

WORLD HISTORY (1500-1950)

BA (History)

Third Year

Paper IV



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

World History (1500-1950)

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit I- Rise of Modern World. a. Fall of Constantinople. b. Renaissance and Reformation. c. Industrial Revolution: Causes and Effects.	Unit 1: Rise of the Modern World (Pages 3-41)
Unit II- French Revolution and its Aftermath. a. French Revolution: Causes and Significance. b. Napoleon as a Reformer. c. Congress of Vienna.	Unit 2: French Revolution and its Aftermath (Pages 43-85)
Unit III- Rise of Nation States. a. Germany. b. Italy. c. Congress of Berlin.	Unit 3: Rise of Nation States (Pages 87-110)
Unit IV- Imperialism, Revolution and Totalitarian States. a. World War I: Causes, Effects and Treaty of Versailles. b. The Russian Revolution. c. Nazism in Germany. d. Fascism in Italy.	Unit 4: Imperialism, Revolution and Totalitarian States (Pages 111-162)
Unit V- World War II and Post-War Movements. a. World War II: Causes and Effects. b. Colonialism and Nationalism in Asia: Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam.	Unit 5: World War II and Post-War Movements (Pages 163-186)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
UNIT 1 RISE OF THE MODERN WORLD	3-41
1.0 Introduction	
1.1 Unit Objectives	
1.2 Fall of Constantinople	
1.2.1 The Byzantine Empire and its Culture	
1.2.2 Impact of the Fall of Constantinople	
1.2.3 Decline of Feudalism	
1.2.4 Rise of Capitalism	
1.3 Renaissance and Reformation	
1.3.1 Reformation	
1.4 Industrial Revolution: Causes and Effects	
1.4.1 Scientific and Technological Background of Revolution	
1.4.2 Effects of Industrial Revolution	
1.5 Summary	
1.6 Key Terms	
1.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’	
1.8 Questions and Exercises	
1.9 Further Reading	
UNIT 2 FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH	43-85
2.0 Introduction	
2.1 Unit Objectives	
2.2 French Revolution: Causes and Significance	
2.2.1 The Causes of the French Revolution	
2.2.2 The Course of the French Revolution	
2.2.3 Aims of the New Constitution	
2.2.4 Significance of the Revolution	
2.3 Napoleon as a Reformer	
2.3.1 Defence of National Convention, Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy	
2.3.2 Napoleon as the First Consulate and Emperor	
2.3.3 War against Russia and Defeat of Napoleon	
2.3.4 Impact of Napoleon	
2.4 Congress of Vienna	
2.4.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress	
2.4.2 The Holy Alliance	
2.4.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)	
2.4.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815	
2.4.5 Italy, a Geographical Expression	
2.4.6 Critical Estimate	
2.5 Summary	
2.6 Key Terms	
2.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’	
2.8 Questions and Exercises	
2.9 Further Reading	

UNIT 3 RISE OF NATION STATES**87-110**

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Italy
 - 3.2.1 Factors Hampering the Italian Unification
 - 3.2.2 Impact of the French Revolution
 - 3.2.3 Mazzini, Cavour, Austrian War and the Italian Unification
- 3.3 Germany
 - 3.3.1 War with Denmark: The Issue of Schleswig-Holstein
 - 3.3.2 Austro-Prussian War
 - 3.3.3 Relations with France (1870) and Final Unification of Germany
- 3.4 Congress of Berlin
 - 3.4.1 Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century
 - 3.4.2 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy Over Turkish Rule
 - 3.4.3 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
 - 3.4.4 Treaty of Berlin (1878) and the Berlin Congress
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

UNIT 4 IMPERIALISM, REVOLUTION AND TOTALITARIAN STATES**111-162**

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 First World War
 - 4.2.1 Causes of the First World War
 - 4.2.2 Effects of the First World War
 - 4.2.3 Treaty of Versailles
- 4.3 The Russian Revolution
 - 4.3.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution
 - 4.3.2 Course of the Russian Revolution
 - 4.3.3 Lenin’s Leadership
- 4.4 Fascism in Italy
 - 4.4.1 Role of Benito Mussolini
 - 4.4.2 The Benefits of Fascist Rule
 - 4.4.3 Mussolini’s Foreign Policy
 - 4.4.4 Italy Until the Second World War
- 4.5 Nazism in Germany
 - 4.5.1 Formation of the Nazi Party
 - 4.5.2 Rise of Adolf Hitler
 - 4.5.3 Factors for the Rise of Nazism in Germany
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Key Terms
- 4.8 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 4.9 Questions and Exercises
- 4.10 Further Reading

UNIT 5 WORLD WAR II AND POST-WAR MOVEMENTS**163-186**

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives

- 5.2 Second World War: Causes and Effects
 - 5.2.1 Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland
 - 5.2.2 The Munich Conference, 1938
 - 5.2.3 The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939
 - 5.2.4 Hitler's Demand for the Return of Danzig
 - 5.2.5 Causes of the Second World War
- 5.3 Colonialism and Nationalism in Asia
 - 5.3.1 Growth of Nationalism in Indonesia
 - 5.3.2 Growth of Nationalism in Vietnam
 - 5.3.3 Growth of Nationalism in Burma
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Terms
- 5.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.7 Questions and Exercises
- 5.8 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

The history of the world is the history of humanity from the earliest times to the present, in all places on earth, beginning with the Palaeolithic Era. It excludes non-human natural history and geological history, except insofar as the natural world substantially affects human lives. World history encompasses the study of written records, from ancient times forward, plus additional knowledge gained from other sources, such as archaeology. Modern history, or the modern era, describes the historical timeline after the Middle Ages. Modern history can be further broken down into the *early modern period* and the *late modern period* after the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. *Contemporary history* describes the span of historic events that are immediately relevant to the present time. The modern era began approximately in the 16th century. Many major events caused Europe to change around the turn of the 16th century, starting with the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the fall of Muslim Spain and the discovery of the Americas in 1492, and Martin Luther's Protestant Reformation in 1517. In England, the Modern period is often dated to the start of the Tudor period, with the victory of Henry VII over Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Early modern European history is usually seen to span from the turn of the 15th century, through the Age of Reason and Age of Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries, until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century.

According to several historians, the Modern period of history starts at the beginning of the 19th century, specifically with the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. That treaty ended a period spanning between the ruin of the Byzantine Roman Empire and the end of the Napoleonic Empire. It also saw the maturation of the world capitalist system. From another angle, it saw the growth of most of the modern ideas and attitudes of human beings spanning the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and nationalism.

This book, *World History (1500–1950)*, is divided into five units. The book follows the self-instructional mode wherein each unit begins with an Introduction to the unit followed by the Objectives of the topic. Check Your Progress questions are provided at regular intervals to test the student's understanding of the topics. A Summary, Key Terms and a set of Questions and Exercises are provided at the end of each unit. Answers to Check Your Progress have also been provided which would help the students assess their progress.

NOTES

UNIT 1 RISE OF THE MODERN WORLD

NOTES

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Fall of Constantinople
 - 1.2.1 The Byzantine Empire and its Culture
 - 1.2.2 Impact of the Fall of Constantinople
 - 1.2.3 Decline of Feudalism
 - 1.2.4 Rise of Capitalism
- 1.3 Renaissance and Reformation
 - 1.3.1 Reformation
- 1.4 Industrial Revolution: Causes and Effects
 - 1.4.1 Scientific and Technological Background of Revolution
 - 1.4.2 Effects of Industrial Revolution
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Key Terms
- 1.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 1.8 Questions and Exercises
- 1.9 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The European society witnessed tremendous changes during the 15th and 16th century AD. The beginning of Renaissance developed enquiring spirit and scientific outlook among the Europeans. The Reformation movement challenged the medieval religious set up. It was against the Orthodox Church and the abuses of the Pope. It gave birth to a new religious order, i.e., Protestantism. The age of ‘Enlightenment’ brought people out of a state of ‘ignorance’ and encouraged them to question the existing systems and work towards intellectual, cultural and architectural advancement. Putting an end to the Medieval period, the Renaissance marked the transition from Middle Age to the Modern Age. The main cause of Renaissance was the fall of Constantinople.

The term ‘Renaissance’ is a French word and means ‘rebirth’. It was used to describe the cultural movement that began in Italy in the 14th century and spread across Europe by the 16th and the 17th centuries. The movement was characterized by a revival of the classical sources in the sphere of learning. Linear perspective emerged in painting and there was reform in the educational system as well.

The emergence of capitalism and along with it the rise of the new middle class—the bourgeoisie—transformed the European cultural climate. There was a rise of great rivalry in the market as members of this capitalist class that controlled the means of production sought to outdo each other in producing goods that were cheaper and better than the other. As a consequence, it became necessary to have greater knowledge, a deeper understanding of the processes of life at large, rather than a having a restricted outlook. This became a fertile ground for the emergence of Renaissance, a cultural movement. Renaissance is, therefore, deeply entwined with the rise and growth of the market economy, capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The age of humanism, as Renaissance is often termed, coupled with deep emphasis on economic expansion, totally upturned

NOTES

the hitherto practiced and preached ideas of the Catholic Church. The medieval philosophy upheld in Western Europe laid all agency in the Lord. A just social order was considered beyond bounds in this world. However, the enterprising middle class wrested all agency and emerged as the masters of their own destinies relying on their own capabilities and enterprise. Hence, God was displaced and man became the nucleus of the newly emergent order. This change gained currency throughout Europe and soon the humanist philosophy came to be known as Renaissance or ‘rebirth’. This ‘rebirth’, in fact, signified an intellectual awakening. The movement began in Italy and soon encompassed the whole of Europe. It was marked by the revival of classical style in the artistic sphere with humanists seeking to imitate the genius of Romans and Greeks. There emerged a greater engagement with scientific discoveries of the past and an effort to carry them forward.

The humanist movement received a shot in the arm in the middle of 15th century when Johann Gutenberg discovered printing in Germany. Another stalwart during the early years of Renaissance was Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), a Florentine poet. Coming at an age when the medieval beliefs were on the decline and the humanist movement was just gathering force, Dante became a defining figure. His *Divine Comedy*, written in Italian, was hugely acclaimed. That he chose to write a literary treatise in his native language highlighted an emerging trend, i.e., the growing national consciousness amongst the humanist writers of the 14th and 15th centuries. While works on science still used Latin as the medium of discourse, literary works relied on native languages.

The literary pieces of the humanist writers were distinctly different from the bygone times. The subject of focus shifted from the sacred and grandiose to the secular and everyday life. The common man replaced the traditional knight as the hero. Some of the most revered names that belonged to this age were Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio in Italy, Francois Rabelais in France, Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, Erasmus of Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Miguel Cervantes in Spain and William Shakespeare in England.

Art also reflected the humanist ideal of celebration of the individual and the world around him. Therefore, paintings and sculptures were marked by realism that celebrated man both in body and spirit. Famous names amongst the artists are Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Velasquez, and Rembrandt amongst others.

The third dimension of Renaissance was its scientific vigour. Great discoveries were made and with emphasis on empiricism the seed of many of the modern natural sciences was sown. Valuable contributions were made by Galileo in astronomy and mechanics apart from natural sciences. Other major contributions were by Cardano in natural sciences, Leonardo da Vinci in mechanics, Copernicus in astronomy, Francis Bacon and Giordano Bruno in the materialist perspective on nature and Vesalius and Harvey in anatomy and physiology.

The political thought of the humanists demonstrated a rejection of the Catholic Church and the subservience to God that it embodied. They sought to overthrow the feudal setup of the Church where non adherence to a law was seen as a sin against God. Instead they believed in the ability of the state to maintain law and order and consequently upheld centralized state control.

The scientific revolution changed the socio-economic conditions in the European countries. The revolution resulted in permanent changes in the political conditions, and gave rise to the Industrial Revolution, which ultimately changed the economic conditions as well. This unit will describe the rise of the Modern world.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the impact of the fall of Constantinople
- Analyse the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism
- Explain the causes responsible for the rise of Renaissance
- Analyse the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science
- Describe the Reformation Movement
- Evaluate the causes and effects of the Industrial Revolution
- Discuss the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution

NOTES

1.2 FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A new period in the history of Western civilization began in the 7th century, when it became clear that there would no longer be a single empire ruling over all the territories bordering on the Mediterranean. By about AD 700, in place of a united Roman Empire, there were three successor civilizations that stood as rivals of each other on different Mediterranean shores: the Byzantine, the Islamic, and the Western Christian. Each of these had its own language and distinctive form of life. The Byzantine civilization, which descended directly from the eastern Roman Empire, was Greek-speaking and dedicated to combining Roman governmental traditions with intense pursuit of the Christian faith. The Islamic civilization was based in the Arab world and inspired the government as well as culture by the idealism of a dynamic new religion. Western Christian civilization in comparison to others was a laggard. It was the least economically advanced and faced organizational weaknesses in both government and religion. But it did have some base of unity in Christianity and the Latin language, and would soon begin to find greater political and religious cohesiveness. For some four or five hundred years, the West lived in the shadow of Constantinople and Mecca. Scholars are only now beginning to recognize the full measure of Byzantine and Islamic accomplishments. These greatly merit our attention both for their own sakes and because they influenced western European development in many direct and indirect ways.

1.2.1 The Byzantine Empire and its Culture

Once dismissed by historian Gibbon as ‘a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery,’ the story of Byzantine civilization is today recognized as the most interesting and impressive one. It is true that the Byzantine Empire was in many respects not very innovative; it was also continually beset by grave external threats and internal weaknesses. Nonetheless, it managed to survive for a millennium. In fact, the empire did not just survive; it frequently prospered and greatly influenced the world around it. Among many other achievements, it helped preserve ancient Greek thought, created magnificent works of art, and brought the Christian culture to pagan people, above all the Slavs. Simply stated, it was one of the most enduring and influential empires the world has ever known.

It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state. For this reason, different historians prefer different beginnings. Some argue that ‘Byzantine’ characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy

NOTES

of Diocletian while others say that Byzantine history began when King Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the center of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.

Justinian's reign was clearly an important turning point in the redirection of the Byzantine civilization because it saw the crystallization of new forms of thought and art that can be considered more 'Byzantine Roman.' But this still remains a matter of debate. Some scholars emphasize these newer forms, while others state that Justinian continued to speak Latin and dreamt of restoring old Rome. Only after AD 610 did a new dynasty emerge that came from the east, spoke Greek, and maintained a fully Eastern or properly 'Byzantine' policy. Although arguments can be made for the early Byzantine history with Diocletian, Constantine or Justinian, we will begin here with the accession in AD 610 of Emperor Heraclius.

It is also convenient to begin in AD 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East. When Heraclius came to the throne, the very existence of the Byzantine Empire was being challenged by the Persians, who had conquered almost all of the empire's Asian territories. As a symbol of their triumph, the Persians in AD 614 even carried off the relic believed to be part of the original cross from Jerusalem. Through enormous effort, Heraclius rallied Byzantine strength and turned the tide, routing the Persians and retrieving the cross in AD 627.

Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till AD 641. However, in the last few years of his rule, new armies began invading the Byzantine territory, swarming out of hitherto placid Arabia. Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blusterous, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea. By AD 650, they had captured most of the Byzantine territories, which the Persians had occupied briefly in the early 7th century, conquered all of Persia, and were making inroads towards the west, across North Africa. This was possible as the Arab fleets secured bases along the coasts of Asia Minor and then proceeded to install a loose blockade around Constantinople. In AD 677, they attacked Constantinople, but failed. In AD 717, they made renewed attempt to conquer the city by means of a concerted land and sea operation.

The End of the Byzantine Empire

The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power. Emperor Leo (AD 717-741) countered the Arab threat with the help of a secret incendiary device known as 'Greek fire' and military strength and was able to defeat them on sea and as well as land. Leo's victory is significant for the European history, not just because it saw the Byzantine Empire rule for several more centuries, but also because it saved the West from immediate onslaught of the Islamic power. Had the Arabs taken Constantinople there would have been little to stop them from sweeping through the rest of Europe.

Over the next few decades, the Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor. This region, along with Greece, became the seat of the Byzantine Empire for the next three hundred years. Thereafter, there was a truce between

the Byzantines and the Islamic power until they were able to take the offensive against a decaying Islamic power in the second half of the 10th century. In that period—the greatest in Byzantine history—Byzantine troops recaptured most of Syria.

In the 11th century, however, the Byzantine Empire faced its worst defeat in the hands of the Seljuk Turks and lost most of its gains. In AD 1071, the Turks annihilated a Byzantine troop at Manzikert in Asia Minor, a victory that granted them the passage to capture the rest of the eastern province. Constantinople was now thrown back, more or less, as it had been in the days of Heraclius and Leo.

After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory, though it managed to survive. The phase marked the beginning of the end of the Byzantine fortunes. Another reason for this was that from 1071 till the fall of the empire in 1453, the rise of Western Europe unbalanced the power equation. Till now, the West had been far too weak to present any major challenge to Byzantium. But the state of affairs turned different in the 11th century. In 1071, the same year that saw the victory of the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantines in Asia Minor, westerners known as Normans, expelled the Byzantines from their last holdings in southern Italy.

Despite this, in 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was a big mistake. His call ignited the desire among the Crusaders to attack the empire. During the first Crusade, the Westerners helped Byzantine win back Asia Minor, but they also carved out territories for themselves in Syria, which the Byzantines considered to be their own. With time frictions mounted and westerners viewed Constantinople as ideal for conquest. In 1204, they finally conquered it. Crusaders, who should have been intent on conquering Jerusalem conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity. By 1261, the Byzantine state was an empire in name and a reminiscent of past glories. After 1261, it eked out a reduced existence in parts of Greece until 1453, when powerful Turkish successors to the Seljuk Turks, the Ottomans, completed the Crusaders' work of destruction by conquering the last vestiges of the empire and taking Constantinople—now Istanbul.

That Constantinople was finally taken was no surprise. However, the main reason for giving a thought is that the Byzantine state survived for so many centuries in the face of so many different hostile forces. This becomes all the more greater when it is recognized that the internal political history of the empire was exceedingly tumultuous. Since Byzantine rulers followed their late-Roman predecessors in claiming the powers of divinely appointed absolute monarchs, there was no way of opposing them other than by intrigue and violence. Hence, Byzantine history was marked by repeated palace revolts; mutilations and murders. Byzantine politics became so famous for their behind-the-scenes complexity that we still use the word ‘Byzantine’ to refer to highly complex and devious backstage machinations. Fortunately, for the empire some very able rulers did emerge from time-to-time to wield their unrestrained powers with efficiency, and even more fortunately, bureaucratic machinery always kept running during times of palace upheaval.

Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity. The Byzantines could count on having an adequate supply of manpower for their bureaucracy because Byzantine civilization preserved and encouraged the practice of education for the laity. This was one of the major differences between the Byzantine East and the early Latin West. Right from about 600 to about 1200 there was practically no literate laity in Western Christendom, while literacy in the Byzantine East was the basis of governmental accomplishment. Bureaucrats helped supervise education and religion and presided over all forms of economic endeavour.

NOTES

NOTES

Urban officials in Constantinople, for example, regulated prices and wages, maintained systems of licensing, controlled exports, and enforced the observance of the Sabbath. What is more, they usually did this with comparative efficiency and did not stifle business initiative. Bureaucratic methods too helped regulate the army and navy, the courts, and the diplomatic service, endowing them with organizational strengths incomparable for their age.

Another explanation for Byzantine endurance was the comparatively sound economic base of the state until the 11th century. As historian, Sir Steven Runciman, said, ‘If Byzantium owed her strength and security to the efficiency of her services, it was her trade that enabled her to pay for them.’ While long-distance trade and urban life all but disappeared in the West for hundreds of years, commerce and cities continued to flourish in the Byzantine East. Above all, in the 9th and 10th centuries, Constantinople was a vital trade emporium for Far Eastern luxury goods and Western raw materials. The empire also nurtured and protected its own industries, most notably that of silk-making, and it was renowned until the 11th century for its stable gold and silver coinage. Among its urban centres was not only Constantinople, which at times may have had a population of close to a million, but also in certain periods Antioch, and up until the end of Byzantine history the bustling cities of Thessalonica and Trebizond.

Historians emphasize Byzantine trade and industry because these were so advanced for the time and provided most of the surplus wealth which supported the state. But agriculture was the heart of the Byzantine economy as it was of all pre-modern ones. The story of Byzantine agricultural history is one of struggle of small peasants to stay free of the encroachments of large estates owned by wealthy aristocrats and monasteries. Until the 11th century, the free peasantry just managed to maintain its existence with the help of state legislation, but after 1025 the aristocracy gained power in the government and began to transform the peasants into impoverished tenants. This had many unfortunate results, not the least of which was that the peasants became less interested in resisting the enemy. The defeat at Manzikert was the inevitable result. The destruction of the free peasantry was accompanied and followed in the last centuries of Byzantine history by foreign domination of Byzantine trade. Primarily, the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa established trading out-posts and privileges within Byzantine realms after 1204, which channeled off much of the wealth on which the state had previously relied. In this way, the empire was defeated by the Venetians from within before it was destroyed by the Turks from outside.

So far, we have spoken about military campaigns, the government, and economics as if they were at the centre of Byzantine survival. Seen from hindsight they were, but what the Byzantines themselves cared most about was religion. Remarkable as it might seem, Byzantines fought over perplexing religious questions as vehemently as we today might argue about politics and sports—indeed more vehemently because the Byzantines were often willing to fight and even die over some words in a religious creed. The intense preoccupation with questions of doctrine is well illustrated by the report of an early Byzantine writer who said that when he asked a baker for the price of bread, the answer came back, ‘the Father is greater than the Son,’ and when he asked whether his bath was ready, was told that ‘the Son proceeds from nothing.’ Understandably, such zealousness could harm the state greatly during times of religious dissension, but endow it with a powerful sense of confidence and mission during times of religious concord.

Byzantine religious dissensions were greatly complicated by the fact that the emperors took an active role in them. Because the emperors carried great power in the life of the Church—emperors were sometimes deemed by churchmen to be ‘similar to God’—they exerted great influence in religious debates. Nonetheless, especially in the face of provincial separatism, rulers could never force all their subjects to believe what they did. Only after the loss of many eastern provinces and the refinement of doctrinal formulae did religious peace seem near in the 8th century. But then it was shattered for another century by what is known as the Iconoclastic Controversy.

The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints. Since the Iconoclastic movement was initiated by Emperor Leo the Isaurian, and subsequently directed with even greater energy by his son Constantine V (AD 740-775), historians have discerned in it different motives. One was certainly theological. The worship of images seemed to the Iconoclasts to smack of paganism. They believed that nothing made by human beings should be worshiped by them, that Christ was so divine that he could not be conceived of in terms of human art, and that the prohibition of worshiping ‘graven images’ in the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:4) placed the matter beyond dispute.

In addition to these theological points, there were probably other considerations. Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were ‘the work of Satan’ (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo’s Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam’s greatest criticisms of Christianity and, thereby, deprive Islam of some of its appeal. There may also have been certain internal political and financial motives. By proclaiming a radical new religious movement the emperors may have wished to reassert their control over the Church and combat the growing strength of monasteries. In the event, the monasteries did rally behind the cause of images and as a result were bitterly persecuted by Constantine V, who took the opportunity to appropriate much monastic wealth.

The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results. One was the destruction by imperial order of a large amount of religious art. Before the eighth century, Byzantine religious art that survives today comes mostly from places like Italy or Palestine, which were beyond the easy reach of the Iconoclastic emperors. When we see how great this art is, we can only lament the destruction of the rest. A second consequence of the controversy was the opening of a serious religious breach between the East and West. The pope, who until the 8th century had usually been a close ally of the Byzantines, could not accept Iconoclasm for many reasons. The most important of these was that extreme Iconoclasm tended to question the cult of saints, and the claims of papal primacy were based on an assumed descent from St. Peter. Accordingly, the 8th century popes combated Byzantine Iconoclasm and turned to the Frankish kings for support. This ‘about-face of the papacy’ was both a major step in the worsening of East-West relations and a landmark in the history of Western Europe.

Those were some consequences of Iconoclasm’s temporary victory; a major consequence of its defeat was the reassertion of some major traits of Byzantine religiosity, which from the 9th century until the end of Byzantine history remained predominant.

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One of these was the re-emphasis of a faith in traditionalism. Even when Byzantines were experimenting with religious matters, they consistently stated that they were only restating or developing the implications of tradition.

Now, after centuries of turmoil, they abandoned experimenting almost entirely and reaffirmed tradition more than ever. As one opponent of Iconoclasm said, ‘If an angel or an emperor announces to you a gospel other than the one you have received, close your ears.’ This view gave strength to Byzantine religion internally by ending controversy and heresy, and helped it gain new adherents in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, it also inhibited free speculation not just in religion but also in related intellectual matters.

Allied to this development was the triumph of Byzantine contemplative piety. Supporters defended the use of icons not on the grounds that they were meant to be worshiped for themselves but because they helped lead the mind from the material to the immaterial. The emphasis on contemplation as a road to religious enlightenment, thereafter, became the hallmark of Byzantine spirituality. While westerners did not by any means reject such a path, the typical Western saint was an activist who saw sin as a vice and sought salvation through good works. Byzantine theologians on the other hand saw sin more as ignorance and believed that salvation was to be found in illumination. This led to a certain religious passivity and mysticism in Eastern Christianity which makes it seem different from Western varieties up to the present time.

Literature, art and architecture

Since religion was so dominant in Byzantine life, certain secular aspects of Byzantine civilization often go unnoticed, but there are good reasons why some of these should not be forgotten. One is Byzantine cultivation of the classics. Commitment to Christianity by no means inhibited the Byzantines from revering their ancient Greek inheritance. Byzantine schools based their instruction on classical Greek literature to the degree that educated people could quote Homer more extensively than we today can quote Shakespeare. Byzantine scholars studied and commented on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, and Byzantine writers imitated the prose of Thucydides. Such dedicated classicism both enriched Byzantine intellectual and literary life, which is too often dismissed entirely by modern thinkers because it generally lacked originality, and helped preserve the Greek classics for later ages. The bulk of classical Greek literature that we have today survives only because it was copied by Byzantine scribes.

Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men. Given the attitudes and practices in the contemporary Christian West and Islam, Byzantine commitment to female education was truly unusual. Girls from aristocratic or prosperous families did not go to schools but were relatively well educated at home by private tutors. We are told, for example, of one Byzantine woman who could discourse like Plato or Pythagoras. The most famous Byzantine woman intellectual was the Princess Anna Comnena, who described the deeds of her father Alexius in an urbane biography in which she freely cited Homer and the ancient tragedians. In addition to such literary figures there were women doctors in the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantine achievements in the realms of architecture and art are more familiar. The finest example of Byzantine architecture was the Church of Santa Sophia (Holy Wisdom), built at enormous cost in the 6th century. Although built before the date taken

here as the beginning of Byzantine history, it was typically Byzantine in both its style and subsequent influence. Though designed by architects of Hellenic descent, it was vastly different from any Greek temple. Its purpose was not to express human pride in the power of the individual, but to symbolize the inward and spiritual character of the Christian religion. For this reason the architects gave little attention to the external appearance of the building. Nothing but plain brick covered with plaster was used for the exterior walls; there were no marble facings, graceful columns, or sculptured entablatures. The interior, however, was decorated with richly coloured mosaics, gold leaf, coloured marble columns, and bits of tinted glass set on edge to refract the rays of sunlight after the fashion of sparkling gems. To emphasize a sense of the miraculous, the building was constructed in such a way that no light appeared to come from the outside at all but to be manufactured within.

The structural design of Santa Sophia was something altogether new in the history of architecture. Its central feature was the application of the principle of the dome to a building of square shape. The church was designed, first of all, in the form of a cross, and then over the central square was to be erected a magnificent dome, which would dominate the entire structure. The main problem was how to fit the round circumference of the dome to the square area it was supposed to cover. The solution consisted in having four great arches spring from pillars at the four corners of the central square. The rim of the dome was then made to rest on the keystones of the arches with the curved triangular spaces between the arches filled in with masonry. The result was an architectural framework of marvelous strength, which at the same time made possible a style of imposing grandeur and even some delicacy of treatment. The great dome of Santa Sophia has a diameter of 107 ft and rises to a height of nearly 180 ft from the floor. So many windows are placed around its rim that the dome appears to have no support at all but to be suspended in mid-air.

As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style. Byzantines excelled in ivory carving, manuscript illumination, jewelry-making, and, above all, the creation of mosaics—that is, designs of pictures produced by fitting together small pieces of coloured glass or stone. Human figures in these mosaics were usually distorted and elongated in a very unclassical fashion to create the impression of intense piety or extreme majesty. Most Byzantine art is marked by highly abstract, formal, and jewel-like qualities. For this reason many consider Byzantine artistic culture to be a model of timeless perfection. Modern poet W. B. Yeats expressed this point of view most eloquently when he wrote in his *Sailing to Byzantium*, ‘of artificial birds made by Byzantine goldsmiths . . . tosing / To lords and ladies of Byzantium / Of what is past, or passing, or to come.’

Probably the single greatest testimony to the vitality of Byzantine civilization at its height was the conversion of many Slavic people, especially, those of Russia. According to the legend, which has a basic kernel of fact, a Russian ruler named Vladimir decided around 988 to abandon the paganism of his ancestors. Accordingly, he sent emissaries to report on the religious practices of Islam, Roman Catholicism and Byzantine Christianity. When they returned to tell him that only among the Byzantines did God seem to ‘dwell among men,’ he promptly agreed to be baptized by a Byzantine missionary. The event was momentous because Russia, thereupon, became a cultural province of Byzantium. Since then until the 20th century Russia remained a bastion of the Eastern Orthodox religion.

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NOTES**1.2.2 Impact of the Fall of Constantinople**

The impact of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was ‘the third Rome’. ‘Two Homes have fallen,’ said a Russian spokesman, ‘the third is still standing, and a fourth there shall not be.’ Such ideology helps explain in part the late growth of Russian imperialism.

The fall of Byzantium led to the blockade of trade route to the eastern world from Europe, so Europe had to suffer. The inland trade was greatly affected and that led to the misery of the European states. The Silk Route saga was going to be altered by now.

Now Byzantium was in the hands of Muslims who had an upper hand. From then onwards Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.

The impact of the conquest of Byzantium would be greatly felt on the high seas also. Europe had begun sea exploration searching for new routes where they would search for new colonies as well. By now, instead of trade taking place on land, sea routes were being discovered. Vasco Da Gama, Columbus, Magellan and scores of others had set off for finding new sea routes and they not only found them but also found new continents.

Unfortunately, just at the time when relations between Constantinople and Russia were solidifying, relations with the West were deteriorating to a point of no return. After the skirmishes of the Iconoclastic period, relations between Eastern and Western Christians remained tense, partly because Constantinople resented Western claims (initiated by Charlemagne in 800) of creating a rival empire, but most of all because cultural and religious differences between the two were growing. From the Byzantine point of view, westerners were uncouth and ignorant, while to western European eyes Byzantines were effeminate and prone to heresy. Once the West started to revive, it began to take the offensive against a weakened East in theory and practice. In 1054 extreme papal claims of primacy over the Eastern Church provoked a religious schism which since then has never been healed. Thereafter, the Crusade drove home the dividing wedge.

After the fall of Constantinople in AD 1204, Byzantine hatred of westerners became understandably intense. ‘Between us and them,’ one Byzantine wrote, ‘there is now a deep chasm: we do not have a single thought in common.’ Westerners called easterners ‘the dregs of the dregs . . . unworthy of the sun’s light,’ while easterners called the westerners the children of darkness, alluding to the fact that the sun sets in the West. The beneficiaries of this hatred were the Turks, who not only conquered Constantinople in 1453, but soon after conquered most of southeastern Europe up to Vienna.

1.2.3 Decline of Feudalism

During the early Middle Ages, at the close of the 5th century, the tribes which invaded the Roman Empire seized a large part of its territory. Initially, the land was common property, but soon tribal chieftains began to acquire people’s property and a monarchical form of government appeared. Large tracts of land came into the hands of the church, which now became a strong supporter of the monarchy. The kings distributed the land among their retinue, first for life, and later converted it to hereditary tenure. Those given

land were obliged to render military services to the king. The land was, as earlier, cultivated by individual farmers known as serfs. The serfs were dependent on their new masters, who imposed manifold duties on them. The plots held on these conditions were called 'feuds' and their owners were called 'feudals', hence the name 'feudalism'. In these arrangements, there were also some elements surviving from the Roman period linked with the conversion to Christianity. The settled inhabitants of Western Europe and the invaders underwent a long and slow process of mutual adjustment leading to widely varying social and political combinations which is described as feudalism. Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration.

Feudalism and feudal practice did not extend uniformly to the whole of Europe. Northern France and the 'low countries' were the most thoroughly feudalized areas, Germany much less so. Some pieces of land never became fiefs but remained fully owned private property of the owners. They were called *allods*. Feudal practices varied from place to place, and developed and altered with the passage of time.

Feudal society was strictly divided into classes, i.e., nobility, clergy and peasantry, and in the later Middle Ages into burgesses. Private jurisdiction in this system was based upon local customs, and the landholding system was dependent upon the fief or fee. Feudalism was based on contracts made among nobles, and although it was intimately connected with the manorial system, it must be considered distinct from it. Although some men held their land allodially, they were exceptions rather than the rule. In a feudal society, the ownership of all land vested in the king who theoretically occupied the apex of an imaginary pyramid. Immediately below him were his vassals, a hierarchy of nobles, who held fiefs directly from the king and were called tenants-in-chief. Thus, the most important nobles held land directly from the king, and the lesser lords from them, down to the seigneur who held a single manor. The system was local and agricultural, and its base was the manorial system. Under the manorial system, the peasant-labourers or serfs, held land they worked on from the seigneur, who granted them the use of the land and his protection in return for personal services (especially on the demesne, the land he retained for his own use) and for dues generally in kind. In course of time, many lords preferred cash payments so that they could purchase the goods that the manor could not produce. In such a system, a personal relationship was formed between the lord and the vassal. Gradually, the system of subinfeudation evolved, by which the vassal might in his turn become an overlord, granting part of his fief to one who then became his vassal.

Originally, the fief had to be renewed on the death of either party. However, with the advent of hereditary succession and primogeniture, renewal of the fief by or to, the heir of the deceased, became customary, and gradually, the fief became hereditary. Since the system rested on the unsettled conditions of the times, and thus on the need of the lord for armed warriors and the need of the vassal for protection, the nobility was essentially a military class, with the knight as the typical warrior. Since equipping mounted fighters was expensive, the lord could not create his armed force without the obligation of the vassal to supply a stipulated number of armed men. The gradations of nobility were, therefore, based on both military service and landholding. At the bottom of the social scale was the squire, originally the servant of the knight. Above the knight were classes that varied in different countries—counts, dukes, earls, barons. In addition to military service, the vassal owed other dues and services that varied with local custom.

The church also played a great role in shaping feudalism. The church hierarchy paralleled the feudal hierarchy. The church owned much land held by monasteries, church

NOTES

NOTES

dignitaries and by the churches themselves. Most of this land, given by nobles as a bequest or gift, carried feudal benefits. Thus, clerical land, like lay land, assumed a feudal aspect.

The feudal economy was a natural economy, i.e., a ‘subsistence economy’. The peasants produced mainly for their own consumption and rarely exchanged commodities. The feudal lords likewise, rarely resorted to trade, except for luxury goods, because everything they needed was produced by self-labour. Agricultural methods were primitive in the beginning, though towards the later feudal age, techniques of growing grain and vegetables as well as that of making wine and butter were improved. However, towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished. In the Middle Ages, most of the goods in the towns were produced by small craftsmen. Gradually, production expanded with the growth of trade.

M. M. Postan classified scholars working on feudalism into those who stress the political or military features of the feudal order, and those who relate the feudal order to its economy. In the military interpretation, the essence of feudalism was in the fief, a knightly estate, which fulfilled the military needs of the state and the society. Here, the concentration of landed property was in the hands of feudal lords, and the political, administrative and judicial authority was vested in the landed estate. The humbler ranks of society were subordinated to the higher ranks.

In the political interpretation, feudalism is described as a system wherein administrative and judicial functions of the government were fragmented, and as a rule vested in a feudal lordship. Feudal societies so fragmented, are accordingly assumed to have risen on the ruins of states and empires, and owed their existence to the inability of the state to fulfill its functions.

Marc Bloch described the fundamental features of European feudalism as ‘subject peasantry; widespread use of service tenement (i.e., fief) instead of a salary which was out of question; supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority, leading inevitably to disorder; and in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and state, of which the latter, during the second feudal age, was to acquire renewed strength.’ This description stresses the subjugation of the peasantry to coercive forms of extraction of a part of their surplus. It suggests that money was relatively less used and emphasizes the importance of the warrior class and warfare as also the value attached to the maintenance of a hierarchy of status in society.

In the economic interpretation, Marx and Marxists defined feudalism as a political and social order appropriate to natural economy, in which land is the main source of income and the only embodiment of wealth. In such a system, goods were acquired by barter, gifts or booty. The allegiance of the upper classes was secured by grants of land, and labour was extracted by extra-economic coercion rather than wage contract; hence the view of feudal villeinage and servility as by-products of a natural economy. Marx used the term ‘feudalism’ to describe a whole social order whose main feature was domination of the rest of the society, mainly peasants, by a military landowning aristocracy. The essence of the feudal mode of production in the Marxist sense is the exploitative relationship between landowners and subordinate peasants. In this, the surplus beyond subsistence of the peasant, whether in direct labour or in rent in kind or in money, is transferred under coercive sanction to the landowner. The feudal mode of production, according to Marx, was one in which the direct producer was not separated

from the means of production. Thus, feudalism rests on a solid base of petty production. Since the dominant class, the nobility, did not perform any economic function production, the form of surplus appropriation was extra-economic or political. The basic characteristic of feudalism was the political domination of the peasant producers. Maurice Dobb defined feudalism as a system under which economic status and authority were associated with land tenure and the direct producer (who was himself the holder of some land) was under obligation, based on law or customary right, to devote a certain quota of his labour or his produce for the benefit of his feudal superior. Thus, as a system of socio-economic relations, it was virtually identical to that of serfdom but also included direct labour service and tribute or feudal rent in produce or money. Thus, serfdom is an essential condition of feudalism.

Rodney Hilton stated that the basic feature of a feudal society was its agrarian character and petty production based on the peasant family. However, the surplus produced by the peasantry was appropriated by a class of landlords who did not fulfill any economic function. The peasantry was politically and juridically dependent on the landlord in several ways.

Closely related to this model of feudalism is the model defining it as a manorial order. According to it, a typical feudal system is one in which the large estate functions not only as a unit of ownership and power, but also as one of productions, hence its regime of dependent cultivation and its accompanying traits—enforced labour, description of tenants to the soil. According to Perry Anderson, the feudal mode of production was dominated by land and a natural economy, in which neither labour nor its products were commodities. Agrarian property was privately controlled by a class of feudal lords who extracted a surplus from the peasants by politico-legal relations of compulsion which were exercised both on the manorial demesne and on the peasant's land. This situation led to a juridical amalgamation of economic exploitation with political authority. But political sovereignty was never concentrated in a single centre. While the peasant was subjected to the jurisdiction of his lord, the lord too held his estate as a fief, being subordinate to his feudal superior and providing military assistance in times of war. The chain of such dependent tenures linked to military service extended to the highest peak—the monarch. The functions of the state were disintegrated in a vertical allocation downwards, while the political and economic relations at each level were integrated. This parcelization of sovereignty was constitutive of the whole mode of production.

The military school model defines feudal societies as those which meet other military needs solely or mainly by knightly services and derives all the other features of social order from the fief. This definition applies to a period far too short to cover the entire stretch of the feudal age anywhere in Europe. The political model is equally restrictive geographically and chronologically because it defines feudalism as an order in which the estate replaced the State. Thus in Europe, such feudalism would be confined to a century or two following the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, (AD 751-987) and would not be found in most parts of Europe. However, this transition to the new mode of production took time.

Crises of the 14th and the 15th Centuries

As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place. The late medieval rebellions were, thus directed not against the lordship itself, but against the abuse of lord's power. The causes of the

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crisis of feudalism, was purely coercive and extra economic nature of feudal benefits was exposed. Since the 13th century, with the growing monetization of social relations, the legitimization of feudal relationships in terms of military and political hierarchy of subordination was weakened. But it was only in the 14th and 15th centuries that the feudal ideology of paternalism was finally destroyed. One of the features of peasant rebellions was that they were marked by a ‘negative class-consciousness’. Basically, these movements were not rebellions by the entire peasantry but were combinations of rich peasants voicing their protests against restrictions and the small marginal peasants protesting against the regulation of wages. These peasant movements included not just peasants but also various other groups that were essential for the functioning of the peasant society like artisans, small traders and wage labourers.

