribution to the rise of Hitler or the Nazi party. Infact, having been scared

about growing influence of communism both the German Junkar Class (Zamindar) and the German capitalist class strengthened the hand of Hitler or the Nazi party.

■ Factors behind the rise of Hitler:

- There was a ‘German Nationalist Workers Socialist Party’ popularly known as the ‘Nazi Party’. Hitler joined it and became its leader by 1921.
- 1. Hitler was an excellent demagogue. After his rise as the head of the Nazi party in 1921, Hitler started a propaganda

campaign in favour of its party's program and consciously promoted a sense of hatred among common Germans against Jews, Jesuits as well as the Communist.

2. Like Mussolini, Hitler also gave promises to different social groups, for example, the capitalist class, the workers, the youth and unemployed, the ultra German nationalist etc.
3. Initially, like Mussolini, he also tried to capture the power by dint of force but after the failure of Munich coup, he changed his strategy. Then he decided to seize the power through following the democratic means. But once coming to power, he started to destroy the stairs through which he himself had came to power.
4. In spite of the best of his efforts, he could not get desired success, so, he realized that Nazi ideals would have been spread to the rural areas as well. That's why in between 1924 and 1928, he worked for creating a

base even in the countryside.

- But still in the elections of 1928 Hitler was running short of the expected number of seats. In fact, it was the world economic recession of 1929-30 which proved a game-changer as Hitler's popularity shot up during the time of this economic crisis. That's why in the elections of 1932, Nazi party emerged to be the largest party and German president Hindenburg invited him to take charge of the post of Chancellor (or P.M.). So in January, 1933 Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany.

■ Regimentation of power by Hitler:

1. After coming to power, in February, 1933 Hitler invoked Article-48 of the Weimar Republic and declared a national emergency.
2. When president Hindenberg died in 1934, Hitler, on the basis of a referendum, combined both the post of Chancellor and President into a single one and occupied the post.



3. In June 1934, He carried a purge within the party. Under this operation, he eliminated radical socialist members within the party. This incident is known as “Night of the Long Knives”. After that, he also carried the purge within the army and provided some important posts to his supporters.
4. In order to put control over the strikes, he created a working-class front and through this front, he brought the working-class under his control.
5. He continued to give some subsidies to peasants as in Nazi conception the greater value is allocated to blood & soil.
6. With the support of his secret police, Gestapo, he eliminated his enemies.
7. He brought changes in the educational curriculum and encouraged the scholars and artists to glorify the Nazi party and Hitler.
8. On the front of employment, he got unparalleled success, as he unconsciously adopted the Keynesian method for promoting employment by the state through increasing state spending.
9. Hitler and the Nazi party adopted a harsh method for women. They prescribed only Kinder (kids), Kirch (Church), Kuch (kitchen) to women.
10. Above all, he adopted a very harsh approach to Jews on the basis of Nuremberg law. Jews were deprived of their citizenship and from 1938 onwards, riots started against them.

■ Foreign Policy of Hitler:

• Objectives:-

1. The first objective of Hitler’s foreign policy was to break the unjust clauses of the treaty of Versailles.
2. His foreign policy was guided even by racism. For example, in his text “The

secret book”, he mentioned that Germans were the pure Aryans so they deserve to possess a larger chunk of the land they had been allocated in Europe. On the other hand, Slavs (Russia) belonged to an inferior race but they had possessed a larger chunk of land than they deserved. So, the Slav population should have been dispossessed from the extra possession.

3. Hitler gave emphasis to the policy of Lebensraum i.e. expansion in east up to the Ural mountain.
4. Hitler differed from the policy of neo-Bismarckian. Neo-Bismarckians believed that Germany had a definite boundary but according to Hitler German boundary was beyond limit. In other words, Hitler’s approach was continental.

■ Different stages of Hitler’s foreign policy:

- We can divide the foreign policy of Hitler in different stages, on the basis of its specific trends–
 - **First Stage (1933-36)-** In this stage the objective of the foreign policy of Hitler was to break or contravene the provisions of the treaty of Versailles. But he was much calculative in his approach and he was trying to convince the allied powers simultaneously that he was not having any malafide intentions. For example–
1. In April 1933 he formed German Security Council and started rearmament programme. Furthermore, in October 1933, Germany withdrew itself from disarmament commission of the League of Nations. But still he tried to convince European powers that he was still committed to peace and harmony in Europe.
 2. In 1934, Hitler concluded a no-aggression pact with Poland. So European powers

were more convinced about his good intentions.

3. Furthermore, in 1935, he became ready to limit German Navy in relation to Britain. In this way, he successfully dispelled British fear about Germany. But it was during this period that he sent German army to demilitarized region of Rhine in March 1936.

- **The Second Stage (1936-38)-**

1. In this stage the first target of Germany was Austria. In Austria there was German population but the treaty of Versailles made a restriction over the unification between Germany and Austria. Later, Hitler decided to annex Austria in German empire. In 1934 itself a Nazi party had already been formed in Austria and in 1938 with the support from Nazi party of Austria, Hitler annexed Austria. Now Austria became the part of Germany.
 2. Then Hitler made a declaration that our next target is Sudetenland. Infact, it was a part of Czechoslovakia and three million Germans were settled there. At this declaration the allied powers got alarmed. They tried to resolve the problem through negotiation.
- Infact, the British Prime Minister Chamberlain was working under a wrong perception. He believed that it was the grievd nationalism of Germany that got ventilated to the foreign policy of Hitler. So, if Hitler & Nazi party were given the chance to ventilate their dissatisfaction and wrath then Germany could emerge to be a satisfied nation. Secondly, Britain & France both learnt a lesson from the First World War. The lesson was that in war both the parties are equally looser. So no nation could emerge victorious in true sense. That's why upto the last Britain &

France were trying continuously to avert the war. But the subsequent events proved that the policy of appeasement did not work in averting the war.

- For example, four important nations in Europe Germany, Italy, Britain and France gathered at Munich in September, 1938 and Munich pact was concluded between the two parties. It was the virtual sale out of Czechoslovakia to Germany. In other words, we can say Sudetenland was separated from Czechoslovakia and it was given to Germany. From his behalf Hitler tried to satisfy the allied powers on the basis of the assurance that it was his last territorial claim in Europe.

- **The Last Stage (After 1938)-**

- In March 1939 Hitler almost captured whole of Czechoslovakia. Such step by Hitler exposed true character of Nazism while throwing light on following factors - Firstly, it was not the grievd nationalism of Germany but rather it was German imperialism. Secondly, the target of Hitler was not simply German population in Europe but any other race. Thirdly, it became clear that the policy of appeasement was not the actual solution to the problem.
- Now it was supposed that next target of Hitler was Poland. That's why Britain and France gave a guarantee of the safeguard to Poland but it was prevailing notions that 'a strong guarantee a day keeps Hitler away'. But on 1st September, 1939 German army entered into Poland. On 3rd September Britain and France declared war against Hitler. So, the Second World War started.
- **Which was responsible for war?**
- One important question is that who was responsible for the Second World War?

Definitely Hitler played a major role in it as he followed a very aggressive foreign policy. From the very beginning, he was inclined to break the provisions of the treaty of Versailles. His desire was insatiable. He continued from one demand to another till it resulted into an open conflict. So, Hitler was definitely responsible, but we cannot even make the allied powers free from the responsibility. In this war as initially they followed a policy of appeasement till Munich but on the issue of Poland they adopted an excessive tough posture, so Hitler was caught unawares. War might have possibly been avoided by greater firmness or greater conciliation.



■ Origin of the Second World War

- Two World wars should not be treated as a separate phenomenon but rather they should have been viewed in continuation. According to Eric Hobsbawm, it was a war of 31 years which had ended on 15th August 1945. A number of factors were accountable for those wars.

1. **Treaty of Versailles**– It was a dictated treaty. After this treaty Germany was humiliated so much so that it could never digest it. Grieved nationalism of Germany

promoted aggressive nationalism which personified itself in Hitler.

2. **Lack of cooperation between Britain and France in implementation of treaty**– Although treaty of Versailles is a factor behind the Second World War, but we can't ignore the fact that there was a gap of nearly 20 years. It shows that some other factors also made a contribution to it. While Britain and France cooperated with each other in deciding tough terms of the treaty, but they did not exhibit the same level of cooperation in the implementation of the treaty. It emboldened Nazi government to work against the clauses of the treaty.

3. **World Economic Depression**– Economic depression of 1929-30 gave a serious jolt to liberal and democratic party while it strengthened the position ultra-right wing party like Fascism and Nazism. In spite of all odds, Weimar Republic of Germany was any how managing the situation while severe economic crisis caused by depression made its failure inevitable, it was after this depression that Hitler got larger audience and followers. So, it is aptly remarked that if there were no economic depression Hitler might have been lost in the pages of history.

4. **Ultra-right wing politics**– Aggressive foreign policy and war are inherent in right wing politics. The popularity of such party depended over its aggressive posture on foreign front. Mussolini and Hitler assured their audiences to alter the existing boundary of the nation.

5. **Failure of League of Nations**– League of Nations came into existence with the promise of establishing collective peace. But it proved a toothless organization which persistently failed to check

aggressive policy of recalcitrant countries. Manchurian crisis and Ethiopian crisis put a question mark to its peace-keeping ability.

6. Formation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis—

After Abyssinian crisis, Mussolini came near to Hitler so there was the formation of Rome-Berlin axis in 1936. Then even Japan joined it so developed Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. It was the polarization of three big evil forces which proved a big challenge to world order.

Ques: - To what extent can Germany be held responsibility for causing two world wars? Discuss critically. (UPSC- 2015)

Ans: - Germany has been projected as harbinger of world wars and William Kaiser as well as Hitler are believed to be the main protagonists of the First World War and the Second World War respectively. After the First World War in the treaty of Versailles war guilt was placed on the head of Germany on the basis of the article 231 of the treaty. On the other hand Second World War was declared to be Hitler's war while allied powers were presented merely as victims of the situation. But the situation before the world wars was so complex that it is not possible to draw a line of demarcation between the guilty and the innocent.

Behind the First World War Germany was definitely accountable as it gave to Austria unconditional support on the issue of Serbia. In this way German ruler, William Kaiser, brought Europe on the brink of war. But even other European powers made their contribution to it. Russia through giving open support to Serbia and France further added fuel to the fire. On the other hand Britain did not make any serious effort to avert the war.

Even during the Second World War, more or less same condition is visible. It is true that

Hitler started unrestricted expansion by challenging the European order. He combined naked militarism, diplomacy and opportunism all together and left no opportunity to annex the new region. But even allied powers should not be made free from their accountability. They did not follow a balanced policy towards Hitler. Up to the Munich issue they followed a policy of undiluted appeasement while suddenly on the issue of Poland they declared war against Germany. So, even Hitler was caught unawares.

In this way for world wars a single person or a single country can't be held responsible.

Question: State the causes for the emergence of Fascism. (UPSC-2013)

Answer: Fascism was a right-wing ultra-nationalist ideology, which was not systematic and consistent. There was a mixture of different and contradictories ideas, for example, anti-intellectualism, Hegel's idealism, radical nationalism, opportunism, anti-socialist, anti-democratic rule etc. The conditions after the First World War had prepared fertile ground for the emergence of Fascism in Europe.

After the World War I, Italy was dissatisfied with the Treaty of Saint Germain at the Paris Peace Conference, while Germany felt a national humiliation by the Treaty of Versailles. Naturally, the most extreme manifestations of fascism were seen in Italy and Germany. Class interest was also joined with the spirit of ultra-nationalism with the rise of fascism. As we know, the Russian Revolution took place in the middle of the First World War and with it the world's first communist government was established. It created a grave challenge to the capitalist countries. Above all, after the economic recession of 1929-30, the socialist ideology

spread rapidly. Due to this, the bourgeoisie spread in different regions of Europe became frightened and they started supporting political party inspired by right wing and radical nationalist ideas. In Italy, Mussolini had the support of the capitalists and landlords. Similarly, the German Junker class (landlord class) and the capitalist class started supporting Hitler's ideology. Although the Fascist government was established apparently in only three countries, namely Italy, Germany and Spain, but it made its presence in 16 of the 28 countries of Europe. Now as far as the ideological basis of Fascism is concerned, we can say that source of its inspiration were thinkers of the 19th century like Nietzsche and Freud. While Nietzsche attacked rationalism, Freud emphasized the importance of the subconscious mind. Naturally the importance of 'faith' increased. Fascism also rejected rationalism and made 'faith' its basis. Fascism was thus a product of complex circumstances.

Question: For the Second World War, as much as Hitler's aggressive policy was responsible so was the policy of appeasement of the Allies. Examine it.

(Question-Analysis:- This question is 'Hypothetical' in its external form, but 'Argumentative' in the internal structure. In the first part of this question, Hitler's aggressive foreign policy has to be discussed, while in the second part the mistakes committed by the Allies.)

Answer: Hitler is considered to have played a major role in the occurrence of World War II. It is called Hitler's war, but on the other hand some strategic blunders of the Allies made it inevitable.

Hitler adopted aggressive policy one after the other-

- He openly violated the Treaty of Versailles by sending German army to the Rhine region in 1936.
- He annexed Austria in 1938.
- Hitler annexed whole of Czechoslovakia even after getting German territory, Sudetenland, from Czechoslovakia in the Treaty of Munich in September, 1938.
- At last, he invaded Poland and created a situation of war.

But on the other hand there was a lack of balance in the policy of the Allies. Initially, Britain and France adopted a soft policy towards Hitler. Till the Treaty of Munich, they kept trying to appease him, but on the issue of Poland they started open conflict. Hitler probably did not think to that extent.

Therefore, we cannot make the allied powers free from the responsibility of the war.

Question:- The First World War was not a war of four years, but of 31 years which started in July, 1914 and ended in August, 1945. Examine it.

(Question-Analysis:- This question appears to be a 'Hypothetical' in its expression, but it expects critical thinking from the candidate. Hence, in practice it becomes 'Argumentative'.)

Answer: A group of historians does not consider the two world wars as a separate phenomenon rather considers it as a total war and views it in continuity. The First World War created more issues than that of it resolved, which led to the Second World War. Therefore, it is considered to be just a truce of 20 years.

This can be proved as follows-

- The enmity between Germany and France had been an important cause for the First World War, but after this war the enmity increased further due to the harsh

punishment given to Germany in Paris Peace Conference.

- Wilson's 14-Point Programme had claimed to end the tension by giving self-determination rights to the minority groups of Central and Eastern Europe, but instead of solving the problem, the formation of the new nations increased it even more.

- The League of Nations, an international organization, was established for the purpose of collective peace as well as to suppress ultra-nationalism, but it itself became a victim of ultra-nationalism.

Thus, the First World War proved to be a war of 31 years.