The social organization of agricultural production varied everywhere in Europe. In Western Europe, the demesne was the largest because denser population required the relative efficiency of larger units. In Central Europe, the effects of economic recession led to desertions of marginal land—Wustungen, and were due to enclosures as well as to abandonment. Further east, in Brandenburg and Poland where population density was thinner and where lords collectively owned much less land than peasants, the lords soon acquired all the lands deserted due to the sudden demographic collapse. This step would be very profitable to them in the 16th century. It altered the social structure of Eastern Europe and was also very important for the development of Western Europe. In England, the manor was the typical unit for organizing production. During the 13th century, demesne farming developed in a very big way. Labour services were also intensified and the difference between the free peasants and the dependent peasants, i.e., villeins, increased. With the depopulation of Europe and the subsequent rise in wages, production by wage labour became unprofitable. Since there was a vast decline in the prices of food grains, commercial production lost its profitability. There was severe decline in demesne cultivation by the landlords. Land was now leased out in family-sized units and not in big units. There was also a decline in labour services.

In France too, there was a decline in commercial production by the landlords. There was a rise in rented farms with tenants. As there were no demesnes left, there was no serfdom or labour service. The French nobility was unable to deal with the widespread rural rebellion in France, and it facilitated the consolidation of State power. During the 14th and the 15th centuries, the French monarchy supported by the lesser nobles and the peasants, to a great extent stopped the big nobles from levying dues which conflicted with centralized taxation.

In Spain, the 14th and the 15th centuries marked the peak of aristocratic power. Owing to the re-conquest of the country from the Arabs, land was granted to nobles, and big estates of over 5000 sq km came into existence. With depopulation caused by epidemics, the vacant land was devoted to sheep farming. The big sheep owners belonged to an organization called ‘Mesta’. The depopulation of the country did not bring about any benefits to the peasantry.

In the Mediterranean region, a system of long-term leases called Metayage developed. Metayage is a form of share cropping in which the landlord invested capital and shared the cost of production. The landlord was thus brought into closer collaboration with the peasant, and the production process. In Italy this, system was called the Mezzadria system.

In Eastern Europe, the nobility solved the problem of declining rents by intensifying the labour services and in the 15th century the nobility increased its political power over

the peasants in order to dominate them economically. In Eastern Europe, where the settlement was more recent, the village structure was also more homogeneous and conducive to control. In East Germany, during periods of depopulation, vacant land was appropriated by the lords and the peasantry was coerced into cultivating it as serfs. The nobles gave a subsidy to the state and were in turn granted rights to enslave the peasants. In this way, the area under the demesnes was expanded and labour obligations on the peasantry also increased.

From 15th century onwards, there was also a growth in the export of grain from Eastern Europe by the merchants of the Hanseatic League. The nobility increased demesne production and thus its share in this grain trade. The development of the state on the other hand, was linked to the nobility's attempt to find free access to the sea. In the Baltic region the expansion in agricultural exports and demesne production was also linked to the enslavement of the peasantry. In Lithuania, there was a scramble for land and peasants by the nobles. In Denmark, serfdom was linked to dairy products. In Russia, the development of serfdom was linked more to the demands of the internal market than to the export trade in grain. During the 16th and the 17th centuries, there was a further intensification of the grain trade and the development of the 'second serfdom' which Engels talked of. The agrarian crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries thus, had different implications on different regions of Europe.

The very large demesnes in non-marginal arable lands of Western Europe were transformed into smaller landholdings giving rise to medium-sized peasantry on arable lands. There was simultaneously, a beginning of enclosures of the less arable land (which would be the basis of expanded animal husbandry), and the concentration of property into large estates (which would serve as grain export areas) in Western Europe.

1.2.4 Rise of Capitalism

In Western Europe, with the decline in demesne production, serfdom and labour rents disappeared from the peasantry. The 14th and 15th centuries saw the rise of substantial peasant farms, owing to depopulation and vacant holdings. It led to the emergence of the middle level peasants in both England and France. In England, the consolidation of peasant holdings weakened the role of the village community. The latter had enjoyed the right to decide about crops and production, and was an impediment in the transition to capitalism. The changed demographic situation affected both the composition of the peasantry as well as the structure of the peasant family. In England, the vacant lands weakened the family structure as peasants moved from one place to another, in search of holdings. In France, the problem of shortage of labour led to consolidation of patriarchal lineages. The peasant economy that developed in the 14th and 15th centuries was more self-sufficient than the manorial economy based on demesne production that existed in the 13th century. In Eastern Europe, where there was a seigniorial reaction, the peasantry was re-ensered rather than freed of labour obligations. Michael Postan sees the 15th century as a period of regression from the development of the 14th century, a setback that was overcome later. The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade. Eugen Kosminsky viewed the collapse as a part of the liquidation of feudalism, hence a necessary step towards the development of a capitalist economy. So, it was not the depopulation but the liquidation of the manorial economy, the commutation and diminution of feudal rent which improved the condition of the peasant. At the same time, the expansion of simple

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commercial production, prepared the way for capitalist relations. The landowner or lord of the manor prospered when the State was the weakest.

According to Fernand Braudel, the territorial state, the rival of the city state, showed itself more capable of meeting the costs of modern war and its rise was an irreversible phenomenon. The 16th century saw the rise of Louis IX in France, Henry VII in England, and Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in Spain. By means of financial mechanisms, they created a civil and armed bureaucracy, strong enough to tax, and thus finance a still stronger bureaucratic structure. Marc Bloch says that from this time onwards, the state began to acquire that essential element of its financial supremacy, which was greater than that of any individual or community.

Feudalism gave way to capitalism but it was never a smooth transfer. It took around two more centuries before feudalism finally gave way to capitalism. There were changes in and around feudalism as an economic and administrative system. The farmers had started growing cash crops and land was being enclosed for commercialization of agriculture. The Agricultural revolution had changed as instead of production for consumption the production for trade had started. There was growth of towns all around in the European states and thus businesses, commercial enterprises, trading depots had started coming up. The presence of factory system mostly in England had provided the base to industrial growth. Reformation movement also brought stimulus in the thinking as Protestants were much in favour of capital flow and investments so that businesses would grow; according to Max Weber, it was the period which led to the growth of capitalism in Europe.

1.3 RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through entire Europe. In the context of Europe it marked a historic phase—the transition of Europe from the medieval to the modern age. Europe in the past had been under the domination of the Greeks and later the Romans. With the decline of the Roman Empire, Europe fell into the ‘Dark Ages’. This was an age when feudalism was the order of the day and the Catholic Church had an all pervading control on the society. False beliefs and blind faith perpetrated by the Church as well as a feudal set up led to the complete fragmentation of the society.

Renaissance proved to be the vital connect between the medieval times and the modern age. As an intellectual and cultural revival, it altered the history of Europe. And while, all spheres of everyday life from religion to politics, science and literature witnessed change, it was most expressly manifest in the artistic sphere. It was the genius of men like Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo that gave birth to notions of realism in art, depiction of human emotions and concept of the ‘Renaissance man’.

Causes of Renaissance

The reasons that led to the beginning of Renaissance were as follows:

- Check Your Progress**
1. Who were the Iconoclasts?
 2. What was the impact of the fall of Constantinople?
 3. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The _____ also played a great role in shaping feudalism.
 - (b) The _____ economy was a natural economy.

- 1. Turkey's capture of Constantinople:** Constantinople was of vital importance as it was the centre of classical learning in the eastern Roman Empire. In 1453, when the Turks seized control of Constantinople, there was a shift in the seat of classical learning. Greek scholars carried along with them rare manuscripts to the new centre of learning—Italy. Therefore, classical learning now flourished in Italy.

- 2. Decline of feudalism:** With the emergence of monarchy in England, France and Spain and the birth of nation states, feudalism as perpetrated by the church through imposition of taxes was fast losing ground. These rulers kept the forces of feudalism in check and around AD 1300 feudalism was on its way out.
- 3. Growth of towns:** Renaissance was marked by enterprise. Italy saw the spawning of large cities as trade and commerce flourished. Free from feudal overlords, the traders and craftsmen settled in the cities which became the new centres for learning. This spirit of enterprise and expansion ushered in Renaissance.
- 4. The Crusades:** The Crusades or the holy wars were the prolonged conflict between Christians and Muslims for control over Jerusalem, the holy city. They also played a crucial role in transforming the European society.
- 5. The spirit of enquiry:** With the decline of the church and a rejection of age old beliefs, ideas of realism in art, empiricism in science and humanism in general gathered force. These new ideas that stressed on reason and observation ushered in progress in science. Humanism ensured that man was now revered as body and form.
- 6. Invention of printing press and other discoveries:** There was gradual educational reform, emergence of universities and rise of printing press that led to the spread of education. Germany got its first printing press in 1455 while England got the same in 1477 due to the efforts of William Caxton. Other important discoveries included gunpowder and progress in shipbuilding, mariner's compass and maps that were essential for purposes of navigation.
- 7. Encouragement to art and learning:** Art and learning found new patrons from amongst monarchs to merchants. Cultural activities were promoted through schools and universities set up by families of patrons. The humanist thinkers devoted themselves to the recovery of the relics of ancient Greek and Latin works of literature, oratory and history. Their interest in literary and historical treatises set them apart from a host of medieval scholars whose areas of interest were chiefly Greek and Arab works on natural sciences, philosophy and mathematics.
 - (a) Religion was not discarded in Renaissance but marked by a subtle shift in the way it was perceived by the intellectuals. Christianity found expression in art and many religious works of art were commissioned by the church as well. A fresh engagement began with Greek Christian texts including the Greek New Testament, when they were recovered from Byzantium. This exchange, promoted by Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus, was one of the contributions to the reformation drive by the Protestants.
 - (b) The Renaissance engaged with the classics and used their ideas but only to promote an essentially secular society. Divergent views come from a group of scholars like Rodney Stark, who believe that the source of Renaissance was Italian city states which were therefore, of more importance than the movement itself. Moreover, these city states amalgamated a centralized state, church and capitalist culture successfully. It was the progress ushered in by the capitalism of Italian city states that paved way for the genesis of Renaissance. Quite contrastingly, other European states like France and Spain were monarchies while other parts of Europe were under the control of the church.

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8. New trade route between east and the west: With trade flourishing, new trade routes opened between western and eastern Europe. Long distance trade became a crucial factor in the emergence of Renaissance. The Greek scholars were displaced to Italy following the invasion of Constantinople by Turkey. In 1498, Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. As new vistas opened before the traders and travellers, Renaissance spread from Italy to other parts of Europe. Trade also grew between Europe and the Middle East from the Italian cities of Naples, Genoa and Venice.

The Age of Discovery

The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide. With Greek and Roman trade centres situated close to the Mediterranean, there was greater exchange with the outside world. Of the many explorations undertaken, Marco Polo's is very notable. He travelled from Venice to China and Japan, brought back accounts of the prosperous and wealthy eastern parts of the world. The advent of science, new inventions and discoveries, the progress in navigational skills and the accounts of travellers inspired others to undertake such journeys.

The Portuguese explorers

The earliest patrons of explorers were the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Portuguese prince Henry, earned the title of 'Navigator' because of his immense interest in and promotion of navigation. With the aid of newly developed navigational tools such as the mariner's compass and astrolabe, his sailors explored as far as the West African coast. Other Portuguese sailors like Bartolomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama explored the Cape of Good Hope, the former in 1487 and the latter making greater progress in 1498 reaching Calicut. The discovery of Brazil in 1500 by Cabral was another feather in the cap for the Portuguese. They travelled far and wide reaching to the Far East, exploring China, Japan, Indonesia and Ceylon. Ferdinand Magellan (AD 1480–1521) who lends his name to the Strait of Magellan was also from Portugal. He sailed around the Atlantic Ocean to reach the Pacific, his entry point into Pacific being termed as the Strait of Magellan.

Other explorations led to the discovery of America, that got its name from an Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. An Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus' (AD 1451–1506) voyage along the Atlantic Ocean was patronized by Spain.

Origin of Renaissance in Italy

Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially, Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople. As new trade routes were discovered, Italy benefited due to its strategic location between Western Europe and Middle East. Traders from across the world converged here and this enabled plenty of exchange. Cultural activities patronized the Pope, headquartered at Rome, and other wealthy Italian merchants. The arrival of Greek scholars from Constantinople added to the intellectual movement that was already gathering steam. The 16th century saw Renaissance at its peak with Italy producing some of the greatest literary and artistic geniuses.

Renaissance brought about a shift in the artistic style from the medieval ages. Religion gave way to the celebration of the human race. The spirit of Renaissance and its ideals found expression in its paintings. Renaissance marked a revival of the classical style but gracefully and aesthetically incorporated human passion interweaving it with religious themes. One of the most renowned Renaissance artists was Leonardo da Vinci (AD 1452–1519), a skilled musician, architect, engineer, mathematician apart from being a painter. One of his masterpiece is Mona Lisa. Mona Lisa is the embodiment of the painter's ideal woman. She is painted against the natural backdrop.

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Fig. 1.1 Mona Lisa

The Last Supper is yet another masterpiece that depicts the calmness of Christ in comparison to the reactions of his disciples when he shares with them his knowledge of the fact that one from amongst them would betray him.

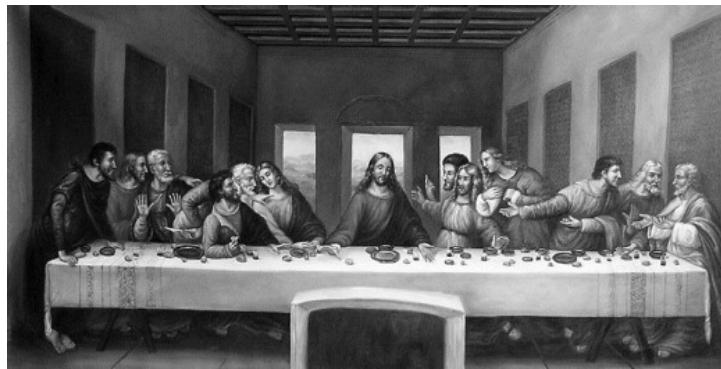


Fig. 1.2 Last Supper

Michelangelo Buonarroti (AD 1475–1564), a skilful sculptor apart from being an architect and painter, was deeply interested in the study of the human form. His sculptures were a celebration of the magnificence and grace of human body. His Statue of David, the Pieta, Day and Night and Moses are most acclaimed.

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Fig. 1.3 Michelangelo's David

Raphael (AD 1483–1520), a contemporary of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, was widely celebrated for his work *Madonna and Child*.



Fig. 1.4 *Madonna and Child*

Renaissance and Literature

Literature underwent a transformation with Renaissance. Humanist writers engaged in classical literature which in turn gave shape to a whole new corpus of work. New European languages gained prominence as writers like Dante and Petrarch transformed the literary scene. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, an Italian epic about a journey into the other world and Petrarch's Sonnets to Laura gave humanism a new direction. Other writers of the age were Ariosto who composed *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso who is famous for his work *Jerusalem Delivered*.

Renaissance and Science

There was a stress on reason and observation during Renaissance. As science advanced and made new progress every day, people shunned the dogmatic beliefs that had hitherto restricted their lives. Reason was supreme and everything was to be governed by a rationale. Prominent scientists were:

1. Roger Bacon (AD 1214–1294), who discovered uses of gunpowder and magnifying lenses. He also anticipated an improvement in ships with them becoming oar less and carriage that need not be horse drawn.
2. Copernicus (AD 1473–1543), a Polish priest, faced much flak for suggesting that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe and that the earth and other heavenly bodies revolved around it. His discovery was in contention to the belief held by the church. He also suggested that the earth rotated about its axis.
3. Galileo (AD 1564–1642), apart from being the inventor of telescope and studying the movement of heavenly bodies, also proved the Copernican theory correct through his experiments and mathematical calculations.
4. Johannes Kepler (AD 1571–1630) discovered that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun in an elliptical orbit and not in a circular one as earlier believed.
5. Newton, a British scientist, is famous for his theory of gravitation and laws of motion.
6. Halley theorized the appearance of comets at regular periods.
7. There was great progress in the field of medicine.
8. Vesalius, a physician, wrote *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a study of anatomy.

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Other Effects of Renaissance

With the opening of new trade routes, the hub of trade shifted from the Mediterranean region of Italy and Turkey to the Atlantic regions of England and Portugal gradually. As these places flourished, there began a quest for expansion. This led to the rise of colonialism as the Western world exploited its colonies in Africa, Asia and America by procuring cheap goods from there and selling its finished products to them at high prices. So helpless were these colonies eventually due to the imperialist agenda of their masters that they succumbed to the Western culture. The discovery of America brought with it the plantation culture where slaves were employed to work on cotton, sugarcane and tobacco plantations and were treated ruthlessly. With the mercantile theory propounding that wealth was determined by the amount of gold or silver a nation possessed, the colonizers launched into action the quest for acquiring more and more gold and silver by emphasizing on exports and taking payment for all the sales they made in these precious metals.

With the diverse changes that Renaissance ushered in, the European society was transformed forever. Humanity came to be celebrated and rationalism replaced unquestioning reverence to the divine. Catholic Church that had until now exercised unbridled control fast began to lose its grip. The intellectual revolution sought to overthrow the corrupt practices of the Church and this set in motion a reform movement that split the Christians into Catholics and Protestants called Reformation.

1.3.1 Reformation

Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed. Moreover, they altered religious discourse in a manner that served the interests of the rising middle class.

A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin. In keeping with the spirit of the times, he supported the ills perpetuated by capitalism like slavery and

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colonial expansion. Soon Protestantism became the new religion of all the capitalist countries as they shrugged off the authority of the pope and the supremacy of the church in favour of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Protestantism spread through the teachings of Martin Luther King in Germany who upheld princely rule and gave rise to the Lutheran Church and also through the teachings of Zwingli from Switzerland. His teachings were largely oriented towards the economic interest of the bourgeois class.

Meaning of Reformation

Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change. In the context of European history, it emerged in the 16th century as a movement against the increasing corruption within the Catholic Church, the evil practises and rites and rituals that it imposed upon the people in order to maintain its supremacy. Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.

The Reformation movement saw the setting up of new protestant churches in opposition to the rigid ecclesiastical order of the Catholic Church. To reclaim ground that they had lost, the Jesuit order amongst the Catholics soon launched Counter Reformation and ensured that the southern part of Europe, including Poland remained Catholic. The northern part of Europe except for Ireland and parts of Britain converted to Protestantism, while the centre became the battleground between the two sects. The new denominations that arose included Anglicans in England who were the largest group, the Lutherans in Germany and Scandinavia and the Reformed Churches in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Scotland.

The Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the Reformation were as follows:

- 1. Influence of the Renaissance:** The Renaissance had brought about remarkable changes in the European society. With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. The scientific and geographical advancements, the crusades, the emergence of printing press and educational reforms all brought about a change in the perception of people.
- 2. Corruption in the church:** Classical studies were not banished by the Catholic Church. The Church was aware of all richness and value that these texts contained that would help men transcend their own mental boundaries. There were apprehensions from certain quarters about pagan associations plaguing the minds of the youth but by and large these were dismissed. Origen, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, and St. Jerome were among a few of the Catholics who encouraged their followers to engage with classical texts leading to the early efforts to bring together the religious and the secular, i.e., classical culture and Christian beliefs. The fall of the Roman Empire and the proceeding Dark Ages saw a changing scenario when classical studies were relegated to Britain, Ireland and the western Isles. The Carolingian reform resurrected these dying classics and gave them a new lease of life in the continent. Soon compilations of classics emerged in schools and colleges; however the glory days of classical literature were gone. The reform now was directed towards philosophy and not as it had been in the 12th century, when it was directed towards

classics supported by men like John of Salisbury. Consequently, classical languages like Greek and Latin started disappearing from the school curriculum in Western Europe. There was now a thrust of rationality and logic amongst the scholars rather than beauty of expression and literary grace. The neglect was confined not just to the languages but also to monuments and other architecture. As a result there was widespread decline.

Scholasticism suffered as the successors of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure lacked the ingenuity to hold the interests of the scholars who chose to now engage themselves in other intellectual pursuits. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers. The world order was now slowly undergoing transformation as religion was fast losing its sway and making way for more secular order. With religion and philosophy not being on a pedestal anymore, it was but natural to make a return to the classics and salvage what one could. There was a decline in the social order, a corruption of men, and intoxication of power as seen through the examples of tyrants like Agnello of Pisa, the Viscontis and Francesco Sforza of Milan, Ferrante of Naples, and the de Medici of Florence. It went against the Christian notion of morality and justice. So seeped were they in the temporal pleasures that it was but natural that Pagan Rome and the literary masterpieces that it produced would be more suited to their tastes rather than the piety enjoined upon people by the Catholic Church. Therefore, Reformation was a movement to overthrow the limitations that the Catholic Church had imposed upon the people.

The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall. Encouraged by nationalist feelings, he supported Cola di Rienzi, when in 1347 the latter announced the formation of Roman republic. He sought to protect the remaining pagan monuments and to bring alive the relics of the past to arouse nationalist sentiments among his fellow countrymen. Virgil was his inspiration in poetry. Most of his writing were in Italian but he incorporated in them the ideals of Renaissance, the celebration of beauty as opposed to the self-restraint practised in the middle ages. While his work *Africa* is a glorification of ancient Rome and full of nationalist zeal, Petrarch has received great acclaim for the *Canzoni* or his love songs. Petrarch, however, did not see religion and paganism in conflict. He may have attacked the church at times in his nationalist fervour but he never sought a confrontation with religion and rather believed in confrontation. His disciple, Boccaccio (1313–1375), too reverted to the classics and had even acquired knowledge of Greek but unlike Petrarch he chose paganism over Christianity. His works, including the famous *Decameron*, betray the pagan in him. His harsh criticism of the clergy, accusing them of hypocrisy, put his followers in conflict with the religious minded. Yet he did not do this to promote paganism in the garb of promoting literature. He still believed in Christianity and in the later years of his life realized the mistakes he had made and bequeathed his library to the monks whom he had earlier taken pleasure in reviling.

- 3. Influence of economic changes:** The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance. The educated middle class began to question the authority that the church exercised over the common man. New trade routes were discovered, and as exports grew, the wealth of the mercantile class increased manifold. With irreverence towards the church on the rise, it was a matter of time that the humanist and the scholars of religion came at loggerheads.

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The corruption in the church made the humanist advocate not only a revival of the classics but went a step ahead to call for a revival of paganism itself. On the other hand, the scholastics were determined to wipe out all pagan influences in Christian learning. Though a middle path was possible for revival of culture, those who supported this were far too few. They aimed at harmonizing religion and culture by respecting the place that the Church had given to the classics in its own domain. However, they could not bring about the two warring sections to reconciliation. The humanists took the opportunity to shed the yoke that Christianity had required them to carry in the form of piety and restraint. Laurentius Valla (1405-57) in his work, *De Voluptate*, preached excesses that were in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church. He advocated indulgence and gratification of sensual desires as against self-restraint. His epicurean theory was accompanied by a rejection of the Pope and his authority. If this was not enough, Beccadelli went a step ahead and entirely devoted himself in the production of distasteful work against the Church.

Others who unleashed polemic against the church were the likes of Poggio Bracciolini—who wrote *Facetiae*—and Fileflo. These men undermined Renaissance as a cultural movement and reduced it to a glorification of paganism to triumph over the church. Morality was now in shreds and these works were lapped up in Florence, Venice and Siena. In the later stages, a number of schools though bearing Christian names betrayed pagan influence. However, most of the times, it was not suspected as a rejection of religion but rather just their sophistry. What was apparent although was that Christianity was losing its followers. There were also a number of renowned people who made no effort to hide their leanings towards paganism. They were Carlo Marsuppini, Chancellor of Florence, Gemistos Plethon, who propounded the Platonic philosophy, Marsilio Ficino, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, and the members of the Roman Academy (1460), under the leadership of Pomponius Laetus. It was the moral degeneration of the age that prevented the suppression of these ideas in Italy.

4. **Efforts of intellectuals:** The spirit of enquiry had its first victim in the form of the church. Guided by empiricism and scientific ideas, people no longer adhered to the blind faith that religion required. Reformation initially targeted the weeding out the corruption in the Catholic Church. The sale of clerical offices, simony, was evidence enough of the malpractices of the church. The ecclesiastical hierarchy with Pope at the apex was full of wrongdoings according to them. The successors of Martin Luther, John Wycliffe and Jan Hus were also involved in the reforms. Reformation as a movement started on 31 October 1517, in Wittenberg, Saxony at the castle church. Martin Luther's 'Ninety Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgence' was unveiled which dissected the church's policies on indulgences, its ideas on worship of Mary, obligatory celibacy, following saints and power of the Pope as the head of the hierarchy of the priests. While Luther found many supporters for his cause, soon differences arose between them, leading to the rise of factions in Protestantism. For example, Zwingli distanced himself from Lutheran movement and later John Calvin also split, leading to divergent movements within the reformist movement. Several churches like the Lutheran, the reformed, the puritan and the Presbyterian emerged within Protestantism, though all traced their origins to the German churches. In England, the offshoot of Protestantism was Anglicanism. The rise of Reformation was met with Counter Reformation movement in the Catholic Church.

With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself. Hence was launched Counter Reformation. A council was summoned at Trent, Italy, in circa 1545–1563 by Pope Paul III. The council was to reform the Catholic Church without altering its fundamental tenets. The Church was to be reformed in a way to make its teachings compatible with the changing society. This marked the birth of several Catholic organizations that aimed to do their bit to revive Catholicism.

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1.4 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

Industrial Revolution is a term that was first used by Louis-Auguste Blanqui in 1837 and it was then widely adopted following a series of lectures entitled ‘Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century in England’ by Arnold Toynbee delivered in 1882. The First Industrial Revolution, as it is more commonly called, spanned the period between the late 18th and early 19th century. Many historians cite the period between 1780 and 1830 as the time when Britain witnessed the most rapid industrialization activity, while other historians define other periods. In addition, a number of historians have argued that industrialization occurred much earlier than 1780 and was not exactly a revolution per se but rather an example of gradual evolution. A number of studies using econometric techniques illustrate that the slow production rates coupled with low national incomes would indicate that ‘industrial evolution’ rather than ‘Industrial Revolution’ was a more appropriate term to describe the process. Other writers identified that there was a piecemeal development in processes associated with industrial innovation and in organizational structures. Clear evidence now exists that industrialization was not the exclusive domain/province of Britain but included developments both in Asia and Europe.

There was a great deal of migration of European artisans and professional people into Britain during the period between the 15th and 17th century bringing their superior skills and technological methods. There was an evidence of exchange and transfer of ideas, skills and technologies between Britain and Europe for many centuries before the First Industrial Revolution. For example, the Dutch made significant contributions to the technologies associated with the drainage system in the Fens in the mid-17th century and later made significant improvements to water mills. Dutch and Flemish refugees played an important role in creating the foundations of the development of cotton, silk and other textile trades in England. France also made major contributions to the blast furnace technology as did the Germans in improving the smelting and refining of non-ferrous ores. The French were the leaders in science during the 18th century and again made many contributions to the new industries associated with chemicals, for example, dying and bleaching. The exchange was certainly not just one way, for instance, Britain helped Belgium and France to modernize much of their industry but most of the transfer of technology and effort from Britain was aimed at the US. It is interesting to note that a number of Parliamentary Acts during the 19th century prohibited the emigration of workers into mainland Europe as well as placing restrictions on the export of machinery, spare parts, design plans and expertise. These Acts most certainly limited and constrained the exchange of technology and technical knowhow between Britain and the Continent. This aspect again reflects and reinforces the secretive and protectionist nature and practices of British companies.

Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.

- (a) _____ underwent a transformation with Renaissance.
(b) The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped _____ spread far and wide.

5. State whether the following statements are true/false.

- (a) A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin.
(b) The Renaissance did not bring about any remarkable changes in the European society.

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During the First Industrial Revolution, Britain witnessed a massive set of transformations in such areas as agriculture, demographic trends, manufacturing and transportation. These and other changes had a profound effect on the cultural, economic and social climate of the country. For example, Table 1.1 shows the dramatic growth in population between 1760 and 1901.

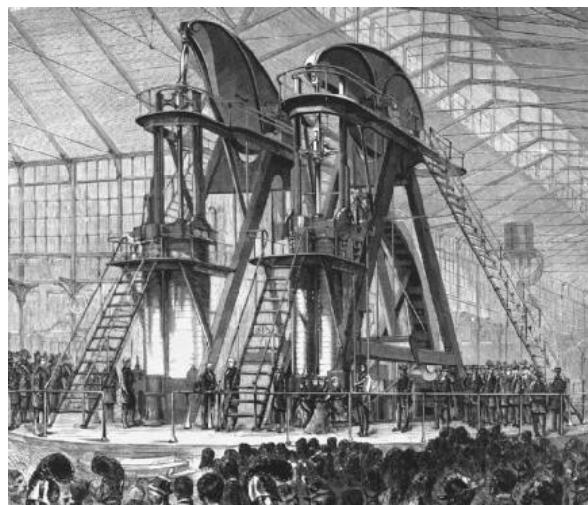
Table 1.1 Dramatic Growth in Population Between 1760 and 1901

Year	Population England and Wales	Population Scotland	Total population Britain
1760	6,736,000 (estimated)	-	8,000,000 (estimated)
1801	8,892,000 (1st census)	1,608,420	10,500,000
1851	17,927,609	2,888,742	21,000,000
1901	32,527,843	4,472,103	37,000,000

Another important transition occurred from around 1760 when the basis of the labour economy changed from one based on manual/physical labour to one increasingly based on machines. In addition, the tradesperson replaced the craftsman and the applied scientist replaced the amateur inventor. One consequence of the Industrial Revolution was that for the operation of the new machines, largely unskilled labour were used. Skilled workers found themselves lowered in status and in less demand and companies increasingly employed women and children to keep costs down. The production of coal rose from 2.5 million tonnes in 1700 to 10 million tonnes in 1800. Three important technologies can be identified that formed the foundations of the First Industrial Revolution, namely:

1. Iron production
2. Steam engine
3. Textiles

The steam engine had been discovered before the Industrial Revolution and was subsequently improved by Watt and others after 1778. The steam engine was initially adapted and used to provide power for a whole series of machines and, as a result, was in many ways the most important ‘enabling technology’ of the time. It made the major contribution to the First Industrial Revolution. Steam driven machines (Figure 1.5) were gradually improved, and adapted for wider uses such as in the production of textiles and the mining of iron and tin. This evolution continued to enable the operation of more complex machinery, such as machine tools, lathes and farm machinery. The development and refinement of machine tools by such individuals as Henry Maudslay and Joseph Whitworth played a key role in the later phase of the First Industrial Revolution as machine tool technology enabled standardized manufacturing machines to be fabricated.



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Fig. 1.5 Steam Driven Machines during Industrial Revolution

The movement of manufactured goods and services was also greatly assisted and facilitated by improvements to the national transport system that included better roads and the development of an extensive network of canals, (from about 1773) and railways (from 1825). To illustrate the rapid growth of inland navigation systems, i.e., canals and rivers, in 1750 there were around 1,000 miles of inland navigation and by 1850 this had increased to 4,250 miles excluding a significant mileage that existed in Ireland.

As the national economy increased and technological advances accelerated and gained momentum, the First Industrial Revolution converged around 1850 into the second period of Industrial Revolution or evolution. After 1850, the rapid development of steam driven transport systems such as shipping and railways (Figure 1.6) opened up new markets both in Britain and across the world. Later in the 19th century, the newer technologies associated with electrical generation, the internal combustion engine and the industrial processes related to chemicals etc., further accelerated and spread the growth of industrial and international trade.



Fig. 1.6 Steam Driven Railways

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By 1850, Britain was the acknowledged workshop and the leading industrial power of the world producing over half the world's coal, cotton and iron. Imported food and essential raw materials for the manufacturing processes were paid for by the export of manufactured products as well as the export of a developing service sector, including financial, insurance and shipping services (Figure 1.7). The country possessed the world's most powerful navy and mercantile fleet and this not only helped to maintain the empire, but also provided the means to export its manufactured commodities. Sadly, the transportation of slaves to the new world until the trade was abolished in 1807, also contributed to Britain's wealth, particularly to the city ports of Bristol and Liverpool.

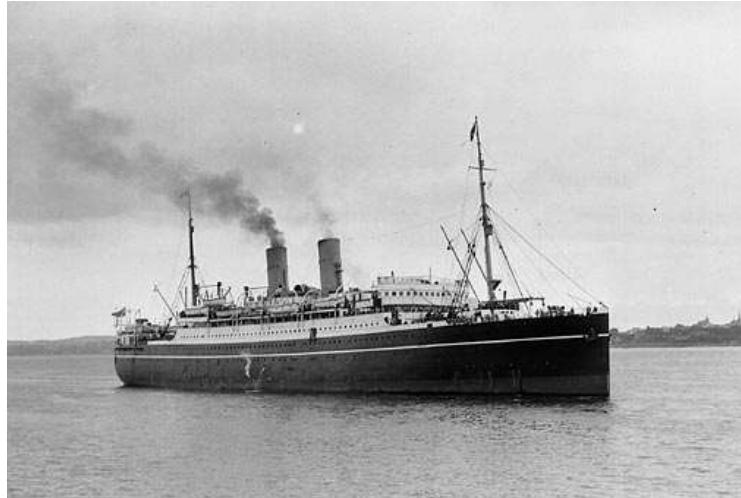


Fig. 1.7 A Steam Ship

Structure and the Organization of Industry

For understanding the structure and the organization of industry in the late 18th and 19th centuries, it is appropriate to consider other factors, which according to some writers undermined this country's manufacturing performance and ultimately contributed to Britain's economic and industrial decline. Many of these factors again highlight the lack of an effective and comprehensive technical and commercial education system as well as the continuing negative attitude towards competitiveness, entrepreneurialism and practical and technical activities. The following is a list of some of these factors:

- The sizes of companies which were relatively small and in the majority of cases family owned
- Management and organizational structures dogged by amateurism, complacency and indifference
- Fierce and destructive competition within rival companies
- Incompetent and ineffective sales and marketing especially overseas, and an unwillingness to develop marketing and sales strategies and tactics to match and satisfy customer needs
- The inability of company staff particularly the marketing team, if they existed, to learn and converse in foreign languages
- The widespread use of indirect selling and marketing overseas by agencies and agents

- The relatively late adoption, (after 1851), of a distinctive or ‘brand’ or product mark when compared with other competitors; exceptions were in the china/pottery industries, such as Spode and Wedgwood
- Reluctance to develop rigorous patenting techniques, when compared with the USA, Belgium and Germany, and thus highlighting the tendency for English businesses to be protectionist and secretive
- ‘The gentrification’, (Wiener’s expression), of the first and subsequent generations of successful business people who quickly adopted the mores of the upper classes
- The reluctance to adopt and invest in new manufacturing techniques and technologies and hence develop new products
- The reluctance to replace obsolete equipment and invest in new plant
- Basic hostility towards technical education especially outside the traditional apprenticeship schemes even though these were fast disappearing
- The relatively few scientists and technologists employed in industry, and also shortages of qualified foremen, supervisors and technicians
- Low wages and status amongst workers as a result of no regulation or effective legislation that forced wages and conditions of work down; also, employers were hostile to the creation and membership of unions

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Shortcomings of Family Businesses

Many manufacturing companies were family businesses and relatively small when compared with similar business enterprises overseas. In particular, industries involved in the production of cotton, linen, and silk were dominated by families. Small and larger manufacturing enterprises including engineering were also family owned and operated in such diverse industries as brewing, cutlery, and pottery alongside thousands of workshops producing specialized products and artifacts, particularly around Birmingham and Manchester. These families had major apprehension about manufacturing techniques and they were generally reluctant to cooperate and form associations with other similar based manufacturers, and this again was in stark contrast with companies in Europe. This secretive attitude was also evident in the way companies would avoid or be reluctant to register and patent their products for fear of plagiarism. This attitude impeded further development of a company’s products and restricted its product range. As a result, this constrained the future growth of the company thus maintaining the overall profile of small companies in Britain. Many businesses on the continent and the US took the opposite approach and many became very large with worldwide brands and product differentiation, which ultimately gave them a competitive edge over England towards the end of the 19th century. In fact, this reluctance and propensity for secrecy about their industrial processes eventually became counterproductive for rivals as continental countries began to develop and manage technology in more systematic ways compared with England.

The relatively small size of the companies also had a negative impact on marketing and sales activities, especially abroad. The home market was very buoyant and effective sales and marketing were relatively easy. This contributed to the culture of complacency and indifference; however, the overseas sales were very different and soon highlighted weaknesses in the techniques adopted by England companies. Because companies were relatively small, they were inevitably reluctant to invest in dedicated sales teams based overseas, instead preferring to use agents and agencies who also worked on behalf of

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other companies; thus, no loyalty and commitment existed with these agents and often there were issues of conflict of interests. As competition increased from continental countries and the US, these weaknesses were shown up. The US and Germany developed networks of sales organizations dispensing with agencies and agents. The inability and resistance to learn and speak the languages of overseas customers, the reluctance to carry out market research to assess customer needs and the continued use of sales/marketing agents, all contributed to the loss of market share from the mid-19th century.

Another factor that reflected weak management was the poor relationships that existed between workers and managers coupled with the opposition to unions and union membership. Commercial, business and management education was virtually non-existent during most of the 19th century and was even less developed than technical education.

One fascinating factor that reflects the basic hostility towards industry and technical education is explored by historian Wiener and others, namely the influence of class and social stratification. In Britain, there had always been reluctance among the gentry and upper classes to send their sons into industry, preferring rather to see them enter banking or merchants' offices. What is particularly interesting is the manner in which the first generation of successful industrialists behaved towards the education of their children. They invested their fortunes in massive country estates and did all possible to be recognized, accepted and assimilated into the upper echelons of English society. This most certainly included sending their sons to Eton or other public schools. Upon graduating, they entered the family business lacking the necessary experiences, knowledge, skills and the techniques associated with the industrial processes, technological and scientific concepts and management of the business. Even more interesting is that many did not return to the business but went into what was perceived as the more cultured and dignified environments of law, politics, religion and the other learned professions. The same negative view of technical/practical activities gradually permeated to the middle classes who readily adopted the mores of the upper classes and developed a distinct set of prejudices towards practical and technical pursuits, science, mathematics and technology. These negative attitudes still exist today. One only has to see the current problems with recruiting people in these subjects into colleges and universities. These deeply held attitudes and prejudices most certainly demonstrate the destructive effect of class attitudes and negative perceptions that persist even today in some quarters of society.

Most company managers were reluctant to adapt and innovate and invested little in new plant and equipment. Having been the first industrial nation was ultimately a contributing factor in England's decline, fuelled by degrees of complacency and arrogance. This created a culture of resistance to move with the times and overall industry failed to invest in new plant and equipment, develop new products and processes based on advancing scientific and technological ideas, and bring in scientifically and technologically qualified people. In the majority of cases, companies refused to recruit highly qualified people even though very few existed and many would often argue that a 'practical' person was preferred over a so-called 'theoretical one'. Companies also invested little in research and development. This reluctance to embrace new industrial and managerial practices continued well into the 20th century. One classic case was the hostility towards the introduction of scientific management techniques. This approach was developed with great success in the US, but employers in Britain resisted its introduction, arguing strongly that workers were human beings and not machines and that there was no place for scientific routines or procedures in industrial and commercial businesses.

Technology was a critical element in the Industrial Revolution, though by no means, the only element. The fundamental technical developments associated with the Industrial Revolution occurred in four areas:

- 1. Mechanical power:** It was derived first from the steam engine, which burned coal to heat water to create the steam that powered the engine, and later from engines that burned oil (internal combustion engines) or ran on electricity (often generated by burning coal).
- 2. Manufacturing:** It resulted in the shift from handmade to machine-made products, and from homemade to factory-made goods.
- 3. Transportation:** Horses, mules and oxen were replaced by railroads and steamships driven by steam engines, and by cars, trucks and eventually aeroplanes powered by oil.
- 4. Communications:** Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph (Figure 1.8), telephone, and, much later, the Internet.

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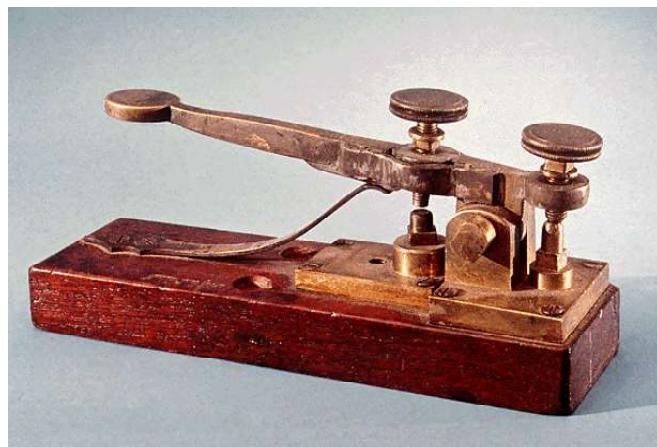


Fig. 1.8 Telegraph Machine

Alongside the Industrial Revolution was an agricultural revolution, which brought similar changes to agricultural practices—the introduction of technology to manual farming, new procedures that greatly increased the output of both farmers and their land—and resulted in new attitudes toward the relationship between ‘natural’ and ‘scientific’ farming. The combination of new systems and new technology was first introduced on English farms around 1700 and has over the years greatly increased the productivity of farmers and the land. The agricultural revolution has also changed humankind’s relationship to animals and food and, to some extent, to the basic process of eating. (*Source:* www.technicaleducationmatters.org)

1.4.1 Scientific and Technological Background of Revolution

Just as advances in technology significantly influenced the Industrial Revolution, the development of scientific ideas in turn influenced technology and made major contributions to the First and Second Industrial Revolutions. Indeed, until the advent of the scientific era, technological advances were almost exclusively based on craft and trade skills and experience, personified by the apprentice model where the skills were handed on very

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much on a personal and individualistic level. The secrets of the craft or trade were jealously guarded and often shrouded in mystery.

However the most significant technical advances during the second Industrial Revolution (1850s) were driven by science as well as by the demands made on technology.

One of the more intriguing aspects in writing this history is the identification of a number of perplexing and paradoxical issues, none more so than the interaction between science and technology and the role and teaching of these disciplines in the emerging education systems. This paradox has been highlighted by a number of influential writers. The belief which sadly continues today is that science is seen as being a more superior body of knowledge than technology as well as the subsequent application of scientific knowledge and ideas. This perception of precedence comprised two directly related aspects; firstly that science always precedes technology because the application could only happen after the scientific discovery was made, and secondly the view that science education was superior to technical education. Although the first assertion is valid, in most cases, it is not universally true. The application of existing technology can itself bring about the need for further and new scientific research and discovery. As existing technologies and machines are operated in different working situations the demands and limitations of the machinery and the underlying technologies often precipitate the need for more original scientific research. Therefore, the belief that science is always ahead of technology and therefore is superior is a false one as it is clearly a two-way iterative process, i.e., science technology. A classic example of how technology precedes and interacts with science can be seen in the development of the steam engine. As the use of the engine was diversified and applied in different situations, fundamental design and operating limitations were identified that required further basic scientific research and this in turn challenged and questioned the existing scientific theories and hypothesizes. In this case of the steam engine, the discipline of thermodynamics was greatly enhanced and refined. Examples show that science and technology possess a synergistic relationship to one another and clearly feed off each other and that no one discipline is superior to the other.

However, it was this false belief that has been so damaging to the development of technical and applied education, namely that scientific education should take precedence over technical education. This assertion most certainly had a negative and retarding impact on the image and development of technical education during the 19th century—one can see these elements in play even today. The acceptance of this belief by politicians and decision-makers meant that the education policy at the time required the instruction of science to take precedence over the instruction of technical, applied and practical subjects. For example, Alexander Williamson, an influential figure in education and a professor of chemistry at King's College, reflected this belief in his evidence to the Devonshire Commission when he objected to the creation of technical schools rather than scientific institutions saying 'this does not give due priority to pure science'. This highly questionable belief and attitude was even held and articulated by some of the greatest advocates of technical education, including Lyon Play fair and Thomas Huxley, who both voiced similar views as Williamson.

What cannot be denied is that the period from 1750 to 1850, particularly the Victorian period, witnessed an exciting and productive time of intense research/innovation in practically every field of scientific exploration, namely, biological, chemical, mathematical, physical and technological. The Victorian period was particularly productive in adopting, expanding and transforming technologies in such areas as electricity, industrial

control engineering, lighting, photography, railways, steamships, telegraphy and telephony. Many of the individuals behind these great achievements never received formal education by attending universities or secondary schools; instead they were self-taught and/or possessed amazing creative abilities. This was the period of the First Industrial Revolution driven by steam. The Second Industrial Revolution from mid-18th century was driven by the chemical, communications and electrical technologies, which Britain did not fully capitalize on—Germany and America did. (*Source*: www.technicaleducationmatters.org)

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Stages of Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution did not take place in all European countries simultaneously, nor is it possible to fix the exact timing when the industrial revolution commenced because it is a continuous process. In fact, the four industrial countries of Europe—England, France, Belgium and Germany, underwent industrialization at different periods and under different conditions.

However, it is admitted at all hands that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain sometime in the middle of 18th century and spread in other countries of continent in the next century and a half.

Thus, Industrial Revolution took place in France and Belgium sometimes in the first decade of the 19th century; while in Germany it began still later viz., in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, even though it spread with extraordinary rapidity. Thus, broadly speaking, the Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.

1.4.2 Effects of Industrial Revolution

The working conditions in mines were horrible, to say the least. Furthermore, women and children were employed as they could be paid lower wages than adult male workers. Child labourers possessed another advantage—they could easily crawl through the narrow passages in mines. The situation in factories was not very different. The workers could not bargain for better conditions and payments, as there was an abundant supply of workers available in the form of displaced peasants and farmers. If one would protest, he would be fired. There was always someone else ready to replace him. Also, the capitalists were becoming richer by the day. Using their wealth, they were influencing the policies and laws of the government. This influence was naturally harmful to the labour class. This led to the organization of labour unions, and subsequently to the development of the concept of Socialism. The migration of such a huge population to cities resulted in the overcrowding of cities and development of slums. The pace of urbanization quickened to unprecedented levels. The migration also broke the social ties the worker (i.e., the former peasant or farmer) was used to in villages. This, along with the deplorable living conditions, caused many other problems like alcoholism, illicit relationships, loneliness, etc. This degraded the quality of life to a great extent.

The capitalists emerged from the hitherto middle class. The Industrial Revolution was an expression of their strength. Their power increased in leaps and bounds. They had the funds to influence the government. They acquired a stranglehold over politics which continues until date. Other customs like the importance of punctuality and taking appointments before meeting people, also started during this age.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were visible all over the world. A capitalist had two main requirements for making windfall profits. One was cheap supply of raw materials, and the other was a ready market. Both of these were available in colonies.

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This led to the colonization of many lands in Asia, Africa and South America. The economies of the colonies were comprehensively subordinated to the mother nation. This resulted in a scramble for colonies amongst the great powers of that age. Although England was the strongest power, France, Holland, Portugal, Denmark and, later, Germany and Italy also entered the race. This race led to imperialism, culminating in the two World Wars. English exports were creating problems for the industrial development of other powers. To control this, tariffs were imposed on British goods, leading to tariff barriers. As a result of colonization, events in one part of the world started influencing events in other parts of the world as well. This is the simplest description of globalization.

The revolution also affected many other areas. For one, there were the problems of urbanization during the Industrial Revolution. There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before. This lead to the many problems we face even today, like pollution, space crunch, family division, child labour, etc. On the other hand, on a positive note, there were quite a few important inventions of the Industrial Revolution. Things like the locomotive, steam engine, cotton gin (Figure 1.9) and many more, were all a result of the revolution. Many of the inventions are in use even today, and many others paved the way for different other technological advancements that we get to enjoy in today's world.

The origin of many modern phenomena and problems can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was primarily the economic dimension of the change from the middle age to the modern age.

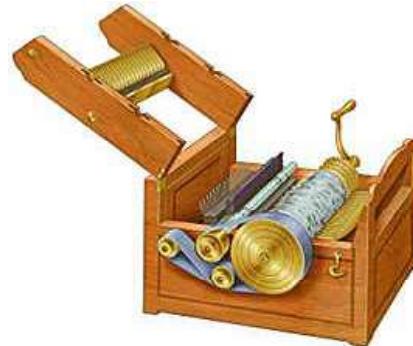


Fig. 1.9 Cotton Gin

Progress of Science and Technology

The First Industrial Revolution started with moderately primitive technological advances that were directed by individual capitalists. These technological advances were perhaps less significant than the principle of the division of labour in the factories that permitted initial capitalists to enhance production and to make it more dependable. The amount of capital required to get the early factories off the ground was not considerable. Entrepreneurs could more often than not raise the money from their own savings and by having access to friends and relatives. Industrialization, in this phase, makes some use of technology but modest use of science.

This phase of industrialization, thus, matches to the classic notion of the capitalist as a highly individualistic self-made man who relies on his/her own wits and risks his/her capital on the supposition that profits will be earned by meeting some social demand for specific commodities. In this initial type of capitalism, it is rational to suppose that progress

can be made best by permitting individuals the freedom to invest their savings and permitting the marketplace to balance supply and demand. If the classic entrepreneur or captain of industry does not succeed in reading the market correctly, he will fail. If he reads the market properly, he not only will be victorious, but will do good to society by offering goods that would not otherwise be accessible.

The fact that this unsophisticated formula could no longer be taken for granted by 1840 shows the complicated linkages between technological and capitalist development. Until then, the capital obligations for setting up some industries were so heavy that they were beyond the scope of several entrepreneurs. Capitalistic individualism became mainly rhetorical as enterprises became so intricate that corporations mainly replaced the former captains of industry and professional managers substituted owner bosses. Intense competition between the new individuals—the corporations—led to the need for massive investment in scientific research and progress. In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally. In Germany, for example, quick industrialization was centrally supported, as it would later be in nations such as Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and, of course, the former Soviet Union.

1.5 SUMMARY

- It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state.
- Some argue that ‘Byzantine’ characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy of Diocletian, and others that Byzantine history began when Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the centre of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.
- It is also convenient to begin in 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East.
- Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till 641.
- Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blusterous, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea. The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power.
- The Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor.
- After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory though it managed to survive.
- In 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was a big mistake.
- Jerusalem conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity.

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Check Your Progress

6. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) Horses, mules and oxen were replaced by _____ driven by steam engines, and by cars, trucks and eventually aeroplanes powered by oil.
 - (b) Alongside the Industrial Revolution was an _____ revolution, which brought similar changes to agricultural practices.
7. State whether the following statements are true/false.
 - (a) The revolution also affected many other areas. For one, there were the problems of urbanization.
 - (b) Capitalistic individualism became mainly rhetorical as enterprises became so intricate that corporations mainly replaced the former captains of industry and professional managers substituted owner bosses.

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- Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity.
- The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
- Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were ‘the work of Satan’ (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo’s Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam’s greatest criticisms of Christianity and thereby deprive Islam of some of its appeal.
- The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results.
- Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men.
- As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style.
- The impact of the fall Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire.
- Now Byzantine was in the hands of Muslims, they had upper hand now. From then onwards the Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.
- Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration. Towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished.
- As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place.
- The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade.
- Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople. The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide.
- Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby; depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed.
- The causes for the rise of Reformation were: (a) Influence of the Renaissance (b) Corruption in the Church (c) Influence of economic changes (d) Efforts of Intellectuals. Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change.

- Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.
- With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers.
- The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall.
- The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance.
- With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself.
- The Industrial Revolution highlighted the essential need to develop a national system for elementary/secondary education and the equally important technical education system.
- The First Industrial Revolution, as it is more commonly called, spanned the period between the late 18th and early 19th century.
- There was an evidence of exchange and transfer of ideas, skills and technologies between Britain and Europe for many centuries before the first Industrial Revolution.
- The steam engine had been discovered before the Industrial Revolution and was subsequently improved by Watt and others after 1778. The steam engine was initially adapted and used to provide power for a whole series of machines and, as a result, was in many ways the most important ‘enabling technology’ of the time.
- Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph, telephone, and, much later, the Internet.
- The Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.
- There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before.
- In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally.

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1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Slavs:** They are an Indo-European ethno-linguistic group who speak the various Slavic languages of the larger Balto-Slavic linguistic group.
- **Iconoclastic controversy:** This took place between the mid-8th century and the mid-9th century in the Byzantine Christian Church over the question of whether or not Christians should continue to revere icons.
- **Scribe:** It refers to a person who copies out documents, especially one employed to do this before printing was invented.

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- **Entablatures:** It is the upper part of a classical building supported by columns or a colonnade, comprising the architrave, frieze, and cornice.
- **Feudalism:** It is a political and economic system of Europe from the 9th to about the 15th century, based on the holding of all land in fief or fee and the resulting relation of lord to vassal and characterized by homage, legal and military service of tenants and forfeiture.
- **Villein:** In medieval England, it referred to a feudal tenant entirely subject to a lord or manor to whom he paid dues and services in return for land.
- **Demesne:** It refers to a piece of land attached to a manor and retained by the owner for their own use.
- **Metayage system:** It is the cultivation of land for a proprietor by one who receives a proportion of the produce, as a kind of sharecropping.
- **Capitalism:** It is an economic system whereby the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the rise of substantial peasant farms as a result of the peasantry becoming free from serfdom and labour rents.
- **Renaissance:** It means rebirth or renewal; as a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- **Reformation:** It was a religious movement of the 16th century that began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church.
- **Migration:** It refers to the movement of large numbers of people one place to another.
- **Machine tool:** It is a tool for cutting or shaping metal, wood, driven by a machine.

1.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
2. The impact of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was ‘the third Rome’.
3. (a) Church; (b) feudal
4. (a) Literature; (b) Renaissance
5. (a) True (b) False
6. (a) railroads and steamships; (b) Agricultural
7. (a) True; (b) True

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the various effects of the fall of Constantinople.
2. What were the weaknesses which led to the downfall of the Byzantine Empire?

3. Define feudalism.
4. How do you view the Byzantine Empire as the seat of Christendom after the fall of Roman Empire?
5. How is the growth of capitalism linked to the decline of feudalism?
6. Write a short note on the origin of Renaissance in Italy.
7. What were the causes of the Reformation movement?
8. What are the effects of the Industrial Revolution?
9. How did science and technology progress during the Industrial Revolution?

NOTES**Long-Answer Questions**

1. Discuss in detail the clash between Islamic forces and Byzantine.
2. Describe feudalism as an important medieval administrative and economic unit.
3. What are the various theories of decline of feudalism? How would you describe the growth of trade and commerce as an important factor of decline?
4. What is the transition phase in the history of feudalism? Was the transformation from feudalism to capitalism direct? Explain its various aspects.
5. Describe the recent theories for the rise of capitalism.
6. Identify the factors that led to the beginning of Renaissance. What was the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science?
7. What were the causes of the Reformation Movement? What was Counter Reformation?
8. How did the Industrial Revolution ‘evolve’? What role did the steam engine and coal play in the rapid spread of the Industrial Revolution across the European continent?
9. Discuss the structure and organization of the industry during the Industrial Revolution.
10. Describe the nature of technical change that occurred during the Industrial Revolution.
11. Analyse the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution. Also, describe the stages in the Industrial Revolution.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 French Revolution: Causes and Significance
 - 2.2.1 The Causes of the French Revolution
 - 2.2.2 The Course of the French Revolution
 - 2.2.3 Aims of the New Constitution
 - 2.2.4 Significance of the Revolution
- 2.3 Napoleon as a Reformer
 - 2.3.1 Defence of National Convention, Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy
 - 2.3.2 Napoleon as the First Consulate and Emperor
 - 2.3.3 War against Russia and Defeat of Napoleon
 - 2.3.4 Impact of Napoleon
- 2.4 Congress of Vienna
 - 2.4.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress
 - 2.4.2 The Holy Alliance
 - 2.4.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)
 - 2.4.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815
 - 2.4.5 Italy, a Geographical Expression
 - 2.4.6 Critical Estimate
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution. The French people began to yearn for a revolution to overturn their corrupt and despotic government, just as they perceived the American colonies had done. For years, the French government had promoted the cause of the American Revolution. Thus, it was but natural for the French government to say nothing against the American model. It could not so readily demonize the secular and humanist model of the United States as it had the Protestant model of bygone years. The French hero Lafayette had fought for it, and the French architect L'Enfant was busy designing its capital on property donated by America's most prominent Roman Catholic family. The United States embodied the Enlightenment ideals that so many in France yearned for.

On 12 July 1789, Camille Desmoulins, the French journalist, provoked the people of Paris to arm themselves in fear that King Louis XVI was about to attack the city. Two days later, on 14 July 1789, the people of Paris attacked the fortress of the Bastille, murdered its governor and defenders as well as the city's magistrates. This brutal event was the commencement of elementary political changes in France and Europe that are now summed up as the outcomes of the French Revolution.

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The Revolution had far-reaching impact on all the social classes of France. The French Revolution was followed by and influenced by the rise of Napoleon to power. The reign of Napoleon, popularly known as the Napoleonic era, holds great significance in the history of France and the rest of the world. This era symbolized the finest display of commitment and love for the motherland.

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon in a series of wars (the Napoleonic Wars), convened the Congress of Vienna at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. The Vienna Congress was drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe. But the Congress was shaped with conservative political and social views. What it achieved politically was to reinstate balance of power and legitimacy. Socially, the Congress stopped most revolts and uprisings. From 1815 to 1848, the Congress of Vienna was successful in ensuring peace and order in the region.

Metternich, the chief minister of autocratic Austria and the country's representative at the Congress, wanted to contain France. To ensure that France remains politically and militarily weak, the Congress of Vienna purposely surrounded the country by stronger nations. Metternich also wanted legitimate governments in these countries. Hence, the Bourbons of France, Spain, and Naples were restored, so were the ruling dynasties in Holland, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Modena. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England formed a Concert of Europe that promised and gave each other support if revolutions broke out. The Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England agreed to defend the status quo against any threat to the balance of power. Spain revolted in 1820 and the revolution was suppressed by the French troops. Also in 1820, Austrian troops were ordered to stop the revolution of Naples.

In this unit, you will read about the causes of the French Revolution and its course, aims of the new constitution and achievements and significance of the French Revolution. It will also describe Napoleon as a reformer and the events that took place in the Congress of Vienna.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes and course of the French Revolution
- Assess the achievements and significance of the French Revolution
- Discuss Napoleon's early life and career
- Describe the defence of national convention and his early victories
- Analyse Napoleon's rise to power, reforms and foreign policy
- Discuss the factors that set the background for the Vienna Congress
- Assess the role of Metternich since the fall of Napoleon
- Evaluate the political composition of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era

2.2 FRENCH REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND SIGNIFICANCE

This section will discuss the causes, course, aims and significance of the French Revolution.

2.2.1 The Causes of the French Revolution

In the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and it continued until 1789. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the corn among themselves; the grain dealers were driven to sell their grain at affordable prices or at 'fair prices'. There were agitations in many towns due to scarcity of bread. Though the authorities suppressed the revolt using force, it kept flaring up here and there. The people were troubled excessively by bad harvests and natural calamities and this did not happen for the first time. Earlier, the authorities had succeeded in curbing the widespread discontent but this was not possible in the years 1788–89.

These vital historical factors paved the way for the French Revolution that year. France was one of the richest and the most powerful nations of Europe, though it faced difficulties in its economy mostly relating to the equitability of taxation. The French people in general enjoyed more political freedom and a lower degree of autocratic punishment than any of their fellow Europeans. Yet Louis XVI (Figure 2.1), his ministers and the French nobles all over France became infamous. This was mainly because the peasants were crippled by the heavy taxes imposed on them and the middle classes were oppressed in order to find wealthy aristocrats and their way of life.

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Fig. 2.1 Louis XVI, The King of France at the Time of French Revolution

The rigidity of the 'Ancien Régime' in France may have also been partly responsible for its decline. The merchants, tradesmen, wealthy farmers and wage earners whose numbers were growing and the intellectuals who were motivated by the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers posed a great challenge to the aristocrats. As the revolution progressed, power was transferred from the royalty and the well-born to the more-authorized political bodies like legislative assemblies. But the differences of opinion among the formerly-allied republican groups became the cause for a great deal of hostility and bloodshed. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual', which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the Enlightenment. The American Revolution established the fact that it was possible to implement the Enlightenment ideas of how a government should be run. Many of the French began to show their antagonism towards the undemocratic outlook of their own government. They pressed for freedom, defied the Roman Catholic Church and condemned the privileges of the nobles.

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The year of 1787–89 was also marked by industrial and commercial exigencies. Many peasants were deprived of the opportunities of augmenting their income by working in manufacturing units during winter or by migrating to the towns to take up temporary construction work or other means of livelihood. Poppers and tramps milled around the towns and highways. Similar setbacks had occurred earlier in manufacturing units, constructional work and trade. A spirit of discord prevailed in every part of the land between the years 1788–89 and there was a persistent talk of the need for an imminent change of a great magnitude. Assuredly, one can say that neither the grave situation in industry and commerce, nor the bad harvest of 1788 were the contributory factors behind the revolutionary crisis, which developed in France during this period. They only helped to trigger off a crisis that had deep-seated roots.

The most significant fact which led to the nationwide conflict with the prevailing order was the fact that the present feudal authoritarian social patterns were no longer in tune with the country's economic, social and political stage of development. The so-called 'Third Estate' made up the 99 per cent of the French population while elite classes comprising the aristocrats and clergy formed the remaining. Nonetheless, the entire nation was controlled by these numerically negligible elite classes. These aristocrats who thrived on the sweat of peasants depended totally on the treasury. They played no part in the production and were the chief well-spring of support for the king. The 'Third Estate' did not represent a heterogeneous class. It comprised the peasants, who made up a major part of the population and the economically powerful middle class, who yearned for political power. The peasants were the hard-pressed slaves of a system, which exploited and persecuted them with endless demands that served to fill the pockets of the landowners, the clergy and the monarch. In conclusion, one may say that these towns were poor—the poverty-stricken workers and the artisans were stripped of any rights and were forced to lead a life of abjection. They did not share common goals and interests. However, they were united in their decision to reassemble the representatives of different classes who yearned for political rights and for a reformation in the prevailing system so that they could oppose the elite classes.

The middle classes, the peasants and the labour force were opposed to the reign of the autocratic kings and to the feudal social system. The prevailing social structure was uncongenial to the welfare of their class and the development of the country's economy. Whether the members of the 'Third Estate' knew it or not, the country was now ready for historical advancement. There was definitely going to be a sea change from feudalism to capitalisms and at that period, it symbolized a more advanced and liberal form of society. Finally, when one analyses the situation, one finds that the dangerous class conflicts of that time were indeed ushering in a change. The authorities could not possibly put a stop or even control the growing trend of popular unrest because class conflicts were a deep and complicated part of the current social structure. Hence, the historical French Revolution became unavoidable.

The causes of the French Revolution can be listed as follows:

- **Economic factors:** In the 1780s, King Louis XVI of France faced a financial crisis. The poverty-stricken sections of the population were afflicted by hunger and malnutrition. France was already facing a spate of bad harvest and a rise in food prices. The inadequate system of transportation, which impeded the shipment of bulk foods from the rural areas to the large population centers, only worsened the situation. All these factors added greatly to the destabilization

of the French society during the years that led to the French Revolution. Many wars fought by the earlier rulers and the financial pressure caused by the participation of France in the American Revolutionary War resulted in the near bankruptcy for France. The national debt was equivalent to nearly two billion lives. The enormous war debt, which was a burden on the society, was made worse when France lost its colonies in North America. When Great Britain began to dominate the commercial scene, France was unable to cope with national debt due to its incompetent and outdated financial system.

- **Masses against the government monarchy:** Majority of the people felt that they were being distanced from the King and that he did not care about the difficulties faced by middle class. In theory, King Louis the XVI was an absolute monarch; however, in practice, he hesitated to take decisions and backed away whenever he was confronted. Though he did cut down on the expenditures of the government, his rivals in the parliament foiled his efforts to pass the much needed reforms. Those who resisted Louis's policies further threatened his royal authority by handing out pamphlets, which condemned the government and its officials and thus incited the public to rise up against the king.
- **Intellectual upliftment:** Many other factors involving resentments and aspirations were given focus by the rise of Enlightenment ideals. The people hated royal autocracy. The peasants, labourers and the bourgeoisie were bitter towards the traditional seigneurial rights, which were enjoyed by the nobles. They resented the Church's sway over public administration and institutions. They aspired for the freedom of religion. The poorer rural clergy hated the aristocratic bishops. The people aspired for social, political and economic equality and yearned for people's government. They hated Queen Marie-Antoinette (Figure 2.2), who was wrongly blamed of being a spendthrift and a spy for the Austrians. There was anger against the King for dismissing Jacques Neckar, among others, who were seen as representatives of the people.

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Fig. 2.2 Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, in Coronation Robes by Jean-Baptiste Gautier-Dagoty, 1775

2.2.2 The Course of the French Revolution

There were several events during the course of the French Revolution. In fact, each of these events was strongly linked.

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1. States General of 1789

The common masses of the city and the countryside were making it evident that they could not and were not ready to live the life they had lived in the past. The leaders of the country, the King and the privileged lot also showed that they could not rule the country as they had done so far. The state treasury was in a mess. The Kings and the first Two Estates had been extravagant in their expenditure and the state treasury was facing a grave financial crunch. The empire now found itself without the means to meet its immediate needs. After a number of futile ventures to improve the affairs, the King was forced to convene the States General—the assembly of representatives of the Three Estates, which had not met in France for 175 years. The States General was divided into three estates namely—the clergy or the First Estate, the nobility or the Second Estate and the rest of France or the Third Estate. Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgency, the States General was opened on May 5 at Versailles. With the help of the States General, King Louis XVI and his retinue of nobles hoped to win back the confidence of the public, to suppress the rebellion and to get the necessary finance to fill the state treasury. In contrast, the Third Estate hoped for a number of things from the States General. It hoped for important political changes in the country through its assembly. From the beginning, there was a difference of opinion in the States General between the Third Estate and the gentry as to how to conduct the meeting and the method of voting.

The representatives of Third Estate called a National Assembly on 17 June and asked the representatives of the other ranks to join them in their undertaking. The National Assembly now became the chief representative and legislative organ of the French people, after the daring decision taken by them. Nevertheless, the King backed by his nobles declined to accept this step. On 20 June, orders were given for the entrance to the palace, where the assembly was going on to be locked. But the deputies to the National Assembly were not in favour of obeying the orders of the King. Finding an almost empty, vast room earlier used a tennis court and encouraged to carry on by the cheering crowds of common people, they reopened their assembly there. At that unforgettable meeting in the Tennis Court on 20 June, the deputies of the National Assembly affirmed that until a constitution had been drafted and endorsed, they would neither disperse, nor suspend their work on any account.

The last time the States General had met in 1614, each estate held one vote and any two could overrule the third. The parliament of France was afraid that the government would try to gerrymander (i.e., change the size and borders of an area for voting in order to give an unfair advantage to one party in an election) the assembly by manipulating the results. Therefore, they felt the need to arrange the estates as it had been in 1614. The practices of the local assemblies differed from the 1614 rules in which each member had one vote and the Third Estate membership was doubled. Elections were held in the spring of 1789. Only the French born or naturalized males of the Third Estate of at least 25 years of age, who lived where the voting was to take place and who paid taxes, were required to vote.

2. The National Assembly: 1789–1791

The following events were the highlights of the National Assembly held at that time:

- 20 June 1789: National Assembly members take Tennis Court Oath, pledging to create new constitution
- July 14: Mob of Parisian citizens storms Bastille prison and confiscates weapons
- July 20: Rural violence of great fear breaks out; peasants lash out at feudal landlords for several weeks
- August 4: August decrees release peasants and farmers from feudal contracts
- August 26: Declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen issued
- October 5: Parisian women march to Versailles in response to food crisis
- February 1790: Government confiscates church property
- July 12: Civil Constitution of the clergy issued

3. Tennis Court Oath

Three days after the delegates from the Third Estate (now the National Assembly) broke away from the States General, they found themselves locked out of the usual meeting hall and assembled on a nearby tennis court instead. Except for one, every one of the members took the Tennis Court Oath (Figure 2.3), which stated in plain words that they would never be destroyed until they had succeeded in creating a new national constitution. As soon as King Louis XVI heard about the formation of the National Assembly, he held a gathering and tried to threaten to the Third Estate to surrender. The assembly that had grown too strong forced the King to accept it. The Parisians received word of the rebellion and revolutionary energy flowed through the city. Influenced by the National Assembly, the commoners rebelled against the rising prices. Fearing violence, the King got the troops to surround his Versailles palace.

The National Assembly was forced to relocate to a tennis court on 20 June, since Louis XVI and the Second Estate stopped the delegates from meeting and also because of some misunderstanding about one another's intentions. There they took the Tennis Court Oath affirming that it would not stop its proceedings until a new constitution had been drafted for France. Louis began to recognize their validity on 27 June when he did not succeed in dispersing the delegates. The assembly renamed itself the National Constituent Assembly on 9 July and began to work as a governing body and a constitution drafter. Even after this day, it is commonly referred to as the National Assembly or alternatively 'Constituent the States General' of 1789. It convened on 5 May 1789 but it reached a deadlock in his deliberations on 6 May 1789. Therefore, the representatives of the Third Estate trying to make the whole body effective met separately from 11th May as the *Communs*. On 12 June, the Communs invited their other estates to join them. Some members of the first estate did join them the next day. On 17 June, the Communs declared themselves the National Assembly by a vote of 490 to 90. The parish priest, who belonged to the First Estate and was almost as wealthy as the Third Estate as compared to bishops who were closer in wealth to the second estate, joined the Assembly on 19 June.

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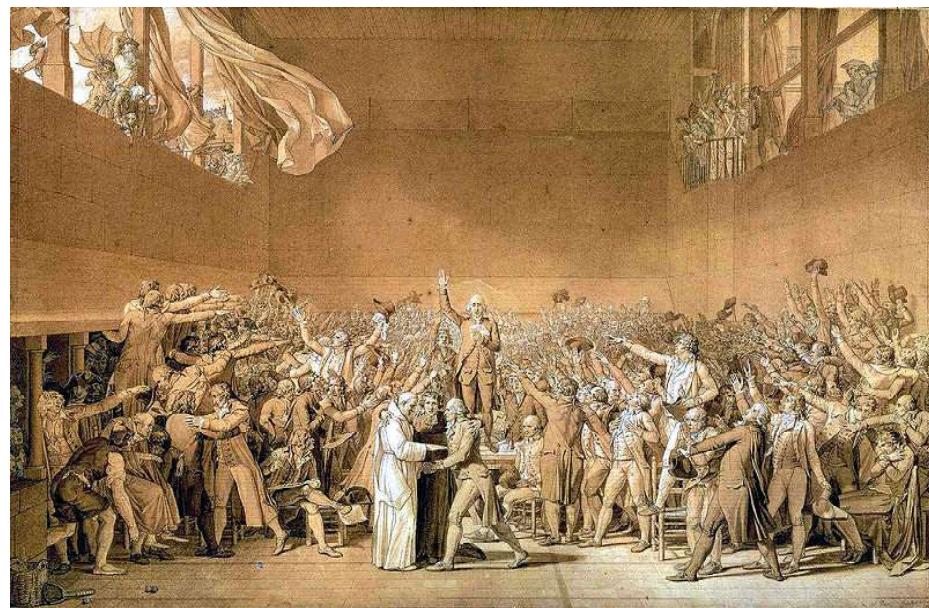
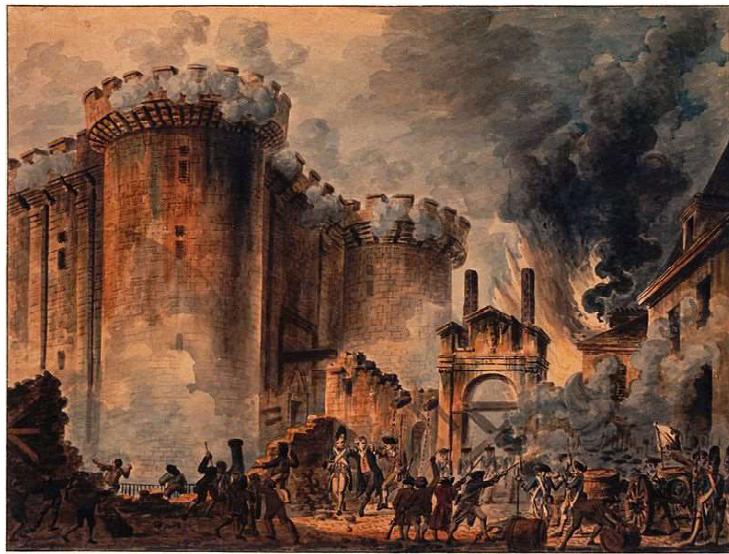


Fig. 2.3 Tennis Court Oath

4. The Storming of the Bastille

On 9 July, the National Assembly proclaimed itself a constituent assembly thus emphasizing its duty to usher in a new social order and draw up its constitutional foundation. The King had no desire to accept the decisions of the National Assembly. But he was forced to conform it despite serious misgivings. Troops who were loyal to the King began to assemble in Versailles and Paris, while the people and the deputies followed with fear. The actions of the King and his supporters were construed as a threat to the National Assembly. On 12 July, it was announced that the King had sacked Necker, who was esteemed to be the sole defender of change in the government. The people came to know that troops were being assembled in Paris. The counter-revolutionary forces were strong enough to show them the government's determination to begin an attack. The streets and squares of the city were filled with people who were in a rage. Clashes with the King's troops broke out in a number of places and the shots that were heard only added fuel to fire. The people of Paris instinctively rose to fight. The alarm was sounded early on the morning of 13 July and poor people of Paris armed with all kinds of weapons came out into the streets. The troops were forced to desert one district after another as the revolutionaries progressed and, the rebels grew from hour to hour. The people captured arms shops and armories and seized tens of thousands of guns. By the morning of 15 July most of the capital had already been captured by the rebels. But the eight towers of the guarded Bastille prison still appeared undisturbed. Seized with revolutionary fervour, the people got ready to attack this terrible fortress. Capturing the Bastille with its moats, drawbridges, large prison and cannon seemed a difficult task. But this was nothing for the revolutionaries. The artillery men opened fire and broke the chains of one of the drawbridges. The people marching forward courageously stormed their way in (Figure 2.4). The commander of the prison was killed, his men gave up and The Bastille fell.

The fall of The Bastille on 14 July was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic. From that day onwards, the strong-minded revolutionaries, the people, warred against their former masters. In the following months, it was their performance that made victory possible.



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Fig. 2.4 Storming of Bastille

Unable to face the rage of the people, the King was forced to step down. On July 17, he came to Paris with the members of the Constituent Assembly to officially recognize the victory of the revolutionaries. Events in Paris were followed by revolutionary outbreaks throughout France. All over the country, government officials were stripped of their former official post and new city councils were elected. The revolutionary army came to be known as the National Guard. The peasants who heard of the storming of the Bastille took up arms, broke into the residences of their hated masters and destroyed them. In some places, they took over the fields and wood of their masters and divided it among themselves. They refused to pay taxes and to carry out their day to day tax. The peasants who had been abused and persecuted by their masters now rose against them. Peasant agitation and violence spread all over France.

Louis XVI once again sacked Jacques Necker, the Director General of Finance. He was blamed for the failure of the States General. Necker was a well-known figure and when people heard of his dismissal, enmities flared up again. Due to the rising tension, there was a rush for weapons and on 13 July 1789, the rebels raided the Paris town hall in search of weapons. There, they found few weapons but plenty of gun powder. The next day realizing that the Bastille accommodated a large armory, the citizens on the side of the National Assembly attacked the Bastille. Though the weapons were useful, the storming of the Bastille was more symbolic than it was necessary for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionaries faced little but instant threat. But they were such a huge threatening number that they were capable of passive force. The revolutionaries, by storming the Bastille gained a symbolic victory over the Ancien Dynasty and conveyed the message that they were not to be taken lightly.

5. Structure in the Summer of 1789

The National Constituent Assembly became the most able government of France after the Bastille was attacked on July 14. Francois Mignet, the historian, said that the entire power was in the hands of the National Constituent Assembly to the extent that it was relied upon corporations and it was obeyed by the National Guards. The people were no longer willing to obey the King and so royal power had to a certain extent ceased and the Assembly had to work on its own.

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During the election period, the number of deputies of the Estates-General increased. By mid-July 1789, the Assembly had a total number of 1177 deputies comprising of nobles, the clergy and the representatives of the Third Estate. According to an American historian Timothy Tackett's *Becoming a Revolutionary*, there were a total of 1177 deputies in the Assembly by mid-July 1789. Among them, there were 278 nobles, 295 Clergy and 604 represented the Third Estate. For the entire duration of the Assembly, a total of 1315 deputies were certified, with 330 for the Clergy, 322 nobles and 663 deputies of the Third Estate. In his research, it was found that Second Estate comprised chiefly of men from the military while the Third Estate was led by the people from the legal profession.

The most prominent figures of the Assembly known as the 'Right' were: Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales who represented the aristocracy and the abbey Jean-Sifrein Maury who was a representative of the church. Pierre Victor, Baron Malouet, Trophime-Gerard, Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, Stanislas Marie Adelaide, Compte de Claire Mont-Tonnier and Jean Joseph Mounier—the royal democrats along with Jacques Necker, aimed at shaping the government of France on the model of the British constitution with a house of lords and a house of commons.

The National party was sympathetic to the extensive needs of the common people though it supported the interests of the middle classes and was all for the revolution and a democracy. Leaders like Mirabeau, the Marquis de Lafayette, Jean-Sylvain Bailly played a very important role in the revolution. There were also extremists like Adrian Duport, Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave and Alexander Lameth who were more progressive in their ideals than that which the revolution had reached; Lameth's brother Charles was one of them. One cannot forget the contribution made by abbey Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes, for he was the first person to suggest a constitution.

6. Declaration of the Rights of Man

The revolution initially gained significant victories because both the people and the bourgeoisie were united in their goals. The bourgeois were young and advanced and determined to fight against feudal autocracy. It did not fear the people and surged ahead shoulder to shoulder. 'The declaration of the rights of man' adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people's thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles. The first articles declared that men are born free and will remain thus all through their lives. This proclamation of freedom and equal rights was indeed revolutionary since most countries of the world followed autocracy.

The right to property was also proclaimed as a divine and basic right. The declaration of rights (Figure 2.5) also showed that the property of the bourgeois and the peasants were to be protected from violations by the land owners. It also affirmed that it would be preserved for all times.



Fig. 2.5 The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 26 August 1789

This declaration was a limitation for the bourgeois since it proclaimed that this freedom was based on inequality of property. Nevertheless, it seemed to forecast the end of dictatorship.

7. The Wealthy Bourgeoisie Coming to Power

However, the power soon came to be in the hands of the big bourgeoisie only and, neither the Third Estate, nor even the whole of the bourgeoisie were able to enjoy the fruits of victory. Count Honore de Mirabeau was one of the most authoritative leaders in the Constituent Assembly. Marquis de Lafayette took the command of the National Guards and became the prominent leader in the Constituent Assembly. The representative of the big bourgeoisie in the Constituent Assembly introduced laws that insisted on a system of electoral qualifications and these only served to divide the country into ‘active’ and ‘passive’ citizens. The active citizens, only males who possessed property and who could pay taxes on a different scale could vote and be elected. Hence, out of 26 million people, only about 43,00,000 were eligible for political rights.

The big bourgeoisie thus distanced itself from the Third Estate and was soon to legalize its power. But the Constituent Assembly brought in a number of laws of revolutionary significance. The administrative structure of France was revamped, class divisions were removed and aristocratic titles were abolished. In a decree of 2 November 1789, all church property and lands were declared ‘National property’ and were put up for sale. Registration of births, deaths etc., were given to the state. Various other laws were introduced and it removed all the constraints, which had been restricting commercial and industrial initiatives.

These laws were introduced to serve the interests of the common man and the Bourgeoisie who had been the motivating force behind them. But for the Bourgeoisie, it meant that there were still tasks to be carried out by Bourgeois revolution. The big Bourgeoisie however after they came to power to promote their own selfish interests soon began to oppose any progress in the revolution. The commoners and the bourgeoisie, who were in the favour of democracy, began to wonder about the progress of the revolution. The peasants wanted to put an end to all feudal practices and labour services and they insisted that land be given to them. In 1789, between August 4 and 11, serfdom

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was abolished by the Constituent Assembly but this was only on paper because it related only to a few aspects of the peasants' personal liberty. The agrarian system also remained unsolved. In 1790, the peasants openly rebelled refusing to pay their former claims and taxes to their masters. The urban poor became poorer and commerce came to a standstill because orders for luxury goods had stopped with the emigration of the nobles. To add to this misery, Paris and other towns experienced food shortages.