■■■



PART-V

Subpart-I : Europe after the Second World War

Subpart-II : Condition and Direction of the World in Post World War Era

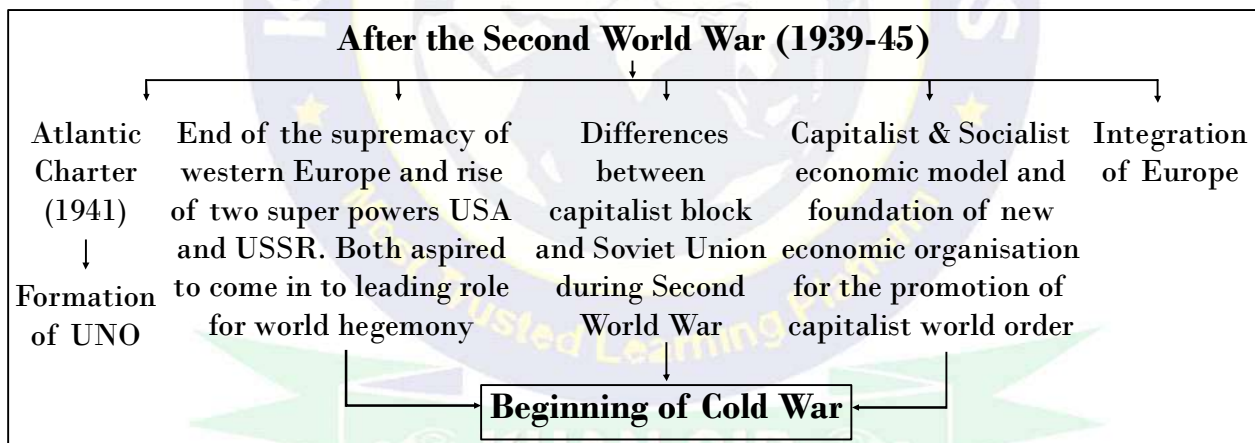
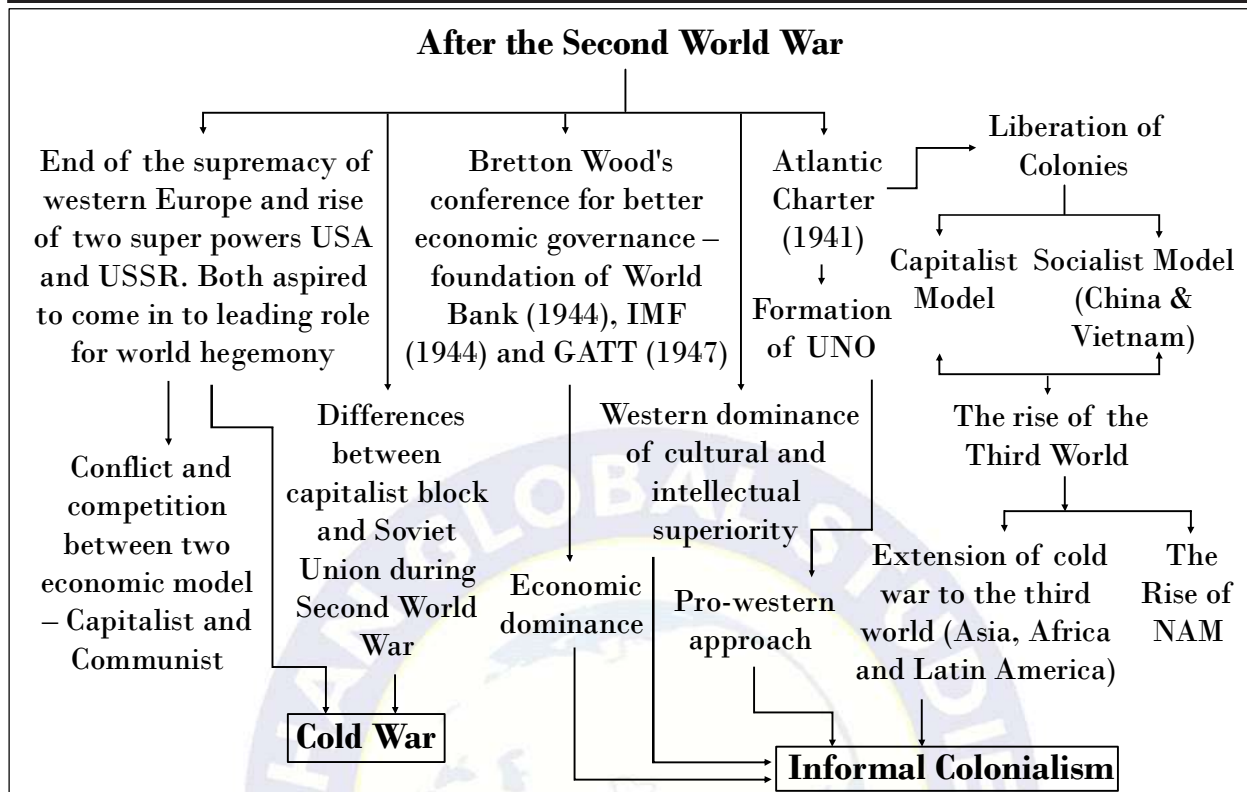
While studying these topics, it will be necessary to consider the following important facts-

- Why is World War-II considered the dividing line in world history?
- Impact on 'World History' after the end of European domination.
- What were the points of difference between the Western countries and Soviet Russia during the Second World War?
- How was the Cold War different from earlier wars?
- What steps did the western countries take to save the capitalist model?

- Manikant Singh

World History (Part-V)

Subpart-I: Europe after the Second World War



■ Cold War

- It was a psychological or diplomatic war whose objective was to extend the area of influence of the one bloc at the cost of the other. Just after the end of the Second World War, the third World War started, although it was different in nature from earlier wars. It is characterised either as 'Cold war' or 'Hot peace'.
- The background of the cold war**– It is said that friends during the Second World War

didn't remain together at the end of the war as fresh issues of conflict appeared among them-

- The issue of opening of second military front during the Second World War**-(difference between Russia and western power) - Against Nazi invasion Britain and USA fought together along with USSR. But USSR was converted into a worst battle field, facing the situation of unparallel devastation. Therefore, the head of Russia suggested to allied powers

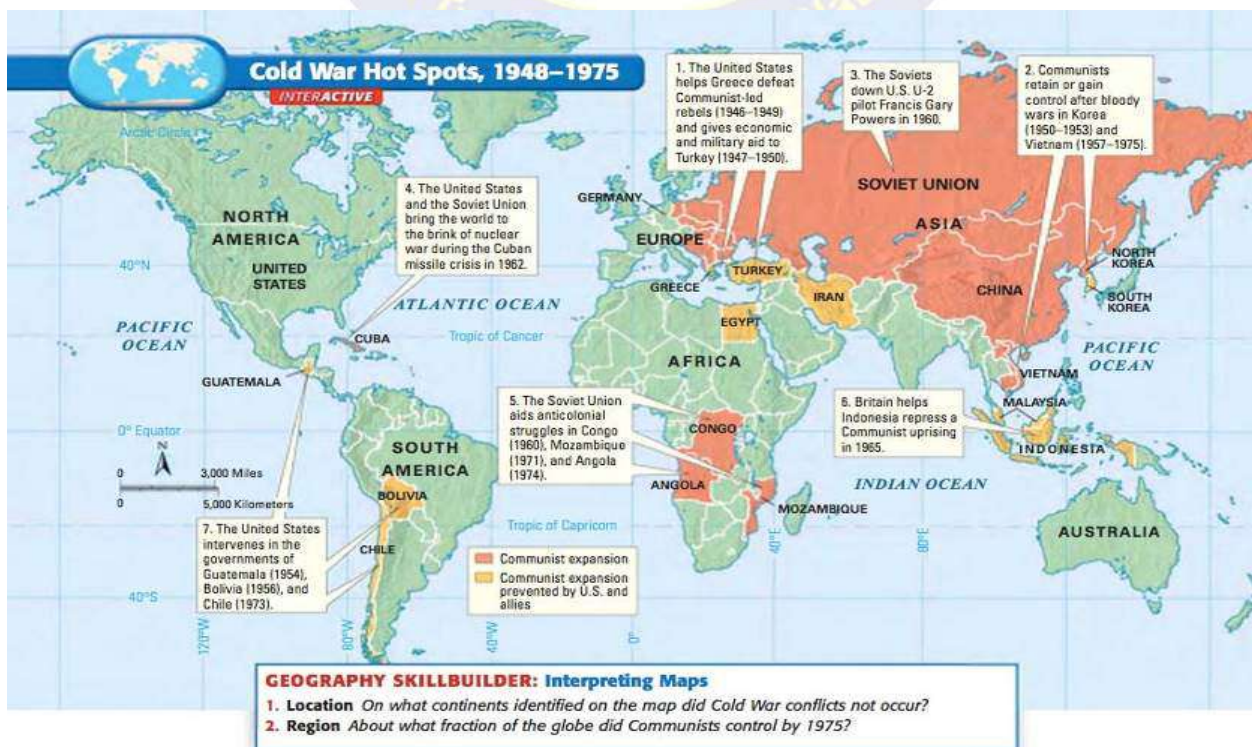
- that it would be better to open a second front in France against Germany so that German power would be divided and Russia's devastation could have been halted, but Britain gave her own plea and rejected this proposal. Britain replied that as she had already been involved into a war against Italy in Greece, so it was not advisable to open a new front in Greece.
2. **The issue of the surrender of Italy in 1943-** In 1943, after the surrender of Italy to allied powers, Britain and USA opened talks with her. USSR being a coalition partner was hoping an invitation to talk but to her utter frustration, she was not invited.
 3. **USSR brought eastern European countries and a part of Germany under its control-** After repulsing Nazi attack, USSR made an eastward expansion and captured a vast region of Eastern Europe as well as a part of Germany. So, allied powers, exclusively British Prime Minister Churchill turned to be suspicious about Russian designs.
 4. **The "percentage agreement" between British PM, Churchill, and head of USSR Stalin-** But having been suspicious of Russian movement, British Prime Minister Churchill thought it wise to divide the East European region under Russian control in respective area of influence. So, he signed a percentage agreement with USSR. According to this agreement, Russian occupied region had to be divided between capitalist and communist spheres of influence. This agreement was signed in October 1944, but putting aside the provisions of the treaty, Stalin could impose communist governments in these regions from above.
 5. **Nuclear bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by USA in August 1945-** USSR under Stalin raised the issue that being a coalition partner USSR had every right to be consulted before taking such a major step like bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but the government of Truman replied that this matter was a much secret and sensitive matter associated with the security of USA which it could not share with any partner. This reply was disturbing to USSR.
 6. **In Feb 1946, Stalin declared that capitalism and communism are poles apart. In reply Churchill's declaration at Fulton in USA in March, 1946-** In 1946, Churchill the former Prime Minister of Great Britain gave a speech at the university of Fulton, Missouri, in the US, in which he stated that 'from Baltic to Trieste' in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent. This notion of an 'iron curtain' imposed on the Soviet Union and European countries has since become the pervasive image of the Soviet Union during the cold war.
- **Comprehensive causes behind the cold war:**
1. It was the product of a historical situation. In fact, in history, there is a very short period of co-operation but a long period of conflict.
 2. Every war creates a power vacuum and after that existing powers try to fill it. The same phenomenon was also visible after WWII. In other words, after WWII the two superpowers USA & USSR tried to fill up the vacuum.
 3. The ideological conflict between Soviet Russia & the USA became a major point of difference between the two.
 4. In fact, WWII made both the USA &

USSR much conscious about their defence. Before WWII, USA treated herself to be a safe nation which was protected through the great fort of the Atlantic Ocean. But an attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan exposed its vulnerability. Not simply that, the invention of aircraft made this point clear that the Atlantic Ocean would not work as a protective wall for a longer time.

5. Likewise, Russia had bitter memories to be invaded at both its fronts western as well as eastern. So, Russia came to realise that so far it was not going to develop friendly nations on its border, its security would always be threatened. It was with this objective it installed the communist governments in the Eastern European counties.
- **Strategy adopted by the United States for the promotion of capitalism and to check socialism:**
 - After the WWII, the process of decolonisation started and it was followed by the democratisation of international

relations. So there arose a question of “How to run the international economy after the decline of colonial powers? Earlier, they had been giving the guarantee of the repayment of loan as well as smooth functioning of economy”. Further, the gold standard in international trade also collapsed up to this period. So there was a major question, “How to run international economy now?”

- It was in this context that colonialism turned from formal to informal, and a number of institutions were formed which could ensure the economic hegemony of the capitalist west. The twin daughters of Bretton Woods came into existence in 1944. These were the IMF and the World Bank.
- **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**– In the absence of the gold standard, IMF had to facilitate the smooth functioning of the international trade through exchange rate management. Now gold standard was replaced by “Dollar Standard” and IMF had to adjust the value of different





economics to the international competition e.g. agriculture, service sector etc. were kept out from the purview of international trade and the third world economics were given extra protection.

- Under the Keynesian model of economy, the world economy grew faster i.e., between 1950 and 1973. This period is characterised as the golden age of the capitalist economy.

currencies with respect to the Dollar.

- **World Bank**– Likewise, World Bank had to play the role of guarantor of the loan. The headquarter of both of these institutions are in New York. Also, it was decided between the European countries and the USA that the head of IMF would come from the Europe while that of the World Bank from the USA.
- **GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade)**– Apart from that, as the great depression of 1929-30 gave a lesson that at the time of economic crisis, a trade war and a currency war starts between countries. So in order to avoid such possibilities, a new institution GATT was established. Then it was decided that it would work for the smooth functioning of international trade.
- **Contribution**– The architects of these new institutions were J. M. Keynes, a British economist and Harry Dexter White, an US economist. JM Keynes was conscious about the fact that there should be a proper balance between the smooth functioning of international economy and the protection of domestic economy. So, he partially exposed the domestic

■ Formal declaration of Cold War and its progress in Europe-

1. **Truman Doctrine (March, 1947)**– Britain withdrew from Greece, so the security of Greece and that of Turkey became a big issue and that fell on the head of USA. So, US President Truman made an appeal to US congress to sanction the money for military expenses. As a result, \$ 450 million was sanctioned by the Congress for maintaining US naval force in the Mediterranean Sea. Then, in March 1947, there appeared ‘Truman doctrine’. The US President, Truman addressed a joint session of the US Congress on 12 march, 1947, with a speech that later came to be known as Truman doctrine. He told the Congress, ‘Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting’ and a respectable democracy... I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people. The Truman doctrine initiated the phase of the US policy of containment of communism across the world.

2. **Marshall Plan (June, 1947)**– In June 1947, the United States laid out plans for a European re-construction program. This is known as the Marshall Plan. In this plan, a provision of total \$ 13 billion was made for the economic assistance to Europe. The real purpose of this plan was to promote the economic re-construction of Europe and above all, to create a market for American goods. According to Britain, this was a formal declaration of the Cold War because it divided Europe into two separate blocs.
 3. **Brussels Pact (March, 1948)**– Imposition of a communist government in Czechoslovakia by USSR in Feb 1948 and the formation of ‘Brussels pact’ by western countries in March 1948.
 4. **Berlin Blockade and NATO**– The issue of ‘Berlin Blockade’ in May-June 1948 and formation of NATO in April 1949.
 5. **Warsaw Pact (1955)** – In a response to the move of Western powers, USSR formed ‘Warsaw pact’ in 1955.
 - But during the cold war, except some stray incidence of tension, Europe remained to be relatively peaceful. Actual conflict appeared in the vast region of Asia, Africa and Latin America.
- **Atlantic charter (1941):**
- The Atlantic charter was signed by the US President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister, Churchill on a battleship in the Atlantic Ocean and it declared a few common principles for the future world order.
 - **Contributions:**
 1. It promised the right to self-judgment to all the people living in different parts of the world.
 2. It proved a death knell to colonialism and imperialism and it became a charter for decolonization.
 3. As it was realised that one of the reasons for the world wars was the monopoly of some nations on economic resources, so Atlantic charter tried to assure the access of all countries to the sources of raw materials and the market.
- **Limitations:**
1. Through the Atlantic charter the USA had been searching its own market desperately through removing control by colonial powers from the international market.
 2. Very soon, the agenda of the cold war violated the Atlantic charter. In other words, only those liberation movements could enlist the support of the USA where the movement was being led by the bourgeoisie party. But if it was led by the Communist Party it was consciously opposed by the USA.
- **Integration of Europe**
- On the one hand, where Europe was divided into Western and Eastern Europe, on the other, integration among the countries of Western Europe also got a boost. (Only after the 1990s did integration expand to Eastern Europe.)
 - **Factors behind the integration of Europe:**
 1. European leaders and intellectuals realized that each generation of Europe was facing a fierce war. This war could be ended only when there was a unification of Europe. Apart from that, there was awareness among the common people in favour of integration as well.
 2. France realized that the issue of its conflict with Germany would end after unification.

3. France and some other countries believed that it would be possible to limit the influence of both the superpowers on Europe after the unification.
4. It was also necessary for Germany (West Germany) as in condition of integrated Europe it would have been accepted in the community of European nations quickly.
5. Post-World War economic reconstruction would have been easy after the integration of Europe.

- **Model of integration:**

1. An organized federation of different nations like the US.
2. A loose union of different nations, like the United Nations.

- **European Economic Community (1958)**

- A consensus could not be reached in favour of the first model, so an international organization was created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Its aim was to bring about economic integration, including a common market, a customs union and a common external trade policy, among its six founding members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany.

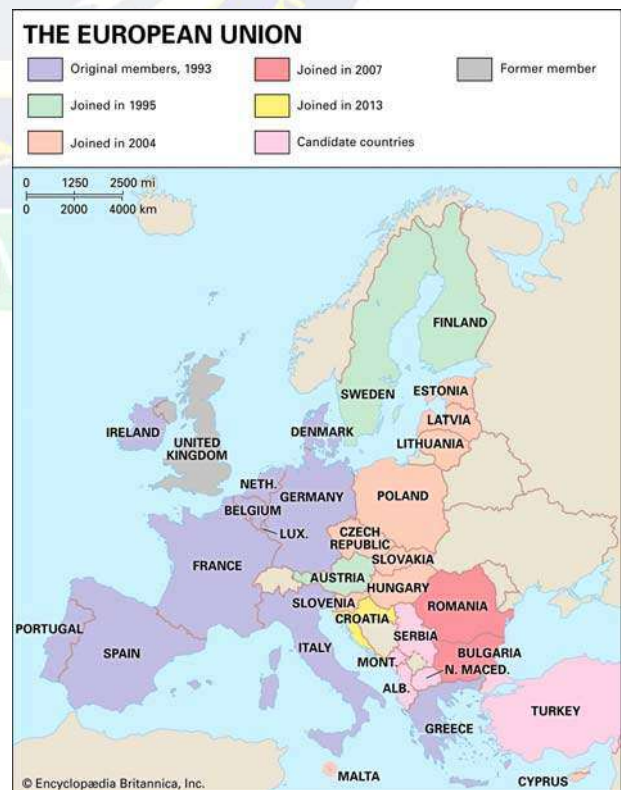
- **Some of the Institutions of EEC:**

1. European Parliament
2. European Council of Ministers
3. European Court
4. Secretariat
5. Euratom - A collective nuclear program of member countries.



- **European Community**

- In 1967, more efforts were made towards economic integration and in this regard, the European Community was formed instead of the European Economic Community. Under this, an effort was made to form an organization by combining the European Economic Community, the European Coal and Iron Commission and the Euratom.