The poor people of France went to Versailles on October 5 and 6, 1789 to protest against the shortage of bread and high prices. They forcibly entered the apartment of Queen Marie Antoinette. The King and the Constituent Assembly shifted from Versailles to Paris since the people demanded it.

The Constituent Assembly on 21 October 1789 passed a law to use armed force to put down the demonstrations. Workers Unions and strikes were prohibited by the passing of Le Chapelier's law on 14 June 1789. But the rising discontent could not be quelled by the big bourgeoisie.



Fig. 2.6 Maximilien Robespierre

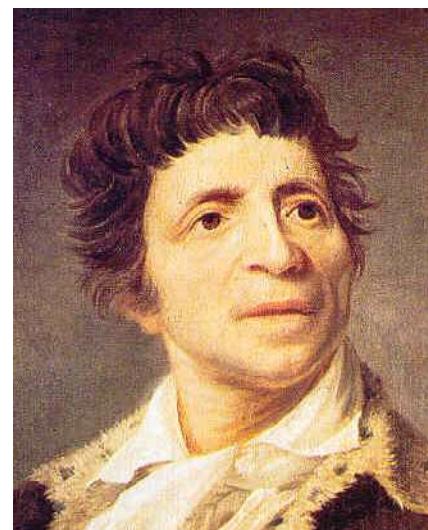


Fig. 2.7 Jean-Paul Marat

Revolutionaries like Maximilien Robespierre (Figure 2.6) and Jean-Paul Marat (Figure 2.7) revealed to the people the true nature of the big bourgeoisie who were anti-democratic in their policies. The counter revolutionary group was not willing to accept defeat. Marie Antoinette encouraged European Monarchs to launch a military attack on France.

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8. The Varennes Crisis

The King and Queen who disguised themselves and tried to flee abroad in June 1791 were caught in the small town of Varennes and were brought back to Paris. The French people, who were all for the revolution and yet trusted their King, could not accept this deceit of his and so more people began to opt for a republican form of government.

However, the Constituent Assembly continuing to support the king gave out a false report saying he was kidnapped and Louis was given back his earlier powers. The democratic circles in Paris were furious. A serious agitation for a republic began in a number of political clubs. On 17 July, a huge peaceful demonstration against the monarchy took place on Champ-de-Mars. The assembly ordered squads of the national guards under the command of La Fayette to be sent to disperse the crowd. They opened fire and a large number of people were wounded and killed. This carnage signalled an open split in the ranks of the Third Estate. The big bourgeoisie began to defend itself by using arms against the people. Conservative elements in the assembly were now busy in counter-revolutionary action. On the eve of the massacre on Champ-de-Mars, there was a split among the Jacobins. The right wing gathered around La Fayette. The other leaders of the big bourgeoisie walked out of the club and set up a new club—the Feuillants.

The most influential club Jacobins split on the eve of the massacre and the right wing was headed by La Fayette. A new club—the Feuillants—was set up by the other leaders of the big bourgeoisie. Robespierre and Brissot took over the leadership of Jacobins intending to put an end to the revolution. A constitution drafted by the assembly, which made provisions for constitutional monarchy and instituted anti-democratic electoral qualifications, was signed by the King on 13 September. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on 30 September.

9. The Overthrow of the Monarchy

A new legislative assembly elected only by ‘active citizens’ came to power on 1 October 1791 and power was in the hands of only the Feuillants. A war against Austria was declared on 20 April 1792 by France. The war seemed to be an answer to Louis XVI and his courtiers who hoped that foreign invasion would help save the ‘shaky monarchy’. The war had also been planned by the European monarchs in order to suppress the revolution in France. Robespierre and Marat who were not in favour of the war pointed out that it was imperative to quell the revolution at home before dealing with it elsewhere. Brissot and his supporter known as the Girondins favoured the war and a clash erupted between the supporters of Robespierre and the Girondins. The Girondins were asked to take over power in March 1792 by the King. The Girondins made use of the power to hasten the war for quick easy victories. But the French were defeated and Feuillants came to power. Victories by the revolutionary army were totally opposed by La Fayette and his generals. The armies of Austria and Prussia were able to defeat the French army as they were secretly helped by Queen Marie-Antoinette who informed them of the plans of the French army. At this critical hour, people rose to their defence of the homeland. Robespierre, Marat and Danton said that it was important to conduct it in a

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revolutionary manner. The Jacobins, the main support of the revolution, pointed out that there was no possibility of any progress if treachery at home was not dealt with. A state of emergency was declared on 11 June by a law passed by the legislative assembly. The people wholeheartedly enlisted this decree since they were eager to bar the way to the interventionist. The battle hymn, the *Marseillaise*, was sung and also became popular during this period. It was during this revolution that people learnt that the legislative assembly and the government were incapable of dealing with treachery. Plots and criminal conspiracies were conspired in the courts and they became treacherous only because the people rose against them. People of Paris and the Provinces demanded the overthrow of Louis XVI from July onwards. The sound of bells together with the canon shots was once again heard on the night of 9 August. The army marched into Tuileries. Though the Swiss guards opened fire, the people forcibly made their way into the palace. The imprisonment of King Louis the XVI and the dismissal of his ministers on 10 August 1792 heralded the collapse of the French monarchy and the provincial executive council. Consequently, a new government comprising mainly of Girondins was established. New elections for the next national convention were announced.

10. The Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins

The 10 August 1792 uprising brought in new developments. Power was transferred to the Girondins from the Feuillants both in the legislative assembly and the government. The commercial, industrial and landowning bourgeoisie from the provinces were represented by the Girondins and their leaders Brissot, Roland, Vergniaud and others. Though this group was against feudal aristocracy, once they came to power they believed that the main ideal of the revolution had been achieved and soon began to represent the conservative force. In the meantime, the Jacobins who comprised of that section of the people, whose demands had not been satisfied, were still not united in their ideals. While the various classes and class groups of this block did not have the same aims, they resolved to defend the revolution and further its progress until all the demands had been fully satisfied. Content with the results that had been achieved the Girondins sought to check the revolutionary tide.

Amidst celebration of the victory over the Prussians and their withdrawal the day before the battle at Valmy, the opening session of the convention was held on 2 September 1792. The King was tried before the convention. The trial which should have lasted until January 1793 became an arena for struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins. Louis XVI was sent to the guillotine on 21 January 1793 despite the saving efforts of the Girondins. The counter-revolutionary coalition was joined by England, Spain, Holland and a number of German and Italian states and Russia. France found that all of Europe was against it. Emboldened by the victory at Valmy, the French advanced into Belgium after driving out the interventionist. But the French began to retreat after General Dumouriez joined the enemy camp by plotting with the Girondins and betraying France. France was once again invaded by the interventionist.

11. The Uprising of 31 May–2 June, 1793

An acute food shortage was faced by France due to the long war. The war had led to material damage and loss of life. France was cut off from other countries and the economy of the country was in a mess. To counteract hunger and poverty, the government had to curtail prices and had a firm hold on speculation. Agitators such as Jacques Roux, Varlet voiced the interests of the urban poor. In the villages, the peasantry still bound by feudal duties and taxes began to protest against these grievances.

The Girondins turned a ‘deaf ear’ and a ‘blind eye’ to the people’s plight. They concentrated all their energies on their struggle with the Jacobins. They were neither interested in the suffering of the people, nor in the situation at the war front. An armed rebellion against the Girondins was organized by the Jacobins and the agitators. The Jacobins were in power once again after the mob in Paris drove out 29 Girondin deputies out of the convention.

2.2.3 Aims of the New Constitution

The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aims of establishing a government which is a ‘welfare state’. The same was the aim of the constitution, which was worked out by the Constituent Assembly.

National Convention (1792–1795)

To provide a new constitution to the country, the deputies elected the Convention Nationale (National Convention) on 10 August 1791 after monarchy was abolished. After verifying powers the 371 deputies who met at the Tuileries Palace, Paris, on 20 September 1792, called themselves the National Convention. The abolition of kingship in France was announced by the Convention. After the establishment of the republic was announced, it was said that from then on all public acts would bear the date of the first year of the French Republic.

The battle between the Montagnards and the Girondins, the two opposing revolutionary groups, dominated the first phase of the Convention. The Montagnards wanted to give the lower classes more political power. The Girondins who wanted a republican government by the bourgeoisie also wanted to reduce the powers of Paris over the revolution. They also rejected the anti-revolutionary European coalition. The revolutionaries expelled the Girondins from the convention. The second phase of the convention (June 1793–July 1794) was controlled by the Montagnards. The war and the revolts in the country resulted in a revolutionary government with autocratic powers. As a result, the constitution approved by the convention on 24 January 1793 was neither put into action, nor could it pass any act. It could only approve the suggestions made by the committee. Counter acting the committee’s progressive procedures many members of the Convention participated in ousting Robespierre—prominent member of the committee. The moderate deputies of La Plaine now held the balance of power. The Montagnards having been expelled the Girondins were recalled to the assembly. The replacement of the constitution in place of the bourgeoisie-dominated directory 1795–99 was accepted by the convention in August 1795. The last meeting of the convention was held on 26 October 1795. Philippe-Jacques Ruhl, the eldest deputy, presided over the first meeting of the convention in 20 September 1792. But a majority of deputies elected Jerome Petion de Villeneuve first president after the convention was constituted. According to the regulations of the Committee, the president’s term of office was 15 days. Though he could not hold office for two consecutive terms, he was eligible to be re-elected after an interval of 15 days.

The elections were normally conducted in the session held in the evening and the president was expected to chair the next meeting though at times he was expected to officiate immediately. The president was just a figurehead for there was more emphasis on his post than his authority. Thus, he was reduced to being just a presiding officer at the meetings of the convention for a short term. The tentative suspension of the King was announced by the legislative assembly when the Parisians attacked Tuileries demanding the abolition of monarchy. It also decreed that the national convention be

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convened to draw up a constitution. Twenty-five year old landed French men who had been living in France for a year were to be elected as deputies to the convention. The National Convention was the first French assembly to have had elections by universal voting with no class distinction. The convention lowered the age limit of voting to 21 and fixed the eligibility of standing for elections at 25 years. A decision was also taken to date all documents from the year of the French Republic. But the convention was fated to last for 3 years and a new constitution was to be set up only when peace reigned. The convention took over the executive power though it was only a law making body. This confusion of powers helped in empowering the revolutionary government, which was very active during the ‘Reign of Terror’.

The sessions of the convention were held in the Hall of the Tuileries, in the hall Manege and finally in the huge Hall of Spectacles. There were 749 deputies in the convention, but only a section arrived in France. Many could not attend the sessions due to a number of reasons and this made it difficult to find out the number of deputies present at a given date. On an average, only 250 voted during the Reign of Terror. The members of the Convention were drawn from all classes of society, but the most number of members were from the legal profession. Seventy-five members had sat in the Constituent Assembly and 183 sat in the Legislative Assembly.

According to the rules laid down by the convention, its president was elected every fortnight and re-election was allowed after a fortnight. The sessions of the convention were normally held in the morning. But sessions were frequent even in the evening and it extended late into the night. In some exceptional circumstances, it was a permanent session and they sat for several days without interruption. For the purposes of both legislation and administration, the convention used committees. Powers were widely extended and regulated by a series of laws. These committees-public safety, general security and education were the most famous. The work of the convention was extensive in all branches of public affairs. France was saved from a Civil War and invasion from foreign powers by the assembly. The system of public education (Museum, Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Ecole des Langues orientales, Conservatoire) and institutions of great importance (Grand Livre de la dette publique) was established by the assembly. In addition to these, some major changes were carried out in the land sale-purchase rules.

Working Towards a Constitution

Abolition of Feudalism to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: Feudalism was eradicated by the National Constituent Assembly on 4 August 1789. A declaration of the rights of the man and of the citizen was published by the assembly on 24 August. But the declaration contained only a statement of principles. It did not read like a constitution with legal effect. Besides functioning as a legislature, the Assembly acted as a body to write out a new constitution and it was primarily summoned to find a solution to deal with financial crisis, but it started attending to other matters and ended up in increasing the fiscal deficit.

The Revolution and the Church

The aftermath of revolution saw power changing hands in a colossal way. Under the Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a lot of power. It owned 10 per cent of the land belonging to the Kingdom, and it was not levied any tax by the government. Huguenots, the Protestants minorities, did not approve of the Roman Catholics having so much power and wealth. As the Catholic Church did not favour them, they wanted a

Non-Catholic regime. Great Enlightenment thinkers, notably Voltaire, made this resentment grow in strength by defaming the Church and making the French Monarchy shaky. Due to this, the church lost much of its power during the opening of Estates General in May 1789. The church, composing the First Estate with 1,30,000 of clergy members, voted to join the National Assembly created by the Third Estate in June 1789. Thus, it destroyed the Estate General as a governing body. Social and economic reforms were started by the National Assembly and on 4 August 1789. It brought out a legislature that abolished the Church's authority to impose tithe. On 7 August 1789, in an attempt to overcome the financial crisis, the Assembly announced that the property of the church was at the disposal of the nation. The new currency the Assignats was duly backed up by the property and the nation took the overall responsibility of the Church, like paying the clergy members and caring for the poor, the sick and the orphans. In two years, the Assembly brought down the value of the Assignats by 25 per cent by selling the lands to the highest bidders.

Constitutional Crisis

The Tuileries palace was attacked by the revolutionaries, who were aided and abetted by a new insurrectionary commune. The Swiss guards who were on duty to protect the King were murdered en masse. The royal family was taken prisoners and a session was convened by some unimportant members of the National Assembly and the monarchy was suspended. The deputies, mostly Jacobins, were only present. Now, the National government, or whatever that was left of it, depended on the Revolutionary commune. The commune took law and order in their hands and sent gangs of ruffians to the prisons to conduct token trials and butcher the prisoners. They also sent a circular letter to the cities to follow their example. The Assembly was almost powerless to stop this anarchy and the reign of terror prevailed until mid-September 1792. The Convention met on September 20 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On September 21, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.

2.2.4 Significance of the Revolution

The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. Almost 20,00,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.

The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class. This assertion is challenged in the present-day analysis, but it is clear the men of property in spite of social background benefited from the Revolution. Women, not considering their rank, did not profit much from the Revolution and continued to be restricted to the private sphere.

In economic terms, the peasants profited from the end of the last remains of feudalism. But the confusion of the Revolution impeded the industrialization of France.

The major inheritance of the Revolution was in the sphere of politics. The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics. The Revolution brought about a massive growth of the power of government and gave it superior control over everyday life of its citizens. The Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies—liberalism and nationalism.

The most tangible results of the French Revolution were almost certainly achieved in 1789–91, when land was set free from traditional burdens and the old communal

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society was wrapped up. This ‘abolition of feudalism’ encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors. The bourgeoisie that acquired social preponderance during the Directory and the Consulate was chiefly comprised officials and landed proprietors, and though the war enabled some entrepreneurs and contractors to make fortunes, it hindered economic development. The great reforms of 1789–91 however established a durable administrative and legal system, and much of the revolutionaries’ work in humanizing the law itself was afterward incorporated in the Napoleonic Code.

Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed. However, between 1789 and 1799, democracy failed. Recurrent elections bred apathy, and filling offices by recommendation became everyday event, even before Napoleon made it organized. The Jacobins’ fraternal and Jacobin controlled community ended in 1794, the direct democracy of the sans-culottes was squashed in 1795, and the republic expired in 1804; however, as principles they carried on to motivate French politics and keep right and left, church and state, far at a distance.

The Revolution nonetheless freed the state from its medieval past, releasing such unparalleled power that the revolutionaries could defy the rest of Europe. Furthermore, that power acknowledged no self-control: in 1793 unity was imposed on the nation by the Terror. Europe and the world have ever since been learning what violations of liberty can issue from the ideas of national autonomy and the will of the people.

Historians extensively regard the Revolution as one of the most significant events in human history, and the end of the early modern period, which started around 1500, is usually attributed to the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the ‘dawn of the modern era’. In France itself, the Revolution enduringly crippled the power of the aristocracy and depleted the wealth of the Church, though the two institutions survived in spite of the damage they sustained. After the disintegration of the First Empire in 1815, the French public lost the rights and freedoms earned since the Revolution, but they kept in mind the concept of the participatory politics, which characterized the period, with one historian commenting: ‘Thousands of men and even many women gained first-hand experience in the political arena: they talked, read and listened in new ways; they voted; they joined new organizations; and they marched for their political goals. Revolution became a tradition, and republicanism an enduring option.’

Some historians debate that the French people underwent a deep-seated transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the abolition of privileges and their substitution by rights as well as the growing decline in social esteem that highlighted the law of equality throughout the Revolution. Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

Check Your Progress

1. What did the peasants who were in despair do which was one of the causes of the French Revolution?
2. Name the theorists who put forward the ideas of ‘equality’ and ‘freedom of the individual’ among the French citizens.
3. Name the revolution and the political leader who were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution.

2.3 NAPOLEON AS A REFORMER

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes. France stood in the centre of the course of events in Europe. The

French Revolution and the subsequent era of Napoleonic Wars brought about profound changes that shaped new Europe. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state. In 1793, the French Republic was established. These changes necessarily provoked reaction from old European monarchies. European monarchs were particularly afraid that revolutionary ideas would be ‘exported’ from France. In spite of political and military interventions, the ideas of the Revolution were spread across Europe. These ideas attracted numerous supporters among intellectuals and artists. Same kind of reactions also provoked the person like Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1799, he became the First Consul in France and announced the end of the Revolution and chaos. Although he was a ‘child of the Revolution’, he made certain changes that surprised many of his supporters. In 1801, he negotiated the Concordat with the Catholic Church; in 1804, he made himself the Emperor of France. This event shocked many of his contemporaries as he seemingly denied the ideas of the Revolution.

The regime in France was not democratic at all; it was not democratic even during the revolutionary years. It was so because Napoleon acted as an autocrat. He was strictly against any possible opposition. He swept away the Holy Roman Empire and created numerous satellite states. Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also for the fact that ‘Bonaparte was founding new Italian republics in which the ideals of the Revolution would be put into practise’. Although he seemingly ‘exported’ the Revolution, his rule was strongly centralized. He would never permit any resistance. To add to this, the annexed states served him mostly as sources of supplies of any kind for his military campaigns. Due to these wars, France had to face several anti-Napoleonic coalitions and Bonaparte emerged as the main threat for European monarchies.

Early Life and Career

Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815. Napoleon (Figure 2.8), at the age of 25, had been expelled from the army. He was disgraced, hopeless and suicidal. Within one year, he became the youngest general in France, and started winning battles with ragged troops who were at the verge of malnourishment. Madame Germaine de Staél, a writer and intellectual, says: ‘He was like an expert chess player, with the human race for an opponent, which he proposed to checkmate.’



Fig. 2.8 Napoleon Bonaparte

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Napoleon belonged to the Jacobin club. His father was a poor noble. Napoleon joined the Jacobins for the reason that, as he wrote in a letter to his brother, ‘Since one must choose sides, one might as well choose the side that is victorious, the side which devastates, loots and burns. Considering the alternative, it is better to eat than be eaten.’

Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as France’s leading military leader. He defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians. The Austrian Hapsburgs wanted to re-establish the rule of the monarchs. Napoleon was defeated in Egypt; however, he did not let the news of the worst losses reach France. He sent people to study Egypt’s history, and they found out the Rosetta Stone. Napoleon wished to set up a base there so that France could assault England in both Africa and India.

After a victory at Austerlitz, he declared that he would adopt the children of all the soldiers. It was due to this announcement that Napoleon gained the love of the French people. He then asked the state to shell out money for the children’s support and education, organize marriages for the girls and get jobs for the boys; he allowed them all to add Napoleon to their names.

In November 1799, in a coup d’etat, Napoleon overthrew the Directory. Although France was to remain a Republic, he appointed himself the First Consul for Life by proclaiming, ‘I am no ordinary man’. In 1804, people decided and voted for him to become the Emperor. Napoleon requested the Pope to preside over his coronation. He took the crown from the Pope’s hands and placed it on his own head to show that he owed his throne to nobody (Figure 2.9).



Fig. 2.9 Coronation of Napoleon

Napoleon was a great Leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry. The slogans of the new regime order, security and efficiency replaced liberty, equality and fraternity.

Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon used the radical vocabulary of the revolution. He presented himself as an ally of the common man and encouraged the motto ‘equality of opportunity’. However, as a ruler, he was authoritarian. He held cautiously orchestrated elections to legitimize his

political initiatives. He retained representative institutions but rendered them useless. He can best be viewed as an heir to or child of the Revolution in the context that he continued to centralize the French state and carried out the expansion of France and the spread of the Revolution to other Europe countries.

Napoleon and the French State

After acquiring power, Napoleon set out to consolidate the French state by establishing a well-organized and centralized bureaucracy and a uniform legal system. He also worked hard to settle the conflict between the Church and state that had emerged during the French Revolution.

To decide the dispute between the Church and state, Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823). The Pope abandoned all claims to the property confiscated by the Revolution, agreed that the clergy would take an oath of loyalty to the state and agreed not to employ bishops without previous approval of the French government. Against this, Napoleon recognized Catholic Christianity as the religion of the maximum number of Frenchmen and decided to pay the salaries of the clergy. When the French fundamentalists called ideologues objected even to the few concessions Napoleon had made to the Pope, he declared that the clergy read government verdicts from the pulpit and made the church a department of state.

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Legal system

Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806. With this, he guaranteed the following:

- Rights to private property
- Equality before the law
- Freedom of religion

Napoleon gave every man the control of family by denying women the right to inherit, buy or sell property. He also centralized the bureaucracy. All power rested in the hands of the officials in Paris where the ministers of the government supervised a vast bureaucracy. In the departments, a *prefect* appointed by the central government enforced orders from Paris, conscripted soldiers, accumulated taxes and looked over the public works.

Napoleon established a new order of non-hereditary nobles to reward good service. These officials were called *notables* and gained their status because of their talent.

2.3.1 Defence of National Convention, Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy

In 1795, Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader. It was the occasion when he successfully defended the National Convention against an attack by the mob by employing and using his artillery. He succeeded in saving the Convention from collapse and completely obliterated its enemies. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.

In 1796–97, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame. Thereafter, he decided to proceed against Egypt and Syria with a view to strike at the heart of the British Empire.

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The idea received full support from the Directors, who considered Napoleon's presence in Paris as highly dangerous and saw it to their advantage to send him to Egypt on a military adventure. However, Napoleon's ambitions received a shattering blow when his forces suffered a defeat at the hands of Lord Nelson in the Battle of Nile. Therefore, Napoleon was forced to make his way back to France.

Napoleon's Problems

Napoleon faced the following problems when he reached at the peak of his might:

- Britain was very powerful as it had gathered the support of allies to beat France. Eventually, their collective forces beat Napoleon at Trafalgar. He gave up the thought of invading Britain. French troops were intercepted by Horatio Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.
- Spain and Germany assaulted on France. Spain used guerrilla tactics. Napoleon lost 3,00,000 men. He handed over the throne of Spain to his brother, and made changes in the religion. The Spanish did not like it, and when the French cruelly tried to crush the revolts, the Spanish got even crazier.
- Napoleon attacked Russia in 1812. During September 1812, he arrived at the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 6,14,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.

Reforms

The Napoleonic era saw reforms in many spheres. Let us discuss them one by one.

Legal reforms

In 1804, Napoleon reformed the French legal system. The system of law was in a highly disturbed state. Laws were not codified and were formed on the Roman law, ancient custom or monarchial paternalism. During the Revolution, several laws were altered. It was easier said than done to decide what law applied in a particular situation, and laws were not uniformly applied to everyone.

The muddle of laws were codified and written noticeably in order that the people could decide what law applied. It included much of the Roman law. For the very first time in history, the law was based on logic and founded on the concept that all men were equal before the law. It assured individual rights (except for women and blacks) and the protection of property. In short, it codified the various ideals of the Revolution. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.

Governmental reforms

Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. The taxes were applied to all evenly.

Educational reforms

Napoleon built several new lycées (the lycée is the second, and last, stage of secondary education in the French educational system), schools for boys of age 10 to 16. He

identified the significance of education in producing citizens competent for filling positions in his administration and military. Although he did not build a system of mass education, education was more accessible to the middle class than previously. At a meeting in 1807, he declared:

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all, we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mould.

He assumed education as a means of indoctrinating ‘right-thinking’ citizens from an initial age. He did not think about the need to educate girls, because they could learn everything they needed from their mothers. They were not supposed to be active citizens of the country.

Foreign Policy

Napoleon contributed to administrative reforms in the European countries. He introduced far-reaching reforms in France to strengthen the administration. Some of the reforms introduced by him included recruitment to government posts on the basis of merit; establishment of a common system of law to assure equality to all French Citizens; religious freedom to all citizens; and improvement in the system of judicial administration.

These reforms were so popular that the successors of Napoleon could not diverge from them. Even the people of other European countries were attracted by these reforms and tried to copy his administrative system in their country. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:

- Holland
- Belgium
- Spain
- Federal State of Rhine
- The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
- Switzerland
- Italy

In most of these countries, feudalism and serfdom were totally abolished and the citizens were assured full religious freedom. They also significantly borrowed from Napoleon’s legal code. No wonder the reforms introduced by Napoleon in France were gradually introduced in other European countries.

Napoleon, to a great extent, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. In his enthusiasm to make France a great nation, he brought a number of other European countries like Spain, Germany, Portugal, Prussia, under his control.

The French soldiers by their presence in these countries taught the people that nation was above everything else and no sacrifice was big enough for the cause of the nation. It was this spirit of nationalism that ultimately inspired the people of various European countries to rise against Napoleon and assert their independence.

Finally, Napoleon unconsciously contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy. He contributed to the unification of Germany by amalgamating a number of small

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German states into a federal unit and providing them an excellent system of administration. Thus, he taught the Germans first lessons of unity which ultimately culminated in the unification of Germany in 1870.

Similarly, he also promoted the spirit of national unity among the Italians by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. Foscolo, the Great Italian poet, has described Napoleon as the liberator of Italy.

Thus, we can say that despite enormous loss of human lives, which was caused due to military adventures of Napoleon, his rule proved to be a boon for the countries of Europe insofar as he implanted the principles of French Revolution, encouraged the growth of democracy, provided impetus to reforms, promoted nationalism and contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy.

2.3.2 Napoleon as the First Consulate and Emperor

As you have read that Napoleon saved the Directory from the anger of the mob, he got a chance to hold some power and participation in the administration. He thus drafted the Constitution of the Year VIII and secured his own election as the First Consul. Thereafter, he decided to reside within the Tuileries. This made Bonaparte the most influential person in France.

The First Consul

In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered Italy. Here, French forces had been almost entirely driven out by the Austrians whilst he was in Egypt. The war started badly for the French after he made strategic errors; one force was left besieged at Genoa but managed to hold out and thereby occupy Austrian resources. This effort and French general Louis Desaix's appropriate reinforcements, permitted Napoleon to avoid defeat and to triumph over the Austrians in June at the important Battle of Marengo. His brother Joseph negotiated peace in Lunéville and concluded that Austria, supported by the British, would not recognize France's newly gained territory. As negotiations became more and more fractious, Napoleon ordered one more to strike at Austria. France emerged victorious. As a result, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed in February 1801; the French gains of the Treaty of Campo Formio were reaffirmed and increased.

Emperor of France

Also, around this time, Napoleon became the Consul for life and soon after, he was crowned Emperor of France. However, as emperor, he still had several issues such as the revolt in Haiti. Besides losing this war, Napoleon was defeated.

The Royalists and Jacobins plotted against Napoleon when he became France's ruler. These plots included the Conspiracy des poignards (Dagger plot) in October 1800 and the Plot of the rue Saint-Nicaise (also famous as the infernal machine) two months later. In January 1804, the police of Napoleon came to know and averted an assassination plot against him that involved Moreau. It was apparently sponsored by the Bourbon former rulers of France. On the recommendation of Talleyrand, Napoleon ordered the kidnapping of Louis Antoine, Duke of Enghien, in infringement of neighbouring Baden's autonomy. After a covert trial, the Duke was executed, even though he had not been engaged in the plot.

On the basis of the assassination plot, Napoleon justified the recreation of a hereditary monarchy in France, with himself as the emperor, saying that a Bourbon

reinstatement would be tricky if the Bonapartist succession was entrenched in the constitution. Napoleon crowned himself as Emperor Napoleon I on 2 December 1804 at Notre Dame de Paris and then crowned Joséphine as the Empress. At Milan Cathedral on 26 May 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He established eighteen Marshals of the Empire from amongst his top generals to secure the loyalty of the army.

2.3.3 War against Russia and Defeat of Napoleon

The Congress of Erfurt decided to protect the Russo-French coalition, and the leaders had a gracious personal relationship after their first meeting at Tilsit in 1807. However by 1811, tensions had built up and Alexander, the Russian Emperor, was under pressure from the Russian nobility to call the alliance off. An initial symbol that showed that the ties had deteriorated was the Russian's virtual desertion of the Continental System, which resulted in Napoleon threatening Alexander with grave consequences if he formed a coalition with Britain. By 1812, Alexander's advisors advised on a possibility of an invasion of the French Empire and the recapture of Poland. After receiving intelligence reports on Russia's war groundwork, Napoleon expanded his Grande Armée to more than 4,50,000 men. He ignored repeated suggestions against an incursion of the Russian heartland and organized for an offensive campaign; on 23 June 1812, the invasion started.

In an effort to gain increased support from Polish nationalists and patriots, Napoleon named the war 'the Second Polish War'; the First Polish War was the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768. Polish patriots wished for the Russian portion of Poland to be joined with the Duchy of Warsaw and an independent Poland established. This demand was rejected by Napoleon. He states that he had promised his ally Austria that this would not take place. He refused to manumit the Russian serfs due to concerns like this might incite a reaction in his army's rear. The serfs later assigned atrocities against French soldiers during France's retreat.

The Russians foiled Napoleon's aim of a decisive engagement and rather retreated deeper into Russia. A short attempt at resistance was made at Smolensk in August; the Russians were overpowered in a series of battles, and Napoleon resumed his move forward. The Russians again prevented battle, however, at a few places, this was only achieved because Napoleon unusually hesitated to attack when the opportunity arose. Due to the Russian army's scorched earth tactics, the French found it very difficult to forage food for themselves and their horses.

The Russians finally offered battle outside Moscow on 7 September: The Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead, wounded or captured, and may have been the bloodiest day of battle in history up to that point in time. However, the French had won, the Russian army had recognized, and withstood the major war Napoleon had hoped would be decisive. According to Napoleon, 'The most terrible of all my battles was the one before Moscow. The French showed themselves to be worthy of victory, but the Russians showed themselves worthy of being invincible.'

Defeat of Napoleon

The Russian army retreated back and left Moscow city. Napoleon entered the city, thinking its fall would end the battle and Alexander would come to negotiate peace. However, on orders of Fyodor Rostopchin, the city's governor, instead of capitulation Moscow was burned. After a month, thinking about the loss of control back in France, Napoleon and his army left (Figure 2.10). Thus, Napoleon could not win the war; however,

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by the time of his return, the harshest winter had set in. Due to this, more than half of his remaining army died on the way to France. He was terribly defeated in this war and never ever could recover from the losses.

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Fig. 2.10 Napoleon Returns from Russia

The French suffered greatly in the course of a ruinous retreat, including from the harshness of the Russian Winter. The Armée had begun as over 4,00,000 frontline troops, but in the end fewer than 40,000 crossed the Berezina River in November 1812. The Russians had lost 1,50,000 in battle and hundreds of thousands of civilians.

The Downfall of Napoleon

Defeat in the war with Russia changed the fortunes of Napoleon. This prompted the other European powers to form a coalition and defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. Due to more defeats by the Austrians in Italy and the British in Spain, Napoleon relinquished his crown in April 1814. The French government was handed over to King Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Louis XVIII restored the White Flag of the Bourbons and recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion; however, he did not alter many changes that were incorporated due to the Revolution. Despite Louis XVIII's attempts at conciliation, Napoleon remained extremely popular. In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in South Atlantic and died there in 1821. Louis XVIII retained the French throne and France was permitted to retain the borders of 1790.

Factors that led to the Defeat of Napoleon

It is just not possible to point out every factor that resulted in Napoleon's defeat. However, among the main causes of his defeat, the following can be pointed out:

- Napoleon never had adequate naval power. Even after the Battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Navy, which was dominant for many years before, was almost unchallenged. Napoleon's lack of sea power meant that the French danger of invasion to Britain was done away with.
- Without sufficient naval power, Napoleon's Continental System had several loopholes. This system became a far greater burden to the nations that fell under Napoleon's control instead of to Britain, whose natural resources backed her wealth and authority to increase quickly during these years, in spite of her considerable losses to privateers and the numerous bankruptcies.

- Napoleon's catastrophic Moscow campaign of 1812 had its origins in Alexander's denial to carry on his support of the Continental System in his effort to manage the whole coastline of Europe.
- Thereafter, Napoleon attacked both Spain and Portugal. He misjudged the national resistance to him in both these countries.
- He also made a serious miscalculation after British forces had entered Portugal under Wellesley in 1808. British sea power was once again of vital significance in this case.
- The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes de Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812. The French never recovered from these defeats.
- Nationalism had its maximum support from the middle class Europeans which was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and Continental System.
- After 1807, Napoleon's judgment declined; for instance, he believed that Moscow was the heart of Russia and that to confine it would result in Russian defeat. This was of course proven wrong.

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2.3.4 Impact of Napoleon

There are very few examples of men who have dominated an age; Napoleon is one of them. He had many characteristics that made him great, such as:

- He was charismatic.
- He was a master psychologist and politician.
- He was ambitious to the point of self-destruction.

He started wars that resulted in vast devastation and a new political order. He shaped his times, but was also a product of his times as he went with the currents of his respective history and adeptly diverted those currents to suit his own requirements. However, he ultimately failed in his venture.

To a great extent, Napoleon's career was the outcome of the military and political forces, which he obtained from the Revolution and mended for his own aims. In military affairs, he was lucky to take over the military improvements that came into fashion during the French Revolution such as mass conscription, which made feasible the use of block tactics to attack in column and get rid of the need for supply lines, thus making French armies highly mobile. Therefore, the two main features of Napoleonic warfare—massed firepower and mobility—were previously present when he began his career. However, it was Napoleon's brilliance that knew how to use them efficiently in his first Italian campaign against the Austrians.

Politically, France had suffered a complete decade of revolutionary chaos by 1799, rendering the government unsteady and corrupt. Church policies were disliked, principally since they had triggered uncontrolled inflation. People were sick of this chaos and desired a more stable government that would render their lives more secure. Thus, the interaction of military innovations that made Napoleon a national hero and the desire for a strong, secure government that Napoleon assured resulted in his seizure of power in 1799. More military victories against the Austrians in Italy permitted him to strengthen his position of power and he declared himself the emperor of France in 1804.

Napoleon was also a very active administrator. His internal reforms did a great deal in consolidating a few accomplishments of the French Revolution and suppressing

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others. One way to review his government of France is to look at how it conformed to the revolutionary motto: ‘Liberty, fraternity (i.e., nationalism), and equality’. For political and civil liberties, Napoleon mainly suppressed them with firm censorship and the organization of a virtual police state to protect his authority.

However, Napoleon saw equality as a politically practical idea that he could keep up with little threat to his power. After all, everyone, at least all men, were equally under his power. One of his main achievements as a ruler was the institution of the Napoleonic Civil Law Codes, which made all men equal under the law. At the same time, these codes maintained men’s legal power over women.

Napoleon saw nationalism as crucial to maintaining the faithfulness of the French people to his government. After all, it was the fortitude of nationalism that had inspired its armies in an extraordinary series of victories that had in particular benefited Napoleon and permitted his rise to power. For Napoleon, the trick was to establish a personality cult around himself so that the French people would recognize him with France itself and thus make loyalty to him comparable to the loyalty to France. Though, by identifying public loyalty with one man, Napoleon unintentionally weakened the inspiring force of nationalism and thus his own authority.

In general, Napoleon’s internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns. Naturally, he founded his style of rule in the countries he won. However, he incorrectly thought that the administrative and legal changes of the Revolution he carried to the rest of European countries could be separated from the concepts of Nationalism and Liberalism (liberty and equality) that had offered those reforms life and substance. Thus, Napoleon’s imperial rule unintentionally promoted these concepts of nationalism and liberalism.

Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century. Europeans took these concepts, along with the influential new technologies set free by the Industrial Revolution, to set up colonies all over the globe by 1900. Paradoxically, these European powers, like Napoleon became victims to the power of these concepts when their subjects used them in their own freedom struggles after the Second World War.

2.4 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to the twenty-five years of war. Napoleon’s eastward march to Russia spelled his doom. The strong French army of 4,22,000 soldiers was left to die in the harsh winter of Russia in 1812. Though Napoleon managed to return home with 30,000 troops, Paris was lost in 1814 and Napoleon had to flee.

The Allies (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) began negotiations and realignment of European territories even though Napoleon made a dramatic return to rule France for a Hundred Days (March–July, 1815). The Congress signed the Final Act (the Second Peace of Paris) nine days before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.

The fall of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult situations for diplomats of the time. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly

Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.

- (a) The _____ Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.
- (b) In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered into _____.

5. State whether the following statements are true/false.

- (a) Napoleon faced a revolt in Haiti.
- (b) Napoleon was a very active administrator.

affected by his enterprises, all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. Present were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.

2.4.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress

The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, returned to his throne, and Genoa was returned to him. There was a general understanding that the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the re-arrangement of Europe. That is to say, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should be restored. However, this principle was ignored according to the suitability of the allied powers.

Demands of Russia

The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given back to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the 18th century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus, largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian emperor was to be the King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere. She, therefore, fixed her attention upon the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation. Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria, England and France opposed them stoutly. The latter even agreed to go to war to prevent the aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia

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should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coastline on the Baltic.

Russian acquisitions

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Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks, also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po Valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.



Fig. 2.11 A Portrait of the Vienna Congress

Source: <http://pub.uvm.dk/2008/democracycanon/images/figur25.jpg>

English acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.

The Map of Italy

French Revolution and its
Aftermath

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, and as princes, connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also re-established.

No union or federation of these states was affected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, a geographical expression, and such it was.

Changes in the map of Europe

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these:

- Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden
- Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all
- The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.



Fig. 2.12 Map of Europe.

Source: <http://edtech2.boisestate.edu/lockwoodm/FrenchRev/images/CongVien.jpg>

Character of the Congress

The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their desires, disposing of it as it were their personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. There could be no 'settlement' because they ignored the factors that alone would make

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the settlement permanent. The history of Europe, after 1815, was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

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Criticism of the Congress

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavours. Phrases, such as ‘the reconstruction of the social order’, ‘the regeneration of the political system of Europe’ durable peace based upon a just division of power were used by the diplomats of Vienna to impress the people of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage. But the people were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of people, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

2.4.2 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies—Prussia and Austria—which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign.

The document stated that it was the intention of the powers, henceforth, to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the ‘holy allies’.

The Quadruple Alliance

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and

the needs of Europe. The Congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

2.4.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)

Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as ‘era of Metternich’ and ‘system of Metternich’. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomats, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born ‘to prop up the decaying structure’ of European society. He felt the world rested on his shoulders.

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Fig. 2.13 Klemens Wenzel von Metternich

‘My position has this peculiarity’ he says, ‘that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be.’ He asked such questions as, ‘Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?’ He admitted at the end of a long career that he had ‘never strayed from the path of eternal law’, that his mind had ‘never entertained error’. He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long role was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in violent and lurid phrases. It was ‘the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with open jaws to

NOTES

swallow up the social order'. He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself God's lieutenant in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. He regarded the talks of liberty, equality and constitutions as pestilential. He defied himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced he was the resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence and aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only 'change daylight into darkest night'. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the center of the European stage.

2.4.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815

The Battle of Waterloo, remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome. Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened.

The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly Germany, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north, Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (modyorz), originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the 9th century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians in eastern Hungary.

Austria, a land of the old regime

To rule twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792-1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on different factors. Of these, the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service and got enormous exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the mass of the people, lived in deplorable conditions. They even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Condition of Austria in 1815 was that of absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, and oppression and misery for the masses.

The police system

It was the purpose of the government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848). During this period, Metternich was the chief minister. His system, 'at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit', rested upon a meddlesome police, an elaborate espionage system, and a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship was applied to theatres, newspapers and books.

Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, and educational institutions. In education, political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Particularly, the government feared the universities because of new ideas. Spies even attended lectures. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. The government insisted on having a complete list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Students were not allowed to study abroad or form societies.

Austrians were not allowed to travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich laboured with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

The German Confederation

One of the important problems presented to the Congress Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was the Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes, not of people. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an ‘infamous object’, and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers; not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all liberals at what they called this ‘great deception’ of Vienna.

Disappointment of the Liberals

The liberals desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; and they also wished to

NOTES

NOTES

have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point too. The latter were put off with only vague and doubtful promises, which were never realized, save in the case of a few of the smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany on the same principles that prevailed in Austria, and in this he largely succeeded. Certain incidents of the day gave him favourable occasions to apply the system of repression. Repression according to him was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of the German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of the students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Sometime later, a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue (Kcot—so-bo), who was hated within the university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the famous Carlsbad Decrees (1819).

Through their provisions, Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions, and once so removed, could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany.

The student associations were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus, free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Restoration in Spain

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain, and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English and ended finally in success. As their King was in the hands of enemy, they proceeded in his name to frame

a government. Being liberal-minded, they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long life as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve the conditions. Moreover, it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820)

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise, henceforth, to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Thus, revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo, an absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were forthcoming.

2.4.5 Italy, a Geographical Expression

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were, henceforth, ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not ‘fashionable’. The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was dependent on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po Valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus, was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was, thus, a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria’s strength in comparison with theirs was that of a

NOTES

giant compared with that of pygmies. Italy was notoriously reduced to a geographical expression.

Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

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Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had a parliament. There was neither unity nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. Following the restoration, the princes became absolute monarchs. They did little to hide the hatred for the French and made all efforts to extinguish any sign of their presence. They abolished all constitutions and laws, and institutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont, French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up. French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every one of the states, there was distinct retrogression, and the Italians lost ground all along the line—politically, industrially, socially. In most, the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to ‘the class called thinkers’.

Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

In 1820, a revolution broke out in Italy. It started with military insurrection in Naples. The revolutionists demanded the establishment of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it but because it was democratic. The king immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

2.4.6 Critical Estimate

Thus, in 1820, the Revolution, hated by the diplomats of 1815, resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples overthrew the regimes that had been in force for five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There was likewise a revolution against the established regime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential person in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another, and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. By a series of international congresses, at Troppau, Laibach, and Verona (1820-1822), Metternich was able to secure the official condemnation of these revolutions in Italy and Spain and then to have armies sent into those peninsulas, which speedily restored the old system, more odious than ever.

Thousands were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbitrary government of the worst kind and thirsty for revenge was meted out to the unfortunate peoples. Needless to say, Metternich was quite satisfied.

‘I see the dawn of a better day,’ he wrote. Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost. The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain,

showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose, they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States, both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (2 December 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. This attitude of England and the United States produced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy Alliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and supporting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and in 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished the system of Metternich beyond all possible repairs.

2.5 SUMMARY

- The outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution.
- In the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and this continued until 1789.
- Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgency, the States General was opened on 5 May 1789 at Versailles.
- The fall of The Bastille on 14 July 1789 was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic.
- ‘The declaration of the rights of man’ adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people’s thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles.
- The Convention met on 20 September 1792 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On 21 September 1792, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.
- The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics.

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Check Your Progress

6. Name the major players and participants at the Vienna Congress.
7. What did England gain from the negotiation at the Vienna Congress?
8. What is the Quadruple Alliance?
9. Name the states under Italy which were restored with the Congress of Vienna.

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- The ‘abolition of feudalism’, as a result of the Revolution, encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors.
- The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.
- Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also because he put the ideals of the Revolution into practise’.
- Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815.
- Napoleon was a great leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry.
- Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806.
- Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. Taxes were applied to all evenly. In the war against Russia in 1812, Napoleon was defeated and thus began a change in his fortunes.
- In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821.
- In general, Napoleon’s internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns.
- Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century.
- The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to twenty-five years of war.
- The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward.
- The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon’s disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe.
- The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome.

- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.
- The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
- It was the purpose of the Italian government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848).
- The German Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation.
- After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had parliament. Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined.
- Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies.

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2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Protestant:** It refers to a member of a part of the Western Christian Church that separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century.
- **Convene:** It refers to arranging for people to come together for a formal meeting.
- **Commune:** It refers to the smallest division of local government in France and some other countries.
- **Assignats:** They were paper money issued by the National Assembly in France from 1789 to 1796, during the French Revolution, to address imminent bankruptcy.
- **Demonstration:** It refers to a public meeting or march at which people show that they are protesting against or supporting somebody/something.
- **Guillotine:** It refers to a machine, originally from France, for cutting people's heads off; it has a heavy blade that slides down a wooden frame.
- **Coup:** It refers to a sudden overthrow of government that is illegal and often violent.
- **Guerrilla:** It refers to a member of a small group of soldiers who are not part of an official army and who fight against official soldiers, usually to try to change the government.
- **Carlsbad decrees:** These were a set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung on 20 September 1819 after a conference held in the spa town of Carlsbad, Bohemia.
- **Carbonari:** They were groups of secret revolutionary societies founded in early 19th century Italy.

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2.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the corn among themselves.
2. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of ‘equality’ and ‘freedom of the individual’, which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the enlightenment.
3. The Revolution had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.
4. (a) French, (b) Italy
5. (a) True, (b) True
6. Those present at the Congress were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.
7. England retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.
8. The Quadruple Alliance was an alliance signed between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia on 20 November 1815 which said these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
9. Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states such as Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not fashionable.

2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What role did the States’ General play in the course of the French Revolution?
2. State the role of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution.
3. List the achievements and significance of the French Revolution.
4. State the factors that led to the reforms and foreign policy implemented by Napoleon.
5. How fairly did Napoleon perform as the First Consul and the emperor?
6. What is the impact of Napoleon on the world?
7. What was the character of the Congress of Vienna?
8. Write a note on the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

9. Why were the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance formed?
10. State Metternich's role after the fall of Napoleon.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes that led to the French Revolution.
2. Discuss the significance of the Tennis Court Oath and the Storming of Bastille.
3. Discuss how the Constitution was drafted once the National Assembly was convened.
4. Assess the early life and career of Napoleon.
5. What was the impact of the French Revolution on Napoleon's career? Describe the relations between Napoleon and the French state.
6. Explain the factors that led to the change in Napoleon's fortune due to the invasion of Russia.
7. Describe the reactionary policies of the Italian princes.
8. Describe the ways in which conservative political and social views shaped the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.
9. What is Metternich's historical significance?
10. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation?
11. Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the work of the Congress of Vienna?
12. What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What were the Carlsbad Decrees?

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2.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 RISE OF NATION STATES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Italy
 - 3.2.1 Factors Hampering the Italian Unification
 - 3.2.2 Impact of the French Revolution
 - 3.2.3 Mazzini, Cavour, Austrian War and the Italian Unification
- 3.3 Germany
 - 3.3.1 War with Denmark: The Issue of Schleswig-Holstein
 - 3.3.2 Austro-Prussian War
 - 3.3.3 Relations with France (1870) and Final Unification of Germany
- 3.4 Congress of Berlin
 - 3.4.1 Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century
 - 3.4.2 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy Over Turkish Rule
 - 3.4.3 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
 - 3.4.4 Treaty of Berlin (1878) and the Berlin Congress
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

The socialist and labour movements in Britain, France, Germany and other countries in Europe were linked to the French Revolution, which was in fact influenced by the American Revolution. Napoleon, the ‘Child of Revolution’, had promoted the concepts of nationalism and liberalism across Europe. These factors were mainly responsible for the unification of Italy and the then Germany. Before the unification, these countries were divided into small principalities, which were often at war with each other. Their disintegration had exhausted the national resources of these countries. In addition, powerful European countries, such as Russia, France and Great Britain, by exploiting the state of chaos, always posed as constant threats for these disintegrated countries. Thus, the unification was an ‘event in waiting’.

Due to its proximity to the European continent, the Ottoman Empire did not remain unaffected due to the outcomes of the influential wars among the European powers. In addition, the events and political instability within the empire itself rendered it in the middle of the complex affairs. These causes prepared a fertile ground for the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

In this unit, we discuss first the unification of Italy and then the unification of Germany, the factors hampering unification in these two countries, impact of the French Revolution on the unification, role of leadership and wars fought for the unification. In addition, we also discuss the impact of the unification on the future events in the European continent. In this unit, you will also read about the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, the Greek War of Independence, British ascendancy over Turkish Sultan, Russian suggestion for dismemberment of Turkey, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin.

NOTES**3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES**

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the process of unification of Italy
- Describe the process of the unification of Germany
- Assess the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century
- Analyse events such as the Greek War of Independence and British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- Explain the events of the Treaty of Berlin

3.2 ITALY

Excavations have supported the claim that human preserve dating back to the Palaeolithic Age were unearthed in Italy. In pre-Roman days, Italy was an amalgamation of smaller tribes, fighting with each other over capturing of land. In the 7th and 8th centuries, Greece had taken over a major part of Italy which came to be known as Magna Graecia. Later, Italy was annexed by Napoleon. Italy emerged as a united country after the downfall of Napoleon. During 15th–19th centuries, European kingdoms were fighting to annex the small kingdom of Italy. Napoleon I succeeded in his effort and annexed it. However, his annexation led to the development of patriotic sentiments and put forth the concept of independence. Thereafter, the Italians made severe efforts to unify their country. Figure 3.1 shows Italy before its unification.



Fig. 3.1 Italy before Unification (1815)

However, after the downfall of Napoleon I in 1815, Vienna disintegrated Italy, and once again, the heirs of old royal families were reinstated as the rulers of these small

kingdoms. A few of these rulers were autocratic in nature. New princes restarted their former oppressive policies. Paradoxically, this gave the momentum for democratic and nationalist ideas to evolve among the people. Because of the stringent censorship of the press, they established secret societies. Among these societies, the Carbonari (the charcoal buyers) was the most significant. Its main objective was the exclusion of foreigners and the attainment of constitutional freedom. Its members belonged to all classes of the society. According to distinguished authors Grant and Temperley, ‘Secret societies were formed everywhere to work for the union of Italy.’

Due to fear, the rulers of Naples and Piedmont began to establish liberal rule. Austria quelled the revolts and re-established liberal rule. The members of the Carbonari rebelled in 1830 and 1840, but could not succeed in their attempts at this stage.

3.2.1 Factors Hampering the Italian Unification

Italy could not achieve unification until 1870 on account of a number of factors, viz.:

- (i) The hostility of Papacy towards Italian units
- (ii) Rule of a foreign power in northern Italy and of a dynasty of a foreign origin in the south
- (iii) The lack of wealth and industrial potentialities, which helped the growth of nationalism in Italy
- (iv) A weak middle class

In short, we can say that despite having excellent natural resources and coastal boundary, common historical traditions and language, Italy failed to achieve national unification on account of persistent struggle between the Pope and the Emperor; the multiplicity of sovereignties; seemingly insurmountable social differences between north and south; an unwillingness of Rome, Milan, Venice, Florence and Naples to sacrifice their glorious past for the sake of national integration.

3.2.2 Impact of the French Revolution

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars which followed it, provided a fillip to Italian nationalism and greatly contributed towards the development of a sense of unity. Italians were highly inspired by the French revolutionary ideas and strongly resisted external interference in their national life.

In contrast, Napoleon promoted the idea of national unification by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. However, these achievements proved only temporary and as soon as Napoleon’s defeat took place, Italy was again disintegrated into several small units and the successors of the old royal families were again seated on the thrones of these tiny kingdoms.

Some of these rulers deliberately ignored the interests of the people under them and acted in an autocratic manner. After some time, two Italian provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, were annexed to the Austrian Empire. The smaller kingdoms of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were divided among the princes of Austria. Victor Emmanuel and Pope were seated on the thrones of Savoy and Rome respectively.

But the Italians, who had been greatly inspired by the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity of the French Revolution, could not reconcile themselves to this situation. This led to the formation of the Carbonari, a secret society, for the liberation of Italy from the clutches of the foreigners. However, the various secret societies did not work

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in cooperation with one another. Despite this, several rulers of Italy abandoned their autocratic rule and adopted liberal attitude towards the people.

3.2.3 Mazzini, Cavour, Austrian War and the Italian Unification

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A chain of political and military events that united the Italian peninsula under the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 is known as the Unification of Italy. Its various phases are as follows:

- Pre-revolutionary phase
- Revolutionary phase: Role and contribution of Mazzini
- Cavour's policy and the role of Piedmont
- Garibaldi's campaign in Southern Italy
- War with Austria: Creation of the Italian Kingdom

(i) Pre-revolutionary phase

After the defeat of Napoleon for the second time, major powers met at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Limits were set on nations so that no nation could become too strong to be a threat. This was done mainly to curb the power of France. The territories won by Napoleon were divided too. The Congress returned rule of the Italian Peninsula to Austria. Lombardy and Venice were occupied by Austria, which had a great influence over the other states of Italy. Kingdom of Sardinia remained independent controlling Piedmont, Nice, Savoy and Genoa.

Some of the things that conflicted and interfered with the unification process were: Austrian control of Lombardy and Venice, several independent Italian states, the autonomy of the Papal States and the limited power and influence of Italian leaders.

(ii) Revolutionary phase: Role and contribution of Mazzini

While the masses showed no concern in the unification process, the aristocrats, intellectuals and upper middle class showed enormous involvement. Some formed secret societies for the cause, namely the Carbonari. The cause grew in dimension, though people asked for more rights from their respective governments. The Carbonari were involved in many revolutions, which never tasted success. They were against the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, the Kingdom of Sardinia, Bologna and other Italian states. The Austrian Empire suppressed the revolutions ruthlessly and earned the resentment of the Italians.



Fig. 3.2 Giuseppe Mazzini

Giuseppe Mazzini (Figure 3.2), the soul and spirit of the Carbonari, wanted a united Italy, besides a republican form of government. He created Young Italy in 1831, a syndicate for the purpose of spreading the ideas of unification, revolutions and republicanism, and brought the campaign of unification into the mainstream. Pius IX, a liberal Pope, was elected and he enforced several reforms. Though the other states followed these, they were inadequate for unification. Europe experienced a wave of revolutions in the states of France, Germany, the Austrian Empire and northern Italy. This series of revolts was known as the Revolution of 1848.

In the Kingdom of Two Sicilies revolution broke out and the king signed a constitution. In the Papal States, rebels took over Rome and the Pope fled. In the absence of the Pope, Garibaldi and Mazzini created the Roman Republic. King Charles Albert of Piedmont sent his nationals to Lombardy to fight for freedom from Austrian rule. France sent troops to Rome and had the young Roman Republic destroyed. King Charles lost Piedmont to Austria and had to renounce the crown. His son, Victor Emmanuel II became king in 1849. In 1852, Count Camillo di Cavour was elected the Prime Minister of Piedmont. He proved to be very effective and by using all the political and military tricks, he made the dream of independence come true.

Contribution of Mazzini to Italian Unification

Mazzini is often described as the Prophet of 19th century nationalism. He was one of the three great architects of Italian Unification (the other two being Garibaldi and Cavour). He had a nationalist feeling from his childhood days and began to visualize a united Italy.

He impressed on the people that the whole of the Peninsula, though divided by artificial political barriers, was a living unity with a common heritage of traditions and historic memories. As a youth, he joined Carbonari's revolutionary organization with a view to work for Italy's unification. He participated in a revolt in 1830, which was inspired by the French Revolution and was consequently imprisoned.

While in prison, Mazzini realized that the country could not be liberated by following the principles of Carbonari and it was vital to charge the Italian youth with sentiments of patriotism, sacrifice, moral character, etc., to attain Italy's national emancipation. In 1831, he founded the society known as Young Italy, with its branches all over Italy.

This society propagated republican and nationalist ideas through education and insurrection and tried to cultivate a spirit of self-sacrifice among the Italian youth. It may be noted that Mazzini did not favour foreign help for the emancipation of Italy.

Mazzini organized a number of risings in different parts of Italy, especially Milan and Lombardy, and succeeded in expelling the Austrians. He also organized successful revolts against the people who took to flight and Mazzini set up a Republic with himself as its president.

However, the Roman Republic did not last long because as it was defeated by Napoleon III who had sent an army which defeated Mazzini and destroyed the Roman Republic. Mazzini was forced to fly to America and ultimately died in foreign land in 1872.

The main contribution of Mazzini to the cause of Italian unification was that he succeeded in impressing on the Italians that the liberation and unification of Italy was not an impossible dream, but a practical ideal, capable of realization.

He converted a large number of Italians to his way of thinking and fired them with a missionary spirit to die for the cause of Italian independence and unification. It is

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true that most of the attempts made by Mazzini to attain independence for Italy ended in failure, but this does not undermine his contributions to the cause of Italy's independence. His services were in the realm of ideas and inspiration, which he injected in the body and brain of the Italian youth. His chief contribution was that he gave a definite shape to the idea of Italian nationality and converted it into a popular cause. This greatly contributed to the struggle for Italian independence and unity.

According to the author on Italian unification Lipson, 'Mazzini deserves all the honour due to a pioneer whose life was devoted to the pursuit of a great ideal. His propaganda broadened the political horizon of Italians and created a vigorous public opinion in the favour of national independence. Mazzini, therefore, holds an imperishable place amongst the makers of modern Italy.'

Again, in both the countries, the display of high degree of diplomacy through leadership was a contributory factor in this unification. Finally, in both the countries, the unification was achieved through a series of successful wars.

(iii) Cavour's policy and the role of Piedmont

Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia) was administered quiet efficiently by Camillo di Cavour (Figure 3.3) after he became the prime minister in 1852. He was able to unite Italy in a short time using war, trickery, political dexterity and by putting powers against each other. Though Piedmont was a small state, it had substantial influence due to its military strength, conservative philosophy and a devoted and admirable political leader. Victor Emmanuel II ruled in accordance with the parliament without any internal conflicts. Commerce and industry flourished due to its elasticity. In many areas, he started trading with Austria and gained commercial treaties. The Government found favour with the public and further with the appointment of Cavour. Cavour felt that Piedmont being strong and influential should effect the unification. With this view, he encouraged the people to participate in the government. Very skillfully he used the press and the government and started to change the public opinion. A strong nation needed railroads, economic freedom, steady financial status and a higher standard of living. He spread the propaganda of Italian unity under Victor Emmanuel II with the public on his side.



Fig. 3.3 Camillo di Cavour

France, a traditional enemy of Austria, and Napoleon III felt that any loss of Austrian influence would be good. Cavour needed the help of a strong ally and France readily offered it. So both the leaders met secretly at a French spa Plombieres.

It was decided that Piedmont would create trouble in one of the territories in Austrian control making Austria to go to war against Piedmont. France agreed to help Piedmont in fighting the war in exchange for Nice and Savoy. The war broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino. More Italian states wanted to join Piedmont under one nation. Prussia started moving forces to defend Austria. This frightened Napoleon III as Prussia had a great influence in France and more Italian states sought for unification under Prussia than expected. Lombardy was given to Piedmont as a result of war, and it acquired a greater size after the political maneuvering.

(iv) Garibaldi's campaign in Southern Italy

In early 1860, volunteers in Genoa started an expedition to Sicily. They were neither helped, nor hindered by Cavour. Thousands of soldiers from Romagna, Lombardy and Venetia set sail for Sicily in May 1860. This expedition found great favour with the public. The red soldiers of Garibaldi (Figure 3.4), though less skilled and equipped, proved to be a great success and two Sicilies, which was suffering under a corrupt government, was captured within two months. Garibaldi focused on mainland Italy. Cavour knew that if Rome was attacked, France and Austria would immediately help the Pope and defeat the opposition and the agenda of unification would be discredited. Cavour acted swiftly and encouraged riots and revolts in the Papal States. Piedmont's troops marched into the states in the pretext of a peace-keeping force. In 1860, with two-thirds of Papal States joining hands with Piedmont, Rome was isolated. Piedmontese army bypassed Rome and the remaining Papal States and marched south. On 18 September 1860, Garibaldi gave up his command and shook hands with King Victor Emmanuel II and the kingdom of Italy was formed.



Fig. 3.4 Garibaldi

(v) War with Austria: Creation of the Italian kingdom

Italian kingdom did not include the whole of Italy as Venetia and Rome were notably absent from it. Rome was under Napoleon III and Venetia was occupied by the Austrian troops. Due to the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia, Venetia was annexed

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in 1856. Italy decided to join Prussia in the war and Prussia won the war and Venetia was given back to Italy.

During the war between France and Germany in 1870, Napoleon III had pulled out his troops from Rome to help in the war. The remaining Papal States and unprotected Rome were taken over by the Italian troops. Rome opted to join the Union in October 1870 and in July 1871 Rome became its capital.

The long and extremely difficult process of unification did not solve all the problems of the Union but Italy stayed focused on its new problems and made efforts to solve them. Eventually, Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini became the founding fathers of the Italian nation (Figure 3.5).

France, Spain and Great Britain had expanded their powers and created new states in the middle ages and in early modern period. This nation building did not take place in Italy and Germany. After nationalism in German territories and Italian Peninsula, people of these states began to create nation states in order to unite all Italians or all Germans, under one umbrella of political sovereignty. These people shared common culture and feared foreign domination at all costs.



Fig. 3.5 Italy after Unification (1870)

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks.

- (a) Napoleon promoted the idea of national unification by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a _____ of Italy.

- (b) _____ organized a number of risings in different parts of Italy, especially Milan and Lombardy.

2. State whether the following statements are true or false.

- (a) Cavour created Young Italy in 1831.
- (b) Victor Emmanuel II ruled in accordance with the Parliament without any internal conflicts.

3.3 GERMANY

During the beginning of the 19th century, Germany was an enormous mosaic of states. It was a portion of the Holy Roman Empire. The two biggest states in it were established from the territorial custodies of Austria and Prussia. There were a few secondary states in northern and central Germany. There were several small states. Some were free cities and others were priestly states. The Holy Roman Emperor, who for the previous 300 years had been selected from the Hapsburg family of the Austrians, was now only a ceremonial authority. People of varied blood multiplied in Germany. The amalgamation of Rhine had previously been formed by Napoleon I. He had arranged the ground for the unification of Germany. He decreased the number of German states by joining smaller states with the larger ones. These states were combined to establish the Rhine confederation.

As the feelings of the Germans were given no heed, Napoleon's power in Germany was destabilized. In addition to this, there was also a preponderance of the diplomats like Metternich who did not tolerate liberal movements of the Germans (1815–1848). One extraordinary fact was that the Prussian Emperor had come up with a federal constitution for the people of Germany, which was exceedingly opposed by Austria. Figure 3.6 shows Germany before the unification (1815). Note that Prussia held an extensive proportion of the country.

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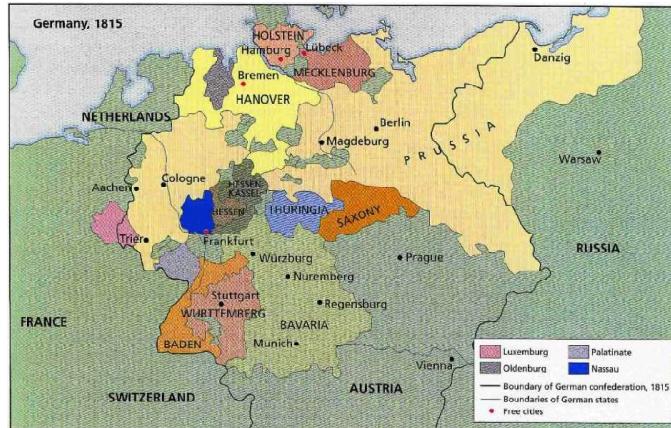


Fig. 3.6 Germany before Unification (1815)

The nationalist movement gained momentum only after 1848. The unification of Germany was the result of the policy of blood and iron pursued by Prussia in the three wars, which took place within the brief era of six years, i.e., 1864–1870. Prussia was in the favour of German unification and was opposed to Austria.

A new era started with the emergence of Otto von Bismarck (Figure 3.7) in the German history. He was made the chancellor of Germany. He did not allow Austria to assume the leadership of Germany. He worked hard for the unification of Germany with the help of the supportive leadership of Prussia. Bismarck established good relations with France and Russia. This was not liked by Austria. His policy of blood and iron was the most successful strategy at that time. He completed the unification of Germany and crowned the Prussian King as the Emperor of Germany. However, for this to happen, he had no option but to wage three wars, with Austria, France and Denmark.



Fig. 3.7 Otto von Bismarck

NOTES**3.3.1 War with Denmark: The Issue of Schleswig-Holstein**

The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were held by Denmark (also called the Danish rule). However, they widely differed in constitution and were established as a territory of Denmark. The Duchy of Holstein was a portion of the German federation. The people of Denmark and Germany lived together in these two duchies. A disagreement over the issue of nationalism arose between them. Both Germany and Denmark wished to annex the duchies.

Holstein was mainly a German-speaking community. The Danes, i.e., people of Denmark, tried to claim that the two duchies were a part of Denmark and they did not want them to remain semi-independent. This caused the German nationalist to demand the two duchies to be completely incorporated into the German Confederation. There was a short war of control in 1848. This resulted in the London Treaty, which stated that when Danish Prince Christian would ascend the throne, the duchies would remain under the Danish rule, but would not be included into the nation states of Denmark. When Christian was crowned, he included the two duchies into the Danish state, violating the terms of the treaty. As a result, the duchies were invaded by the armies gathered by the German Confederation and German nationalists. German Confederation won the war and duchies were restored to them. After the victory, it was agreed that Austria would manage Holstein and Prussia would be the incharge of Schleswig. There were many clashes over the method of administration. It resulted in a political division with German confederation and Austria and Prussia fighting for the dominance of the Germanic states.

3.3.2 Austro-Prussian War

In 1866, further debates about the management of Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in a war between Austria and Prussia. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in the Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating the Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of senior Germanic state. This resulted in a clearer partition between Austrian and German interests and forced the smaller states to line up themselves alongside the Prussians, with whom they shared more economic ties because of the Zollverein customs agreement.

Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition at home was accomplishment abroad. The occasion presented itself when the King of Denmark tried to capture the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein into a centralized German state in opposition to the will of the German Confederation. Prussia joined Austria in a concise successful war against Denmark. Bismarck, however, was sure that Prussia required to completely subside the northern German Confederation, which destined expelling Austria from German matters. Bismarck's first task was to ensure that there was no coalition against him. He had no crisis gaining support from Alexander II of Russia, as Prussia had aided Russia in overcoming a Polish uprising in 1863. He then charmed Napoleon III with blurred promises of territorial gains along the Rhine River, which he had no purpose of keeping. Bismarck, actually, had no immense respect for Napoleon III. He once referred to him as the 'sphinx without a riddle'. Then when Austria declined to renounce its role in German affairs, Bismarck was prepared.

The Austro-Prussian War, sometimes referred to as the Seven Weeks War, was fought in 1866. The Prussian army transported troops by rail and also used breech

loading needle guns in order to gain maximum fire power, and decisively defeated the Austrians in Bohemia at the Battle of Sadowa. Here, Bismarck showed his mastery of ‘realpolitik’ by providing Austria with liberal terms, as he knew well that he might necessitate the neutrality, if not collaboration, of Austria in the future. Austria paid no compensations and lost no land to Prussia, but it was forced to cede Venice to Italy; however, the German Confederation was disbanded and Austria decided to withdraw from German affairs. The territories north of the Main River were joined into a new North German Confederation led by Prussia. The generally Catholic states of the south remained autonomous while forming coalitions with Prussia.

Bismarck next turned to the parliament. He understood that nationalism was his main weapon to bring the parliament to his terms and conditions, and during the attack on Austria in 1866, he progressively tied Prussia’s destiny to the ‘national development of Germany’.

He established a new federal constitution for the North German Confederation. In this constitution, each state held its own local government, but the Prussian King became the president of the confederation and the chancellor—Bismarck—was answerable only to the president. The federal government (literally comprising William I and Bismarck) managed the army and foreign matters. The legislature had two houses; one appointed by the states, the other elected by the universal male suffrage. He then secured his border in Prussia by asking the Prussian Parliament to issue a special indemnity bill to endorse (after the fact) all the government’s expenditure between 1862 and 1866. Here, Bismarck’s success in uniting the northern German states and establishing a legislature where all could take part was paid off. The liberals saw achievement beyond their wildest dreams and were concerned to cooperate. Thus, several liberals repented their ‘sins’. Perhaps, none repented more religiously than did Hermann Baumgarten, a professor of history and member of the liberal opposition who wrote an essay, ‘A Self Criticism of German Liberalism.’ In it he commented:

We thought that by agitation, we could transform Germany.... Yet we have experienced a miracle almost without parallel. The victory of our principles would have brought us misery; whereas, the defeat of our principles has brought us boundless salvation.

Bismarck had triumphed. The German middle class respectfully bowed to Bismarck and monarchial authority. In the years before 1814, the virtues of the aristocratic Prussian army officer increasingly replaced those of the middle class liberal in public esteem and social standard.

3.3.3 Relations with France (1870) and Final Unification of Germany

France was disappointed by Prussia when it was not given a candidacy for the vacant throne of Spain and ties between the two countries became brittle. In 1870, France declared a war on Prussia and was defeated swiftly and surely by the Prussians. The outcome was the removal of French Emperor Napoleon III (Figure 3.8) from power and the resultant spreading of Germanic nationalism through the whole of German confederation. After defeating France, Prussia was in a position to induce its partners within the German confederation to agree that unification was preferable. Thus, Wilhelm of Prussia was declared the Emperor of Germany on 18 January 1871. In this way, the Second Reich was born (Figure 3.9).

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Fig. 3.8 French Emperor Napoleon III with Bismarck (Note that Bismarck holds the sword of defeated Napoleon III as a symbol of victory)

In the united German National Federation, the Prussian Emperor was declared the Emperor of the whole of Germany. A cabinet of ministers and a bicameral legislature was set up to assist the new Emperor in this administration of the nation. The North German federation came to be named the German Empire.

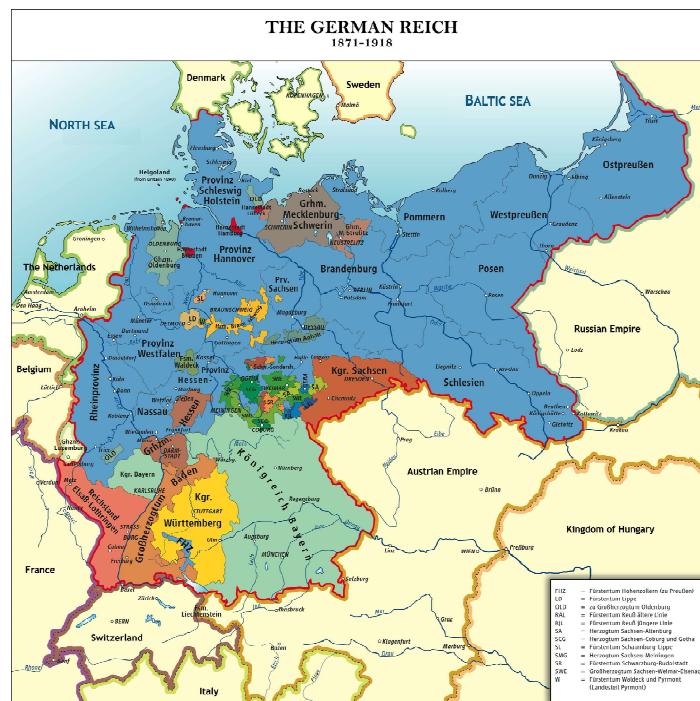


Fig. 3.9 Germany after Unification (1817–1918 [First World War])

3.4 CONGRESS OF BERLIN

The Congress of Berlin was held in the city of Berlin from 13 June to 13 July of 1878. It was a meeting to rectify the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) and to settle peace between the Ottoman Empire of Turkey and the Empire of Russia. Before studying about the Congress of Berlin, it is important to understand the history of the Ottoman Empire.

3.4.1 Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century

Rise of Nation States

The Ottoman Empire, or the present-day Turkey, was unfortunate as the modernization of this region started in the worst days of European imperialism. In the 19th and 20th centuries, all across the world, Europeans were capturing and colonizing the lands of other nations. The British, French, Germans, Austrians and Russians employed modern techniques of warfare to build great empires. Only a few lands in Asia or Africa could not be captured; these included Japan, Liberia, Thailand, Turkey and a few regions too remote for European power to reach. However, Turkey's success in remaining its own master is not often cherished. But the nation remained independent because it fought with and survived the pressure put forward by the European powers.

The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily pathetic. The Ottomans were at a great disadvantage due to the lack of European education, European industry or powerful European armies. They were forced to struggle and lose wars while defending their empire. Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly Russia. As and when they tried to bring new changes in their social system, their resources and finances were directed towards the wars being fought and defence of the country, instead of modernization. Russian armies took away Rumania and Bulgaria from the Empire; Britain captured Cyprus and Egypt; Austria got hold of Bosnia (See Map in Figure 3.10). Eventually Britain and France divided the Ottoman Arab lands between them. The worst calamity was the exodus of millions of Turks and other Muslims from the conquered lands into what remained the Ottoman Empire.

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Fig. 3.10 Map showing the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and the Possessions of the European Powers

The Ottoman losses demanded massive expenses. Just as the Ottoman reform had started to rejuvenate their lands in Europe, those lands were captured by others. Great amount of money was spent in modernizing areas, and then more money was spent to protect them; however, all regions were lost. Millions of expatriates had to be

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housed, and they became a troublesome element when poverty in the Empire led to the issue due to which the refugees could not be settled swiftly. The Ottomans were thus forced to take loans at ruinous rates both to modernize and to defend themselves, until even the interest could not be paid.

The Ottomans were very sick, but they were not permitted to cure themselves. In its place, those around them did what they could to make sure that the illness led to death. Like other nations, the Ottoman Turks eventually could not stand against the forces of imperialism. This is in no way outstanding. The extraordinary fact is not that the Ottomans lost land to European imperialists, (there were so many non-European countries that lost the land to these powers) but that the Ottomans held on so well. Their losses to more dominant Europeans started at the end of the 17th century and went on for more than 200 years. In spite of their military weakness, the Ottomans survived European imperialism for more years than the United States has existed up to now. The Ottoman Empire did lastly yield in World War I. Yet at its end, the empire held on astonishingly well. Combating against the English, the French and the Russians, the Ottomans lasted all the way through four years of war. And at the end of those four years, the Turks regrouped to keep hold of their independence.

The astonishing fact of modern Turkish account is that the Turks managed to tolerate as a nation in their own state when numerous others were falling under the imperial grasp of Europe. It is unusual that the Turks could endure militarily against all odds. It is also extraordinary that the Turks could modernize their society and economy, under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, along European lines and were able to maintain their independence from the European powers. Despite the attempts of his neighbours, the ‘Sick Man’ recovered and lives on.

3.4.2 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy Over Turkish Rule

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the influence of the British on the Turkish sultan are the most significant events in the Ottoman Empire. Let us discuss them one by one.

Greek War of Independence

In the previous section, you read that Cyprus was captured by Britain. This links our discussion to the brief history of Greece; especially, the most important historical event, i.e., the Greek War of Independence. The land of Greece has been famous for Alexander, the Great. He was the hero of Greece in the ancient times. However, in the middle ages, Greece came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution was a victorious war of independence waged by the Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, which was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, maximum part of Greece came under the Ottoman rule. During this time, there were recurrent rebellions by Greeks attempting to gain independence. In 1814, a secret society called the Filiki

Eteria was established with the objective of fighting for the freedom of Greece. The Filiki Eteria planned to start revolutions in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople. The first of these revolts started on 6 March 1821 in the Danubian Principalities; however, it was soon subdued by the Ottomans. Due to these events in the north, the Greeks in the Peloponnese came into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots declared war on the Ottomans. As the month reached its end, the Peloponnese was in open rebellion against the Turks and by October 1821, the Greeks, led by General Theodoros Kolokotronis (Figure 3.11), had captured Tripolitsa. The Peloponnesian revolt was rapidly followed by revolts in Crete, Macedonia and Central Greece, which would soon be curbed. In the meantime, the temporary Greek navy was attaining success against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea and thwarted Ottoman reinforcements from arriving by sea.



Fig. 3.11 General Theodoros Kolokotronis

Soon, different Greek factions developed tensions that led to two consecutive civil wars. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan negotiated with Mehmet Ali of Egypt. The latter decided to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to repress the rebellion in return for territorial gain. In February 1825, Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese and had instant success: by the end of 1825, most of the Peloponnese fell to Egyptian forces which controlled the territory. The city of Missolonghi, which was put under siege by the Turks since April 1825, fell in April 1826. Although Ibrahim was beaten in Mani, he had succeeded in repressing most of the rebellion in the Peloponnese and Athens had been retaken.

After long-lasting negotiation, three Great Powers, Russia, the United Kingdom and France, agreed to interfere in the war and each nation sent a navy to Greece. The allied fleet intercepted the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino once it came to know that combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleets were going to attack the Greek island of Hydra. Following a standoff that lasted for a week, a battle started that resulted in the annihilation of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet (Figure 3.12). With the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.

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Fig. 3.12 Destruction of Ottoman-Egyptian Fleet in the Greek War of Independence

Source: <http://www.ahistoryofgreece.com/revolution.htm>

The Revolution or the Greek War of Independence is celebrated on 25 March every year by the Modern Greek state as their National Day.

British Ascendancy over Turkish Sultan

The year 1842 also witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan. He ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Mahmud. This was made possible due to the efforts of Stratford Canning (Figure 3.13), who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841.



Fig. 3.13 Stratford Canning, later Honoured as The Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe

He sought to check further growth of Russian influence and prevented Nicholas from crowning his triumph at Adrianople and Hunkar Iskelesi by further oppressive treaties in 1848 and 1853.

In 1848, the revolution in France caused the waves of revolution in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities. Czar Nicholas of Russia, a great reactionary, was determined to curb the democratic principles. He, therefore, sent his army to Moldavia under the terms of Treaty of Adrianople and asked the Turks to repress the movement at Bucharest.

He then proceeded to use Moldavia as a base for operations against the Hungarian rebels. When Porte protested, the Czar adopted dictatorial attitude. Canning encouraged

the Porte to resist Nicholas's demand. Things assumed serious dimensions after some Hungarian leaders took refuge on Turkish soil. Austria and Russia demanded the extradition of these leaders who were given asylum by Porte at the instigation of Canning. Thereupon, Russia and Austria broke off relations with Turkey.

Nicholas of Russia ordered his troops to proceed to Bersarabia, but was greatly disillusioned to find English and French fleets at the entrance of Hellespont. This convinced Nicholas that Turkey was not alone and Russia would have to encounter resistance from English and French fleets. Therefore, on 7 November 1849, he withdrew the demand for extradition. This was indeed a great rebuff of Russia. This period of 1842 to 1858 is often termed as the period of British influence over the Turkish monarch. During this period, the Turkish ruler was able to prevent Russian advances.

Canning's term in Constantinople lasted from 1842 to 1852, and during this period, he emerged as one of the most important figures in Constantinople, as British influence over the Porte increased and the Turks came to be seen increasingly as British clients. When Canning's old ally Stanley, now Earl of Derby, formed a government in 1852, Canning hoped to accept the foreign office, or at least the Paris embassy. In its place, he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, in the County of Somerset. He came back home in 1852, but when Aberdeen's coalition government was established, Stratford de Redcliffe was sent back to Constantinople once again.

In Constantinople, for the last time, Stratford came in the midst of a disaster caused due to the dispute between Napoleon III and Nicholas I over the safety of the holy places. This crisis in the end led to the Crimean War. Stratford is accused of supporting the Turks to rebuff the cooperation agreement during the Menshikov mission. It appears that he was time after time urging the Turks to reject compromises arguing that any Russian treaty would be to subject the Ottoman Empire to protectorate status under Czar Nicholas I. He left Constantinople for the last time in 1857, and resigned early the next year.

3.4.3 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire

During the nineteenth century, relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire were sour due to several reasons. Let us discuss the bases of these relations.