- **Britain's Response** - Initially, Britain was not willing to join this institution, rather it formed an organization EFTA (European Free Trade Association) in association with seven other countries.
- **Why Britain did not join EEC?**
 1. She had more confidence in the Commonwealth market than in European market.
 2. He believed that his relationship with the

United States would be weakened by joining this organization.

- But after the rapid expansion of the economy of France and Germany and the decline of the British economy on the other side, Britain realized its mistake. Then it tried constantly to join the institution but now its decision was vetoed by France. Finally, in 1973 it was successful in joining this institution.



Decolonisation or Liberation of colonies

- Decolonization means the liberation of colonies but the process of liberation did not prove smooth rather it proved a long and arduous process. It is said that what impact earlier Napoleonic war produced on Spanish colony of Latin America the same impact the Second World War left on Asia-African colonies of Britain, France, Holland etc.
- **The process and the nature of decolonization:**
 - The process of decolonization varies from one power to another and from region to region, for example, France was a bit hardliner in approach, it did not allow its colonies to slip out of its hand so smoothly. That's why France launched tough and bloody reprisals in its colonies like Algeria and Vietnam. On the other hand, Britain adopted a bit soft approach to nationalist resistance against its rule. The nature of decolonization depends even on what stake some colonial power was having in the region concerned. If the stake was higher, including a larger settled population as well larger investment in the region colonial power was not ready to vacate the region smoothly, for example, British resisted the liberation movement in countries like Egypt and Kenya for a longer time.
 - Even the term 'decolonization' itself is a misnomer. It sounds as if the liberation of colonies was a smooth process and imperialist powers liberated colonies willingly, but the situation was quite opposite. The imperialist powers vacated the colonies and only then it became almost impossible for them to hold the

colonies. For instance, Britain was ready to leave Egypt and Kenya under severe pressure.

- **Factors behind the liberation of colonies—** Behind the liberation of colonies, the factors were working at three different levels i.e., at international level, at the level of the colonial power and above all, at the level of colonies.

- **At international Level—** The international situation underwent a great turbulence in course of the Second World War and there emerged new forces like Atlantic charter (1941), UNO, USA and USSR as superpowers.

1. **Atlantic charter** made a promise to ensure the right of self-judgment to the people living in different parts of the world.
2. **UNO** consistently pressurised the colonial power for liberating the colonies.
3. **USSR** started to project itself as a great sympathiser to the oppressed people of the world.
4. On the other hand, even **USA** emerged to be a great advocate for liberation of colonies due to following reasons—

It was desperately searching for the market as it emerged to be the most powerful economy in the world. It also devised to make Asia-African countries to rally behind her in Cold War.

- **At the level of colonial powers—**
 1. Colonial powers themselves were facing several compulsions after the First World War. All the three imperialist powers, British, French and Dutch declined after the Second World War.
 2. After the Second World War, they were badly involved in post-war economic

reconstruction.

3. They found the European market more lucrative than the colonial market.
4. European powers while taking the German instance came to realise that colonisation adversely affected their domestic economy.

- **At the level of colonies-**

1. Above all, a major change was visible at the level of colonies themselves. The Second World War was fought in the name of preserving human freedom and protecting democracy from fascist power. So, it naturally encouraged the aspiration of colonial people.
2. Even earlier, between two world wars, nationalist forces progressed much in Asian colonies. Indian nationalist aspiration reached at no point of return and through Quit India movement, it gave such signal to Britain. In East Asia, Japanese occupation sealed the fate of colonial powers. Colonial resistance movement also started in other colonies i.e., 'Mao Mao Movement' in Kenya, 'Bloody conflict' in Vietnam and Algeria. Then, fermentation started in other colonies also.

- **Two different models of decolonisation-**
In the process of decolonisation, we manifest two different models, **Capitalist and Communist**. Most of the Asia-African countries got freedom on the basis of the capitalist model but in some countries like China and Vietnam, the Communist Party led the movement. That's why very soon the liberation movement in these countries became part of the Cold War.

- **Liberation of Asian Countries –**

- **South Asia:**

- In post-World War era, **India** was the first country to attain independence. An

English educated middle class leadership, which was the product of English education, emerged in India and led the premier nationalist organization, Indian National Congress. Then, in course of time, even Indian National Congress changed its colour and contour and different elements like lower middle class, peasants, and working class all got associated with it. It worked as an umbrella organization in the national movement under Gandhi. It was in 1947, British negotiated transfer of power to India.

- It was in 1948 that **Sri Lanka** gained independence. Here, too middle class leadership played a significant role in the liberation movement. So the transfer of power also remained to be relatively peaceful.



- **East Asia:**

- The case of **China** was different, where after a long civil war a communist government came into power. Actually, China has long been subjected to colonial exploitation. It adopted different modes of protests against western powers from time to time but no specific method worked properly. In the meantime, due to its proximity to Soviet Russia, China was attracted to communist model.

- In 1921, there was the formation of Chinese Communist Party. It got the fiery leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung, who did not fall in line with Moscow blindly, rather, he re-interpreted communist strategy in a specific Chinese context. He brought essential changes in Marxist- Leninist line of revolution. He included peasants in proletariat groups and declared that the revolution in China would move from countryside to town but not vice-versa.
- So, it was Mao-Tse-Tung who made communism relevant to Asia in true sense, as Asia did not go for industrialization so far. So any proletarian revolution had to take place on the backbone of peasant force. Later, Vietnam followed the same model.

■ South-east Asia:

- Liberation movement in Southeast Asia took a specific turn due to two factors - firstly, the factor of Japanese occupation and secondly, the activism of the communist party. Whereas Japanese occupation hastened the end of European imperialism in the region, the progress of communist groups in the region made western powers scared and delayed the process of liberation of Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, liberation became the part of cold war.



Philippines—

- Philippines was a semi-American colony. It was the first region where USA could experiment with the policy of neo-colonialism after snatching the region from Spain in 1898. Later, Philippines was conquered by Japan during the Second World War. The demand for the liberation of Philippines from semi-colonial status under USA had started from 1930s onwards, but it was only after the exit of Japan that USA granted its independence in 1946.
- Just after the independence, the conservative government of Philippines had to face a severe challenge from leftist or communist groups. Therefore, between 1946 and 1957, Philippines face a situation of civil war. Communist or leftist factor became a matter of concern for USA which continuously gave covert support to the rightist government. Finally, leftist groups were defeated and suppressed in Philippines. Then USA could take a sigh of relief.



Malay Peninsula–

- The withdrawal of Great Britain from Malaya peninsula rather proved peaceful. A scenario similar to that of post war Philippines confronted Great Britain upon its return to Malaya in 1945. In Malaya, there was three ethnic groups, Chinese, Malays who were in majority and others including Indian immigrants.
- British separated Singapore from Malaya and united the whole Malaya region. She decided to stay there even after 1945 due to economic reasons. In fact, rubber and tin exports necessitated British control on Malaya. But due to the nationalist pressure, Britain decided to withdraw later. But it was the period when Chinese communists became too active that created apprehension among the British. Therefore, against communists, the British, the Malays and non-communist Chinese were all united. Finally, communists were defeated. Then, through a negotiation with the Alliance Party, a dominant nationalist party, the British withdrew in 1957.



Ques - What problems were germane to the decolonization process on the Malay Peninsula? (UPSC-2017)

Ans- In 1940s, almost all of colonies of western powers in South-East Asia came to face two challenges. First challenge was that of Japanese conquest and the second was growing influence of communism. Britain came to confront same challenges in Malaya.

This region had fallen under Japanese occupation in 1942 and was regained by Britain in 1945 when Japan surrendered after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then Malay's nationalists including Malays, Chinese and Indians, three different ethnic groups, started to demand liberation from the British rule. But even after that, the British decided to stay there due to two reasons. Firstly, Britain suffered an economic hardship after the war. Therefore the exploitation of national resources in colonies had taken on new importance in the light of Britain's depleted exchequer and a largely crippled economy at home. In particular, rubber and tin exports necessitated the maintenance of British control of Malaya.

Secondly, Chinese communists had expanded their power in course of the fight against Japanese between 1942 and 1945. Then, after 1945, they emerged to be a powerful political force in Malaya. It was a matter of utmost concern for the British, as to put a check over communism was a part of the German policy towards western powers. So, the British fought against guerillas with determination while making a joint front with non-communist elements of Malaysia. Consequently, communist guerillas were defeated. Then the British made a peaceful exit from Malaya in 1957.

In this way, the British experience in Malaya was definitely different from the French experience in Indio-China.

Indonesia–

- In Southeast Asia, the liberation movement in Indonesia more or less took the same turn. In course of the Second World War, Indonesia also fell a prey to Japanese occupation and after exit of Japan in mid-August Indonesia was also vacated. Then once again, Holland

initiated to re-occupy her old colony and as she was pre-occupied with home affairs so British government of India came to take charge of Indonesia on the behalf of Holland. But in the meantime, a nationalist party under Dr. Sukarno, which had strengthened its position under Japanese government, opposed the move with tooth and nail.

- It was at that time even communist resurgence resurfaced, but Dr. Sukarno's party countered it. As Dr. Sukarno was having an anti-communist posture so he earned the sympathy of western countries to liberate Indonesia. Then colonial power Holland had to fill the pinch of international pressure as well. Even Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, played a pivotal role in mobilising international diplomacy in favour of Indonesia. He organized a conference of Asian countries on the issue of liberation of Indonesia in 1949. Finally, due to intervention of UNO, Indonesia's independence could be ensured.

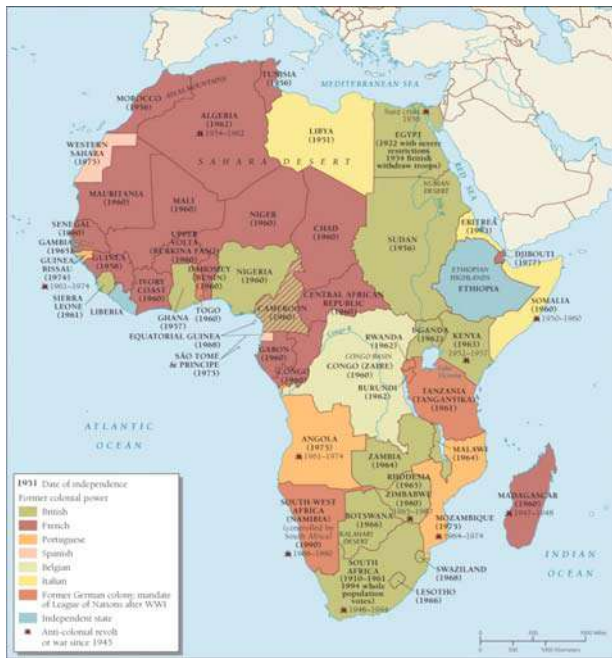
Vietnam—

- The case of Indo-China was quite different and it turned out to be a hot issue in international diplomacy. Indo-China was a French colony but it was conquered by Japan in course of the Second World War. After the exit of Japan in August 1945, France tried to regain its old position but in the meantime, a communist leader, Ho Chi Minh installed in North Vietnam a communist government in the name of Vietnamese Republic. Then civil war broke out in Vietnam as the France wanted to capture it again. In 1954, the United Nations divided Vietnam into northern and southern parts.

- The Vietnam War pitted the communist North Vietnam and its southern allies, known as the Viet Cong, against South Vietnam and its principal ally, the United States. The war began in 1954 (though the conflict in the region stretches back to the mid-1940s) and continued against the backdrop of an intense Cold War.
- Growing opposition to the war in the United States led to bitter divisions among the Americans. President Richard Nixon ordered the withdrawal of U.S. forces in 1973. In 1975, communist forces seized control of Saigon, ending the Vietnam War, and the country was unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam the following year.

■ Indian Contribution to liberation of Africa—

- In the following ways the Indian liberation movement gave support to the liberation of African countries-
 1. Tunisia, Morocco and Gold Coast had placed the demand of liberation but colonial power had continuously rejected their demand for freedom, but once India got independence in 1947, the demand for their liberation could not be avoided for a longer time and finally Tunisia and Morocco got independence in 1956, while Gold Coast emerged to be an independent nation in the name of Ghana in 1958.
 2. At least two African leaders, Nkrumah of Ghana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, clearly mentioned in their autobiography that they were largely inspired by Indian independence.
 3. Furthermore, Gandhian Satyagrah gave a new technique of protest to the African National Congress in South Africa. In fact, the leader of ANC, Albert Luthuli and later Nelson Mandela fell under the spell of Gandhi.



■ Liberation movements in Africa:

- If we observe the process of decolonization in Africa, we find that the process of decolonization seemed to be long and arduous. In some countries, fortunately, the process remained a bit smoother, but in others, it turned to be violent.

Western Africa:

- If we assess the entire process of decolonization in West Africa, we find that except Algeria in other West African countries transfer of power was negotiated relatively peacefully. Here the model of colonial liberation was prepared by Ghana.
- In fact, in the region of West Africa there emerged a middle class which was the product of the colonial rule. Western education influenced a number of Indigenous intellectuals. Some of them were the product of missionary schools. Some African intellectuals were associated even with lower government jobs under the British and French government. Some Africans even moved to western countries in order to get higher education. Apart

from that, some Black intellectuals of West Africa came in contact with the Black movement in U.S.A.

- The pioneer of decolonization in western Africa was to be Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Decolonization in Ghana was thought to be reasonably safe there were no White settlers whose racial privileges needed special protection. The process followed in other countries of West Africa such as Senegal, Zambia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leon, Mauritania etc. The case of Algeria seems to be exceptional where France was having a greater stake in the colony. So, it took the form of a military conflict.

Eastern Africa:

- In Eastern Africa, the process of liberation appeared to be a bit more difficult as in countries like Egypt, Sudan, and Kenya etc. British were having a greater stake in these colonies. If Ghana prepared the model of liberation of colonies in West Africa, Kenya prepared its model in east Africa. Suez Canal crisis in 1956 put a death knell to British colonialism in Africa. Still, British resisted the liberation of Kenya where Mau Mau movement created a larger pressure on White settlers.

South Africa:

- In South Africa, a new type of colonization was visible. In fact, White settlers in South Africa got autonomy first from metropolitan state then complete freedom. After that, White settlers in South Africa introduced the worst type of colonization on Black majority, Bantus. That was known as apartheid. It does not simply represent racial policy rather it represented the most formidable type of racial discrimination based on complete

social segregation of Black population. Later, due to consistent movement against the system and continuous pressure from world community, the system gave way to a democratic government.

Ques:- The anti-colonial struggles in west Africa were led by the new elites of western educated Africans. Elucidate. (UPSC-2016)

Ans:- The post-Second World War era witnessed fast-track course of decolonization in Asia and Africa. The process of decolonization in Africa started a bit late and it continued for nearly more than two decades. When we observe the process of the liberation of colonies we find that the pace and the timing of the liberation of colonies were decided by the nature of leadership in a colony, the nature of relationship between the colony and the metropolitan state, the status of the white settlers in the colony and also by the quantum of the stake the metropolitan state had in the colony.

The nature of leadership appeared to be a bit different in West Africa. In this region there emerged a middle class which was the product of the colonial rule. Some of them were like English educated Indian leaders. While some others were the product of missionary schools. Some African intellectuals were associated even with lower government jobs under the British and the French government. Some Africans even moved to western countries in order to get higher education. Apart from that, some black intellectuals of West Africa came in touch with the Black movement in USA. All these elements formed the part of modern intelligentsia which promoted the cause of liberation through constitutional methods.

The pioneer of decolonization in West Africa was Ghana's Kwame Nkruma who was greatly influenced even by the liberation

movement in India. It was a British colony and its liberation was thought to be reasonably safe. There were no white settlers whose racial privileges needed special protection. This process followed even in other countries of West Africa such as Senegal, Zambia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Mauritania etc. The case of Algeria seemed to be exceptional where France had a greater stake in the colony. So, it took the form of a military conflict.

In this way in West Africa rise of a western educated intelligentsia gave a new turn to the national movement.

■ **Did colonialism come to an end or did it change its form after the liberation of the Asian-African colonies?**

- Colonialism did not end rather it changed its form and it manifested itself in a non-formal way. Its manifestation can be seen as follows-

1. In economic field:

- Formation of organizations such as IMF, World Bank and GATT to maintain their economic dominance just after the decolonization.
- Presently, to open the service sector and capital investment in third world countries in the name of economic liberalization.

2. In social field:

- To characterise non-Europeans as 'Oriental' and a policy of racial discrimination against them.

3. In cultural field:

- To divide the world into the central region and the peripheral region by the western intellectuals and making attempts to prove that all the important and progressive ideas are originated in the central region and from there they expanded into the peripheral one.
- Western intellectuals maintained their

dominance and hegemony over humanity subjects like history, sociology, political science, anthropology, and other subjects after making research on them and their analysis was inclined to prove the superiority of the West. This is probably the most dangerous form of colonialism.

- A postmodernist thinker, Michel Foucault, has given the concept of power-knowledge i.e. knowledge is superimposed by the superior authority.

■ Spread of Cold War in other parts of the world:

- Up to the end of 1940s, the cold war was confined to western Europe, but it was from 1950s onwards that the cold war expanded to the region of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, to both the superpowers this point became crystal clear that in this cold war that power which was having the access to the vast resources of the world could have the excel on the other.
- So, both the superpowers, the USA and USSR, formulated a wide strategy to expand its influence in the vast region of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The USA decided to take following steps-
 1. It established military base in different regions of the world, for example, in Turkey, Pakistan and in Japan.
 2. In order to put a check on the expansion of communist ideas, it took initiative in forming military blocks like Baghdad Pact in West Asia (1955) and SEATO (Southeast Asia treaty organization) in Southeast Asia in 1954.
 3. The USA propagated the Domino theory in context of Southeast Asia and the Eisenhower Doctrine in relation to west Asia. Furthermore, the USA revived the Munro doctrine in order to counter the Communism in Latin America.

- On the other hand, even USSR was ready to give a reply to capitalist power. USSR, while putting its ideological compulsion aside, developed an alliance and friendship even with non-communist countries.

Major World crisis during Cold War Period

■ Korean Crisis (1950-53)

• Causes:

1. The division of Korea into two zones along the 38th parallel was the after effect of the two world wars.
 2. In 1950 by Chinese backing and with the support of Russian arms North Korea invaded and conquered South Korea.
 3. A joint command was constituted under the leadership of American commander, Macarther, with an objective to liberate South Korea.
 4. The joint command after liberating South Korea encroached the line and tried to conquer North Korea. Then the Chinese carried a counter-invasion on joint command.
- **Impact:** Korean crisis internationalised the cold war.



■ Suez Canal Crisis (1956)

• Causes:

1. Western block under Britain expected Egypt to fall in line with its foreign policy and with this purpose economic assistance for Aswan dam was announced.

2. But the head of Egypt, Nasser did not follow the line and extended recognition to communist China, so in reaction, Britain withheld the amount.
3. In reaction to the British move, Nasser terminated the lease of the Suez canal and nationalised it.
4. In retaliation, Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt.
- **Impact:** After the decline of British power in west Asia a vacuum was created and that was filled by the USA.



Ques:- What were the events that led to the Suez Crisis in 1956? How did it deal a final blow to Britain's self image as a world power? (UPSC -2014)

Ans: - Suez Canal crisis was the extension of cold war politics in Middle East. During the cold war period both the blocks tried to rally the maximum number of client nations behind them.

It was in this context that the western block under USA and Britain tried to win Egypt to its side. Therefore Egypt was given a very mouth-watering proposal in the form of a very favourable economic assistance package for construction of Aswan dam on

the river Nile. Although Gamal Abdel Nasser welcomed the proposal but he was not ready to restructure his foreign policy in favour of western block. To the frustration of the western powers he extended recognition to a communist country, China.

Such a gesture on the part of Egypt upset the western block so much so that Britain made an announcement of withholding the amount of economic assistance on Aswan dam. As a counter measure Egyptian President, Nasser, terminated British lease on Suez Canal and nationalized Suez Canal on the plea that he would mobilise the required resources to carry forward with the construction of the project. In retaliation Britain and France in association with Israel invaded Egypt. It culminated in the so called Suez Canal crisis.

Under severe pressure of world public opinion and the verdict of UNO, Britain had to withdraw from the Suez Canal. This proved to be a land mark event in international politics. Britain already had faced the situation of economic decline in post-second world war era. Then Suez Canal crisis put a death knell to its super power status. Once a power vacuum was created due to the decline of British power in west Asia, it was quickly filled up by USA. Therefore USA emerged to be the net gainer at the loss of Britain.

■ Vietnam Crisis (1954-75)

• Causes:

1. Once Japan withdrew from Vietnam after 1945 a communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, established a republic in North Vietnam while, the French captured south. The issue became part of the cold war.
2. Later in 1954, UNO divided Vietnam into northern and southern parts but after two years through a plebiscite, the future of Vietnam was to be decided.

3. But due to American pressure, plebiscite was postponed and the USA sent its army to crush the movement.

- **Impact:**

1. It proved a waterloo for the USA, as it could not prevent the reunification of Vietnam even after sacrificing 58000 soldiers.
2. It proved the popular nature of the Asian variant of communism which was different from the European variant.



■ Cuba Missile Crisis (1963)

- **Causes:**

1. A guerilla leader, Fidel Castro, captured the power in Cuba and started to resist American imperialism.
2. When USA tried to crush his government, he developed intimate relations with Soviet Union. The USSR installed medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba.
3. USA opposed and expected USSR to withdraw missiles, on the other hand, USSR initiated to install more such missiles. So, there appeared the situation of direct confrontation.

- **Impact:**

1. The danger of nuclear war compelled both the superpowers to think over detente.
2. It created differences between USA and France about NATO's policy.



Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

- What is the exact meaning of the Non-Aligned Movement, this issue has always turned to be a matter of controversy. Sometimes it confers with the terms neutrality, non-commitment, isolationism etc., but non-alignment doesn't mean the policy of neutrality. In fact, this policy was followed by Switzerland and Austria in international politics. Likewise, it doesn't mean either non-commitment or isolationism. In fact, the policy of isolationism had been followed by the USA from the era of the Munro Doctrine to the Second World War. On the contrary, Non-alignment implies active participation in international politics. It means to form an independent decision on important international issues without getting influenced by any superpower.
- At the time of independence itself, while addressing the Constituent Assembly, Pt. Nehru mentioned the question of joining a particular group or power block. India made it clear that it would remain non-aligned. Later, it took the form of a

movement known as the NAM. Its basis was prepared in the Bandung Conference of 1955, where 29 Asia-African countries participated, but formally NAM was launched at the Belgrade conference of 1961.

■ **Factors which prepared the base for NAM–**

- i. For neo-independent third world countries, development was the priority. But to join any block meant to spend its rare resources on military preparation.
- ii. After maintaining a non-aligned posture, the third world nation could get the economic assistance from both the block for their economic reconstruction programs.
- iii. Some nations like India & Egypt believed that, the policy of non-alignment was inherent in their culture itself.
- iv. Some of the third world nations believed that there is no value of their political independence if they couldn't have a free voice on international forums.

■ **Contributions of NAM–**

- i. Right from its beginning at Belgrade, the policy of non-alignment left its imprint on international politics. The NAM has always touched the important international issues. For example, after its first session, it raised the issue of a nuclear test by France and simultaneously, it demanded the membership of the Chinese republic in the UNO and Security Council. Likewise, right from the very beginning, it raised the issue of apartheid in South Africa as well as the issue of colonialism.
- ii. It gave an alternative forum to the newly independent Asia-African countries in a cold war-torn world.
- iii. It promoted the development of consensus among the third world nations on international forum.

- iv. It also demanded democratization of the world economic relations. G-77 was created within UNO at its initiative.
- v. From 1970's onwards, even super powers started to take NAM seriously.

■ **Limitations–**

- i. In true sense, NAM didn't work as a cohesive organisation and during the heyday of cold war, some of its members remained inclined to Soviet Union and some others to USA.
- ii. On many occasions it failed to stop international crisis, particularly during the first Gulf war (1991) its failure was clear.
- iii. Even on the front of decolonization, disarmament and the removal of apartheid it got limited success.

■ **Relevance of NAM in present world–**

- At the time of the Belgrade Conference of 1989, when the cold war was likely to end, there was a very important question about the relevance of NAM. Particularly after the disintegration of USSR and Warsaw pact, a question emerged that if there are no military blocks, then what's the relevance of non-alignment?
 - But when we observe minutely, we find that even in the post-Cold War era, NAM has its relevance but in an altered form. Following factors favour the relevance of NAM at the present time–
- i. After UNO, it is the largest world organisation. Its significance lies in the fact that it is an exclusive organisation of the third world nations. So among the third world nations, it can function as a very important forum.
 - ii. Keeping aside the term non-alignment movement for a while, if we view the basic objective of the organisation we will find that its main objective was to protect the interest of the third world nations. At that

time, the biggest threat was Cold War, so it talked in terms of non-alignment to protect their interest. Even today, the interest of the third world nations is threatened due to the new factors in international relations i.e., economic liberalization, environmental issues and terrorism. So, the third world nations are in the dire need of such an organisation where they can articulate their views and formulate a common program. As NAM is already there, so this requirement can be fulfilled by it.

- But a change in the nature and the objective of the organisation is urgently required. Only then it can face new challenges and tackle new international issues.

United Nations Organisation (UNO)

■ **Background for the formation of UNO**

- i. The massacre of the Second World War, in which almost 4 million people perished and more than 2 million people became homeless.
- ii. The roots of the United Nations can be traced back to August 1941, when the Atlantic charter was issued. The Atlantic charter was signed by US President Roosevelt and British Prime minister Churchill on a battleship in the Atlantic Ocean and it declared a few common principles for the future world order. For example, it declared that without freely expressed wishes of the people there should be no territorial change and no country would be able to resort to the policy of aggression. This prepared the basis for the future peace organization.
- iii. Declaration for the formation of the United Nation was issued on January 1, 1942.
- iv. The United Nations' charter was signed

by 51 states at San Francisco conference, which was held in April 25, 1945.

■ **Organs of UNO**

- It has six main organs-
 - i. **The General Assembly-** It is an important organ of the UN. It is constituted while taking all UN member states with having equal voting rights.
 - ii. **The Security Council-** It consists of 15 members, of which five are permanent and ten are non-permanent. The permanent members have veto power to reject the majority view if required. The Security Council is known as the heart of the UN, as various types of work including taking important decisions like inclusion of new members, sanction against any errant country, declaration of war etc., form part of its specific rights.
 - iii. **Economic and Social Council-** It assists the General assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. UNESCO, IMF, ILO all work under this council.
 - iv. **The Trusteeship Council-** It was formed in 1945 to oversee the decolonization of those dependent territories that were placed under the international trusteeship system created by the UN charter as a successor to the League of Nations mandate system. It made sure that the imperial powers couldn't reassert their influence on these territories.
 - v. **The International Court of Justice-** It is the principal judicial organ of the UN. The judges had diplomatic immunity, but their judgment is not binding on the member states.
 - vi. **The Secretariat-** It is headed by the UN General Secretary, who is chosen at every 5 years. He is the highest authority in the secretariat and is appointed by the general

Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council for a five-year term. The General Secretary attracts the attention of the Security Council towards major international issues.

■ **Differences in the structure of League of Nations and that of the UNO**

- As UNO was formed after the failure of the League of Nations, thus an attempt was made to make correction in the mistakes committed earlier.
- i. UNO is more representative organization compared to the League of Nations. Its membership list is much larger.
- ii. The equal power which attributed to the Assembly and the Council was considered the main reason for the failure of League of Nations. Thus, in UNO, Security Council was given more power than the General assembly.
- iii. Even dominant countries did not have any special power in the League of Nations. Thus, they didn't get any motivation to work for world peace. Thus in UNO, apart from the principle of equality of the nations, even the concept of special status for powerful countries has been accepted. This exists in the form of 'Veto' power given to the five permanent members of the Security Council.
- iv. League of Nations didn't have any military arrangement but UNO has such provision. It can give the mandate of military action as well.

■ **Achievements of UNO**

- i. **Political-** UNO played an important role in resolving various international conflicts. The Suez Canal Crisis of 1956, Congo Crisis of 1961, the Second World War Gulf Crisis of 1990-91, Cambodian Crisis of 1993 etc. are few good examples.

ii. **Economic-** It encourages new research through its specialised agencies like the IMF, ILO etc. to improve economic scenario of the world.

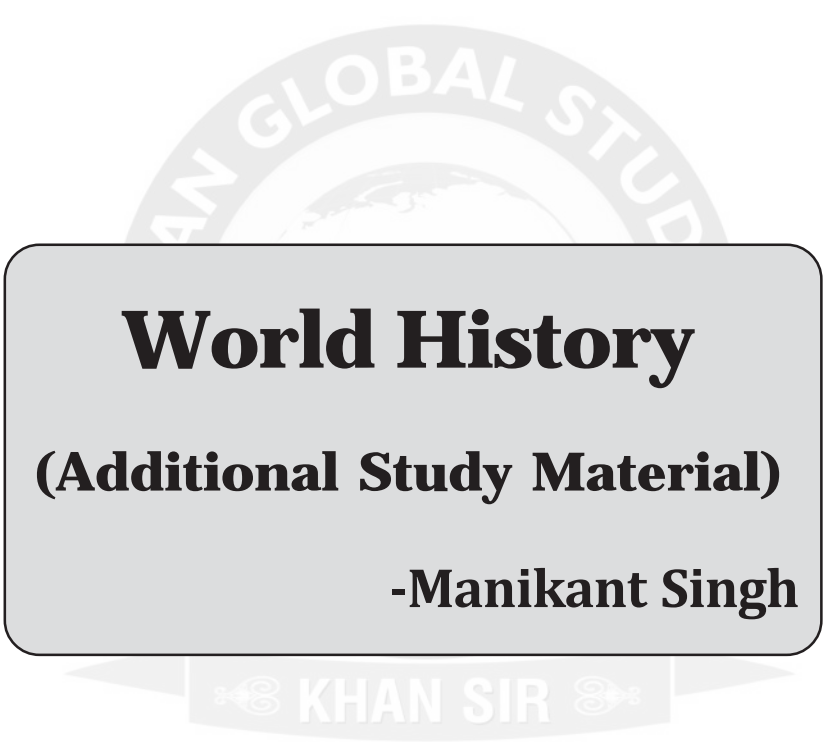
iii. **Social-** It achieved major breakthroughs in the field of health as well; for example, Small Pox and Polio are under control now. It became possible through huge vaccination programmes. Recently, major efforts have been made for the control of AIDS.

iv. **Cultural-** UNO's efforts to restore forgotten cultures of the ancient world are commendable.

■ **Limitations of UNO**

- i. It has limited success in political field. Due to the provision of veto arrangement, the whole system couldn't work properly during the Cold War. Even after the Cold War it is not much effective. For example, the Iraq war (US invasion on Iraq) in 2003, the Libya war (2011) and the current Syrian war couldn't be stopped or handled properly by UNO.
- ii. It doesn't have any proper funding arrangements. Since it is mainly dependent on US funds, thus US enjoy undue influence in the organisation.
- iii. UNO depends on member nations for military support. But there is no compulsion for the member country to supply the army.
- iv. UNO was formed in 1945 and its structure remained almost unchanged till date. Now a lot of things have changed including the power status of various countries. Countries in the Security Council don't enjoy the same power status today. Thus, this arrangement should be changed and new roles should be given to rising powers like India, Brazil, Japan, and Nigeria etc.





World History

(Additional Study Material)

-Manikant Singh

Part – VI

Contemporary World : A cursory Look

Dear Aspirants,

This section VII of the study material is not mentioned in your syllabus. However study of this important area will give you a sense of comprehensive and complete coverage of syllabus. It is likely to be remembered that the section-I which covers ancient world, mediaeval world and rise of modern-west and the section VI which portrays the developments leading from decades of 1970 till the present times, connects the pasts to the contemporary world. This is according to the NCF 2005 directions, based on which the NCERTs have been written. In this guidelines it has been asked to look around the lives and surrounding and try to know their parts and underline the changes in a chronological order to understand as to how we have changed, developed and have reached to the contemporary times.

Apart from that the comprehensive knowledge from the ancient to the contemporary times, will inculcate a critical thinking in minds of the aspirants. Then it will be easier for them to answer even the complex and inferential questions from this area.

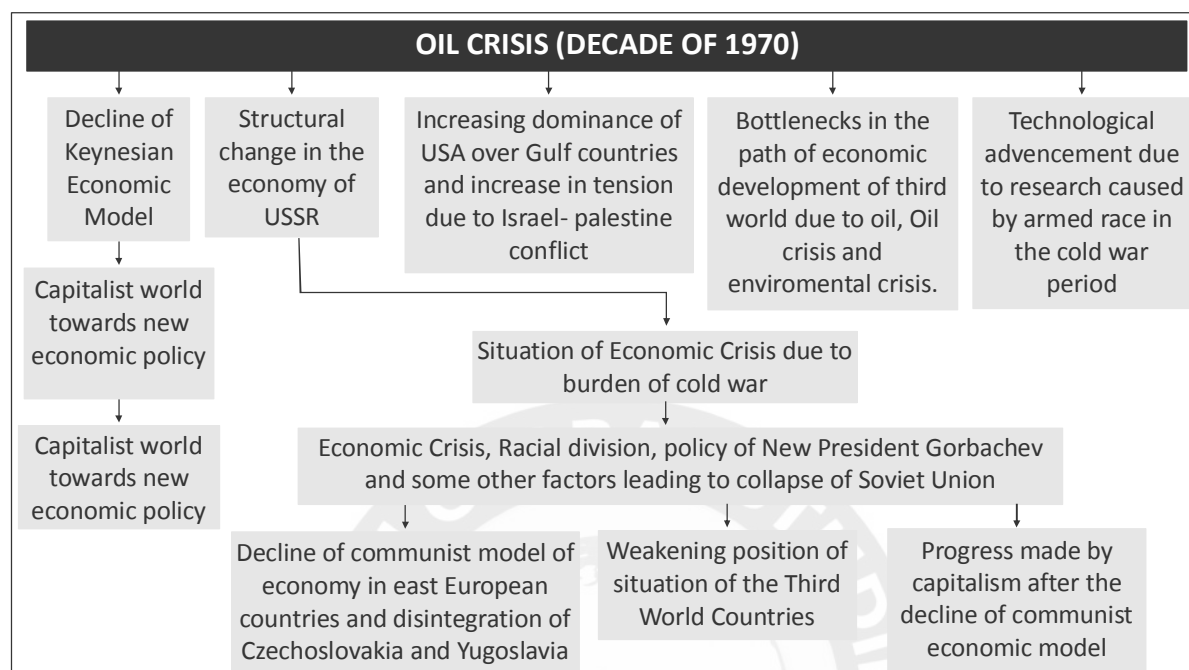
Moreover an added advantage of section VI is that it works as a gateway to the other sections of general studies. It should be kept in mind that the students are studying world history not simply to answer one or two questions which are directly asked from this area, rather to deal with the questions related to the constitutionalism, international economic systems and also to the international relation, in a better and a comprehensive way.