Russian Suggestion for Dismemberment of Turkey

Following the tension due to British influence and prevention of war with Russia, on 8 January 1878, the Porte appealed to the European powers for mediation. The refusal of Germany to take part in such mediation made the British public apprehensive that Russia, supported by Germany, would try to force its own terms on Turkey. On 15 January, the British ambassador at Petrograd handed to Prince Gorchakov an opinion of the British Government that any treaty between Russia and Turkey affecting the treaties of 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty in order to be valid.

The Turkish Sultan wanted peace at any cost, and on 3 March, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania; a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, was to come into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had this treaty been carried out, the Near Eastern Question might have then been solved, as the Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe.

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But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a ‘Greater Bulgaria’ because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves.

Far more serious was the opposition that came from England and Austria. The former did not propose to sit tamely by and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states which its arms had brought into existence. Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Aegean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of its reach. Czar Alexander was clearly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless it submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international conference.

The Crimean War

In July 1853 Russia occupied territories in the Crimea (Figure 3.14) that had formerly been under the Turkish control. Britain and France were thinking about Russian expansion and made efforts to achieve a negotiation withdrawal. Turkey, reluctant to grant concessions, declared war on Russia.



Fig. 3.14 Map showing the Location of Crimea, the spot of the Crimean War

When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia. On 20 September 1854, the Allied army overwhelmed the Russian army at the battle of Alma River; however, the battle of Balaklava (October 1854) was indecisive.

Thereafter, British soldiers arrived in Turkey, they rapidly started going down with cholera and malaria. Just in a few weeks, a probable 8,000 men were suffering from these two diseases.

The Crimean War resulted in the formation of centralized states in Italy and Germany. France and Britain feared that Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as Ottoman of Turkey was weak to oppose. The possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul was feared

by them. Ottoman lost against Russia in a naval war and France and Great Britain declared war on Russia. The major part of the battle took place in Crimean region and ironically 5,00,000 causalities occurred due to diseases in the filthy field hospitals. The Russian fortress Sevastopol fell and the war ended. Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River. After this war, the concept of great powers working united was shattered. The British became isolated and remained like that. Russia did not support Austria when it opposed to the building of the states by Germany and Italy.

Russo-Turkish War (1877–78)

In the midst of these revolts and wars, the European powers made a bid to mediate. They called a conference at Constantinople in January 1877, but it could not achieve anything. Meanwhile, on account of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, the Russians were enraged and declared war against Turkey in 1877.

Though the Turkish armies fought splendidly, the Russians advanced within few minutes of Constantinople. The Russians encountered tough resistance at Plevna, where they lost 50,000 men. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some gallant fighting. Ultimately, on 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrianople.

While Russia was making all these advances, there was a sharp demand for British armed intervention from British people. In early 1878, the British fleet moved to Besika Bay, but by the time it reached the Dardanelles, the Russians had captured San Stefano.

On 3 March 1878, Russia forced Turkey to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty provided for the creation of an autonomous principality of Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro were considerably enlarged and Bosnia-Herzegovina were given autonomous status. In short, the treaty sought to establish a dominant Slav State in the Balks, which would be a Russian dependency; destroyed Turkey's political and military power in Europe and blocked the Habsburg road to Salonika.

3.4.4 Treaty of Berlin (1878) and the Berlin Congress

The Treaty of San Stefano did not fulfill the ambitions of the member states and was followed by the Treaty of Berlin. Russia felt obliged to yield. The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question. To this Congress of Berlin came the most famous statesmen of the day; Bismarck, who was its President; Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy; and Prince Gorchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Treaty of San Stefano was totally disregarded by the Congress, which proceeded to make quite another settlement of the Near Eastern Question.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows:

1. Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania were declared entirely independent of Turkey.
2. 'Greater Bulgaria' was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given 'administrative autonomy' under a Christian governor and Macedonia was allowed to remain a part of Turkey.
3. To Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally to remain a part of Turkey.

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4. Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar.
5. England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus.
6. Russia, who alone had won the victory over Turkey, got almost nothing. It was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube
7. Russia also received Batum, Ardahan and Kars in the Caucasus. After thus partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the Powers again solemnly guaranteed the ‘integrity’ of Turkey.
8. This Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of Turkey with the consent of Europe.
9. Greece got the provinces of Thersalay and Epyms.
10. Russia’s peculiar position in relation to Turkey was accepted. However, England promised to help Porte if Russia tried to conquer more territory in Asia Minor.

According to Stanley Lane Poole, a British orientalist and archaeologist, ‘rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.’

Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, ‘It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of “nationalist” wars and risings in which the Balkan people were to be embroiled for the next half century.’

The Treaty of Berlin proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Turkish Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

In 1885, certain officers seized Philippopolis by a rebellion and declared the union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria. Russia wanted the Sultan to intervene but he refused to do so. Even Britain supported the union between Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was surrounded by hostile elements.

The Tsar was openly hostile to Turkey; the French were indifferent and still entertained the hopes of possessing Syria; Italy openly indicated her desire to acquire Libya and Albania. Even Britain, the traditional friend of the Turks and a principal upholder of the doctrine of the integrity of Ottoman Empire, was hostile.

Under the circumstances, the Sultan of Turkey (Abdul Hamid) decided to adopt the policy of Pan-Islamism and cultivate intimate relations with Germany and Austria. The Policy of Pan-Islamism urged the union of all Muslims against the West. Abdul Hamid II incorporated the Pan-Islamic ideals in his political programme.

Despite this, the various European powers continued to make gains at the cost of Turkey. The rise of nationalism amongst the peoples of Balkans also contributed to the disintegration of the Turkish Empire.

The leaders of several minorities in the Turkish Empire talked of national autonomy viz., the Armenians and the Kurds. The Sultan tried to suppress nationalists in the hopes that the Pan-Islamic enthusiasm would preserve the empire.

Distressed at the weakness and inefficiency of the Turkish army and Turkish government, a group of leaders known as Young Turks (which also included some, army officers) organized a revolt in 1908 and demanded a constitution to protect themselves against the autocracy of Abdul Hamid.

In 1909, the Young Turks deposed the Turkish Sultan and brought his spineless brother Mohammad V to the throne. Under the new ruler, the lesser nationalists grew restless. Taking advantage of this, both Italy and the Balkan States seized extensive territory. The other powers like Austria, which wanted to expand at the cost of Turkey, were greatly disturbed over the emergence of Young Turks because they feared that a strong Turkey would jeopardize their expansionist policies.

Therefore, in 1908, Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Macedonian provinces of Turkey, which had been placed under its administration by the Treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia, which had been left under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Crete declared itself as part of Greece.

All these developments strengthened the reactionary forces in Turkey and they prevailed upon the government to adopt repressive policies towards Christian minorities. On the other hand, the European powers backed the Christian minorities. Though the Young Turks were quite keen about finding a solution of the problem of Christian minorities, they could not achieve much success due to foreign intrigues and interventions.

In 1911, Italy attacked Turkey and annexed Tripoli. In 1912, Russia inspired Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria to form the Balkan League, which made a concerted onslaught on the Turkish Empire in the autumn of 1912. For the first time, the Balkan States defied the powers of Europe and acted on their own. They inflicted crushing defeats on Turkey and settled for all times the problem of Christian population of European Turkey. Thus, they paved the way for the creation of the Turkish nation, which arose out of the Ottoman Empire.

It is evident from the preceding account that on the eve of World War I, the Turkish Empire had been rendered very weak. The empire received a tottering blow during the war.

3.5 SUMMARY

- During 15th–19th centuries, European kingdoms were fighting to annex the small kingdom of Italy.
- The French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which followed it, provided a fillip to Italian nationalism and contributed greatly towards the development of a sense of unity. Italians were highly inspired by the French revolutionary ideas and strongly resisted the external interference in their national life.
- Giuseppe Mazzini, the soul and spirit of the Carbonari, wanted a united Italy, besides a republican form of government. He created Young Italy in 1831, a syndicate for the purpose of spreading the ideas of unification, revolutions and republicanism, and brought the campaign of unification into the mainstream.
- Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia) was administered quiet efficiently by Camillo di Cavour after he became the prime minister in 1852. He felt that Piedmont being strong and influential should effect the unification.

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Check Your Progress

5. When did Greece come under the Ottoman rule?
6. Name the treaty signed by Russia and Turkey.
7. When did the representative countries meet at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question?
8. Who was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus in the Treaty of Berlin?

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- Eventually Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini became the founding fathers of the Italian Nation.
- Germany was an enormous mosaic of states. It was a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The two biggest states in it were established from the territorial custodies of Austria and Prussia. There were a few secondary states in northern and central Germany. There were several other small states.
- The nationalist movement gained momentum only after 1848. The unification of Germany was the result of the policy of blood and iron pursued by Prussia in the three wars, which took place within the brief era of six years, i.e., 1864–1870.
- Bismarck was the Prussian Prime Minister who pursued the policy of iron and blood in order to unify Germany. Germany was unified after the wars with Denmark, Austria and France.
- In the united German National Federation, the Prussian Emperor was declared the Emperor of the whole of Germany. A cabinet of ministers and a bicameral legislature was set up to assist the new Emperor in this administration of the nation.
- The Ottoman Empire was known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’, because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily pathetic.
- The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution was a victorious war of independence waged by the Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, who was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.
- In 1848, the revolution in France caused the waves of revolution in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities.
- The period of 1842 to 1858 is often termed as the period of British influence over the Turkish monarch. During this period, the Turkish ruler was able to prevent Russian advances with the help of Britain.
- In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea that had formerly been under the Turkish control. Britain and France were thinking about Russian expansion and made effort to achieve a negotiation withdrawal. Turkey, reluctant to grant concessions, declared war on Russia. This war is called the Crimean War.
- On 3 March 1878, Russia forced Turkey to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty provided for the creation of an autonomous principality of Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro were considerably enlarged and Bosnia-Herzegovina were given autonomous status.
- The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question. Here, the Treaty of Berlin was concluded.

- The Treaty of Berlin proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Turkish Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

3.6 KEY TERMS

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- **Unification:** It refers to join people, things, parts of a country, etc., together so that they form a single unit.
- **Liberal:** It refers to a person willing to understand and respect other people's behaviour, opinions, etc., especially when they are different from his/her own; believing people should be able to choose how they behave.
- **Autonomy:** It refers to the freedom for a country, a region or an organization to govern itself independently.
- **Diplomat:** It refers to a person whose job is to represent his or her country in a foreign country, for example, in an embassy.
- **Realpolitik:** It refers to a system of politics or principles based on practical rather than moral or ideological considerations.
- **Maniots/Maniates:** They are the inhabitants of the Mani Peninsula, Laconia, in the southern Peloponnese, Greece.
- **Coalition:** It is a group formed by people from several different groups, especially political ones, agreeing to work together for a particular purpose.
- **Siege:** It refers to a military operation in which an army tries to capture a town by surrounding it and stopping the supply of food, etc. to the people inside.
- **Negotiation:** It refers to a formal discussion between people who are trying to reach an agreement.
- **Fleet:** It refers to a group of military ships commanded by the same person.
- **Treaty:** It refers to a formal agreement between two or more countries.

3.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. (a) Republic, (b) Mazzini
2. (a) False, (b) True
3. (a) True, (b) True
4. (a) Metternich, (b) German
5. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, maximum part of Greece came under the Ottoman rule.
6. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey.
7. The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question.
8. In the Treaty of Berlin, England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Which factors hampered the Italian unification?
2. Review the impact of the French Revolution on the Italian Unification.
3. State the Franco-German relations before the unification of Germany.
4. State the causes and outcomes of the Greek War of Independence.
5. Why did Russia suggest ‘dismembering’ Turkey?
6. List the main features of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the roles of Mazzini and Cavour in the Italian unification.
2. Explain the role played by Bismarck in the German unification.
3. Describe how the outcomes of Wars with Denmark and Austria shaped the German Unification.
4. Describe the status of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 19th century.
5. Explain how the British managed to hold ‘influence’ over the Turkish Sultan.
6. Discuss the Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. How did these wars shape the history of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and of the European powers on the other?
7. Critically evaluate the main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin and the Berlin Congress.

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UNIT 4 IMPERIALISM, REVOLUTION AND TOTALITARIAN STATES

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 First World War
 - 4.2.1 Causes of the First World War
 - 4.2.2 Effects of the First World War
 - 4.2.3 Treaty of Versailles
- 4.3 The Russian Revolution
 - 4.3.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution
 - 4.3.2 Course of the Russian Revolution
 - 4.3.3 Lenin's Leadership
- 4.4 Fascism in Italy
 - 4.4.1 Role of Benito Mussolini
 - 4.4.2 The Benefits of Fascist Rule
 - 4.4.3 Mussolini's Foreign Policy
 - 4.4.4 Italy Until the Second World War
- 4.5 Nazism in Germany
 - 4.5.1 Formation of the Nazi Party
 - 4.5.2 Rise of Adolf Hitler
 - 4.5.3 Factors for the Rise of Nazism in Germany
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Key Terms
- 4.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.9 Questions and Exercises
- 4.10 Further Reading

NOTES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Most of you are probably aware of how appalling the First World War was and the toll it took, not just in terms of lives but many other things. It is generally believed that the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a member of the Black Hand, an underground terror society, was the chief cause of the War. However, as you read this unit, you will realize that this was not so. The reasons for the First World War can cause confusion in the minds of those attempting to study it since they are not as clear and straightforward as the Second World War.

The turn of the twentieth century marked a new beginning in the annals of world history. It altered and redefined the history of the world in more ways than one and the transition was far from smooth. The developments of the nineteenth century had already prepared the ground for such an upheaval. The Industrial Revolution in Europe led to: Search for newer markets, search for better sources of raw material, rise of nationalism, and fierce competition due to the spread of trade and commerce.

Europe was the epicentre of these happenings, and the major European powers started viewing each other as competitors for the same set of resources and markets. They adopted confrontationist policies to establish their supremacy and retain control

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over large parts of Asia and Africa. The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. What started as discrete events aimed at furthering economic interests soon extended to the raising of strong armies and huge military build-ups to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the stage was set for a see-saw battle between the major Western powers, which were divided into two distinct blocks by now and a war looked imminent. As the ground was getting prepared for a large-scale confrontation between the major European nations, certain immediate events of provocation worked as the flashpoint and what ensued was a full-fledged war. The First World War, as it came to be called, turned out to be one of the deadliest wars ever fought and on a scale never witnessed before.

One of the important causes of the February Revolution was the heavy military setback suffered by the Russian army during the First World War. The losses suffered by Russia in the First World War played a definite role in the mutinies and revolts that began to occur. Russian soldiers, with lowered morale, began to fraternize with the enemy. However, Tsar Nicholas II, the last Emperor of Russia, insisted on ruling as an autocrat. He had comprehensively failed to deal adequately with the problems facing the country. Social unrest and public discontent against the government reached a climax, leading to the Russian Revolution in 1917. The Revolution in February destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and resulted in the creation of the Soviet Union under a provisional government. However, soon Russia witnessed a period of dual power. In the dual power system, the provisional government held state power, whereas the national network of Soviets, led by socialists, had the allegiance of the lower classes and the political left. During this disordered phase, mutinies, protests and strikes became the order of the day. Finally, in the October Revolution, the Bolshevik party, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, deposed the provisional government. Besides the developments during the First World War, there were many other causes of the Russian Revolution. This unit discusses the various causes of the Russian Revolution in detail. In this unit, you will also identify and recognize the causes that led to dictatorship in countries like Germany and Italy.

History is replete with examples where dictators have left nations exhausted, overturned and on the verge of social, cultural, economic and especially political breakdown. Dictatorship is a concept that has its origins in the mind of a person, who solely wants to achieve a state of total control over all the intricacies of a nation, and visualizes himself to be the only source of political, social and economic emancipation.

The history of the world very conspicuously reflects the above stated scenario. The world has been a witness to the nature, scope and effects of dictatorship in almost every century. However, the most prominent of all the dictatorships have been seen in the post-World War I era. After the First World War, nations of the world geared towards creating amnesty between the nations, especially Europe. The first decade post-World War I saw rampant changes in the cultural, social and political ideologies of various nations. This period saw the breakdown of old nations, old ways of thinking, and the formation of new nations with new identities, territories including various political and social changes. Various international organizations too were set up which helped in establishing global peace and the phenomenon of democracy especially in Europe was received with open arms. The European nations saw the fall of most of the monarchies and the consequent establishment of a system where people elected their own representatives, had rights to vote along with a governmental system which catered to the newly established social and cultural set up.

However, this reform was short-lived. There was a persistent conservative authoritarianism in smaller nations of Central and Eastern Europe, and nations like Germany, Soviet Union and Italy were dominated by radical dictatorship. Dictatorship in these countries led to an unprecedented control over the masses by the dictator, who vehemently rejected all forms of parliamentary rule. Europe, in particular, witnessed totalitarian dictatorship in various forms. Apart from affecting the political nature of the nations, these states also affected the overall workings of other sovereign states and openly flouted the norms established by the League of Nations which was primarily formed to maintain international peace.

Dictatorship, totalitarianism or fascism—all have common elements and characteristics, however all these ideologies have a common result—defeat, in all parameters and aspects. However, if the dictators see the people as important catalysts for reforms, dictatorship can be perceived to be good in many ways. The present unit details the various causes and implications of dictatorship in countries like Germany and Italy.

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4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the reasons and causes for the outbreak of the First World War
- Explain the course and impact of the First World War
- Discuss the Peace Settlement of Paris and the Treaty of Versailles
- Describe the causes, course and impact of the Russian Revolution
- Analyse the causes behind the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe
- Evaluate the causes of the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany

4.2 FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War, which was fought on a global scale, was a major war centered in Europe. The War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact practically on all the countries and regions of the world. It was predominantly called the World War or the Great War till the Second World War started in 1939. Thereafter, it was known as the First World War or World War I. The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers. However, the First World War was not an instant development and it was the ultimate result of various developments in the economic and political sphere which were going on for about a century in Europe. The nature of the War, both in terms of intensity and scale, was completely different from the known wars fought earlier in history. The world saw, for the first time, such a large number of countries taking part in a single act of war and the loss of life and property that it caused was unprecedented. The War also saw for the first time the extensive use of modern technology in warfare and new methods of destruction and defence through the deployment of armies, navies and air forces by the respective countries. Ultimately, more than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized in this War and more than 9 million combatants were killed. This was largely due to the enormous increase in the lethality of weapons, without

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corresponding improvements in protection or mobility. This deadliest of conflicts not only shifted the global balance of power but paved the way for various political changes such as domestic tension and revolutions in the nations involved. David Thomson has observed, ‘The greatest novelty of this war was, remarkable disparity between the ends sought, the prices paid and the results obtained.’

The uneasy relations between the major European powers escalated into a transnational conflict in 1914 on account of some instant acts of provocation. On the fateful night of 5 August 1914, five columns of German troops had converged in the town of Liege in Belgium expecting little resistance. To their surprise, they were halted by determined fire from the Liege town’s forts. This was a big setback for Germany because control of Liege was essential before they could proceed with their main operation against France. They were forced to resort to siege tactics using heavy military equipment. Finally, the German troops fired from the air and Belgian forces, though strong, were not equipped to withstand such a heavy firing for long. On 13 August, the first fort of the town of Liege surrendered and three days later the entire town came under German control. This surprising turn of events eventually escalated into a horrifying war of frightening proportions and marked the beginning of an era of prolonged conflict in the history of the world. Commenting on the German aggression, German historian, I. Geiss observed, ‘The determination of German empire “the most powerful conservative force in the world after the Tsarist Russia” to uphold the conservative and monarchic principles in any means against the rising fold of democracy, plus its *Weltpolitik*, made War inevitable.’

4.2.1 Causes of the First World War

Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Yugoslav nationalist in Sarajevo, the real causes of the War lay much deeper. The fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy. The growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War. Finally, the system of secret military alliances, race for armaments, the international negotiations and the occurrence of a series of international crises made the World War inevitable. Professor S. B. Fay, author of *The Origins of the World War Volume II: After Sarajevo*, commenting on this observes that, ‘These developments so offered a fertile soil in which the seeds of real war might easily be germinated.’ Immediately on the eve of the War several alliances formed over the previous decades were invoked. Within weeks the major powers were at War; via their colonies and the conflict soon spread around the world. The principal causes responsible for the outbreak of the First World War were as follows:

1. Formation of secret alliances

Historians believe that the system of secret alliances which developed after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 was the greatest cause for the outbreak of the First World War. On the eve of the War, entire Europe was divided into two alliances or armed camps, namely, Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. The former consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, while Turkey joined the alliance soon after. The latter was composed of Great Britain, France and Russia. In addition, Great Britain and Japan had

signed an alliance in 1902 and Japan became a part of the Triple Entente after that. The first step towards the formation of the Triple Alliance was taken when Germany entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. In 1882, Italy joined in this alliance. The beginning of the Triple Entente was made in 1894 when France concluded an alliance with Russia. With the dawn of 20th century, Great Britain which was following a policy of splendid isolation, also started looking for allies. Splendid isolation is a policy followed by Britain through the late 19th century, characterizing a non-participation in European matters. Historians are divided over the view as to whether Britain was following the policy of its own will or was forced by circumstances to follow it. Britain entered into a treaty with Japan in 1902 and with France in 1904. When Great Britain concluded a treaty with Russia in 1907, the Triple Entente came into existence. Thus, on the eve of the War, the whole of Europe was virtually split into two camps bound by various secret alliances. Sporadic friction between the two main groups had brought Europe to the verge of war several times since the dawn of the 20th century. There were many causes of friction which threatened to offset the peace of Europe like the naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany; French resentment at the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1871; the Germans fearing the containment of Germany by Great Britain, Russia and France; and the Russian suspicion of Austrian ambitions in the Balkans and the Serbian nationalism.

Serbia had ambitions of uniting all Serbs and Croats, many of whom lived inside the Habsburg Empire in the south Slav Kingdom (Yugoslavia). This made it necessary to take certain areas from Austria-Hungary by threatening to cause the collapse of the ramshackle Habsburg Empire which consisted of many different nationalities and races. There were Slovaks, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Romanians and Slovenes as well as Serbs and Croats. Had the Serbs and Croats left the fold, many of the others would have demanded their independence as well, and the Habsburg Empire would have broken up. Consequently, many Austrians were keen on what they called a ‘preventive war’ to destroy Serbia before she became strong enough to destroy Austria-Hungary. From all these resentments and tensions, there arose a series of events which culminated in the outbreak of the war in 1914. According to historian, S. B. Fay, ‘The system of secret alliances made it inevitable that if war did come, it would involve all the great powers of Europe. The members of each group felt bound to support each other in order to strengthen the solidarity of the group.’

2. Economic rivalries and imperialism

Economic rivalry and imperialism was another important cause of the First World War. By the end of the 19th century, Great Britain, France and Russia, each had built up huge colonial empires. Germany was left with the smallest share of wealth acquired from colonies. Germany believed itself to be the greatest nation in the world and was not willing to accept the subordinate place in the imperial sphere. It was keen to acquire a world empire worthy of its position. Consequently, when Germany tried to capture the market which was already in the hands of Great Britain, it led to bitterness between the two powers. Great Britain was not prepared to give up her own colonies, spheres of influence and markets, and Germany was bent on getting them at any cost. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution increased the rate of production in the European countries. Therefore, the demand for market outside the European continent increased and in the years after 1880s, the race for imperialistic expansion also increased in intensity. The economic rivalry took the form of a struggle mainly between Great Britain and Germany.

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At that time, Britain was apprehending that it may be outdistanced by Germany in the race for colonies. This competition led to resistance between the two European nations.

Britain and Germany struggled for markets in Argentina; Russia and England indulged in a similar struggle for oil in Persia. These economic rivalries led to the partition of Africa. Most of the African continent was taken over by the European States in what became known as the ‘Scramble for Africa’. The idea behind it was the control of new markets and new sources of raw materials. The European powers thus established their hegemony in the Far-East and the Near-East. There were also interventions in the crumbling Chinese empire. The European powers, the United States of America and Japan, all at different times, forced the helpless Chinese to grant trading concessions. The condition was such that by 1914, the habitable portions of the world were divided among the European nations, and European powers like Germany sought a ‘place in the sun’.

Some of the historians argue that the desire for the economic control of the world caused German businessmen and capitalists to wage a war with Great Britain, who still owned about half of the world’s merchant ships in 1914. Some of the Marxist historians support this theory because it puts the blame for the War on the capitalist system. Opponents of this theory, point out that Germany was already well on the way to economic victory. So, some of the leading German industrialists remarked in 1913 that, ‘Give us three or four more years of peace and Germany will be unchallenged economic master of Europe’. This ambitious imperialistic objective was the principal factor leading to frictions and the subsequent international crisis.

3. Germany’s desire to be world power

Germany’s ambitions to build a world empire also added to the turbulence of the world. As long as Herr Otto Von Bismarck was at the helm of affairs of Germany, it was on the whole a satiated power and was interested in maintaining its status-quo based upon its supremacy in Europe. Bismarck was a conservative German political leader who had a considerable role in the unification of Germany. He was devoted to Prussia, and after Germany was unified, the mighty German Empire was established under Prussian leadership. When Bismarck became the President of Prussia, he tried to fume wars against Austria and France so as to establish German supremacy in Europe. He later became the First Chancellor of the German Empire. Bismarck was keen on uniting the German states to form a German Empire that had Prussia at its centre. He knew that this could be achieved only with the empowerment of the German military. A unified Germany had tilted the scales of power in Europe. Bismarck’s foreign policies were such that Germany had formed alliances with most nations and could not engage in wars with many nations. These alliances created a feeling of insecurity in the continent later and became one of the reasons for the First World War. After Bismarck’s fall in 1890, Germany’s ambitions began to climb high and was set at world dominance. This ambitious sentiment is evident from the eminent German historian Preitschke’s statements, ‘Just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German culture, of the German mind in a world, of the German character.’

4. French desire to recover Alsace-Lorraine

The snatching away of Alsace and Lorraine from France by Germany in 1871 and the consequent determination of the French people to get them back was another cause of

the First World War. The government of the Third Republic in France left no stone unturned to keep the spirit of revenge and the hope for the restoration of the two provinces alive. France was keen to get back these two areas because these areas were rich in minerals, particularly in iron ore. The French felt that the Germans owed their industrial prosperity to these areas. In certain quarters of France, it was felt that if Germany had not interfered in Morocco, the French might have found some compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and forgotten their vengeance against Germany. But the constant German interference in the affairs of Morocco further added to the bitterness between these two European powers.

5. Italy's ambitious desires

Another cause of the War was the desire of the people of Italy to recover Trentino and the areas around the port of Trieste which were inhabited by the Italians but were still under the control of Austria-Hungary. As these areas once formed part of the Roman Empire, the Italians raised slogans of *Italia Irredenta* or 'unredeemed Italy'. Further, the economic bankruptcy and rapidly growing population of Italy also compelled her to look around for more land and economic resources. This brought Italy closer to Germany which was equally keen to challenge the status-quo in the European continent and establish a huge empire abroad.

6. Contest over control of Balkan Peninsula

The competition for the control of the Balkan Peninsula between Austria-Hungary and Russia enhanced the tension and became a major cause for the outbreak of the First World War. After the fall of the Turkish Empire, a number of small countries emerged in the Balkan Peninsula. Three of these, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, began to clash with each other for the control of the fertile Macedonia.

Russia was keenly interested in the Balkan politics and backed Serbia in her demand for bigger Serbia, because Russia saw in it an opportunity of getting control of Constantinople, warm water port in the South and the straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Using the same, Russia wished to approach the Mediterranean Sea, the attainment of which had always been the objective of Russian foreign policy.

During the Bosnian crisis of 1908, Russia adopted a sympathetic attitude towards Serbia and threatened to take action against Austrian aggression. But German declaration to stand by Austria and promise full military support to her forced Russia to retreat. This development enhanced the bitterness between Austria, Serbia and Russia.

In 1912-13, another crisis occurred in Balkan and Austria did her best to thwart the ambitions of Serbia. Austria forced Serbia to evacuate various Adriatic towns which the Serbs had conquered. Austria also raised Albania as an autonomous state to prevent Serbia from obtaining any outlet to the sea. Austria also wanted to go to war but was restrained by Germany. Austrian attitude was greatly resented by both Great Britain and Russia. The Austro-Serbian feud gradually intensified the tension in the European continent and aggravated the fragile peace in the region.

7. Militarism and naval race between European powers

Militarism was a significant cause for the First World War. European continent was an armed camp on the eve of the First World War. Militarism means the existence of a powerful standing army and navy as a measure for preparedness for war. The military and naval armament of all the great powers began to increase year after year. Each

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nation had its own war strategy and on the eve of the First World War, all of them had tried to strengthen their war strategies and military power.

Likewise, the fear, distrust, hatred and suspicion among the various nations like the Great Britain and Germany led to the naval race. Starting with Admiral Tirpitz's Navy Law of 1897, the growth of the German fleet on the sea probably did not worry Great Britain too much at first because Great Britain had an enormous lead in this field. The introduction of the powerful British 'Dreadnought' battleship in 1906 changed all this because it made all other battleships obsolete. This naval race of Great Britain with Germany was meant to establish the might of British naval power and to make Great Britain the unchallenged force on the high seas. After the introduction of the 'Dreadnought' battleship, the Germans also built new warships on equal terms with Britain. The resulting naval race turned out to be the main bone of contention between the two powers till the beginning of the War in 1914. According to Winston Churchill, 'Though, in the spring and summer of 1914, naval rivalry had ceased to be a cause of friction because it was certain that we (Britain) could not be overtaken as far as capital ships were concerned.'

Due to this militarism and naval race the great powers of Europe began to increase their expenditure concerning their army and navy. During that time Germany increased its military and naval expenditure up to 335 per cent. Russia and Britain also increased their expenditure 214 per cent for military and 185 per cent for navy, respectively.

8. Lack of a world body to regulate international relations

The lack of a world body to regulate the affairs of the States also contributed to the War. The States were following strict confidentiality in their diplomacy and in certain States the matters of secrecy were not revealed even to the members of the ministry. As a result the issues were clouded in mystery. Although, by the end of the 19th century, certain principles of international law and morality had been evolved through the Hague Conference, the States paid little attention to them in the absence of a powerful authority to enforce these rules.

Further, the States were very much conscious of their sovereignty and they did not like the idea of submitting to any international organization and also did not consider the rules of international morality binding on them. The absence of a strong international agency created anarchy in the international relations as there was no institution to make laws for the nations and compel all to respect such laws.

9. Series of international crises

The series of international crises are as follows:

- (i) **The Moroccan Crisis:** Germany interfered in the affairs of Morocco in 1905–06 and demanded all powers to enjoy equal privileges in Morocco. This was one of the few remaining areas of the African Continent not controlled by a European power. The Germans believed that as per the Anglo-French Agreement *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904, the French would recognize Great Britain's position in Egypt in return for British approval of a possible French takeover of Morocco. Fearing the possible French occupation of Morocco, the Germans announced that they would assist the Sultan of Morocco to maintain his country's independence, and insisted for an international conference to discuss its future. As per the demand of Germany, a conference was also held in 1906 at Algeciras in Spain. Meanwhile, the British believed that if the Germans had their way, it would be an important step on the road to the German diplomatic domination. The

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Germans did not take the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 seriously, because there was a long record of hostility between Great Britain and France. However, to the utter surprise of Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and Spain supported the French demand to control the Moroccan Bank and police. This was a grave diplomatic failure for Germany, which realized that the new line-up of Britain and France was a strong force to be reckoned with, especially as the Moroccan crisis was soon followed by Anglo-French military exchanges. This crisis further reduced the trust factor between various European powers.

- (ii) **The Anglo-Russian Agreement:** The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 was seen by Germany as another hostile move. The logic behind it was given that in 1894 Russia had signed an alliance with France, which was Britain's partner in the *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904. For years, the British had viewed Russia as a major threat to their interests in the Far East and India, which were colonies of Great Britain at that time. However, the changing situation in 1904–05 where Japan defeated Russia had weakened it considerably, and it no longer seemed so much of a threat. This development forced Great Britain to change its mindset. Whereas, on the other hand, the Russians were keen to end the long-standing rivalry and anxious to attract British investment for their industrial modernization programme. The Agreement, therefore, settled their remaining differences. This Agreement was not a military alliance and not necessarily an anti-German move, but the Germans saw it as confirmation of their fears that Britain, France and Russia were planning to encircle it. Undoubtedly, this development enhanced the tension in Europe.
- (iii) **The Bosnia Crisis:** The Austrians, taking advantage of a revolution in Turkey, annexed the Turkish province of Bosnia. This was a deliberate blow to the neighbouring state of Serbia, because Serbia had also been hoping to take Bosnia. The motive behind Serbian interest was that Bosnia contained around three million Serbs among its mixed population of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. The Serbs appealed for help to their fellow Slavs and the Russians, who called for a European Conference, expecting French and British support. When it became clear that Germany would support Austria in the event of war, the French drew back, unwilling to become involved in a war in Balkans. The British, anxious to avoid a breach with Germany, did no more than to protest to Austria-Hungary. The Russians, after their defeat from Japan, dared not risk another war without the support of their allies. In this situation, Serbia did not get any help from outside and no conference took place. Austria kept Bosnia, and it was a victory for the Austro-German alliance. After this development, Serbia remained bitterly hostile to Austria and it was this quarrel, that heightened the tension in European continent, and later this led to the outbreak of the First World War. On the other hand, to avoid further humiliation, Russians were determined to embark a massive military build-up.
- (iv) **The Agadir Crisis:** The Agadir Crisis of 1911 was a further development in the Moroccan Crisis. French troops occupied the Moroccan capital Fez in 1911 to suppress a rebellion against the Sultan. It looked as if the French were about to annex Morocco. Hoping to pressurize the French and giving Germany compensation, Germans sent a gunboat, Panther, to the Moroccan port of Agadir. The French stood firm making no major concessions, and eventually the German gunboat was removed. On their part, the Germans agreed to recognize the French

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protectorate over Morocco in return for two strips of territory in the French Congo. It was seen as a victory for the French but this development triggered a naval race between the European powers like Britain, France and Germany.

- (v) **Balkan Wars:** The Balkan War of 1912 started when Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, who were known as the Balkan League, attacked Turkey and captured most of its remaining territory in Europe. After the outbreak of the War, Germany and Great Britain intervened in it and arranged a peace conference in London. They were anxious to avoid a conflict between the Balkan League and Turkey, and simultaneously they had to demonstrate that Great Britain and Germany could still work together. The resulting settlement divided the former Turkey's lands among the Balkan states. However, the Serbs were not happy with the gains of the Balkan states; rather they wanted Albania which would give them an outlet to sea. In the meantime, the Austrians with British and German support insisted that Albania should become an independent state. This was a deliberate attempt made by Austria to prevent Serbia from becoming more powerful.

A year after this development, the Second Balkan War broke out in 1913 because the Bulgarians were dissatisfied with the peace settlement. They were hopeful of acquiring Macedonia, but most of Macedonia was conquered by Serbia. This led Bulgaria to attack Serbia but its plan backfired when Romania, Turkey and Greece supported Serbia. In that War, the Bulgarians were defeated and by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, the Bulgarians forfeited most of their gains from the First Balkan War of 1912. The Anglo-German influence prevented a further escalation of the tension by restraining the Austrians who were about to support Bulgaria and planning to attack Serbia. The repercussions of these two Balkan wars were grave. On the one hand, Serbia was strengthened and it was determined to intervene between the Serbs and Croats who were living inside Austria-Hungary, on the other hand the Austrians were equally determined to put an end to Serbia's ambitions.

10. The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand

The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Serbian in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. The Archduke was paying an official visit to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo when he and his wife were shot dead. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, was a member of the Black Hand, a secret society of the Serbian terrorists. Austrians were outraged at this incident and held Serbia responsible for this by serving an ultimatum for this reprehensible act. Serbia refused to comply with the ultimatum served by Austria because of Russian backing. In the meantime, Austria wanted to crush Serbia and even managed to get the support of Germany. An effort of mediation was made by the powers but to no avail. Finally, on 28 July 1914 Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, thus beginning the First World War. Initially, Great Britain and Germany tried to localize the War but soon it became evident that the matters had gone out of their hands. The Russians who did not want to let down the Serbs, ordered a general military mobilization against Austria on 29 July. Germany demanded that Russia should put an end to its military mobilization and withdraw troops. But when the Russians refused to comply, Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August 1914 and on France on 3 August. When German troops entered Belgium on their way to invade France, Great Britain who had promised to defend Belgian interest demanded their withdrawal. When Germany ignored this demand of Britain, Great Britain entered into the War on 4 August. On 6 August Austria-Hungary also declared war on Russia and other countries joined later.

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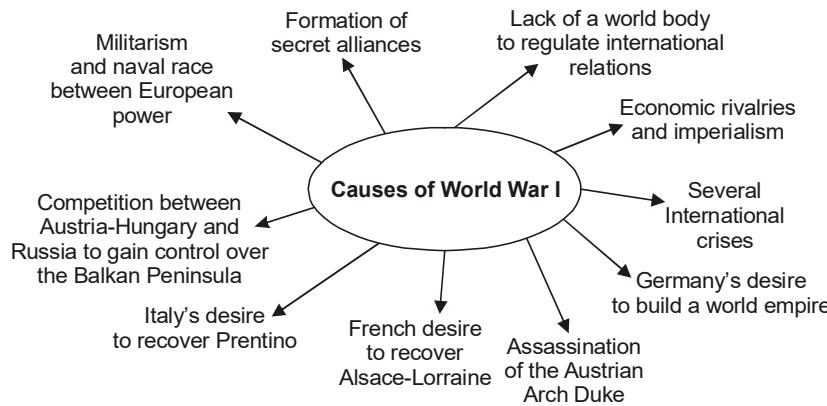


Fig. 4.1 Causes of World War I

Course of the First World War

The War, which started with the attack of Serbia by Austria-Hungary, turned out to be quite different from what most people had anticipated. It was not confined only to the European continent, but soon saw the participation of many powerful countries of the world. Almost all the big countries of the world were automatically drawn into the War in various battles that were fought in different parts of the world.

Initially, when Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia, Great Britain and Germany made efforts to localize the conflict. However, when Russia declared war against Austria-Hungary, Germany also declared war against Russia. Until this time, the war had not assumed the shape of a World War. It was only after Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium and Britain, and France declared war on it that the conflict assumed the shape of a World War. Although Great Britain joined the War on the plea that Germany has violated Belgium's neutrality, Belgium could not be saved and the German force was able to smash the resistance of Belgium. Germany then headed towards Paris and went beyond Marne. However, General Foch, aided by Great Britain, compelled the Germans to retreat from Marne to the northern side of river Aisne. The battle of Marne was a turning point of the War because it foiled all German plans of crossing France and extending a helping hand to its allies for concerted action against the enemies. This development dashed all hopes of a short war. Both sides dug themselves in and spent the next four years attacking and defending lines of trenches.

During the War in Eastern Europe there were many other developments on the sidelines which precipitated the crisis. The early Russian success against the Austrians who constantly had to be helped out by the Germans caused friction between the two allies. On the Eastern front Russia mobilized at quick speed and invaded East Prussia but it was defeated by Hindenburg at Tannenberg. Russia was, however, more successful against the Austrians and occupied the Carpathian passes from where it could prove a

NOTES

threat for Hungary. However, the Germans came to Austria's rescue and pushed back the Russians and captured Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

In 1915, Italy joined the Allies in spite of its alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary because the Allies agreed to make territorial adjustment with regard to its frontiers. Further, Italy realized that this approach could help to recover some of the provinces which formerly belonged to it from Austria. Japan also joined the Allies as Germany had objected to Japan's taking of Liaotung from China in 1895 but was forced to surrender this. Turkey fought on the side of the Central Powers. In the initial stage of the War, it inflicted heavy losses on the Allies, and prevented communication between Russia and the Allies. Great Britain was defeated at Gallipoli which was probably its greatest disappointment in the War. However, soon Great Britain recovered itself from the defeat and recaptured Kut and occupied Baghdad. It also made political concessions to the Arabs by recognizing their independence. Though in the first year of War Serbia resisted the Austrian attacks boldly, in 1915, it succumbed to double attack of the Bulgarians on the south and the combined Austro-German attack on the north.

As far as the War on the sea was concerned, the British navy maintained its dominance on others on the seas. On the sea front, Germans lost heavily in the operations of Dogger bank and the right of Heligoland. In the battle of Jutland the losses on both sides were equally heavy though strategically the War went in favour of Great Britain. In spite of these setbacks, the German ships succeeded in doing much damage to Allies' commerce. However, after the comprehensive defeat at Falkland Islands, the German navy was rendered defensive.