Following topics should be covered in order to cover the section VI -

- How did oil crisis affect the 'capitalist economic model'?
- How did oil crisis affect the economy of 'third world' countries?
- How did oil crisis change the structure of 'socialist economic model'?
- How did oil crisis give a new direction to the America's foreign policy towards Arabian countries?
- Which factors had determined the disintegration of USSR and decline of communist economic model?
- How did the end of cold war make an impact on international economy and international relations?
- What kind of relation does exist between economic liberalization and globalization? Which factors have inspired them?
- How did Subprime Mortgage crisis and Eurozone crisis make a shock over the capitalist economic model and economic liberalization?
- Is the economic policy of Neo-liberalism yet another form of Neo-colonialism?
- Has the globalization come to an end
- Will the capitalist economic model be able to survive?

-Manikant Singh

World History (Part VI) : Contemporary World: A cursory Look



Major factors of change in 1970s:

In the decade of 1970, two such issues came up which were about to shape the future course of history of the world. One of these issues was environmental crisis and the other was oil crisis. As far as environmental crisis is concerned, it is noteworthy here that in this period only the consciousness for environmental conservation emerged. Therefore this issue was still not of much importance for the world. However in future it could get due importance, but as far as the issue of oil crisis is concerned, it had been a burning issue ever since it had emerged and it impacted the existing world order in a wider way.

What does the oil crisis mean?

As we have studied previously that western companies had already captured the petroleum resources of West Asia and the Arabian world and these companies had been doing the

continuous exploitation of these resources in an arbitrary manner. However during this period petroleum producing countries were awakening gradually. In 1960 they already formed OPEC (organization of petroleum exporting countries). Apart from this, Arab countries were highly disturbed at the gesture of the western powers on their response to the Israel-Palestine conflict especially when Israel defeated Arab countries with the help of American weapons in the war of 'Yom Kippur' (1973). Thus while getting dissatisfied with the western powers due to their role in Arab-Israel conflict, Arabian world decided to use oil as a weapon. So they put a ban on sale of petroleum products. However when in March 1974 the ban on sale of petroleum products was lifted, there was four-fold price enhancement in petroleum product. Also in 1979 the obstacles, which had appeared due to Iranian revolution, led to further increase in oil prices. These two

events are known as oil crisis. This oil crisis gave a new direction to the global economy and to the existing geopolitical situation.

What was the issue of environmental crisis and how did the different nations reacted to it?

Environmental crisis essentially was an outcome of failure of prevailing developmental strategy. One interesting fact is that a decade ago it was nowhere even in the imagination of the people. Till then every school of thought, be it capitalism, liberal socialism or Marxism, was of the view that nature had abundant and never ending resources. However by 1960 the environmental question emerged. Moreover, the book like "Silent Spring" played an important role in spreading consciousness in real sense about this threatening issue. Its writer Rachel Carlson also got popularity only after she had written this book. Then in 1972 it was for the first time an international conference in Stockholm was organized to ponder and act upon this emerging problem. Unfortunately even after its emergence, the world could not stand together to coordinate the efforts for facing this challenge. In fact, communist block under USSR even boycotted this conference. However India participated and PM Indira Gandhi, while putting the perception of developing countries, declared that 'polluters must pay' i.e. the developed countries which were primarily accountable for environmental pollution, must pay because it was their misconceived developmental strategy which created this problem for the world. Indira emphasised that it was the developed nations who started their industrialization almost 150 year ago. So now when the question of polluter

comes then definitely the developed world emerged to be the main culprit. Therefore developed countries should pay the cost of it. (India stood strong for this till Durban conference in 2011.)

Oil crisis and decline of Keynesian economy

Oil crisis gave new direction to the world economy. One of the immediate impact of oil crisis was decline of Keynesian economic model.

What were the reasons responsible for the decline of Keynesian economic model?

To know its answer first we have to understand the concept of demand management propounded by J.M. Keynes. According to Keynes in an economy fall in demand and inflation cannot occur at the same time. So for both the situation he gave separate solutions to the government. In case of fall in demand the government should increase its expenditure and should cut the tax rates. And in case of inflation government should reduce its expenditure and increase the tax rates. But the oil crisis put both fall in demand and inflation at the same time in the economy.

As we have seen that Keynesian economy was able to maintain a balance in the world economic system for three decades but the oil crisis completely destroyed such balance and created a new problem for the economies known as stagflation. Stagflation is a situation in which there is both the rise in the level of prices and the fall in the level of demand at the same time. For this situation of stagflation, oil crisis was accountable to a great extent. In the situation of oil crisis the price of petroleum product increased

in a multi fold manner and thus petroleum products were considered as black diamond. But only few countries were petroleum producing while maximum other countries were only consuming ones which used to import oil from these gulf countries. So the maximum part of whole global resources were flowing into these countries. It led to following impacts on the economy:-

1. **Fall in demand:-** Due to increase in oil prices, import of oil became costlier for importing countries. It led to flow of monetary resources from oil importing to the oil producing countries. So, it resulted into the decline of their purchasing power. As the resources of gulf countries increased it was expected from them that they spend more but instead they believed in saving more. So it led to fall in demand at the global level.
2. Apart from that, as the petroleum products became costlier and as petroleum products worked as input in production as well so even commodities became equally costly. It means that even if there was fall in the demand it was not possible for the prices to go down due to increase in the input/factor cost. Therefore, economy came to face both the problems simultaneously – rise in cost and fall in demand.

So naturally, in this situation a new challenge emerged before the world economy. It came to be known as stagflation. It was a newer challenge with which economic experts were not familiar and the Keynesian model also did not have any solution of this problem.

Washington Consensus

What does Washington consensus mean and how was its background prepared?

Washington consensus means, to limit the government's intervention in economy and restore market mechanism. It was named 'Washington Consensus' by an economist Williamson. However for this new economic policy the main credit should be given to two economists, Fredrick Hayek and Milton Friedman. Fredrick Hayek was contemporary to Keynes while Friedman was a bit junior to him. These two economists opposed the Keynesian theory from the beginning. According to them government intervention and fiscal policy were not the right kind of solution. They both argued in support of free economy and reduction of the government's role in the economy. Friedman even believed that Keynesian method will not only cause disruptions in the economy but will also facilitate the formation of a despotic government in the future. Fredrick Hayek in his book "Road to the slavery" has indicated about the threat to the human freedom.

Whereas Friedman was in contact with Chicago group of economists and thus he supported the monetarist policy. He gave emphasis over the method of money supply in an economy in order to make that economy more mobile in nature. Friedman believed that Keynes committed a mistake in finding the real cause of the depression. He believed the reason behind the depression of 1929-30 was not the fall in the level of demand rather it was the failure of American Federal Bank to pump enough money in the economy. (As we understand that

the reduction in money supply means reduction in demand). However in the beginning these economists were side-lined. But after 1970 when Keynes's economic model was questioned due to oil crisis, then people started to think about monetarist model of economy. So for the three decades after the Second World War, the Keynesian economic model dominated however for the next three decades following the oil crisis it was the monetarists who came into frontline.

Moreover, these two economists influenced the British PM Margaret Thatcher and American president Ronald Reagan. Furthermore, the model of minimal state, advocated by Hayak and Friedman, was equally attractive to the middle class which had earlier been forced to accept maximal state model of J.M. Keynes. Then, on the initiatives taken by Reagan and Thatcher, the Washington consensus was signed in 1989 which prepared the basis of liberal economic policy.

Arab region and new challenges in West Asia

As we have observed that USA started excessive intervention in Gulf region and installed autocratic governments there. In Iran a satellite government was formed under Shah. But this government could not continue for long as a conservative Ulema Ayatullah Khomeini managed to create propaganda against Shah's government and thus a rebellion took place. With the fall of government and success of rebellion, there was revival of Islamic fundamentalism. Most significantly, the American embassy in Iran was attacked and officers and staffs were captured. For next 444 days they were kept as

hostages. This created a major gulf between new regime of Iran and USA.

However, this event was followed by another one i.e. Iran-Iraq War. Iraq looked at the rivalry between Iran and America as an opportunity. Therefore, Iraq made efforts to capture some part of the disputed land. It led to the outbreak of Iran-Iraq war which continued for 8 years and finally ended in 1988.



During this period China is known for a significant change. In 1978 Mao Tse Tung was succeeded by Deng Xiaoping. He started economic liberalization in 1979 and completely transformed the Chinese economy. But the point to be noticed here is that when the changes were brought in the communist Russia and other countries of Eastern Europe, the Communist model collapsed. But China could save itself as it opened its market but it could not relax its political control. So, China became a nation where market-socialism prevailed. In fact, China evolved a model of market mechanism under an autocratic government. This is known as 'Chinese Consensus.'

Structural change in the economy of USSR

How did oil crisis impact the economy of USSR?

USSR was the leader of socialist world and had been leading the communist block during cold war. But its future as a nation as well as the head of the socialist block was depending on the success of socialist economic model. But oil crisis gave a major challenge to Russian economy.

As we have seen earlier that the economic reforms brought by Stalin, the Soviet leader, gave boost to the Russian economy. It was the communist model which ensured unprecedented human resources development, proper exploitation of agricultural resources and speedy industrialization. This led to vast progress of Russian economy. However, there were two inherent limitation of communist model. The first was that due to the lack of market incentives the growth declined. The Second one was high level of corruption and red tapism due to dominant role of bureaucracy. Due to these limitations, Russian economy started to face a downturn after 1960s.

Apart from that, the oil crisis brought certain fundamental changes in the economy. Initially oil crisis benefitted as USSR was having a vast reserve of hydrocarbon products. Therefore it emerged to be a larger exporter of Petroleum products. Then due to multi fold increase of exports from Russia its FOREX reserves multiplied and a part of this reserve was being spent over defence. However the negative aspect of this easy currency was that it led to shift in the focus from technological innovation. So USSR lost the Sputnik moment which was its strength. (As USSR sent space shuttle named, Sputnik to space even before USA and declared the success of communist Russia.)

Situation of economic crisis due to the burden of Cold War-

Impact of Cold War on Russian economy was visible by 1980. On the one hand Russian economy was facing a downturn and on the other the burden of Cold War was also increasing. It was a big mistake committed by Russian leader, Brezhnev that he invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Thus Russia fell into the situation of an endless war in Afghanistan. Then in 1984, Reagan became the President of U.S. who initiated Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), also known as 'Star Wars Programme'. As a result, the arms race started. This further increased the pressure on USSR. Then in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the President of Soviet Union. He was enthusiastic for change and reforms in USSR. At first, he started talks on arms control with American president. It led to the ease of tensions between two blocks. Secondly Gorbachev also started process of economic and political reforms in the USSR.

Economic crisis, racial division and policies of new president Mikhail Gorbachev and some other related issues leading to the disintegration of Soviet Union (USSR)

Was this disintegration of USSR the result of a complex process or simply the result of weakening of Russian economy?

USSR was already going through an economic crisis. Then Russian president Gorbachev presented a solution which proved to be even more problematic than the problem itself. This solution was the policy of 'Perestroika and Glasnost'. Perestroika means economic restructuring. In other words having been

inspired by the capitalist model, under this policy he tried to link USSR economy with the market. It resulted into major upheavals in the economy and thus created unease among the people. Policy of Glasnost means a policy of ideological openness. Under this policy, people were allowed to freely express their views without any restriction. But this freedom of expression proved detrimental in the background of economic upheavals in Russian economy.



Moreover, USSR was multiracial in nature (In 19th century just like Ottoman empire and Hapsburg Empire, Russian Empire was also facing the burden of multiracial structure), so different racial groups had demanding a separate nation. While decades ago they already lost their political freedom but now they were not ready to bear the burden of economic crisis. Moreover even the opposition leaders were encouraging separatists' aspiration of different racial groups. One such leader was Boris Yeltsin who was elected as president of Russian republic. He was encouraging the separatist tendencies while strengthening his position for political gains in an independent Russia. Consequently, the republics started declaring their independence one after other. Firstly, it was the Baltic nations

including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia which declared their independence in 1990. Then Ukraine also did the same. Then the president of USSR Mikhail Gorbachev resigned from his post. Thus the second super power of the world, whom even American weapons could not defeat, met its demise due to the internal factors. (After this devastating event, internal security became an important issue for any country.)

Disintegration of USSR led to the following immediate consequences:-

Decline of socialist economic model in East European countries and disintegration of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

What were reasons for decline of communist model in East European countries?

It was from the beginning that socialist country of East Europe was completely dependent on Soviet Union. In these countries communist model was established not due to any popular revolution rather it was imposed through Soviet Union from above. In practical sense these countries remained to be satellite states. So in these regions governments could never get the legitimacy. In other words these governments could never get the acceptance by the people. On the other site, even people were utterly dissatisfied with their governments particularly due to their failure on economic front. Then in the era of information technology, which became the basis for the third industrial revolution, socialist countries were left behind. Not only this, but with the help of information technology, the people of Eastern Europe could have a glimpse of the level of prosperity and development in west European countries that made them restless. But

inspite of the utter dissatisfaction the people remained quite for some decades but once system was relaxed under Gorbachev, they raise against their government.



The process of change first started from Poland in 1988 and the Fall of Berlin wall of Germany in 1989 (Berlin Wall was constructed in 1961 during Cold War). Then in 1990, the Germany was reunified. By 1990 communist model completely disintegrated in East European countries. These countries were Poland East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

How and why did Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia disintegrate?

We have seen earlier that these two states were constituted in Paris Peace Conference. These countries were formed on the basis of Wilson's 14 point programme. According to this programme, all people of the different nationalities were to be constituted into separate nations based on the idea of right to self-determination. However due to some other factors (have been discussed in section IV) the nations constituted by the leaders of Paris Peace Conference, still remained to be multilingual

and multiracial in nature. Therefore national aspiration of the people could not be fulfilled. Between 1945 and 1990 i.e. for 45 long years they had been groaning under an autocratic and centralised communist model. But as soon as the communist control was relaxed, the old racial division again raised its head for change. Thus the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia became a reality. A British historian Eric Hobsbawm remarkably said that "it is a half-baked chicken of Paris Peace Conference which has come to be baked again."

Even though division of Czechoslovakia was ultimately peaceful in nature and it got divided into Republic of Czech and that of Slav but Yugoslavia got divided into six nations, namely- Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovinian, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Macedonia. Then Kosovo got separated from Serbia and when Serbia started to suppress Kosovan people, then it led to the Kosovo crisis. Therefore in 1999 NATO on behalf of UN, intervened into this matter.



Wakening in position of third world countries

Why did the end of Cold War weakened the position of 3rd World countries?

The impact of end of Cold War was clearly visible on the 3rd world countries. It impacted their bargaining position. Firstly, it was the presence of USSR which helped the third world countries to bargain hard with the western capitalist powers. So, under pressure western block used to give them some concessions so that 3rd world countries did make a tilt in favour of communist bloc. This way, Third World countries were benefited from the situation of Cold War. As the Cold war ended it put a question mark to the relevance of non-aligned movement (NAM). In 1989 in Belgrade summit it was emphasized that as the blocs itself ceased to exist so what was relevance of the term of Non-Alignment now?

Growth in Capitalism after disintegration of socialist model

Did the collapse of socialist model indicate about the failure of Marxism?

Answer to this question is highly complex. As we have seen previously Marx discussed about strategy of revolution, but he did not give any model of the form of government under the rule of proletariat class. So whatever model was established in Soviet Union, in the name of communism was the product of a long experimentation under soviet leaders from Lenin to Stalin. Then the similar model was imposed on east European countries without any consideration of local situation. Neither the process of revolution nor the system of government was prescribed or recommended by

Karl Marx. So should the collapse of USSR be linked with the declaration of end of Marxism?

How did the collapse of socialist model give boost to the progress of capitalism?

Until 1990, the world was divided into two economic models: liberal capitalism and socialism. The socialist model emerged as a competitive alternative to capitalism. Third world countries sought to incorporate certain elements of socialism into their capitalist systems. However, with the disintegration of the socialist model, the path for the global acceptance of capitalism prevailed.

After the collapse of the socialist model, Francis Fukuyama, an American thinker of Japanese origin, famously proclaimed the “end of history,” symbolising the prevailing excitement and transitional shift. In his 1992 book, titled “The End of History and the Last Man,” he argued that with the triumph of liberal capitalism, history’s struggles had reached their conclusion, marking the end of history itself.