After the defeat of Germany at Falkland Islands, the Germans retaliated with mines and submarine attacks. This was their only alternative as their surface vessels were either destroyed or were blockaded in various ports. Initially, they showed respect to neutral shipping and passenger liners but it soon became clear that the German blockade was ineffective. Meanwhile Britain also tried to mislead the Germans by flying neutral flags and by using passenger liners to transport arms and ammunition. In 1915, the British liner Lusitania was sunk by a torpedo attack. Germans knew that Lusitania was armed and carrying vast quantities of arms and ammunition. So Germans claimed that the sinking of the boat was not an act of barbarism against the defenseless civilians. This act of Germany resulted in serious consequences as out of almost 2,000 dead, 128 were Americans. At this juncture the American President Woodrow Wilson recognised that the US would have to take part in the War to protect its trade. Whereas the British blockade did not interfere with the safety of passengers and crew, but the German tactics certainly did. This led to protests from America and the submarine campaign was toned down.

In the mid-1916, the German Admiral Von Scheer tried to lure part of Britain's fleet to come out of its base so that the numerically superior Germans could destroy it. However, more British ships came out contrary to the expectations of Germans. After a fierce battle, the Germans used torpedoes and destroyed 14 British ships whereas the British had also destroyed 11 German ships in the battle, and this is famous as the Battle of Jutland. The real importance of the Battle lay in the fact that the Germans had failed to destroy Great Britain's sea power. Due to British blockade, the German fleet of high seas stayed in Kiel port for the rest of the War. Finally, in desperation due to food shortages, the German fleet embarked on unrestrained submarine warfare.

After the Battle of Jutland, the Germans had been concentrating on the production of U-boats to sink all enemy warships and merchant ships in the Atlantic. Although they

knew that this act was likely to bring the US into the War, the Germans hoped that before the Americans could make any vital contribution, they would force the British and France to surrender. The Germans got enormous success in this field in April 1917 by sinking 430 ships and Britain was reduced to about six weeks of corn supply. However, by introducing the convoy system, where a convoy of large number of merchant ships were protected by escorting warships, Lloyd George saved the situation. This act of George drastically reduced the losses by protecting the merchant ships and with it the German gamble had once again failed. The submarine campaign was important because it brought the US into the First World War. The British navy helped by the Americans played a pivotal role in the defeat of the Central Powers. During that time, after the revolt of 1917, Russia suffered a number of defeats and ultimately surrendered to Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The withdrawal of Russia from War enabled Germany to transfer a large section of its troops to the western front to give a big blow to the Allies. However, the Allies were saved by the entry of the US in the War. The US entered the War as a protest against the unrestrained submarine campaign carried out by Germany in violation of all legal and humanitarian considerations. At the end of 1917, only one American division had been in action, but by mid 1918 over half a million men were involved. Most important was the psychological boost which the American potential in resources of men and material gave the allies and the corresponding blow it gave to German morale.

In 1917, a new European power, Greece, had also joined the War against the Central Powers and held the armies in Macedonia. In September 1918, Bulgaria surrendered before the marching armies of Greece and sought a ceasefire. In October 1918, Austria sought an armistice and was out of War. Turkey was also defeated. Thus, Germany was left alone in the War. In the meantime, there was a mutiny in Germany and the emperor was forced to abdicate. The new head of the German Government, Max Von Baden, sought peace based on the Fourteen Points announced by President Wilson of the US. The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson were:

- (i) Eradication of secret diplomacy
- (ii) Free navigation facilities at sea for all nations in war and peace
- (iii) All round reduction of armaments
- (iv) Elimination of economic barriers between states
- (v) Evacuation of Russian territory
- (vi) Re-establishment of Belgium
- (vii) Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace-Lorraine
- (viii) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality
- (ix) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the populations concerned
- (x) Self-government for the people of Austria-Hungary
- (xi) Evacuation from Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia giving access to the sea
- (xii) An independent Poland with secure access to the sea
- (xiii) A general association of the nations to preserve peace
- (xiv) Self-government for the non-Turkish people of the Turkish Empire and permanent opening of the Dardanelles

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NOTES

Germany thought by asking for peace, in 1918, it would save itself from invasion and preserve the army's discipline and reputation. Fighting continued for another five weeks while negotiations went on, but eventually an armistice was signed on 11. On 18 November 1918, the terms of the armistice were conveyed to Germany. Though the terms were very hard, it had no other option but to surrender. Thus, in November 1918, the First World War ended. The War has been described as the worst disaster to the humankind. Describing the enormity of the First World War, historian C. J. H. Hayes has rightly observed that, 'The war, thus closing, was indeed a World War. Never before had there been a struggle so gigantic, so deadly and costly.'

4.2.2 Effects of the First World War

The First World War left a manifold impact on the contemporary society, polity and economy of the world.

1. Political Impact

The First World War had a serious consequence on the polity of the then contemporary world which was highly influenced by this event.

- (i) In the first place, the War gave a shattering blow to some of the autocratic monarchies functioning in various countries of Europe of the time. It paved the way for the development of democratic system in Europe. As an upshot of the War three autocratic dynasties, namely, the Hohenzollernian in Germany, the Hapsburg in Austria-Hungary, and the Romanov in Russia were destroyed. In a number of states, monarchical system was replaced by republican system. These countries were Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Czechoslovakia. The emergence of democratic system led to recognition of people's democratic rights.
- (ii) The War encouraged the principles of nationalism and self-determination. After the War empires having people with different culture were dissociated and independent states with distinct cultures came up to the fore. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine, etc., which had distinct cultures of their own made their appearance and were given to France. Similarly, Schleswig-Holstein was restored to Denmark. China, Turkey, Egypt and Ireland were also influenced with the impact of nationalism.
- (iii) The weakening position of the colonial powers in Europe provided an opportunity to freedom movements in Asia and Africa. Colonized countries like India began to feel that in view of the weakened position of the colonial powers they could hope to gain freedom. Therefore, they intensified the campaign of freedom struggle. The prolonged freedom struggle in Asian and African countries led to a change in the policy of colonial powers towards their colonies. During the pre-war period, the colonial powers treated their colonial possessions as per their wish without taking into account the wishes of the people. In contrast to their earlier practice, in the post-World War period the colonized territories were granted certain rights and some restrictions were imposed on them under the mandate system. Overall, greater importance began to be attached to the interests of the colonial people after the War.
- (iv) The First World War promoted the spirit of 'internationalism'. During the War various nations came in close contact with each other through various alliances, pacts and agreements. These relationships continued further even after the War ended, which greatly contributed to the development of the spirit of internationalism.

NOTES

- (v) The most important contribution of the First World War was the creation of an international organization, The League of Nations, to monitor the international relations of various countries and to encourage peace, harmony and international cooperation. It was the horror of the War which convinced the world leaders of the need for an institution to prevent the recurrence of such war and promote international understanding. This culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations. However, unfortunately various powers did not fully cooperate with the League of Nations and tried to promote their selfish national interests and thus contributed to the failure of the League.

2. Economic Impact

The First World War which was a terrible catastrophe on humanity and caused massive loss of life and property also destroyed the economy of several countries who participated in the War. In this War, around 30 countries participated including all the major colonial powers of Europe and suffered huge losses in terms of men and material. Of the 65 million people who took part in the War more than 9 million people were killed, 29 million people were either wounded or reported missing. On this, C. J. E. Hayes has observed, ‘Every family in Eastern and Central Europe, every family in Italy, France and the huge British empire and many families in America suffered loss of near relatives and close friends.’

- (i) In terms of money the War was estimated to cost around 400 billion dollars.
- (ii) Second, as a result of the War, the prices of all commodities registered a steep rise, which caused much hardship and suffering for the general public. It forced various governments to take concrete measures to regulate prices and control the distribution system. Thus, the post-war situation created an environment favourable for the rise of state socialism.
- (iii) The War also led to the rise of trade-union activities. During the War, the demand for labour increased manifold. The industrialists and the industrialized states provided all sorts of facilities to the labourers to run their factories on full capacity. The labourers tried to make their condition better by demanding much deserved concessions and benefits from the state and factory owners. To safeguard their interests, they also established trade unions. Undoubtedly, the War enhanced the importance of workers and labourers and gave them a mechanism to protect their interests.
- (iv) Fourth, scholars believe that the increasing use of paper currency was largely the outcome of the First World War. The shortage of metals after the First Word War forced countries to print paper money for smaller denominations.
- (v) The War also led to devaluation of currency and economic depression in the world. In order to meet the huge expenses of the War, different countries imposed heavy taxes on the people, which caused much difficulty for the people. However, these extra taxes proved to be insufficient to fulfill the enormous expenses. Hence, the governments resorted to printing of currency notes without taking into account the reserve bullion stocks. This later became the cause for economic depression and currency devaluation.

During the First World War, for the maintenance of their armies, ships and for the procurement of arms and armaments, different countries raised loans from various possible quarters because the War expanses were beyond their expectation and paying capacity. As a result, in the wake of the War most of the great powers were forced to devalue

NOTES

their currency and were faced with great challenges of economic reconstruction. In the post-war scenario and particularly in the 1930s, the contemporary situation paved the way for the economic depression, which caused much hardship to the public throughout the world.

3. Social Impact

In the social sphere, the World War also had far-reaching consequences. The huge loss of life and material during the course of War caused untold sufferings to countless families in various countries. It compelled the contemporary world leaders to think of some mechanism for avoiding reoccurrence of war of this magnitude in the future, and to maintain peace and tranquility in the globe. This led to the establishment of the League of Nations to resolve international disputes amicably on the basis of reason and justice. This was the biggest achievement of the post-World War period.

Secondly, the cut-throat competition between the rival powers to surpass one another during the War, gave a boost to the rapid scientific progress in various parts of the world. On the eve and during the course of War, various European powers tried to improve their merchant ships, war ships, submarines, aeroplanes, and other war equipment, and invented various lethal gases to gain an edge over their opponents. These modern techniques used in the War cut short the duration of the War. Further, the scientific inventions throughout the War period also contributed to industrialization of the world and rapid agricultural progress.

The War promoted the feeling of goodwill and fraternity among the people. Before the War, the Europeans and particularly the colonial powers regarded themselves, their culture, traditions, religion and literature superior and refused to even mix up with the black Asians and Africans. The Whites, denounced the literature written by the black Asians and Africans, their conventional knowledge system and denied the very basic democratic rights of these people. However, during the War the Europeans and the colonial powers in particular, were forced to shun this feeling of racial superiority and differences, and the European soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Asian and African soldiers. The gallantry displayed by the Asian and African soldiers greatly impressed the Europeans and their hatred towards these races changed to some extent. As a result, the feeling of racism slowly subsided and it was taken over by a newfound goodwill among the people.

The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time. Education suffered a setback because during the War many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force as per the requirement of the War. In most of the countries military training was made compulsory for the students and conventional education was discouraged. All this greatly hampered the progress of education.

The War also contributed to the progress of women. Participating in the War millions of men lost their lives. Therefore, a scarcity of labourers was felt. Factory owners and the governments of industrialized states were, therefore, compelled to engage women as factory workers. Rising to the need of the hour women workers entered the hitherto male bastions and helped in maintaining the production of their industries. Therefore, immediately after the post-war period, they came to be recognized as regular labour force. All this greatly contributed to the elevation of their status and led to their empowerment.

4.2.3 Treaty of Versailles

The First World War which continued for four years and three months, i.e., 1,566 days, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded and which cost around 400 billion dollars. This was brought to an end by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and four other treaties concluded at various places by the Allies. In this landmark treaty of the world, the terms of peace with Germany were embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, which is the longest document of its kind. This peace treaty was a dictated one because the German diplomats were not at all consulted before its preparation, and it was finally imposed on them. The path of conclusion of the peace treaties was not at all smooth. There were many difficulties encountered by the peace conference mainly owing to the uncompromising nature of the delegates. The 1,037 delegates who attended the Paris Peace Conference, and almost all of them, as Langsam has said, 'came to attend the Paris Peace Conference well equipped with records and memoranda'. The opinions and counter opinions of these experts further added to the difficulties of reaching an agreed decision.

The lack of well-defined principles regarding the solution of the post-war problems and the future reconstruction of the world also stood in the way of leaders in finding any formula and a definite plan. The four leading figures; Woodrow Wilson of the US, Lloyd George of UK, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy, entrusted with the responsibility of taking a decision had no similarity of interests. While Wilson wanted to establish long and durable peace based on justice and neutrality instead of taking revenge on the enemy country, Clemenceau and Orlando were more keen to protect the territorial interests of France and Italy, respectively. They were not much bothered about the problem of world peace. Lloyd George of UK was no doubt eager to establish international peace based on truth and justice, but he was willing to do all this only if the interests of the United Kingdom were protected. Hence, the proceedings of the Conference were hindered by the two conflicting approaches adopted by the leaders. Although Wilson was not in favour of secret diplomacy, in view of the eagerness of the powers like Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to observe the terms of these secret treaties, he was ultimately forced to compromise. Commenting on this, historians like Walter Consuelo Langsam in *World Since 1919*, has said, 'Wilson's idealism came into sharp conflict with materialism at the conference and in most cases materialism triumphed'. All these difficulties were ultimately overcome before the Paris Peace Conference leading to the conclusion of five treaties:

- (i) The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 concluded with Germany
- (ii) The Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September 1919 with Austria
- (iii) The Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919 concluded with Bulgaria
- (iv) The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 concluded with Hungary
- (v) The Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 concluded with Turkey (the Treaty of Sevres was revised in the Conference at Lausanne in 1923) and peace was formally established only on 6 August 1924 when the Treaty came into force

The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany. After the stiff attitude of Clemenceau, a revised Treaty with five days time to accept the Treaty was issued. The

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NOTES

Allies warned that if Germany failed to do so their country would be invaded. As Germany was under the grip of famine, the German Assembly decided to accept the terms of the Treaty, and they appended their signatures to the Treaty on June 28. Historians like Norman Lowe have commented that, ‘The Treaty of Versailles in particular was one of the most controversial settlements ever signed, and it was criticised even in the Allied countries on the grounds that it was too hard on the Germans who were bound to object so violently that another war was inevitable, sooner or later.’ In addition, many of the terms such as reparations and disarmament proved impossible to carry out.

Provisions of the Treaty

The various provisions of the Treaty are as follows:

1. Territorial Provisions

The Treaty affected substantial territorial changes. According to the Treaty:

- (i) Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France, which it had taken from France in 1871. Belgium got back Eupen and Malmedy as well as Moresnet, which it got in partial compensation for the destruction of its forts by Germany.
- (ii) Germany agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the people concerned were in favour of joining it. The wishes of the people were to be determined by a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held the decision was in favour of a complete merger with Germany. However, Poland insisted that it must be given those areas, which had Polish majority. After the intervention of France, the League Council partitioned Silesia, leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany, but the industrialized areas of Silesia were given to Poland. Danzig, the main port city of West Prussia, was taken away from Germany and was set up as a free city under the administration of the League of Nations, because its population was wholly German.
- (iii) Memel was given to Lithuania in 1924 and in the north Germany lost northern Schleswig to Denmark after a plebiscite.
- (iv) The Saar Valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, after which it was decided that the people would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany. In the meantime, France was given the exclusive rights of exploitation of coal mines of the Valley. Fifteen years after when the plebiscite was actually held, the people of Saar Valley voted for Germany.
- (v) Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which had been handed over to Germany by Russia at Brest-Litovsk, were taken away from it and set up as independent states. This was an example of self-determination being carried into practice.
- (vi) Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League ‘looked after’ these colonies. Japan got the lease of Kiaochow and the German portion of the island of Soma was left to the care of New Zealand. While Australia was entrusted the administration of German New Guinea, Togoland and Tanganyika were left to the administration of Great Britain. Certain portions of Tanganyika were left under the control of Belgium and Cameroons were given

to France. The administrative rights over Germany and South-West Africa were given to the Union of South Africa.

- (vii) Germany also lost her economic privileges in Morocco, Bulgaria and in Turkey. Due to the Treaty, Germany lost around 90 lakh square miles area. The loss was accompanied by a blow to the German Pride because the Allies tried to justify their rule over the colonies by asserting that the German treatment of the native population in her colonies had been cruel and arbitrary.
- (viii) The treaty also provided that France pay war indemnity of five billion Francs to Germany. Till France had made the payment of the sum of five million Francs, the German army would continue to occupy parts of France.

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2. Military Provisions

The Treaty of Versailles considerably reduced the military might of Germany. It was compelled to abolish the German general staff and forced to reduce its army to 1 lakh with a small navy and merchant marine, without modern equipment, to be exclusively used only for police administration. The German navy was limited to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. As regards the air clauses, the Treaty absolutely forbade naval or military air forces for Germany. The Treaty also imposed restrictions on the manufacture of arms and ammunition. It was also forbidden to manufacture or purchase tanks, armoured cars, poisonous gases and submarines. The Rhineland was permanently demilitarized and Germany was not allowed to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhineland or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine. This meant German troops were not allowed or maintained in the area and the existing fortifications had to be destroyed. The harbours of the Islands of Heligoland, Dune and Kiel Canal were also to be demilitarized and all fortifications demolished. It was even prevented from exporting and importing war materials. The military services were made voluntary and for 12 years for soldiers and 25 years for officers. The War Guilt clause fixed the blame for the outbreak of the War solely on Germany and its allies.

3. Economic Provisions and Reparations

The Treaty also aimed at keeping Germany economically weak. The League, therefore, held Germany responsible for the loss and damage caused during the War and asked to pay compensation to the Allied and associated governments. The provisions of reparations were the final humiliation for the Germans. Though there could be little valid objections to the general principle of reparations, many historians now agree that the actual amount decided by the Reparation Commission was far too high. Germany was to pay reparations for the damage done to the allies and the actual amount was not decided at Versailles. However, after much argument and haggling it was announced later in 1921. The problem of payment of reparation proved complicated as it was very difficult to arrive at an amount which Germany would pay to the Allies. For that a Reparation Commission was set up and the representatives of Great Britain, the US, Italy, France and Japan were to decide the compensation amount. On 28 April 1921, the Commission assessed the debt of Germany at 6,600 million pounds. This amount led the Germans to protest that it was impossible to pay and they soon began to default their annual installments. The international tension resurfaced when France tried to force the Germans to pay. Eventually, the Allies admitted their mistake and reduced the amount to 2,000 million pounds as per the Young Plan of 1929. But, not before reparations had proved disastrous both economically and politically. This amount was successively scaled down and finally abolished in 1932.

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The Treaty also recognized the rights of the Allies to the replacement of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged in the War (tonne for tonne and class for class). As per the Reparation Commission, Germany had to deliver large quantities of coal for 10 years to France, Belgium and Italy. It was also to deliver a large number of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., to France and Belgium. All German properties in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries were to be confiscated and its pre-war trading concessions with the signatories like Morocco, Egypt and China were to be abolished. The Rivers Elbe and Oder of Germany were internationalized with a view to provide Switzerland and Czechoslovakia an access to the sea. The Kiel Canal was internationalized and thrown open for all ships of all nations. The Allies also demanded that Germany should allow free passage to merchant and war vessels of all countries.

4. Legal Provisions

The Allies also demanded that King Kaiser William II, the emperor of Germany should be tried as a war criminal for committing ‘the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties’. He was to be tried for these offences by a special tribunal. These provisions however, could not be implemented because the government of Netherlands refused to surrender the German King Kaiser William II, where he had taken shelter. However, as per the legal provisions within 6 months of the implementation of the Treaty Germany was to restore all the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away by her forces from France during the Franco-German War and the World War. Germany was also to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents and hand over two paintings to Belgium which were at that time in Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles was one of the most controversial documents signed by the nations in modern times. So, the Germans described it as a dictated peace, a Treaty forced upon by the vanquished. Throughout the Conference the representatives did not consult the Germans even once and their objections were completely overruled. Germany was forced to sign the treaty under threat of another invasion of their country. Lloyd George, who consistently advocated a lenient peace with Germany said, ‘These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes. We must carry out the edict of Providence and see that the people who inflicted this war shall never be in a position to do so again. The Germans say that they will not sign. Their newspapers say they will not sign. The politicians say the same thing. We say, Gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so in Versailles you shall do so in Berlin’. Even historian E. H. Carr in *International Relations between two World Wars*, has said, ‘Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end, is in one sense a dictated peace, for a defeated power seldom accepts willingly the consequences of its defeat. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times.’

It was, thus, evident that the element of dictation was very much present in the Treaty of Versailles. But this was not something peculiarly confined to this Treaty alone. The revengeful attitude of Germany as manifested in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk and the Treaty of Bucharest concluded with Russia and Romania respectively. This further hardened the attitude of the Allies because ‘the minds of the German rulers were too clearly revealed by these treaties to permit any illusion’.

Undoubtedly, the peace settlement did not exactly succeed in maintaining peace. The leaders of the Peace Conference wanted Germany to pay heavily so that an event of this magnitude was not repeated. Even Lloyd George, who stood for the lenient treatment of Germany, won the famous *Khaki* election with the slogan, ‘We shall hang Kaiser and make Germany pay to the last penny’.

The element of reciprocity was also missing from the Treaty with regard to disarmament, transportation, colonies, abolition of capitulations, punishment of officers. All these provisions were unilaterally applied to Germany alone and the Allies were completely exempted from them. If disarmament was reasonable for Germany, it was obviously reasonable for the Allies. However, except Great Britain, no other Allied power agreed to disarm. If the principles of reciprocity and natural justice had been followed, the Treaty of Versailles would have been a peace of justice. Without reciprocity, it was a Treaty of force and its terms could be executed only so long as the force continued to be applied to make them execute it.

It has been said by the critics of the Treaty that the seeds of the Second World War lay in the Treaty of Versailles. However, no great diplomatic instrument like the Treaty has been modified, revised and infringed in the same way as the Treaty of Versailles. In 1926, Part I of the Treaty was amended to enable Germany to get the membership of the League of Nations. Part V dealing with military, navy and air force was violated by Germany in 1935. Part VII dealing with the War criminals was allowed to go by default. Part VIII, dealing with reparation, was modified by the Reparation Commission and other committees in 1931 before it was given a decent burial by the World Economic Conference. Part II and III dealing with the western, northern, and eastern boundary of Germany were violated by Germany. The other steps which infringed the Treaty of Versailles again and again, including promulgation of new military laws by Germany, conclusion of Naval Treaty with Britain in 1935, occupation of Austria by Germany in 1938, and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Germany in 1939. Thus, the Treaty of Versailles proved ineffective in its purpose due to the fact that the Treaty failed to satisfy neither the victors nor the vanquished. The Treaty failed to establish permanent peace, not because of its inherent faults in the Treaty, but it was mainly due to the subsequent policies pursued by the Allied Powers and Germany.

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4.3 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia’s weak government and economy, resulting in mass shortages and hunger. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned the people, and particularly the soldiers, against the Tsar. The soldiers felt that Tsar’s decision to take personal command of the army was responsible for their defeats. The revolution against the Tsars began in Petrograd by the workers in response to bread shortages. People believed that the government was hoarding the bread in order to increase the prices. However, a revolt by the workers’, by itself, was very unlikely to result in the Tsars’ abdication. An important phase of the revolution was the mutiny of the Petrograd garrison and the loss of control over Petrograd by the Tsar. In March 1917, the Tsar first lost control of the streets, then of the soldiers, and finally of the Duma, which resulted in his forced abdication. The Marxist historians have

Check Your Progress

1. When did the First World War begin and end?
2. When did the Triple Entente come into existence?
3. Name the treaty signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.

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grossly exaggerated the extent of political involvement in the Revolution, and it would be fair to say that only at a very late stage of the Revolution the socialist political parties became involved. When it became clear that the Duma was also ineffective, the unrest for bread shortages increased and culminated in two revolutions in 1917. The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. Nicholas II, his wife, Tsarina Alexandra, and his children were killed by the Bolsheviks in July 1918. Meanwhile, when the provisional government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.

Ominous Beginning of Nicholas' Rule

Nicholas's rule began on ominous notes. As the future Tsarina Alexandra first appeared officially in Russia during Alexander III's funeral, people said, 'She arrives behind a coffin, she will bring bad luck.'

To mark the coronation of a new Tsar, it was Russian tradition to offer food and drink to the people. When Nicholas came to the throne, about 7,00,000 people were assembled in Khodynskoe field to celebrate it, but a stampede occurred and 2,000 people were crushed to death.

The new Bolshevik government was fragile at first and its opponent Whites tried to destroy it, causing a bitter civil war in 1918–20. But, due to the effective leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks or Reds won the civil war and called themselves the Communists. Later, they consolidated their power and Lenin was able to begin the task of leading Russia to recovery until his premature death in 1924.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, which is popularly known as the Bolshevik Revolution, is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world. It is considered as significant as the French Revolution. In fact, some Marxian historians rank the Russian Revolution even higher than the French Revolution. They contend that while the French Revolution put an end to the autocratic rule and paved the way for the growth of democratic sentiments and ideals of political equality, the Russian Revolution apart from bringing about political equality also sought to bring about social and economic equality. It gave a new current to the thoughts of Communism and Socialism which sought to create a new society, culture and civilization. It asserted that the real power of the society must rest in the workers because they alone produce national wealth. The Russian Revolution was also important because it was the first attempt to give practical shape to the doctrines and theories of Marx, and it was the most important effect of the First World War.

The Russian Revolution was the result of a series of events that occurred during 1917, which caused two separate revolutions in February and October, with a great deal of political wranglings in-between and which eventually plunged the country into civil war before leading to the formation of the Communist State.

4.3.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution

In February 1917, the Russian Revolution was an important event in the course of Russian history. It has complex causes, nature, and effect and is critical in the twentieth century international history analysis. Even the major causes of this unrest of the common people towards Tsar Nicholas II and aristocratic landowners are numerous and complicated to neatly summarize.

Romanov Dynasty

Tsar Nicholas II represented the last of the Romanov dynasty, which had begun in 1613 with Mikhail Feodorovich and lasted more than 300 years. Assuming the throne in 1894, Nicholas' reign was marked by conflict with the lower classes, constant social unrest and disasters on the battlefield. In March 1917, he was forced to abdicate the throne. He and his family—wife Alexandra, and children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and Alexei—were held in Tsarskoe Selo, an imperial residence south of Petrograd (formerly Saint Petersburg). The Romanov dynasty began in 1613 when Mikhail Feodorovich was elected sovereign of all of Russia.

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However, there were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the treatment of peasants cruelly by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in the industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the West. Proletarian dissatisfaction was further combined by some immediate events of the time like shortages of food and successive military failures.

I. Series of bad judgments by the Tsar: The system of Tsar fell for a series of bad judgements by the Tsar. In the First World War, the war against Germany meant that troops could not be deployed in force against the Russian revolutionaries, the underestimation of the extent of the revolts in Petrograd by Tsar until it was too late, and the Tsar generals convinced him that only the Duma could deal with the situation. The imposition of strict censorship laws and suppression of any and all forms of political dissidence were some another factors that became responsible for the Revolution. All of these events led to the fall of autocratic system which was centuries old and that had generated lot of anguish and discontentment among the people of Russia.

The Revolution started as a peaceful bread protest on International Women's Day. Bread shortage was there not because of low harvest, but because the 'railway system had become overloaded due to the war, and was unable to supply the northern cities with grain'. In mid-February, it was realised that the supply of flour in Petrograd was left for only 10 days. Skilled labourers were recruited by the army, while the rail network had been divided into sections, which was controlled by civil government and by the military. This, along with the general belief that the government was hoarding bread so as to drive up prices, meant that the demonstration of anger was aimed against the regime of Tsarist because of its inability to distribute the food stocks. The aggrieved people transformed into an unruly mob because their protest was supported by demonstrations by the more militant Petrograd factory workers. Along with this, the textile labourers and Putilov steel workers went on strike and the crowds swelled from 1,00,000 to over 2,00,000 within three days. However, it would be untrue to describe the protests as purely a revolt by the workers, as it bore the character of a general uprising of the people. But it would be right to state that the 'workers played a leading role in the demonstrations and were especially active in the violent aspects of the uprising'. However, in general the protest took the form of a peasant riot, as the frenzied mob frequently indulged in violent acts.

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Tsar Nicholas II himself believed in autocratic principles. His ministers like Pleve had dictatorial powers who continued the old policy of Russification, persecution and reaction. The wife of Pleve and the Queen who was under the influence of Rasputin, a reactionary, interfered in the affairs of administration in 1902. A group of intellectuals who were influenced by the Western ideas published a paper called ‘Liberation and in 1904’. These intellectuals also formed a party known as Union Liberator. In the same year, the autocratic minister Pleve was assassinated. For all these reasons, Tsar Nicholas II thought of changing his policy and appointed Mirski, a man of liberal ideas, as the Home Minister. The press was given greater freedom. In November 1904, the representatives of Zemstvos or provincial assemblies met at St. Petersburg. They demanded freedom of conscience, speech, publication, public meeting and associations. They also demanded for a Parliament for the whole country empowered to pass all the laws and control the government. The Tsar did not concede the demands of common people and the discontentment continued to grow among the people. The students of the University of Moscow paraded the streets and shouted the slogans of ‘down with autocracy’ and ‘stop the war’. On 22 January 1905, a large number of workers under the leadership of Gapon marched towards the imperial palace to present a petition to the Tsar containing their grievances. The royal troops did not allow them to proceed and fired at them. There was loss of life and strikes were observed in various parts of the country. The incident was known as ‘Slaughter of Bloody Sunday’. Subsequently there were rebellion within the army and the general Duke Sergius, the uncle of the Tsar was assassinated. At last, the Tsar Nicholas II was forced to issue a Manifesto in October 1905.

International Women’s Day’ s Connection with the Russian Revolution

International Women’s Day (8 March) is an occasion marked by women groups around the world. The idea of an International Women’s Day first arose at the turn of the century. In accordance with a declaration by the Socialist Party of America, the first National Woman’s Day was observed across the United States on 28 February 1909. Women continued to celebrate it on the last Sunday of that month through 1913. During World War I, Russian women observed their first International Women’s Day on the last Sunday in February 1913. With 2 million Russian soldiers dead in the War, Russian women again chose the last Sunday (23 February on the Julian calendar then in use in Russia, but on 8 March on the Gregorian calendar in use elsewhere) in February 1917 to strike for ‘bread and peace’. Political leaders opposed the timing of the strike, but the women went on anyway. The rest is history: Four days, the Tsar was forced to abdicate and the Provisional Government granted women the right to vote.

To change a mass-demonstration into a revolution required more than just workers who were protesting in the streets; it required a loss of authority for the government in the city of Petrograd. This occurred due to mutiny of troops from the Petrograd garrison in reply to a massacre. In a brutal incident in Znamenskii Square, which was a popular gathering place for conducting political rallies, the Pavlovsky Guard Regiment troops fired upon a crowd that failed to disperse. In the massacre about forty civilians were killed, which enraged the Petrograd garrison members into mutiny. Even though a major power transfer to the workers was there, a revolution was hardly inevitable as the mutineers were described as a ‘leaderless rabble’,

who when threatened, panicked instantly and ran for protection. It was inaction by Tsar that changed a minor rebellion into a revolution.

The revolt also needed an organization for becoming successful. Unfortunately, many of the political parties leaders who had expected most to gain from the revolt, were in exile. Most of the socialist parties were not expecting a revolution, as Lenin had predicted in January that, ‘We older men perhaps will not live to see the coming revolution’. Even Sergei Mstislavsky, who was a Social Revolutionary leader, admitted: ‘The revolution found us, the party members, in our sleep’. Therefore, in the early stages of the February revolution there was relatively little political involvement, especially from socialist parties. Political parties, telephoned each other to be aware of what was happening on the street. This showed the lack of organization. Due to this complete disorganization of the socialist political parties, it is difficult to describe the February 1917 revolution as a political revolution.

There was also very little confidence from the political parties that the protests were of political nature. Alexander Gavrilovich Shliapnikov, a Russian communist revolutionary best remembered as a memoirist of the October Revolution of 1917, said: ‘Once the crowd got their bread they would be content and disperse’. The Tsar was also doubtful if the protests would actually transform into a revolution. Initially, he responded to reports received from Petrograd by telling his Minister of the Courts that, ‘The fat-bellied Rodzianko has written me a lot of nonsense, which I won’t even bother to answer’. However, he heard that the protests were getting worse, and that the Petrograd garrison had rebelled. So on 28 February 1917, the Tsar ordered for the dissolution of Duma and for the deployment of troops against the protestors. In response, an executive committee was created by the Duma, while a Soviet was formed by the soldiers and workers, and became a rival power-base to the Duma, situated in the Tauride Palace left wing. The Soviet had the power or control in the streets, but it had no legal authority to rule, while the Duma had the legal authority to rule, but had no authority in the streets to support it. The Tsar’s late reaction to the protests meant that a power base had been created in the Soviet, and this could never collaborate with the autocratic system. Only two possible outcomes were there—full revolution or full military suppression by already stretched armies.

Because of the war with Germany, the second of the two options became a near impossibility; to withdraw troops from the front so as to suppress the revolutionaries and this would result in almost certain defeat at the hands of the Germans. However, General Ivanov was appointed by Tsar so as to send troops to Petrograd and restore order in the capital. The extent of the revolutionary action in the city was under-estimated by both Ivanov and Tsar, and this was confirmed once General Khabalov was consulted by Ivanov in Petrograd about the situation. Khabalov announced that, ‘the whole city was in the hands of the revolutionaries’ and that ‘the ministers had been arrested by the revolutionaries’. Upon hearing this, Ivanov decided that the offensive would be futile and decided against it. In effect, the decision had been made, and Tsar had little opportunity to do anything but abdicate. Rodzianko confirmed this, and he felt that nothing short of the Tsar’s abdication would pacify the rebellious troops.

The continuation of strikes and mutinies have led to supplies to the front being cut; it was also dreaded that turmoil in the capital might broaden to the front only a few hundred kilometers away, resulting in mass desertion in the army. Therefore,

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the generals of Tsar advised Nicholas to abdicate so as to save Russia's war effort, and to somehow satisfy the mutineers in Petrograd. So Nicholas agreed to abdicate and initially named his son, Alexis, as his successor.

Another reason for the fall of the Tsar was his overdependence on Rasputin, a self-proclaimed psychic, mystic and healer, who had unconventional ways of healing diseases and dealing with human sins. A friend of Tsarina had suggested Rasputin when doctors failed to cure her son, Alexis, of hemophilia. Somehow, Rasputin was able to provide temporary relief to the boy. Soon, he gained entry to the Russian court and became an advisor to the Tsars. Rasputin was a womanizer and was much criticized by Russian journalists for his debauched ways and orgies. He weakened the confidence of the Tsars' subjects in him. Whenever Nicholas was away, the German-born Alexandra (his wife), who was a puppet in the hands of Rasputin, added to the subjects' discontent by giving power to those who did not deserve it. Rasputin had assured the Tsar that Alexis would get well, but when Nicholas saw no scope for improvement in Alexis' health, he decided to hand over the autocracy to his brother, Mikhail. But when Mikhail learned that the Soviet was violently opposed to the continuation of the rule of Romanov dynasty, he refused to accept, and the autocratic Tsar rule in Russia ended.

The workers were the most important and most active part of the February revolution which began as a general uprising of the people. Peasants and soldiers sympathy and mutiny led to power being wrested from the hands of the Tsar, and being transferred to the Soviet and the Duma. A series of bad judgements made by the Tsar, underestimating the revolution extent, as well as the war impact, showed his inability to suppress the revolution. When the Tsar's attempts to restore order in Petrograd failed, he was advised to abdicate, which he followed on March 1917, ending over three hundred years of Romanov rule in Russia.

It is interesting to note that the city of Petrograd was first known as St. Petersburg. This name was dropped later after the war with Prussia because the term 'burg' was seen as too German. During 1918, the communists were keen on getting rid of any Tsarist legacies, and Petrograd became Leningrad in the honour of Vladimir Lenin. Later in 1991, the name of St. Petersburg was restored to the city.

II. The economic causes: Economic factors like poverty, misery and exploitation of the masses by the nobility played a major role in the Revolution. In the industrial sphere, Russia was backward and depended only on foreign capital. Because of the industrialization, a number of factories were set up in Russia. A large number of peasants left their jobs to take up jobs at these factories. However, the conditions of work in these factories were quite miserable. They had to work for long hours at very deplorable wages. They had to go without any medical relief in case of an accident while on duty. They did not even have a weekly holiday. The workers were not permitted to form trade unions to bargain for better service condition and better salaries, and it was considered a crime to form trade unions. As a result, their economic condition was quite miserable. The concentration of large number of dis-satisfied workers gave rise to the feeling of political consciousness and contributed to the anti-Tsarist sentiments.

The condition of peasants was not better. Russia was mainly a backward agricultural country before the Revolution. The royal family, the nobility and the clergy owned most of the agricultural land. The peasants had a very small land holding. Many of them had to earn their livelihood from that small piece of land. In addition to

this, they had to make use of primitive tools and methods of cultivation which were not very effective or productive. As a result of this, the poor peasants became poorer because huge sums of rent, tax and tributes were to be paid by them to their landlords every year. Moreover, no attempt was made by the government to improve these conditions.

Due to the above economic factors there was an imbalance in the social structure. Due to this, 70 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate. The social structure of Russia was completely devoid of education, medical relief, and public health. Above all the system prevailing in the whole of Russia made Russian social life, highly miserable, inhuman and wretched. This created great discontent among the factory workers and farmers who in order to end this economic and social system were ready to revolt against the Tsarist government.

III. Political causes: Political factors also formed an important cause of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Politically, Russia was subjected to autocratic rule of the Tsar Nicholas II, who ruled the country in a ruthless and oppressive manner. No doubt as a result of the 1905 Revolution a parliament had been established in Russia but the sovereignty still rested in the hands of the Tsar and his henchmen. There were no constitutional checks on the authority of the Tsar and the people groaned under the autocratic rule. Even the church extended full support to the autocratic rule of the Tsars through the theory of divine rights of kings. The henchmen surrounding the Tsar were also in favour of the autocratic rule and opposed all kinds of reforms. The tsar also secured the support of the army by providing them numerous facilities which enabled them to lead a comfortable life. The masses on the other hand had no legal means of improving the social structure. A strike was considered to be a mutiny. The people had no media to ventilate their grievances. All this was naturally resented by the common people who wanted a democratic system of government on the pattern of western democracies be introduced in Russia. The people also insisted on effective share in the government of the country, and pleaded for the freedom of speech and press as well as equality before law. However, the Tsar Nicholas II turned down these demands.

People demonstrated against this ruthless, absolute and repressive Tsarist government in 1905. A peaceful demonstration at St. Petersburg was fired upon by the Tsarist troops. This incident further alienated the people from the Tsar Nicholas II. Widespread strikes, riots and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin ensued. Such was the climate in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas saw fit, against his will, to cede the people their wishes. In his October Manifesto, Nicholas II created Russia's first constitution and the Duma, an elected parliamentary body. The Duma (Parliament) had limited powers so it could not intervene immediately in the matters relating to the Tsar. Later the growing discontent among the masses manifested itself in all aspects of national life. Till that time the working class became highly receptive to Marxist ideas infiltrating into Russia. In 1893, the Social Democratic Party was founded and in 1903, this party was split into two; the Bolsheviks led by Nikolai Lenin, and the Mensheviks led by Martov. While the former was revolutionary and supported by Stalin, the latter was evolutionary and was supported by Trotsky. Therefore by 1917, the ground was fully prepared against the Tsar and the growing discontent amongst the common people was waiting to burst and turn into a violent revolution. Therefore, historians have observed that the perversity of the Tsar and his blindness to the potential strength of the new forces, which were surging round him, produced the Revolution.

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IV. Impact of liberal Western ideas: The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas. The Russian intellectuals were now divided between the two opposing groups of Slavophiles and Westernizers. Peter the Great was a westernizer much ahead of his times and that is why influences of Western culture are still apparent in St. Petersburg, a city created under him. The Slavophiles and westernizers had completely opposite views on the Russian civilization and how it was to be carried forward. The Slavophiles believed in the superiority of the Russian culture over the Western culture, and though they supported the emancipation of serfs and valued the freedom of speech and press, they still believed in an autocratic form of government. The Westernizers, as the name suggests, were of the view that western technology and ideals of democracy should be adopted by Russia to march on the road to success. They also believed in socialism, liberalism and political radicalism.