A year later, Samuel P. Huntington, another American scholar, challenged Fukuyama’s view with his theory of the “clash of civilizations.” Influenced by the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, Huntington argued that history primarily involved the struggle between civilizations. During the Cold War, this struggle was overshadowed by the ideological divide. However, as the Cold War ended, Soviet Russia, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia met their demise due to their cultural diversity. Initially, there were very few takers of this view, but after the 2001 terrorist attacks on the USA, the view started to gain ground.



Increasing dominance of USA on the Gulf countries and increase in tension due to Israel-Palestine issue:-

The era of Arab-Western relations began with events like World War I and the Paris Peace Conference, which marked a betrayal of Arab nationalism. The discovery of valuable resources in the region further complicated the situation. The 1973-74 oil crisis and the 1979 Iranian revolution heightened US awareness of the importance of oil security for the capitalist world. Three factors, namely Soviet Union, Israel, and petroleum products, contributed to the complexity of US-Arab relations. The United States aimed to contain the Soviet Union's influence and safeguard Israeli interests.

In the Arab region, a trilateral conflict emerged between Shia Iran, Sunni Saudi Arabia, and the Jewish nation of Israel. The United States pursued several objectives in response to this situation. Firstly, it aimed to establish pro-American governments in the Gulf region. Secondly, it sought to exert influence over major oil-producing countries like Saudi Arabia to ensure oil security for America. Thirdly, the US aimed to bring the Sunni population of Saudi Arabia closer to Israel, effectively isolating the Shia-dominated Iran. The 1979 Iranian revolution and the conflict surrounding the US embassy in Iran sparked hostile relations between the US and Iran.

In the aftermath of the 1973-74 oil crisis, the ruler of Saudi Arabia, Faisal, played a significant role in the petroleum blockade. However, Faisal was later assassinated, leading to speculation that the United States may have been involved. Following his death, a pro-US government was established in Saudi Arabia..

The Camp David agreement was facilitated by the USA, involving Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat and Israel. Its primary objective was to ensure acceptance of Israel among Arab nations, but this objective remained unfulfilled. Anwar Sadat was assassinated by Hamas, a Sunni terrorist organisation sympathetic to the Palestinians. Hosni Mubarak, a supporter of the USA, succeeded Anwar Sadat.

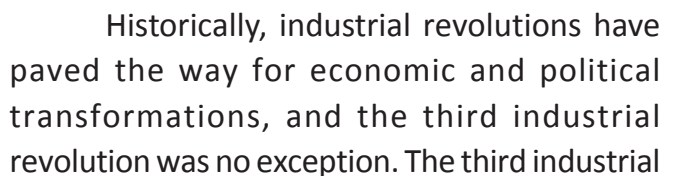
The first Gulf crisis emerged in 1990-91 when the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein attacked and captured Kuwait. This crisis posed a threat to America's interests in the Gulf region. If Iraq controlled Kuwait, it would become a strong competitor to Saudi Arabia in the petroleum



The Gulf War played a significant role in easing tensions between Israel and Arab countries, consequently weakening the Palestinian issue. This led to the signing of the Oslo Agreement between Palestine and Israel in 1993.

The present-day information technology (IT) has undergone extensive research and development over a prolonged period. However, much of this R&D was initially driven by the objective of gaining an advantage in the arms race. Meanwhile, various technologies were developed that would later become the foundation for the emerging information technology landscape. Notable advancements included the development of satellite TV and the direct dialling system in the 1980s, as well as the remarkable creation of the World Wide Web by a team of British scientists led by Tim Berners-Lee. The World Wide Web was fully developed by 1995 and became the catalyst for the internet revolution.

revolution relied on petroleum products, the third industrial revolution aimed to emphasise renewable energy sources. Interestingly, countries like India, which lagged behind in the first and second industrial revolutions, emerged as key players in the third industrial revolution. The establishment of numerous higher education institutions as a result of Nehruvian economic policies played a significant role. However, India faced the consequence of neglecting the development of primary education as the result of which the process of industrialization under the Nehruvian economic model faltered. As an unintended outcome of the focus on higher education, a large number of engineering degree holders emerged in India. Similarly, Lord Macaulay's education policy had negative impacts, but one positive aspect was the emergence of a large number of English-speaking graduates. These two factors propelled India forward in the computer software sector.



revolution, fueled by information technology, unleashed a political tsunami in Eastern European countries. Churchill's iconic speech at Fulton in 1946 vividly depicted the Iron Curtain imposed by the USSR on Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, IT broke through this barrier, leading to the profound transformation of communist regimes in the region. As a result, the third industrial revolution catalysed the emergence of a global civil society.

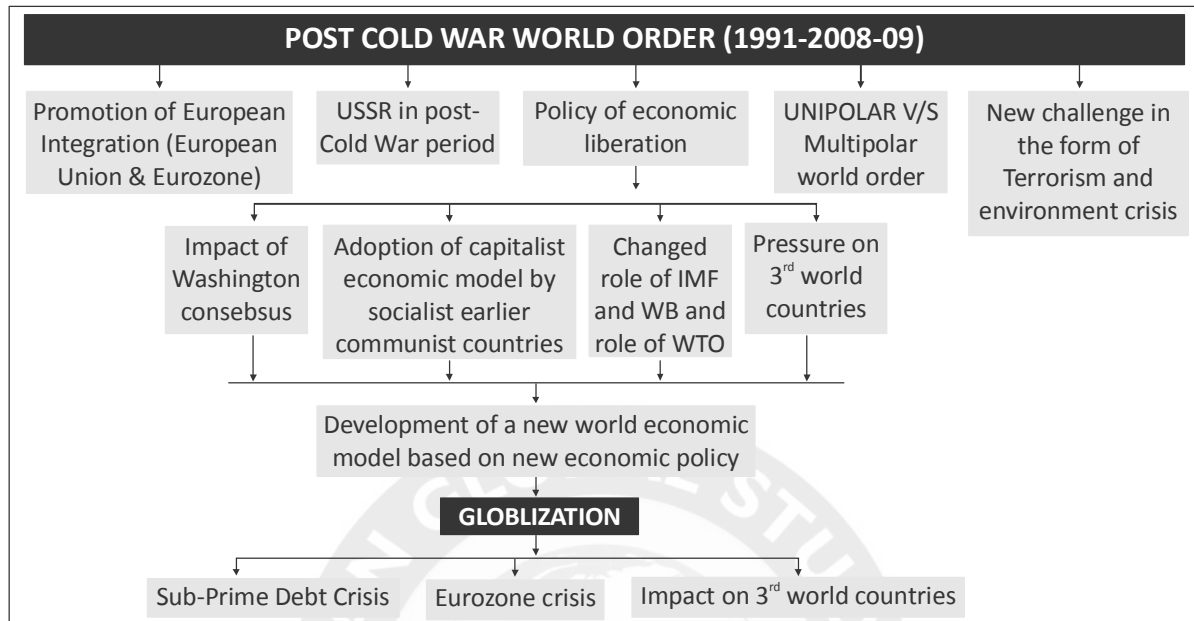
The oil crisis and environmental crisis are hindrances to the development of the third world economy:-

During the developmental process of third world countries, two major hurdles emerged: the oil crisis and environmental crisis. As we have observed previously, colonial powers benefitted from the resources of their colonies during their own industrialization. In contrast, the Soviet Union and East European countries extensively exploited their resources to support their industrial growth. When newly independent third world countries embarked on their own industrialization path, they encountered numerous challenges. These included low level

of production, limited technological advancements, and a scarcity of skilled human resources due to the legacy of colonial economies. Despite these obstacles, many Afro-Asian countries managed to industrialise using their own approaches, although some African nations lagged behind. Most of these countries adopted a government-controlled capitalist model, while others, like India, opted for a mixed economic model incorporating aspects of socialism and capitalism. However, the majority of third world countries heavily relied on imported petroleum products, leading to significant trade and balance of payment issues. India, during its 5th five-year plan, experienced a severe balance of payment crisis.

After the onset of the environmental crisis, warnings were issued that the environment could no longer tolerate further carbon emissions. Third world countries looked to the developed world to take responsibility for environmental protection while allowing them to pursue necessary industrialization. However, the stance adopted by developed countries raised suspicions.

POST COLD WAR ORDER (1991-2008-09)



Promoting European integration

Since World War II, there have been ongoing efforts to achieve a unified Europe, although progress has been limited. However, in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a renewed focus and increased seriousness in addressing this issue. Policies were formulated to promote effective economic integration, and significant steps were taken towards political integration. The Maastricht Summit of 1992 played a pivotal role in advancing these efforts.

What were the reasons for the formation of the Eurozone and the European Union?

Several factors played a role in these developments. Firstly, countries such as France acknowledged the necessity of advancing integration in Europe. Secondly, the decline of the socialist model opened up new possibilities for a unified Europe. Thirdly, France, concerned about German unification, drew parallels

between the new German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, and Hitler. As a result, France pursued the integration of a united Germany into a unified Europe, including the incorporation of the German currency, the Mark, into the Eurozone.

How did the structure of a unified Europe evolve after the Maastricht summit?

The Maastricht Summit of 1992 marked a significant milestone in the process of European integration. During this Summit, important decisions were made, including the establishment of a unified market, the introduction of a common currency (Euro), the implementation of uniform citizenship, and the formulation of consistent foreign and defence policies. As a result of this Summit, the European Union was formed in 1993. The European Union represented a unified market, promoting trade without tariffs. In the early 21st century, the Euro was introduced as the common currency of the

European Union. In 2005, further progress was made, leading to the establishment of the European Federation. The European Union expanded to include Eastern European countries and former Soviet states, increasing its membership to 28 countries, with 19 adopting the Euro as their currency, forming the Eurozone. While the European Union prepared a framework for defence and foreign policy, member countries continued to rely on NATO for their security needs, while the EU became the largest economy. This achievement was seen as a significant step towards a unified Europe, and the success of the EU provided guidance for other regional organisations worldwide.

19-member eurozone

EU countries that share a single currency



USSR during Post Cold War era

Following the dissolution of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev's tenure ended, and the Soviet Union was replaced by 15 independent republics. The Russian Republic remained the largest among these republics, covering about two-thirds of the total land area. Boris Yeltsin, the President of Russia at the time, established

the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), comprising 11 of the 15 former Soviet states. Through the CIS, various independent states were formed. Subsequently, the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) was established in 2014-2015, initiated by the Russian Republic. The EEU included Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan.

Initially, the heads of the Russian republic pursued a policy of cooperation with the West, hoping to receive economic assistance that would facilitate the smooth transition of the Russian economy into a capitalist system. However, Russia's expectations of support from the West were ultimately met with disappointment.

The relations between Russia and Ukraine were also influenced by the issue of nuclear weapons. A significant portion of the USSR's atomic arsenal was located in Ukraine. Following the disintegration of the USSR, it was expected that Ukraine would transfer these weapons back to Russia. In 1994, through trilateral talks involving Russia, Ukraine, and the USA, Ukraine returned all the atomic weapons to Russia, receiving assurance of security in return.

Additionally, the United States was expanding its influence in the former Eastern European socialist countries as well as in the former Soviet republics. As a result, NATO and the European Union emerged as separate entities. Subsequently, these issues became a major source of conflict between the United States and Russia. In 1999, Vladimir Putin assumed leadership of the Russian Republic and introduced a significant shift in Russia's foreign policy. Instead of aligning with the West, Putin adopted

a more assertive approach. He employed energy diplomacy to bolster Russia's influence in the former Soviet region and fostered closer ties with China through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Putin's notable 2007 speech revived academic interest and evoked comparisons to the Cold War era. The growing partnership between China and Russia marked a new dynamic in post-Cold War geopolitics, contrasting with the period from 1971 to 1989 when China had closer ties with the United States rather than Russia.

Policy of economic liberalisation

What is economic liberalisation, and what factors encouraged the policy of liberalisation?

Liberalisation refers to opening up the economy and reducing or eliminating state control. While classical economists advocated for a free market economy, the 1929 economic crisis led to the emergence of Keynesian economics, which emphasised the role of government intervention. However, the policy of liberalisation sought to limit or eliminate government intervention in the economy and promote openness.

Several factors contributed to the boost in liberalisation policies. Firstly, the Washington Consensus, influenced by economists Fredrick Hayek and Milton Friedman, advocated for market openness. Secondly, the collapse of the USSR led to the end of the division between economic models, with former socialist countries adopting capitalist economies. Thirdly, starting from 1971, the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in currency adjustments against the dollar diminished as the USA sought

to free its economy from IMF control and implemented market-oriented exchange rate policies. As a result, both the IMF and World Bank were assigned new roles and responsibilities, pressuring developing countries to reduce or eliminate government control over the economy and promote market access. Additionally, the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) took over the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and played a significant role in opening up markets.

What kinds of changes have been observed in the international economy due to economic liberalisation?

The IMF began providing conditional loans to crisis-prone countries, contingent upon the assurance of improved governance to ensure future debt repayment. This approach exerted pressure on countries to implement reforms that reduced government intervention in the economy and opened it up to external actors. These reforms included promoting privatisation of public sector units (PSUs), implementing industrial and trade policy reforms, amending labour laws to enhance labour discipline, and reducing government expenditure on public health and education, thus decreasing overall revenue expenditure.

The Uruguay round of GATT, also known as the 8th round of negotiations, led to the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which significantly transformed the structure of international trade. Previously, the Bretton Woods model proposed by Keynes aimed at limited globalisation after World War II. This approach sought to align national interests with

international trade regulations, allowing countries to implement measures to improve their economies, such as ensuring food security, implementing public welfare policies, and devaluing currency. However, Keynes held a different perspective on the functioning of the international economy, emphasising the need for a balanced approach to avoid conflicts arising from national interests. Presently, the rise of nationalism has undermined the effectiveness of the WTO, validating Keynes's concerns.

While Keynes excluded agriculture and services from the realm of trade, the WTO brought them, along with intellectual property rights (IPR), under its purview. This placed additional pressure on third world countries, compromising their food security policies due to the inclusion of agriculture. Furthermore, the incorporation of IPR and patents created additional challenges for these countries, which lagged behind in research and relied heavily on Western technology. The inclusion of these rights in trade allowed Western countries to charge fees for their technologies, further exacerbating the situation.

The decisions made during the Uruguay round predominantly favoured Western countries. However, recognizing the demands of the third world countries, the Doha round was initiated in Qatar in 2008. This round aimed to address certain issues in favour of the third world. Unfortunately, the onset of the economic crisis in the West in 2008-09 led these countries to backtrack on their commitments, impeding progress in the Doha round.

The question arises: why did the third world countries accept these conditions?

In fact, the third world countries were facing economic difficulties, exacerbated by the oil crisis. The situation was further intensified by the first Gulf crisis in 1991, which led to a surge in petroleum prices. As a result, these countries were left with no choice but to seek assistance from the IMF. However, both the IMF and the World Bank imposed conditions on providing loans, requiring these countries to open up their economies. India itself experienced the impact of these conditions and was compelled to adopt the LPG (Liberalisation, Privatization & Globalization) policy in 1991.

Are Liberalisation and Privatization Synonyms?

We cannot say this. In fact, if economic liberalisation is considered the cause, globalisation becomes the effect. As countries began to open up their economies, this resulted in increased integration among them. Additionally, new information technology reduced the distance between nations. Sociologically, the term "netizens" gained prominence, referring to individuals connected to the Internet, rather than solely as citizens. Moreover, cultural and ideological exchanges also experienced an upsurge.

It should be emphasised that this phenomenon called globalisation has primarily impacted the economic sphere. The Treaty of Westphalia and the concept of national boundaries remained intact, signifying the continued significance of nation-states. Despite globalisation, the notion of a unified global government never materialised. The regulation

of globalisation has consistently been based on the authority of nation-states.

Unipolar V/s Multipolar World

After the Cold War, the bipolar world order disintegrated alongside the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. However, NATO remained intact as the United States expanded its influence. NATO extended its membership to include Eastern European countries and some former Soviet republics. The United States transitioned from a focus on hegemonic warfare to assuming a global leadership role, resulting in what became known as a unipolar world order. Nevertheless, this unipolar world order was short-lived. In 2001, the United States experienced a terrorist attack, highlighting the global spread of terrorism and the inability of any single country to combat it alone. Concurrently, under Vladimir Putin's leadership, Russia regained strength and influence. As a result, the unipolar world order lost its importance, and a new world order emerged, which is known as unipolar versus multipolar world order.

New Challenges – Environmental Crisis & Terrorism

The consciousness regarding the environment began to emerge as early as the 1960s, and in 1972, an international conference was held in Stockholm to address this issue. However, even this conference became overshadowed by the Cold War tensions of the time.

It was crucial for the issue of environmental protection to gain prominence. The industrial models of both the developed world (capitalist and communist) bear significant responsibility for

the environmental challenges we face today. The very concept of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) itself poses a significant threat to the environment. Originally conceptualised during the Second World War as an emergency measure to measure production levels, GDP was developed by economic experts Richard Stone and James Meade, with the guidance of J.M. Keynes. However, even these experts recognized the limitations of GDP as a measure and highlighted the importance of considering social and environmental aspects of development alongside GDP. In his Nobel memorial lecture in 1984, Richard explicitly emphasised the need for nations to consider social and environmental factors also alongside GDP. Regrettably, this crucial message went largely unheard, as many economies focused solely on the market value of production, disregarding the importance of environmental protection and social development. Consequently, environmental degradation became an inevitable outcome.

During the 1980s, the environmental crisis continued to worsen, prompting the United Nations (UN) to address the issue of sustainable development. In 1992, the UN organised a summit on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro, known as the "Earth Summit," with the participation of 172 countries. It was during this summit that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was established.

The progress of addressing climate change further advanced in the Kyoto Conference of 1997, held in Japan. In this conference, the principle of "Polluter must Pay," advocated by

India, was adopted. Countries such as the USA, Japan, and EU committed to reducing carbon emissions, while India and China were exempted from such obligations. However, the Kyoto Protocol faced a setback when the newly elected American President, George W. Bush of the Republican Party, declared the protocol to be flawed and withdrew the USA's participation. Consequently, the Kyoto Protocol lost its effectiveness and significance due to the non-participation of the USA.

The Terrorism and the world

With the end of the Cold War, there was a growing hope for peace and stability. However, alongside these hopes, a new and significant challenge emerged: terrorism. A closer examination of terrorism reveals that it did not emerge suddenly; it has a long historical background. Throughout history, terrorism has often been employed as a means of reaction against exploitation or oppression.

While various movements, such as Irish rebellions, Russian Nihilists, and Communists, have resorted to terrorism in the past, the form of terrorism associated with religious fundamentalism can be traced back to the period of Western imperialism and the Cold War.

As we have seen, after the First World War, the betrayal of Arab nationalism and the subsequent encouragement of the Jewish state by Western powers caused unrest in the Arab region. Additionally, Western powers' pursuit of petroleum imperialism exacerbated the already troubled situation in the Arab world. Furthermore, other factors contributed to the escalating tensions.

In response to the pervasive influence of Western imperialism, the Islamic population in the Arab world and other regions sought solace and rallied around religion as a means of resistance and reaction, particularly due to the limited exposure to modern ideologies in the region. Movements such as Wahabi and Faraizi emerged as expressions of Muslim reaction against British imperialism in India. Furthermore, the United States, motivated by its Cold War objectives and the containment of socialism, extended support to conservative factions within the Arab region.

Extremist Ideology

In fact, when examining orthodox Islamic ideology, its roots can be traced back to two significant fanatic ideologies: Wahabi and Salafi. The Wahhabi ideology originated in the fanatic religious schools of Saudi Arabia. It idealises the period of the prophet as the epitome of Islam and rejects all modern technological advancements. On the other hand, the Salafi ideology also aims to establish Islam in its purest form but is open to embracing emerging science and technology, provided that these modern sciences promote Islamic values instead of Western values. The Salafi ideology emerged in Egypt during the latter half of the 19th century.

Initially, the youth in Saudi Arabia followed the Wahhabi ideology, but later they also shifted towards the Salafi ideology, attempting to merge Islamic orthodoxy with modern technology. Consequently, when orthodox Wahabi organisations in Saudi Arabia became intertwined with modern technology, it led to

the formation of aggressive terrorist organisations. For instance, Hamas was established in 1987 in the Gaza Strip of Israel, influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. Prior to this, Hezbollah was formed in 1982 following Israel's attack on southern Lebanon. Hezbollah is a Shia terrorist organisation that has received support from Iran and Syria.

Most significantly, after the attack by Russia on Afghanistan, a fertile ground for the upsurge of terrorist organisations was prepared. The USA started encouraging jihadist groups in order to strengthen its position against the USSR. Secondly, jihadists from across the world started accumulating in Afghanistan. The governments of Gulf countries supported jihadists and sent thousands of sunni jihadist groups on the mission to Afghanistan. Presently, when the USA declares itself as the biggest opponent of terrorism, it needs to be reminded of how, in the 1980s, figures like Berzenisks, the security advisor of America, while standing on a hilltop in the Khyber Pass with a gun in one hand and the Quran in the other, declared their support for jihadists against the USSR, stating that this combination of a gun and the Quran would be the path to freedom.

Osama-Bin Laden & Al-Qaida

Many jihadists came to fight in Afghanistan, including Abdullah Azam, a Palestinian jihadi, and Osama bin Laden, who hailed from Saudi Arabia. Osama worked as an assistant to Abdullah, and he was deeply influenced by Abdullah's ideology. After the USSR accepted its defeat in Afghanistan in 1990, Osama returned to Saudi Arabia.

This is how things turned against the USA, and jihadists also turned against the USA. The role that Osama played against the West in the first Iraq war is still unclear. However, after the defeat of Iraq, he migrated to Sudan in 1991 and declared war against the USA. In 1994, under pressure from the West, the Sudanese government asked Osama to leave the country. He then made Afghanistan his base until 1996, receiving protection from the Taliban government under Mullah Omar. From Afghanistan, Osama successfully orchestrated the 9/11 terrorist attack on the USA. We have observed that the influence of Palestinian jihadi Abdullah and other left-wing organisations in Saudi Arabia played a significant role in shaping Osama's ideology. Despite being Saudi-born, he deviated from the ideology of Saudi scholars, and under the influence of Azam, he began thinking in the context of global jihad. Al-Qaeda became the means for this global jihad. Following the 9/11 terrorist attack, the USA declared a war against terrorism, vowing to eliminate the ghost it had inadvertently created in the past. However, in its pursuit of the war against terrorism, the USA made mistakes that inadvertently contributed to the further spread of terrorism. While the base of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan was temporarily weakened, it spread to other regions during that time. In 2001, the USA attacked Afghanistan in response to 9/11, using only hard power against terrorism. It did not employ soft power in conjunction with hard power and neglected to fight on both fronts. As a result, the USA became embroiled in a never-ending war in Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan remains the longest fought war in American history.

It is important to remember that during the Cold War, illegal weapons were stockpiled, making it easier for terrorist organisations to access them. This led to the formation of global terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaida, ISIS, LeT, Boko Haram, Jabhat-al-Nusra, and others. Terrorism emerged as a dangerous challenge after the Cold War, with a struggle between state and non-state actors that differs from previous conflicts. This struggle is more dangerous and destructive than previous wars. Furthermore, the rise of Information Technology has made this struggle multidimensional in nature. While some scholars, such as Samuel P Huntington, have labelled it as a “clash of civilizations,” this term is unacceptable because the root cause is not cultural but rather political and economic. Western imperialism bears a significant responsibility in this regard.

Crisis of the Capitalist System: The Subprime Debt Crisis and the Eurozone Crisis

We have seen earlier that there is an internal contradiction in the capitalist economy. To maximise profits, it breaks down its own market and takes away the purchasing power of its customers.

To maintain profit level, the capitalist economy often resorts to invading the markets of other countries. Additionally, it adopts another strategy to increase profits by enhancing the purchasing power of customers through banks. When banks offer loans at lower interest rates, it stimulates demand, leading to market inflation. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as creating a market bubble.

However, the consequences emerge when customers face difficulties in repaying their loans. In such situations, they are unable to fulfil their financial obligations, and as a result, they surrender their acquired goods to the market. This influx of surrendered products causes a sharp decline in prices, triggering an economic crisis known as a bubble burst within the economy.

Similar issues arose in the US stock market during 1929-30 and the US housing sector in 2008. The Eurozone crisis of 2008, on the other hand, was a consequence of Europe’s long standing policy of monetary integration without sufficient financial integration. The two blocks below highlight the sub-prime crisis and the Eurozone crisis.

Sub Prime Crisis

Housing has become unaffordable for the common man during times of rising inflation. In an effort to make houses more accessible to the general population, then-US President Bill Clinton encouraged bank loans. The Federal Reserve Bank (FRB) also increased the money supply in the market. As the economy was already experiencing a recession following the terrorist attacks, the increased money supply provided a beneficial boost.

An increase in the money supply universally leads to a rise in demand. Taking advantage of the low interest rates offered by the FRBs, many investors stepped forward, and a specialised bank known as an investment bank emerged. With credit available at more affordable rates, people began securing loans against the value of their houses. This practice involved using the purchased house as collateral for the loan,

subsequently driving up demand for housing and resulting in a surge in prices within the area. On the other hand, the investors were driven by their eagerness to earn profits, leading them to provide loans to subprime lenders. Subprime lenders, characterised by their lower capacity to repay loans, are typically avoided by lenders. However, enticed by the prospect of higher interest rates, loans were extended to them. It is important to note that subprime lenders charge higher interest rates compared to banks. An astonishing \$2.2 trillion was raised through subprime mortgages.

Initially, prime loans and subprime loans accounts were kept separate, but eventually, they were merged. Consequently, the buyers of these loans remained unaware of the actual amount of risk associated with them. In 2004, the Federal Reserve Bank decided to increase the interest rate, resulting in borrowers' inability to fulfil their debt obligations. As a consequence, they had to pledge their assets, such as houses, to the banks. This situation caused a decline in housing prices and collateral values. Subsequently, the subprime lending companies found themselves facing insolvency. This sequence of events ultimately led to an economic crisis known as the subprime debt crisis.

Eurozone Crisis

The Eurozone crisis shook the world as a whole. In 2009, Europe found itself entangled in an economic crisis. Examining the causes of this crisis reveals that its roots lie within the structure of the Eurozone itself. The Eurozone countries embraced a shared currency, the euro. While the European Union had already

established a duty-free common market, the Eurozone countries were not evenly developed. On one hand, the northern states, particularly Germany, boasted a strong economic and industrial market, while the southern states, referred to as PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain), struggled with weaker economies. At its core, the failure stemmed from the experiment of monetary integration without financial integration. In other words, as trade barriers dissolved among the Eurozone countries, the option of currency devaluation following monetary integration vanished. Consequently, if one economy thrived while another faltered, there existed no defence mechanism for the weaker economy.

Let's understand with an example. Germany stood as a robust economy, while Southern Europe grappled with economic fragility. Fiscal policies, budgetary measures, and other economic strategies differed between Germany and these countries, resulting in discrepancies in the quality and pricing of products. German goods were relatively cheaper and of higher quality compared to those produced in the weaker economies. As a result of the integrated market, citizens of PIIGS countries began favouring the consumption of relatively affordable, higher-quality German products. This led to the downfall of industries within these countries. Failing businesses were unable to repay their bank loans, pushing financial institutions to the brink of insolvency.

However, the governments of these countries learned from the United States' failure to rescue banks like Lehman Brothers, which

triggered a financial crisis. In an effort to prevent a similar outcome, the Eurozone governments sought external loans to refinance and recapitalize their banks. Unfortunately, this approach burdened the governments with increasing levels of debt, giving rise to the "sovereign debt crisis." Typically, a dominant power does not fall victim to an economic crisis as it possesses two options. Firstly, it can raise additional funds through increased taxation. However, in an integrated economy, this option becomes infeasible, as imposing higher taxes would lead to capital flight and businesses relocating elsewhere. Thus, this was not a viable solution. The second option involved the central bank printing additional currency to repay debts. Nevertheless, within the Eurozone, only the Central Bank of Germany had the authority to issue currency, leaving other banks without this option. Consequently, all these countries became debtors, giving birth to the Eurozone crisis.

IMPACT OF CAPITALISM ON THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

It had a dual impact on third world countries. On the one hand, China and India benefited from the process of third industrialization and economic liberalisation. This phenomenon became known as outsourcing and offshoring. Outsourcing refers to the utilisation of engineers from third world countries, made possible by the impact of third industrialization and information technology, who are available to the West at significantly lower labour costs. However, this has also created more employment opportunities for third world individuals abroad, enabling them to convert

their earnings into their respective domestic currencies and thereby achieve higher incomes. Consequently, this has resulted in an overall increase in the GDP of the domestic country. On the other hand, offshoring meant shifting the industrial base to countries where cheaper electricity, cheaper labour, and other factors are available, particularly in third world countries, resulting in lower levels of factor costs. This has also led to an increase in employment generation in third world countries.

The benefits of outsourcing were reaped by India, while the benefits of offshoring were reaped by China. In contrast, employment generation in Western countries began to contract, leading to discomfort among their citizens. In response, a massive protest was held by the labour group during the 1999 Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This protest marked a stark contrast to the situation during 19th-century Western imperialism when colonial resource exploitation resulted in increased employment generation for the West. However, in the era of the third industrialization, it was the third world countries that started to enjoy the fruits of industrialization through increased employment opportunities.

A group of emerging economies of the 3rd world, which benefited from the third industrialization and economic liberalisation, became part of a select group of emerging economies that stood above other nations. The formation of the G-20 group occurred in 1999, and since 2008, it has gained significant influence. The group encompasses not only developed countries but also those with

emerging economies experiencing substantial growth. These countries, situated in the Southern Belt, are distinct from Western nations, with India also included among them. On the other hand, many Latin American, African, and Asian countries did not experience the same level of fortune. The policy of economic liberalisation had adverse effects on these countries, as their forced integration into the global economy prevented them from safeguarding their domestic industries. Some became burdened with foreign debt, with

several Latin American nations falling into debt due to the influence of new neoliberal policies. In response to these circumstances, socialist governments were established in Venezuela, Brazil, and various Latin American countries at the beginning of the 21st century. This movement came to be known as the Pink Revolution. (Socialism or communism is commonly known as the Red Flag or Red Revolution, while the Pink Revolution signifies a unique revolution that differs from the previous socialist movement.)

From 2008-09 Till Present Times



A blow to the policy of Economic Liberalisation

What were the reasons for the decline of the policy of economic liberalisation?

The Thatcher-Reagan Axis played a leading role in advocating for economic liberalisation, with the objective of expanding Western finance into the international market. However, in reality, developing countries were making notable advancements in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors, potentially challenging Western dominance. This prompted the Western world to strive to maintain their supremacy in the financial sector. In the meantime, London and New York emerged as global finance centres.

However, the substantial impact of the 2008 subprime crisis and the 2009 Eurozone crisis on these financial hubs resulted in a waning interest from countries like the USA and Britain in globalisation.

As a result, the rise of economic nationalism became evident. Many years ago, J.M. Keynes pointed out that if the delicate balance between nationalism and internationalism is not maintained, national interests would prevail and challenge the international economic system. His prediction has now come true, as the world finds itself once again embroiled in trade wars and currency wars.

The emergence of Trumponomics with the “America first” agenda led to the imposition of substantial tariffs on Chinese imports and significantly affected trade with India as well. These factors have set the stage for a new era of trade conflicts.

Moreover, the impact of economic liberalisation on the process of globalisation was substantial, resulting in a reversal of its course. Brexit serves as a prominent illustration, intensifying the prevailing crisis within the Eurozone. The Eurozone is composed of 19 member countries that have adopted the Euro as their currency, excluding Britain. The decision of Britain to exit the 28-member European Union introduced significant uncertainty and undermined the political unity of the Union.

It is fascinating to note that India and China initially approached economic liberalisation with caution. However, as time passed, both countries have displayed a remarkable commitment to the principles of globalisation. The governments of China and India have actively pursued the establishment of a robust and effective globalised order, highlighting their keen interest in its success.

BREXIT

- After the Eurozone crisis, the European Union faced another crisis in the form of ‘Brexit.’ Since 2010, there had been demands in Britain regarding immigration, economic policies, national sovereignty, and security, which were separate from the goals of the European Union. In the 2016 referendum, 52 percent of the people voted in favour of Britain leaving the European Union, leading to the event known as Brexit.

- When examining the relationship between Britain and the European Union, it becomes clear that Britain had been sceptical of the federal European project from the beginning, mainly due to its geographical location. Despite joining the European Economic Community in 1973, Britain remained hesitant and opposed further integration efforts. Notably, in opposition to the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty, Britain adopted the slogan “European Union Versus Pooled Sovereignty.”
- Meanwhile, in Britain, mounting pressure emerged, particularly from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, as a result of an influx of migrants, which subsequently led to a scarcity of job opportunities. The prevailing economic policies implemented by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the Conservative Party during the 1980s were largely held responsible for the limited employment options. Thatcher’s endorsement of neoliberal economic policies resulted in the closure of numerous small-scale industries, thereby exacerbating the issue of rising unemployment. Consequently, migration from outside the country became the scapegoat for the increasing unemployment levels.
- The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) spearheaded a well-organised opposition to the European Union, and their stance was subsequently embraced by some members of the Conservative Party. Their collective opposition was primarily focused on the European Union as an entity. In light of growing pressure from within his own

party, Prime Minister David Cameron, who belonged to the Conservative Party, made the pivotal decision to conduct a referendum on the matter.

- At Chicago Airport, following his participation in a NATO meeting, Prime Minister David Cameron engaged in a conversation with his Foreign Secretary and Chief of Staff at a restaurant. It was during this discussion that the pivotal decision to conduct a referendum on Britain's membership in the European Union was reached. Cameron's confidence in the outcome was reinforced by his recollection of a similar situation involving Scotland. The strategic employment of the referendum aimed to appease influential members of the Conservative Party who were advocating for Britain's exit from the European Union. Interestingly, this strategy had been previously employed by Harold Macmillan in 1975 to address the matter of the country's membership in the European Community.
- However, Cameron's decision to hold the referendum backfired, and he faced defeat as the majority voted in favour of leaving the European Union. Consequently, Cameron resigned from his position as Prime Minister, and the responsibility fell to Theresa May to navigate the ensuing situation. However, May's tenure was marred by electoral setbacks, which left her leadership in a precarious position. Presently, Boris Johnson leads the Conservative Party with a significant majority, and under his leadership, the United Kingdom formally departed from the European Union on January 31, 2020.

What lies ahead for the future of globalisation?

Throughout history, the world has witnessed phases of globalisation and de-globalization, as described by renowned economist Meghnad Desai. In the 19th century, globalisation experienced a significant rise but was subsequently affected by a global economic crisis. Following the Second World War, a de-globalized order was established, characterised by restrictions on globalisation. However, in the 1990s, globalisation resurged, but it currently confronts various unavoidable challenges.

When contemplating the future of globalisation, a notable conclusion emerges. The current form of globalisation is predominantly driven by the interests of investors, a dynamic that is expected to undergo a reversal. However, simultaneously, a parallel development of globalisation based on interactions among ordinary people has taken shape. Furthermore, the emergence of "netizens" and civil society groups facilitated by information technology has added to this trend. It is essential to recognize that challenges such as environmental issues and terrorism cannot be effectively addressed by individual nations alone; they require concerted global efforts. Additionally, pandemics like Ebola, SARS, and COVID-19 demand global solutions, emphasising the indispensability of globalisation. It is not merely an option but a pressing need and an imperative for nations worldwide.

Another significant question that arises is the potential correlation between the decline of economic liberalisation and the rise of right-wing nationalism. Right-wing nationalism refers to a governing ideology that relies on promoting

radical ideas among its populace for its success. In light of this, it becomes crucial to explore whether any relationship exists between these two phenomena.

There is indeed a relationship between the decline of economic liberalisation and the rise of right-wing nationalism. Several key factors contribute to this connection.

Firstly, during the process of economic liberalisation, governments often adopt a more hands-off approach, allowing international capital to exert significant influence. Consequently, people may feel that their governments have taken a backseat, leaving them vulnerable to the whims of global economic forces. This sense of insecurity can breed discontent and pave the way for nationalist sentiments to emerge. Secondly, globalisation, often associated with economic liberalisation, can bring about the imposition of Western cultural norms on societies. This can lead to a backlash as some individuals perceive it as a threat to their traditional values and identity. The desire to preserve and return to their cultural “roots,” including religious aspects, can fuel support for right-wing nationalist movements. Thirdly, the issue of migration plays a significant role in the rise of right-wing nationalism. The influx of migrants, who often seek better economic opportunities, can create concerns among the native population regarding job scarcity and competition. This unease and restlessness can provide fertile ground for nationalist movements to exploit, promising to protect the interests of the native population. Furthermore, with the disintegration of the

communist order, the option of a communist alternative as a response to economic liberalisation was no longer viable. As a result, people naturally gravitated towards alternate ideologies, such as radical nationalism, as a means to address their grievances and anxieties. The vacuum created by these dynamics allowed popular right-wing leaders and nationalist parties to emerge in their respective countries. Examples include leaders like Donald Trump in the USA, Vladimir Putin in Russia, Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Turkey, Shinzo Abe in Japan, Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, and Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel. These leaders capitalised on the discontent and aspirations of those feeling marginalised by globalisation, employing nationalist rhetoric to garner support and consolidate their power.

THE RISE OF SUB NATIONALISM DURING GLOBALISATION

Globalisation has facilitated the emergence of “sub-nationalism,” posing challenges to nationhood and unity. Examples of this trend include the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, followed by Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia in 1993. While the idea of a clash of civilizations is not entirely accurate, it does underscore the increasing influence of sub-nationalism. This begs the question: what factors have contributed to the growing power of sub-nationalism? Several reasons can be identified.

Globalisation has led to a loosening of government control, giving rise to regional aspirations. Furthermore, the concentration of international capital in specific regions has left others feeling neglected and deprived of its

benefits. This unequal distribution of wealth and development creates a sense of alienation, as prosperous regions are often reluctant to share their prosperity with neighbouring regions. Consequently, calls for separation and sub-nationalism gain traction.

Additionally, imperial forces have been known to exploit separatist tendencies to preserve their influence in certain regions. This has contributed to violent conflicts in several countries. Examples include civil wars in Rwanda and Somalia, the Kosovo crisis of the 1990s, and the division of Sudan in 2011.

Furthermore, the challenge of sub-nationalism has had significant repercussions on international relations. It has resulted in civil wars and, tragically, even massacres in certain regions. This gave rise to the concept of “Responsibility to Protect” (R. to P.) in international relations. However, it is important to note that the true essence of R. to P. was often perceived as a means to enhance the dominance of the United States. The US propagated the idea that if a government was exploiting its own people, it was the world’s responsibility to protect them. This ideology led to interventions in the internal affairs of certain countries, instilling a sense of fear. It was widely believed that the US would intervene in any country’s internal affairs using the R. to P. framework. This belief was evident in interventions in Libya and ongoing involvement in Syria.

The Most Dangerous Threats to the Contemporary World: Environmental Crisis and Terrorism

The world became aware of the environmental threat as early as the 1970s and initiated serious efforts, such as the Earth Summit, in the 1990s to address the issue. However, the priorities of governments shifted with the advent of economic liberalisation, redirecting their focus away from environmental concerns.

The shift in government priorities towards maximising economic growth led to the exploitation of resources in an unsustainable manner, exacerbating the environmental crisis.

During this period, there were notable changes in international efforts to address the environmental crisis. The impact of the Eurozone crisis and the Subprime crisis on Western economies led to a retreat from their environmental responsibilities. Additionally, the principle of “Polluters must pay,” advocated by India, was rejected, and instead, all countries were obligated to reduce their carbon emissions. This created pressure on nations to conform to carbon reduction norms based on their individual capacities. Eventually, India succumbed to international pressure and accepted these norms at the Durban summit in 2011.

The Paris summit in 2015 marked a significant step forward in addressing the global environmental crisis. The introduction of Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC) highlighted the shared responsibility of all nations in preserving the environment. However, there was a noticeable lack of commitment from Western countries in providing necessary funds and green technology to developing nations, despite the importance of supporting their

economic conditions. The United States, under the Trump administration, notably displayed a concerning level of irresponsibility by withdrawing from the commitments previously made by the Obama administration. What is particularly alarming is that the world as a whole still fails to fully grasp the immense magnitude of the environmental crisis, which poses the most significant threat to our present civilization.

In addition to religious extremism, terrorism has become intertwined with various other factors such as poverty, hunger, tribal identity, migration, and unemployment. The declaration of a caliphate by the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014 has transformed into a significant international challenge. Its influence has expanded from Afghanistan to Africa and Southeast Asia, making it a global network of terrorism.

SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

From 2009 to 2020, West Asia and the Arab region experienced significant turmoil. The Arab Spring, which began in late 2010 in Tunisia, spread to other countries such as Egypt, Libya, and Syria. This wave of unrest was fueled by the growing influence of information technology, which opened up closed Arab societies to the outside world. However, despite high hopes for transformative reforms, the Arab Spring largely failed to bring about substantial changes, except in Tunisia. Instead, Egypt fell into military despotism, Libya faced external aggression and internal unrest, and Syria became embroiled in a protracted regional conflict, attracting the

involvement of major global powers. These events have left a lasting impact on the region, shaping its political landscape and exacerbating ongoing challenges.



The Israel-Palestine issue, which has been a longstanding conflict, has taken on new dimensions in recent times. With support from the Trump administration, Israel has expanded its control over Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Jerusalem. Simultaneously, a cold war between Iran and Saudi Arabia has been unfolding, with Yemen becoming a battleground. In Yemen, Iran-backed Houthi rebels and Saudi Arabia, supported by its allies, have been engaged in a struggle for power. Interestingly, there has been an increasing cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Israel, encouraged by the United States, as they align against Iran. Moreover, tensions in the region have escalated due to the U.S. cutting off talks and imposing new economic sanctions on Iran, particularly in relation to the issue of nuclear weapons. These developments have contributed to heightened tensions and complexities in the region.



In addition, Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Putin has adopted an assertive stance against the perceived aggression of the United States and its allies. This was evident in 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine, leading to a blame game between the West and Russia. The West criticised Russia for violating its earlier assurances of security to Ukraine and forcefully seizing a part of its territory. Conversely, Russia argued that the United States had breached its own assurances by expanding its influence in Eastern Europe. This disagreement further heightened tensions between the two sides.

On the other hand, Russia has argued that Western countries have betrayed its trust. According to Russia, the United States assured them that it would not expand its influence into former Soviet and Eastern European communist countries. However, the US allegedly disregarded this commitment by not only allowing these nations to join the European Union but also granting them membership in NATO. These actions resulted in heightened tensions, leading to a division within the G-8. Additionally,

economic blockades were imposed on Russia by Western nations.

While the situation remained relatively controlled during the presidency of Barack Obama, it further deteriorated afterwards. President Obama also accused President Putin of interfering in the 2016 US presidential election, which was contested between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. As a response, President Obama tightened economic sanctions against Russia. Furthermore, recent issues between President Trump and President Putin have added new tensions to the already strained relationship between the two countries.

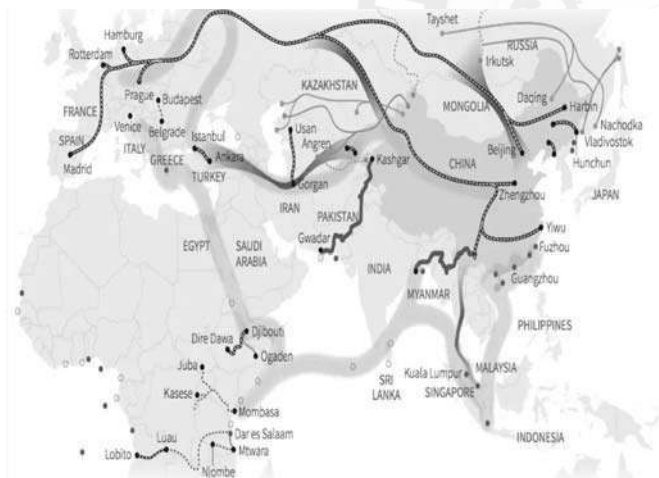
The United States has expressed concerns that Russia is continuously increasing its nuclear arsenal. Previously, during the era of the USSR, the US President Ronald Reagan and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev signed a treaty in 1987 aimed at reducing the number of short-range and intermediate-range nuclear missiles. However, under the Trump administration, the USA announced its decision to withdraw from this treaty.

Then, it is a worrisome sign for global peace. The cordial relations between the USA and Russia concerning issues related to Syria, Iran, and Afghanistan had the potential to reshape geopolitics and pave the way for a new direction. However, there are currently no visible signs of this desired situation materialising.

Along with this, the increasing dominance of the Chinese Dragon in the Asia-Pacific region is giving rise to new apprehensions. One of China's most notable national achievements is considered to be the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Under this initiative, China has announced the construction of the 'Silk Road Economic Belt' and the '21st Century Maritime Silk Road,' collectively known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This ambitious plan is widely regarded as a significant step towards economic development and is often compared to important post-World War II plans, but in reality, it is even more extensive than the Marshall Plan. It encompasses intercontinental connections, linking Asia, Europe, and Africa.

Another perspective is that China's One Belt One Road initiative can be seen as an extension of its incomplete 600-year-old Zheng He policy. Interestingly, in 2005, the Chinese government introduced the modern version of the Zheng He Policy.



However, the current perception of the BRI extends beyond its economic aspects and is viewed as a strategic program as well. In this context, some experts refer to it as the String of Pearl Policy.

Currently, the United States is in the process of withdrawing from Afghanistan while engaging in negotiations with the Taliban. This move by Donald Trump resembles a policy

similar to what Nixon adopted during the Vietnam War. In the case of Vietnam, Nixon shifted responsibility for security to the South Vietnamese government and subsequently withdrew. Similarly, Trump is also pulling back from Afghanistan.

It is evident that the Afghanistan government will face significant challenges in defending itself against the Taliban. There is a real risk of the Taliban regaining control and once again ruling Afghanistan. In such a scenario, not only would India's investments in Afghanistan be at risk, but there is also the possibility of a Pakistan-friendly government being formed in Afghanistan. Furthermore, this could create a region fraught with instability, stretching from Central Asia to the Middle East. Additionally, the Indian government may face even more challenging issues in Kashmir.

Moreover, countries like Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Singapore are already apprehensive about this policy. China's behaviour in the South China Sea and the East China Sea has further escalated tensions in the region. The USA is actively encouraging India to play a crucial role and places emphasis on India's 'Act East Policy'.

However, many experts draw comparisons between China's policy and the 'Co-prosperity Sphere' established by victorious nations in Central Asia after World War II. In his book 'New World Disorder,' Shashi Tharoor quotes English geographer John Mackinder's 'Heartland theory,' emphasising that a country capable of unifying Asia, Europe, and Africa as a World Island would wield substantial global power. China's increasing

presence in ports like Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, and Djibouti, for both economic and strategic purposes, raises concerns among India and other nations worldwide.

Impact of technological changes on the contemporary world order

Throughout history, new technologies have had a profound impact on society. The first and second industrial revolutions brought about significant changes to the contemporary world. Similarly, the third industrial revolution, characterised by the rise of information technology, ushered in immediate transformations in political and social relations. During the 1990s, this revolution triggered political turmoil in Eastern Europe, leading to substantial upheaval and shifts in power dynamics. Likewise, in 2010-2011, the Arab Spring emerged as a powerful movement that shook the foundations of despotic governments, challenging their strongholds.

Furthermore, it also revolutionised the relationship between people and government. Previously, information was confined to a select few, but with the advent of new technologies, it began to reach the general public. This led to the emergence of a civil society built upon internet networks, empowering and connecting individuals on a massive scale.

Social media, in conjunction with traditional media, has emerged as an informal pillar of governance. As the socialist order disintegrated, so did the division between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, a new concept known as the Global Commons has

emerged. In the past, the traditional Marxist slogan was “workers of the world unite,” but now a new slogan has taken shape: “the people of the world login.” These global commons actively participate in movements ranging from the ‘Occupy London Movement’ to even the ‘Candle March’ at India Gate.

More recently, we are witnessing the dawn of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which is built upon advanced technologies such as the Internet of Things, biotechnology, artificial intelligence, and 3D printing. The potential impacts of this revolution on the global economy, politics, and society are still unknown, as they lie in the realm of the future. However, alongside anticipation, there are also apprehensions surrounding the consequences it may bring.

Historically, science and technology have played a pivotal role in reshaping the world. Therefore, it is anticipated that the Fourth Industrial Revolution will bring about substantial transformations in the global polity, society, and economy, like its predecessors.

The impact of robotics and artificial intelligence on employment levels is often viewed from two contrasting perspectives. One perspective suggests that these technologies will centralise production and replace human labour, resulting in reduced employment opportunities. Conversely, another viewpoint argues that the aforementioned impact will primarily affect higher-quality production processes, while middle and lower-class manufacturing processes will remain labour-intensive, thereby generating more employment.

Social scientists who argue that the advancement of automation and robotics will lead to centralised production and labour displacement express concerns about the potential widening of social and economic divisions. They contend that while capital accumulation increases, the share of the labour class in production diminishes. As a result, they propose the implementation of Universal Basic Income (UBI) as a necessary measure to promote the development and well-being of the lower class.

The advancement of technology in the Fourth Industrial Revolution is anticipated to impact international relations, much like how the Third Industrial Revolution resulted in offshoring, outsourcing, and the transfer of employment from developed nations to third-world countries. However, it is believed that the Fourth Industrial Revolution will reverse this trend as technological advancements will compensate for the need for human labour to a greater extent.

As the world undergoes transformative changes, ideologies and institutional structures have also evolved accordingly. The initial wave of industrialization witnessed the promotion of modernity and democracy. However, it raises the question of whether the meaning and definition of democracy, as well as truth itself, will undergo transformation in the era of the third and fourth industrial revolutions.

The prevailing perception today is that we have entered an era of post-democracy, where

institutions that were once meant to strengthen democracy now seem to undermine it. While public opinion has traditionally been a cornerstone of democracy, governments with right-wing ideologies are utilising information technology tools to manipulate and mislead the people. Additionally, there is a growing belief that we have entered a post-truth society, making it increasingly challenging to discern between truth and falsehood. This is largely due to the repackaging and dissemination of falsehoods through information technology and social media platforms, leading people to react without grasping the distinction between truth and untruth.

Hence, we are confronted with several pressing questions:

- Will the modern world discover effective solutions to the challenges posed by terrorism and the environmental crisis?
- What lies ahead for the future of democracy—will it be a path towards strengthening democratic systems or a trajectory towards their demise?
- Can the capitalist economic model sustain itself, or will there emerge an alternative model to address its shortcomings?

The answers to these questions lie in the future, yet we must remain hopeful. Throughout the past 3000 years of human civilization, we have witnessed our ability to find solutions to numerous challenges, and we will continue to do so in the times ahead.