Large number of Russians especially the middle class came in contact with the ideas of progressive writers and they were particularly influenced by the writing of Karl Marx who pleaded for the abolition of capitalism and establishment of a regime where the power would be in the hands of the workers and the labourers. The other notable writers and intellectuals whose writings influenced the Russians included Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky. These writings revolutionised the minds of the Russians in such a way that the educated and the enlightened people called the support of the intelligentsia and demanded political reforms on the Western lines. On the other hand, the radicals and the followers of Marx and Bakunin stood for socialism. The Russians at the same time also came in contact with the Western ideas of democracy. During the First World War the Allies declared that they are fighting the War for the welfare of general people. The Russians were greatly impressed by this declaration and were determined to fight for the establishment of people's rule in their country. As a result of the 1905 Revolution in Russia the people were assured of some sort of participation in the administration of the country. However, it was not conceded. So the people were determined to get this in actual practice. Under these circumstances nationalism also made its way into Russia which aimed at destroying everything in the existing order of the country. As a consequence of the above factors, demands started becoming louder for the establishment of constitutional and liberal form of government in Russia.

V. The emergence of revolutionary parties: After 1912, various revolutionary parties', especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them. Karl Marx was a German Jew (1818–83) and his political ideas were mentioned in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, and *Das Kapital* in 1867. According to Karl Marx economic factors are the main reason for the historical change and that the capitalists bourgeoisie exploited proletariat (workers) everywhere. It contended that in a fully industrialized society, the workers will 'inevitably rise up against their exploiters and take control themselves, running the country in their interests'. According to Marx, this was 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrats, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903 over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word

for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority. The Bolsheviks wanted a small-disciplined party of professional revolutionaries who would work full time to bring about revolution, because the industrial workers were in a minority in the country. Therefore, Lenin believed that they must work with the peasants as well, and get them involved in revolutionary activity. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, were happy to have party membership open to anybody who cared to join. They believed that a revolution could not take place in Russia until the country was fully industrialised, and industrial workers were in a big majority over peasants. They had very little faith in co-operation from peasants who were actually one of the most conservative groups in society. The Mensheviks were the strict Marxists, believing in a proletarian revolution, whereas Lenin was the one moving away from the Marxism.

The Social Revolutionaries were another revolutionary party. They were not Marxists and they did not approve of increasing industrialization, and did not think in terms of a proletarian revolution. After the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, they wanted a mainly agrarian society based on peasant communities operating collectively.

VI. Military debacle in the First World War: The military debacle suffered by Russia during the First World War also provided a great impetus to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Historians also agree that Russian failures in the War made the revolution certain and caused the troops and the police to mutiny, as there were nobody left to defend the autocracy. The common people held the Tsar responsible for the reverses suffered by Russia. The sufferings caused to the people due to shortage of food and heavy losses of men and money in the War further agitated their minds. They appealed to the Tsar to bring necessary improvement in the condition by assuming personal responsibility for the affairs of the government. However, the Tsar did not bother about the demand and indulged in fanciful luxuries. His officials also ignored the wishes and interests of the people. All this forced the people to think in terms of getting rid of the Tsar and this made the Revolution inevitable.

The War also exposed the incompetence of the government, corrupt organization, shortage of equipment and poor transportation and distribution system in the country. Although there was plenty of food in the country during the War, it did not reach the big cities in sufficient quantities, because most of the trains were being monopolised by the military. Bread was scarce and very expensive. By January 1917, most groups in the society were disillusioned with the incompetent way the Tsar was running the War. Sensing the outcome of the War, the aristocracy, the Duma, industrialists, and the army began to turn against the Tsar Nicholas II, realising that it would be better to sacrifice the Tsar to avoid a much worse revolution that might damage the entire social structure.

4.3.2 Course of the Russian Revolution

The first important event of the Revolution in Russia was the March Revolution or the February Revolution in Russia. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest. It is important to mention that the March and the November revolutions are till date known as the February and October revolutions in Russia. This is so as the Julian calendar was being used by the Russians, which was

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13 days behind the Gregorian calendar which was used by the rest of Europe, and in 1918 Russia adopted the Gregorian calendar.

In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. There were widespread strikes, riots, and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin. Such was the atmosphere in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas saw fit, ‘against his will, to cede the people their wishes’. Nicholas created Russia’s first constitution and the State Duma, an elected parliamentary body in Tsar’s October Manifesto. However, the belief of Nicholas’s in his divine right to rule Russia meant that ‘he spent much of the following years fighting to undermine or strip the Duma of its powers and to retain as much autocracy as possible’. In 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by political activists in Serbia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on its neighbours. Serbia talked to Russia for help. Tsar Nicholas II ‘saw a chance to galvanize his people against a common enemy, and to atone for the humiliations suffered in the Russo-Japanese War’.

World War I

Russia’s disastrous participation in World War I was the final blow in many ways to the rule of Tsar. In the very first rendezvous with the Germans (who had sided with the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the Battle of Tannenberg, the Russian army lost and there were 1,20,000 casualties to Germany’s 20,000. Nicholas left St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1915 to take personal charge of the army due to continuing series of losses and setbacks. Around this time conscripts and untrained troops to the front were being sent by Russia, with ‘little or no equipment and fighting in an almost continual retreat’. In 1916, morale was lowered as the pressure of waging the war was the hardest on proletarian families, ‘whose sons were being slaughtered at the front, and who suffered severe food shortages at home’. The regime of Tsar and the Imperial took the blame as civil unrest heated up.

The February-March Revolution (1917)

According to the Russian calendar, the March Revolution started on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually started on 8 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg. Soon it became a city-wide demonstration as furious industrial workers left factories and protested against shortage of food. They were soon joined by the rioters, and on the next day—encouraged by political and social activists—the crowd had enlarged and virtually every industry, shop and enterprise ceased to function as the entire populace went on strike. Tsar Nicholas wanted the police and military to intervene, but the military was no longer faithful to the Tsar and many mutinied or joined the people in demonstrations. There were fights all over the place and the whole city was in chaos. After five days over 80,000 troops from the army mutinied and looting and rioting spread extensively. The Duma and the generals were convinced, and further, that the Tsar who was on his way back to Petrograd, would have to leave. Nicholas senior generals suggested that he could save the monarchy by renouncing the throne. Faced with this weak situation Tsar Nicholas abdicated his throne on 15 March, and handed over the power to his brother Michael. But, Michael refused to acknowledge leadership unless he was elected by the Duma. He resigned the next day, leaving Russia without any head of state.

The Provisional Government

Imperialism, Revolution
and Totalitarian States

A Provisional Government was quickly formed by leading members of the Duma after Romanovs abdicated and it was internationally recognised as the legal government of Russia. It was to rule Russia until elections were held. However it did not have any absolute or stable power. A trade union of workers and soldiers—the more radical Petrograd Soviet organization—wielded enormous influence. It supported full-scale socialism over more moderate democratic reforms which were favoured by the Provisional Government members. Russia was consumed with political fervour after centuries of imperial rule, but ‘the many different factions, all touting different ideas, meant that political stability was still a long way after the February Revolution’.

Emergence of Lenin

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as Lenin—was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg. Most of the time of Lenin was spent travelling, working, and campaigning in Europe—partly because of fear for his own safety, as he was known Socialist and was considered as an enemy of the Tsarist rule. However, when the Tsar was arrested, and Russian politics was in chaos, Lenin found the opportunity to lead his party, the Bolsheviks, to power. He negotiated a return to Russia from Switzerland, his home, with the help of German authorities. As a supporter of withdrawing Russia from the Great War, the Germans were willing to help Lenin’s passage back through a ‘sealed train’. The Russian people as well as many leading political figures welcomed Lenin’s return to Russia in April 1917. Lenin immediately condemned the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet policies and ideologies instead of uniting the fractious parties. In his April Theses, published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, he believed in non-cooperation with the liberals (i.e., non-hardline Communists) and an immediate end to the War. Initially, his uncompromising stance isolated both Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but with powerful slogans like ‘Peace, land and bread’, Lenin won the hearts of the Russian people—who were increasingly unable to ‘stomach war and poverty’.

During the summer of 1917, Lenin attempted to invoke another revolution, the likes of which had taken place in February, with the motive of overthrowing the Provisional Government. Lenin sought to maneuver the Machine Gun Regiment which refused to leave Petrograd (as St. Petersburg was then known) for the frontline. However, the coup was thwarted by Kerensky, who was the most important figure of the time and a member of both the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet. Experienced troops entered the city to suppress any dissidence and the Bolsheviks were accused of being involved with the Germans. Whilst Lenin escaped to Finland, many were arrested. Despite all this Lenin continued plotting and scheming. Meanwhile Kerensky suffered his own setbacks in politics and even had to appeal to the Bolsheviks for military aid when he feared his War Minister, Kornilov, was aiming for a military dictatorship. ‘By autumn the Bolsheviks were climbing into the ascendancy, winning majority votes within the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets. Leon Trotsky was elected as president of the former’.

The October-November Revolution

By the Julian calendar used in Russia at the time, the Revolution took place in November 1917, and the October Revolution is therefore often referred to as the November Revolution.

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While Russian politics was still in a state of constant flux, Lenin realized that it was the time to capitalize on his party's popularity. He planned a coup that would overthrow the Provisional Government which was increasingly ineffective and replaced them with the Bolsheviks. On 10 October, he held a famous meeting with 12 party leaders, and tried to persuade them that there was need for a revolution. Despite the fact that he received the backing of only 10 of them plotting went ahead.

Differences between the Provisional Government and the Soviets

It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed new direction. They denounced the provisional government of the country as subservient to the bourgeois of England and France, and laid emphasis on true revolution. They demanded for ending the War without annexation and indemnities, and pleaded for the transfer of all powers to the Soviets and abolition of army, the police, and the bureaucracy. They supported confiscation of all estates, nationalization of all land and merger of all banks into a national bank under the Soviet control. On the other hand the provincial government headed by Kerensky continued to work for the introduction of parliamentary institutions on the Western pattern in Russia. However, the provisional government and the Soviets were sharply divided on the issues of democratization of the army and Russian foreign policy. The provisional government was opposed to democratization of army while the Soviets favoured it. On 1 March 1917, the Soviet issued an order which provided for establishment of elective committees in every army unit, the sending of delegates to the Soviet by each unit, the control of all political activities in the army and army committees by the Soviet, the abolition of compulsory salute and simplified formulas for addressing the officers, etc. On the issue of foreign policy sharp differences existed between the Soviet and the provisional government. While the government considered the revolution as a protest against the ineffective conduct of the War by the imperial regime and insisted on pursuing the War till the victory, the Soviet stood for ending of War with immediate effect and demanded peace without annexation and indemnities. It aimed to put necessary pressure through mass demonstrations to bring the imperial foreign policy to an end.

In view of the sharp differences between the government and Soviets much could not be accomplished. However, it goes to the credit of the provisional government that it succeeded in ending the autocratic rule of the Tsars. It declared Russia as a Republic and courageously tackled the nationality problem. It also put the Poles and Finns on road to independence, encouraged cooperatives in place of private enterprises, and passed a number of laws concerning civil right, prison reforms, equal rights for women, universal suffrage, and religious freedom. But its policies in the field of land reforms were not encouraging. It also failed to exercise proper control over the armies.

Rise of the Bolsheviks

The growing unrest among the workers, peasants, soldiers, and the prevailing anarchical condition in the country were fully exploited by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. They promised nationalization of land as well as banks and industries and won the popular support. Due to this, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the elections to towns and provincial Soviets. By promising the much desired peace they also won over the soldiers to their side. Encouraged by its growing popularity, the Bolsheviks decided to start an armed uprising. They intensified propaganda for direct action and formed their own Red Guards. As a result, large number of soldiers left the ranks and the peasants continued to capture lands from the proprietors through plunder and violence. In October 1917, Lenin created

the Military Revolutionary Committee which gave the Bolsheviks an effective control over the troops in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had already raised the armed factory workers as the Red Guards. Lenin wanted to take full advantage of the existing national mood and favoured a revolt at an early date. A Politburo, an inner group of the Committee, was formed to take necessary decisions in this regard. On the other hand, the Provisional Government of Russia led by Kerensky proceeded with certain counter measures to meet the Bolshevik threat. But as the provisional government did not enjoy sufficient authority it could not succeed in containing the Bolsheviks.

Provisional government overthrown

Before the Revolution, the common people of Russia expected the autocracy of the Tsarist system to be replaced by a democratic republic with an elected parliament. As per the wishes of the people, Duma was set up in 1906 under the pressure of the Russian Revolution of 1905. In July 1917, Alexander Kerensky a moderate socialist took over as the Prime Minister. But, due to his limited authority, the Duma also faced several problems like the Tsars. Taking advantage of this atmosphere on 20 October 1917 the Bolsheviks executed the long planned coup and overthrew the Kerensky government. On 24 October crucial positions in the city were taken over by the troops loyal to the Bolsheviks. These included the main offices of telephone and telegraph, banks, railroad stations, post offices, and major bridges. Guards who were commissioned by the Provisional Government, and who had got wind of the plot, fled or surrendered without a fight. By 25 October, Bolsheviks controlled every key building in St. Petersburg, except the Winter Palace where Kerensky and the other ministers were held up. Before the Bolsheviks could catch Kerensky, he fled the Palace, never to return to Russia, but his ministers were arrested. On the 26th, the Palace was seized with barely a shot fired, and October Revolution of Lenin achieved its objective with the bare minimum of violence or bloodshed. The pre-Parliament was abolished and the power passed on to the hands of Revolutionary Military Committee. Apart from Georgia, Ukraine and Cossack, the Bolsheviks did not encounter much resistance from any other part of Russia and easily captured power.

Formation of Soviet Government under Lenin

The All Russians Congress of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers, which met on 25 October 1917, approved the coup, which was accomplished by the Bolsheviks with success. Subsequently the Congress authorized the setting up of a new government under the leadership of Lenin. The new government was to be known as the Soviet of People's Commissars. This confirmed that the Bolsheviks had acquired full control over Petrograd and Moscow. However, most of the country was still independent of control. Fighting lasted a week in Moscow before the Soviet won control and it was the end of November before other cities were brought under control. Very few people expected the Bolshevik government to last long because of the complexity of the problems facing it. As soon as the other political groups recovered from the shock of the Bolshevik coup, there was bound to be some determined opposition. At the same time, they had somehow to extricate Russia from the War and then set about repairing the shattered economy, while at the same time keeping their promises about land and food for the peasants and workers.

Causes for the victory of Bolsheviks

Despite trouble in various parts of the country and active intervention of the Allied powers, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the October Revolution. Various factors

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contributed for the victory of Bolsheviks. First, the opponents of Bolsheviks were disunited and as a result the Bolsheviks were able to shift their focus on the front where they were most needed. Second, the Bolsheviks control over the interior lines of communications and railways greatly helped them in meeting the challenges. Third, the Bolsheviks carried on an effective propaganda against their enemies, which created dissensions in the ranks of the opponents. Finally, the Red Army which was raised by the Bolsheviks fought with missionary zeal backed by Communist party members who were inspired by high sense of discipline and were willing to undertake any task assigned to them by the Party without any hope of reward. It contributed to the ultimate victory of Bolsheviks in the Revolution.

4.3.3 Lenin's Leadership

The primary basis of Lenin's brilliant successes as the Russian Revolution leader can be attributed to his deep mastery of Marxian theory. He analysed the various objectives and subjective complexities of decaying capitalism and growing socialism, and drew the necessary practical conclusions there from. Lenin indicated clearly to the Communist Party and the common people, both in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, the unfolding path to prosperity and freedom. There was advancement and expansion of Marxism in many fields by Lenin's great theoretical work. Lenin's major achievements include his 'analysis of imperialism as parasitic, decaying capitalism; his survey and evaluation, in the light of dialectical materialism, of many branches of current science; his elaboration of the theory of the uneven development of capitalism and its effects upon imperialist war, proletarian revolution and the realization of socialism in a single country'. He explained the method of transforming imperialist war into civil war; he also analysed the capitalist state and proletariat's dictatorship; Lenin offered a deep theoretical work on the national question; he also clarified the peasantry role in the revolution. Lenin's 'annihilating polemics' against the Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks and the whole network of international Social-Democracy, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Trotskyists, and other pseudo-revolutionary groups; and his ability to find solution of innumerable problems, both theoretical and practical, were of the utmost significance in welding the strength and unity—theoretical and organizational—which charted the Bolshevik Party on the course of victory.

Bold and resourceful Lenin was flexible in his political strategy. He repeatedly outlined 'separate mass actions or general courses of policy' upon the initiation and success of which depended the life of the Revolution. These policies were so original and startling that they often surprised the world. On many occasions, Lenin had to persuade opposing majorities of the Central Committee of the Party about the correctness of his proposals, as well as break through the sabotage of alien elements like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Trotsky and others.

Lenin's great achievements in political strategy were his leadership in the change of the post-war struggle of the masses in 1905 into armed insurrection; in the boycott of the first Duma successfully; converting the imperialist World War into civil war within Russia; in the resolute stand by the Party against the Provisional Government in 1917, and the bold development of the Soviets into the mass organs which overthrew the capitalist, war-making regime; in the mass mobilization to defeat the Kornilov revolt, while at the same time continuing the revolt against Kerensky. Lenin as a political strategist succeeded in determining the precise time and manner for the October Revolution achievement. He gave correct Marxian leadership to the Party and the masses.

During the following years of revolutionary struggle in the USSR, there was Lenin's political masterstroke of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty which gave the revolution a 'breathing-spell' from imperialist attack, saving it from defeat. He led the terribly difficult Civil War and in the complicated development of War Communism. There was his tremendous work of outlining and clarifying the New Economic Policy as the means to get economic reconstruction underway in the devastated country. There was his brilliant attack upon the infantile Leftism of those revolutionaries who refused to work within the reactionary trade unions and bourgeois parliaments.

4.4 FASCISM IN ITALY

Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic governments established after the First World War proved to be disappointing as they failed to resolve the social, economic and political problems facing their countries in the post-war period. Their failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to people and gave rise to the feelings of frustration, despondency and despair. Similarly, the failure of the League of Nations to check aggression and preserve world peace also greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes. Japan, Italy, Germany, etc., committed aggression with impunity and the League of Nations was incompetent in taking any action against them.

In addition to the general causes which contributed to the growth of totalitarian regimes in various countries, there were also some specific causes, which augmented dictatorship in Europe. First, the humiliating treatment meted out to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles immediately after the First World War, created a sense of hatred and revenge amongst the Germans. The Treaty had mutilated Germany physically, humiliated her emotionally, suffocated her economically, and encircled her territorially. This greatly offended the popular sentiments of Germany and Hitler fully exploited these sentiments to establish his dictatorship in Germany.

Second, in Italy, the Treaty of Versailles was also seen in a negative light. Though Italy fought on the side of the bigger nations, it could not gain whatever had been promised to her during the War. On the other hand, Italy had to face poverty, discontentment and disorder. The Italian leaders felt that though they had won the War, they had lost peace. Naturally, the people of Italy sought help from someone who could alleviate them to achieve national ambitions. And they found such attributes in Benito Mussolini, who established his totalitarian rule in Italy.

Third, the successful bid by America and other European powers to curb the growing power of Japan by imposing restrictions on its navy and other ambitions in China, through the Washington Conference of 1921–22 was exploited by the military leaders in the name of ultra-nationalism in Japan to bring discredit to the democratic government and establish a totalitarian rule in Japan.

Fourth, Communism came to Russia during the First World War period. After the War, the Communist leaders were determined to spread Communism all over the world. They crushed all the anti-revolutionary forces within the country with firm hands, tried to promote Communism in other countries of world by resorting to all types of methods.

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Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as _____ is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world.
 - (b) Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov also known as _____ was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg.
5. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas.
 - (b) It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed a new direction.

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Rise of Fascism in Italy

During the First World War, though Italy fought on the side of the victorious Allies, it emerged from the War as a defeated nation. Italy was not happy by the Paris Peace Settlement (1919) because it was not given what had been promised by the Allies to it in the Treaty of London (1915). When the interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted, the Allied powers decided in favour of Yugoslavia. This was the main reason of Italy's discontent in the post-First World War period. Italy comprehensively failed to secure anything tangible at the Paris Peace Conference and was left humiliated, disappointed and wounded. Elaborating the situation of Italy, historian J. H. Jackson summarized that, 'Italians felt themselves disgraced in the eyes of the world, swindled by their own politicians. War had cost Italy dear, draining her of money, saddling her with a budget deficit of over twelve thousand million Lire, facing up the cost of living. The political party in power in 1919 was pacifist, its leaders old and cynical. It is little wonder that the Italians turned to violence. A crop of secret societies, blood brotherhoods, terrorist gangs of every sort, sprang up all over the country in soil traditionally fertile for such growths.' The people of Italy felt that the country had failed to secure anything favourable for itself due to the incapability of its leadership and thus, they supported Fascism.

Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin from the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of the Roman authority.

In the post-First World War period, the Italian government was faced with a plethora of problems, which were beyond its capacity to solve. Demobilization after the War increased unemployment and the country faced economic bankruptcy, starvation and inflation. Strikes, lockouts and riots by people became the order of the day. The value of national currency fell steadily and the cost of living rose very high. The uneasiness of the government to tackle these mounting problems was quite evident. Between 1919 and 1922, six-coalition governments mostly of heterogeneous character were formed in Italy. This situation prepared the ground for Fascism and the resulting autocracy was the product of the prevailing situation where democratic sentiments proved incompatible with effective parliamentary government.

The Russian Revolution also inspired the authoritarian leadership of Italy. The socialist leaders of the country tried to use the fragile economic condition to their advantage and tried to imbibe the Soviet system of Communism in Italy. Daily strikes and lockout of these socialist leaders further created a chaotic condition, which the Fascist fully exploited.

The faulty system of franchise prevailing in the country and the programme of the Fascists that promised the people 'order and glory' also greatly attracted the people and they extended their wholehearted support to its leaders. Some of the main principles emphasised by the Fascists were:

- (i) Democracy was not suitable for the country because it widens the gap between the rich and the poor, therefore the country could make progress only under one leader
- (ii) The interests of the country must get precedence over individual interests
- (iii) Quality was more important than quantity
- (iv) The Fascist leaders who embodied the will, sentiments and emotions of the people were symbols of nation's pride
- (v) It favoured equal control over all sections of society

- (vi) It favoured aggressive foreign policy and regarded war as an instrument of national interest

4.4.1 Role of Benito Mussolini

Mussolini and the fascist party were attractive to many sections of society because Mussolini himself said that he aimed to rescue Italy from the existing feeble government. He played an important role in establishing a fascist rule in Italy. Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in Romagna. Politically, he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*. He separated from the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the war, and finally started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia*. Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside. Commenting on Mussolini J. H. Jackson said, ‘Who was this Mussolini? He was totally unknown outside Italy, and not well known within. The outside world was not much reassured when they heard his record. Son of a village blacksmith, christened Benito after Benito Juarez, the Mexican revolutionary; a firebrand Socialist in his young days; eleven times imprisoned; leader of an abortive coup in June, 1914, during which “red days” twenty men were killed; editor of the Socialist paper *Avanti* until November, 1914, when he was expelled from the party for advocating war against Austria; then editor of the *Popolo d'Italia*, a paper directed by himself and founded, it has been said, with French funds; creator of the Fascist groups; leader of riots against the Socialists who had once been his colleagues it was not a comforting record.’

During the First World War, Mussolini joined the army. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings and after the War in 1919, he founded the fascist party with a Socialist and Republican programme and showed sympathy with the factory occupations of 1919–20. The local party units were known as the *fasci di combattimento* or fighting groups. The word *fasces* meant the bundle of rods with protruding axe which used to symbolize the authority and power of the ancient Roman consuls. He tried to arouse national sentiments of the Italian people and inspired them to work for a progressive and powerful Italy. Taking full advantage of the prevailing discontent in the country, Mussolini organised a march to Rome, where the King, Victor Emmanuel III, terrified by this action, dismissed his Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Benito Mussolini to form the government. On 30 October 1922 Mussolini came to power in a constitutional manner. Having won over big business houses, Mussolini began to make conciliatory speeches about the Roman Catholic Church which he had earlier criticized. Seeing him as a good anti-communist weapon even the Pope Pius XI swung the Church into line behind Mussolini. When Mussolini announced that he had dropped the Republican part of his programme in 1922, even the king began to look more favourably on the fascists. The anti-fascist forces on the other hand failed to cooperate with each other and made no determined effort to drive the fascists out from Italy.

After assuming power, Mussolini devoted himself to make Italy a powerful nation. During that time, the economic condition of the country was awful. Describing the condition of Italy, historian J. H. Jackson observed.

Now was the time to begin the real work of Fascist reconstruction of Italy. Mussolini had achieved power by force; he could hold it only if he succeeded in improving the economic conditions of his people. Italy was a poor country; with two thirds of her land mountainous and sterile, she could not grow enough wheat to feed her population; with no substantial mineral deposits and no colonies rich in raw materials, she had to rely on exports from foreign countries

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for the stuff of her industries for coal, iron, petrol, and cotton. To pay for these imports, she exported mainly wine, olives and fruit, leatherwork, woodwork and glass, the products of the traditional skill of Italian husbandmen and craftsmen. The exports were not enough to pay for the imports, and the balance was made up, before the war, in a rather humiliating way by the remittances sent back to their families by [the] Italian emigrants, and by the money spent in the country by foreign tourists. During the war the tourist traffic ceased, and after the war foreign countries had no more use for Italian emigrants. Poverty increased in Italy, and the resultant dissatisfaction was behind the strike epidemic of post-war years.

To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and France. He tried to improve the lot of workers by nationalising all factories and mills and set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more lands under cultivation and tried to improve and expand transport system and railways. Apart from these, he took several other steps to make Italy economically self-sufficient.

In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St. Peters. He was authorised to appoint bishops and teachers to teach religion. Under the pact, the fascist government recognised the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion and religious instructions were made compulsory in all schools. Some historians see the ending of the long breach between the church and the state as Mussolini's most lasting and worthwhile achievement.

4.4.2 The Benefits of Fascist Rule

Much of the Fascist policy was concerned with improving the economy, though Mussolini knew very little about economics. The big drive was for self-sufficiency which was essential for a warrior nation. The early years of Mussolini's rule were successful. Industry was encouraged with government subsidies so that the iron and steel production doubled by 1930, and during this period other industrial productions had also gone up. The 'Battle for Grain' in 1920s encouraged farmers to concentrate on wheat production and by 1935 wheat imports had been cut by 75 per cent. A programme of land reclamation was launched involving irrigation and planting trees in mountainous areas, as part of the drive to improve the agricultural yield.

An impressive public works programme was designed to reduce unemployment. It included the construction of roads, bridges, railway lines, flats, sports complex, schools and new townships on reclaimed land. Due to these infrastructural advantages, education and sporting activities grew manifold and the country performed exceedingly well in sports during the fascist rule as the Italian Soccer Team won the World Cup twice in 1934 and 1938. The 'after-work' organization or Topolaboro provided the Italian people many options like cheap holiday packages, cruises for tours, theatres, dramatic societies, libraries, orchestra and sporting organizations to do in their leisure time. To promote the image of the country as a great power, a pragmatic foreign policy was carried out.

However, the promise of the early years of the Mussolini's rule was in many ways never fulfilled. Little was done to remedy its basic shortage of raw materials like coal and oil. Therefore as an iron and steel producer, Italy could not match even a small state like Belgium. Though the 'Battle for Grain' was a successful endeavour, it was achieved only at the expense of dairy and arable farming. During that period, the wages of farm labourers fell by 20 to 40 per cent. As a result agriculture remained inefficient and farm labourers became the poorest class in Italy. In order to show that Italy had a strong economy Mussolini revalued the currency of Italy, Lira, far too high at 90 to the pound instead of 150 in 1926. Unfortunately, this made Italian exports more expensive in the world market and led to reduced orders. The Great Depression which occurred during the rule of Mussolini in 1929 made matters worse. Exports fell further, unemployment rose to 1.1 million and yet the government refused to devalue the Lira. The regime of Mussolini was inefficient and corrupt, so many of its policies were not carried out properly. Part of the problem was Mussolini himself because he tried to do everything himself and refused to delegate power to others because he wanted total control. On this, D. M. Smith has observed that, 'By trying to control everything, he ended by controlling very little'.

4.4.3 Mussolini's Foreign Policy

The failure of Italy to secure the land promised to it at the Paris Peace Conference had caused much bitterness and dissatisfaction in Italy. Mussolini was determined to revive the past glory of Italy and to make it a great nation by addressing the concerns of injustice meted out to it after the War and he followed an aggressive foreign policy. He himself asserted, 'The main duty of fascist Italy is to keep her army, navy and air forces ready. We shall have to be alert so that we can rearm the five million people at a moment and only then our rights and demands will gain recognition.' In fact, Mussolini wanted to demonstrate to the world that Italy had enough strength not only to protect herself but also to attain the lands she had been promised. An aggressive foreign policy was also helpful in diverting the attention of people from domestic politics. Italy was also keen to regain her Roman inheritance by establishing a Mediterranean and African empire. Mussolini openly declared, 'We are hungry for land, because we are prolific and intend to remain so'.

The objectives of Italy's foreign policy during the fascist regime were summarized by Katharine Duff, 'As things were, the Mediterranean far from being her empire was her prison; Corsica, Malta, Tunis and Cyprus formed that prison's bars while Gibraltar and Suez guarded its gates and Greece, Turkey and Egypt were ready to complete the chain encircling her. Determined first to break her prison bars and then to march to the ocean without access to which she must be considered only half independent. Italy might push towards the Indian Ocean by linking Libya with Ethiopia through the Sudan towards the Atlantic through French North Africa'. Thus, Italy was keen to have control over the South Eastern Europe, Africa and even further ahead.

Italy and South-Eastern Europe

Mussolini first concentrated his attention on the South-Eastern Europe and took various aggressive steps to strengthen Italy's position in this area. By the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Italy got back the Dodecanese Islands, which it had surrendered to Greece in 1920. In the same year the Italian army bombed the Corfu Island and occupied it. After the League's intervention and receipt of compensation from Greece, Italy left Corfu.

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This gave a fillip to the prestige of Mussolini. Italy concluded the Treaty of Rome with Yugoslavia in 1924 by which the free state of Fiume was divided between the two. The city of Fiume went to Italy and neighbouring Porto Baros went to Yugoslavia. Likewise, in 1926 the Treaty of Tirana with Albania was signed by which Albania became a dependency of Italy and in 1939 it was annexed to Italy. At the London Naval Conference in 1930, Mussolini demanded naval parity with France, and in 1931 he advocated the revision of the peace treaties.

By these aggressive foreign policy measures Mussolini was able to strengthen Italy's control on the Adriatic, increase her prestige in the Mediterranean, and extended its diplomatic and commercial influence in the South-Eastern Europe.

Seizure of Abyssinia

Abyssinia was the next victim of the expansionist policy of Mussolini. Italy was prompted to undertake this action because:

- (i) It needed more territory for the growing population of the country.
- (ii) It needed raw materials for its growing industries and markets to get finished products.
- (iii) This step was essential to divert the attention of the people from the miserable economic condition of the country.
- (iv) A war against Abyssinia could arouse patriotic spirit of the Italians who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Abyssinia in 1896.
- (v) The Abyssinia area was of strategic value to Italy. It could link the Italian possession in Somaliland, Eritrea and South-East Africa.

Although Mussolini had nourished designs against Abyssinia for a long time, he did not actually undertake this project till he was sure of a military victory against it. The attitude of the League of Nations and other big powers towards the conquest of Manchuria by Japan convinced Mussolini that despite the principle of collective security, nobody was going to stop him from conquering Abyssinia. Further, due to the Great Economic Depression, the great powers of Europe were preoccupied with their domestic problems. Internationally, they were occupied with problem of Hitler's rise to power and the pursuit of an aggressive policy by him. Taking this opportunity into consideration, the Italian troops entered into Abyssinia in October 1935. Immediately the League of Nations declared that, 'Italy had resorted to war in disregard to its obligations under Article 12 of the Covenant'. The League appointed a Coordination Committee and asked every member of the League to prohibit all loans or credits to Italy and place an embargo on export to Italy. However, the Italian forces continued to penetrate into Abyssinia and ultimately occupied it in May 1936.

4.4.4 Italy Until the Second World War

During the inter-war period, Mussolini opposed the Union of Germany with Austria, because such a union was likely to restrict the Italian influence in Europe. In 1931, he opposed the tariff union between these two countries, and in 1934 Nazis revolted and wounded the Chancellor of Austria. Mussolini immediately ordered the Italian army to help Austria. Thus, Austria was saved from the German annexation.

In South Eastern Europe, Italy tried to steal a march over France by impressing on the states of the region to form alliances with Italy rather than France. Initially Italy was able to outwit France by forming alliances with both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. However, later France was able to increase its political influence over small states in Europe. Italy made efforts to destroy political influence of France by the dissolution of the little Entente and substituting it with a combination directed from Italy. When Italy was unable to have a monopoly of these alliances, it encouraged Germany against France's plans of reconstruction. Even in the matter of disarmament, Italy also supported Germany's stand of parity between Germany and French strength. Italy was convinced that it would give the Italian army balance of power in the European continent.

Though Italy was keen to secure German cooperation, Italy's stand on Austria against Germany made it practically impossible for the two to come closer. Consequently, on 7 January 1935, Italy signed a pact with France in Rome. By this Agreement, France met the main demands of Italy in Africa in return for concession by Italy in Central and Eastern Europe. The two parties also undertook to respect their mutual frontiers and abstain from meddling in the internal affairs of each other. Both Italy and France also agreed to oppose any unilateral revision of the Treaty of Versailles particularly with respect to German rearment. However, after France participated in the economic sanctions enforced against Italy on account of her intervention in Abyssinia, the friendly relations suffered a setback.

After the emergence of Hitler, and rise of Germany under his leadership, Italy started improving its relations with Great Britain. At the Stresa Conference (1935), Italy had aligned itself with France and Great Britain. In January 1937, Great Britain and Italy issued a declaration that they had agreed to preserve status quo in the Mediterranean region. Another agreement was concluded by the two countries in April 1938 by which they regulated a number of issues in the Mediterranean and the Near-East area arising out of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia.

Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'. In March 1938, Hitler occupied Austria. Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role of protector of Austria. He informed Hitler that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. By this act, Mussolini was able to earn the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

Though the Second World War started in September 1939, Italy remained neutral in the initial phase. Its plan was to attack when the Allies were almost exhausted, because that would save Italy from the destruction of the War and would entitle it to share in the spoils of the victory. In 1940, when France was on the verge of collapse, Italy declared war against Britain and France. It formally joined the Triple Alliance with Germany and Japan on 27 September 1940. Italy declared war against Russia in June 1941 and against the US in December 1941. However, after 1942 the course of war changed and the defeat of Mussolini and Italy became imminent, due to continuous defeats and internal economic crisis. In 1943, Mussolini was arrested but later Germany army freed Mussolini and put him back into power. But, when the Allies attacked North Italy in 1945, Italy unconditionally surrendered to Allies. This marked the fall of Fascist Italy.

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Check Your Progress

6. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The failure of the _____ to check aggression and preserve world peace greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes.
 - (b) The _____ believed that the interests of the individuals must get precedence over state's interests.
7. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) Mussolini separated from the socialists because they were against the Italian intervention in the First World War.
 - (b) Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty in 1929 with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position.

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4.5 NAZISM IN GERMANY

The First World War ended disastrously for Germany. The collapse of Germany led to political turmoil in the country. Kaiser William II, the last German Emperor, was held responsible for the debacle of the German army and the miseries of the people. A nationwide anti-monarchist revolution compelled Kaiser to abdicate his throne. To take shelter, he fled with his family to Holland. With his abdication, a Provisional Democratic Government was established under the socialist leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann to manage the affairs of the state simultaneously. The Provisional Democratic Government conducted elections on the basis of adult franchise to elect members to the Democratic National Assembly. The Assembly was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting a Democratic Constitution for the German Republic. The Constituent Assembly met at Weimer on 6 February 1919 because Berlin was still torn by political unrest and drafted a new Constitution. This Constitution came into effect on 11 August 1919 and was known as 'Weimer Constitution'.

The Weimer Republic, which bridged the years between the Hohenzollerns and the Nazis, had a number of outstanding achievements to its credit. Due to the introduction of the Dawes Plan in 1924, Germany witnessed unprecedented prosperity in all sectors. Industrial production recorded an enormous increase. Huge foreign contribution and aid enabled Germany to re-establish the currency and rationalisation of its industrial and business life. The establishment of branches of the foreign firms in Germany not only led to the utilisation of the German raw materials but also provided employment to the huge unemployed German labourers.

In the sphere of foreign policy, Germany, during this period pursued three aims: (i) to induce the Allies to evacuate areas of Germany, which they had occupied; (ii) to restore the sovereignty of the Reich, and recovery of Danzig and the frontier in Upper Silesia; and (iii) settlement of the reparation problems to strengthen Germany's capacity. Through these aims, Germany wanted to make her own decisions. For the achievement of the above objectives, Germany signed the Locarno treaties, by which her frontiers with France were settled. Germany concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Union in 1922, by which both the states renounced their respective demand against each other and agreed to cooperate in the commercial sphere. In 1926, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations council with a semi-permanent seat. She succeeded in getting a promise of withdrawal of foreign troops from the Ruhr in 1924 and the valley was freed in 1930. Germany convinced Great Britain, France and Belgium to withdraw their troops from the Rhineland region. The problem of reparation was also largely settled by the Young Plan. In 1932, the Lausanne Conference further cut down Germany's obligations of reparation to \$750 million. During the Weimer rule Germany began to rearm itself after the economic and diplomatic revival. Till the first part of 1930 the economic revival of Germany was started and in 1931, when economic depression was at its worst phase, Germany was spending \$700 million on its arms. Despite all these achievements, the German people, especially the younger generation was not happy with the Republican government and continued to nourish ambitions for a powerful Germany. The attempt on the part of the officials to drag down the ideals and heroes of imperial Germany also greatly irritated the young students, above all the people were not happy with the way the democratic parliamentary system was functioning in the country. The people still

remembered the days when order and discipline prevailed in the Reichstag which was in quite contrast to the bickering and quarrel going on in the lower house of the Republic, and they felt that only a strong man could restore prosperity and prestige to Germany.

4.5.1 Formation of the Nazi Party

Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year, the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme, which emphasised the need of scraping the Treaty of Versailles which had been imposed on Germany, establishment of vast German empire after bringing back the lost colonies of Germany, increase in the military power of the country, non-recognition of Jews as the German citizens and their removal from all important positions, ban on the entry of foreigners into Germany, imposition of ban on parties which propagated against nationalism, opposition to communism and opposition to Parliamentary system of government which was detrimental to the interest of the country, etc. In the economic sphere, the party stood for increasing incomes, limitation of profits from wholesale enterprise, land reform, nationalisation of all trusts, departmental stores and ban on land speculation. Similarly, in the social sphere, the party favoured increased old age and maternity benefits, reorganisation of higher education and government control of press, etc. It may be noted, that apart from the so-called Twenty-five Point Programme, the Nazis did not possess any positive philosophy. However, by demagogic appeals to latent emotions, fear of communism and resentment against the Treaty of Versailles, the party soon gained considerable following among the lower-middle classes who as a result of the widespread unemployment and extreme frustration were suffering untold agony.

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The Nazi party was to have its own army. The army constituted two types of members; one who wore the brown shirt and the other wore the black shirt. The members of the army were required from ex-soldiers, veterans and hoodlums, and took part in all types of demonstrations. They were expected to disturb the meetings of other parties and ensure that their party meetings were not disturbed. The Nazi party also started its own paper entitled *Radical Observer*, which awakened the emotions of common people against Communism and the Treaty of Versailles. The extreme nationalists, who could never reconcile themselves to Germany's defeat, firmly supported the ideology of Nazi party.

4.5.2 Rise of Adolf Hitler

The leader of the Nazi party and the Nazi movement in Germany, Adolf Hitler was an Austrian citizen. He began his career as a political agitator after the First World War. Before embarking on a political career in September 1919 at the age of thirty, Adolf Hitler had been an insignificant person in Germany. Hitler had no formal qualifications, and he was an aimless drifter and failed artist before joining the army on the outbreak of war in August 1914. In the army he was not considered worthy of promotion as there was 'a lack of leadership qualities', although his award of the Iron Cross First Class proved that he was very courageous. He succeeded in gaining and exercising supreme power in Germany during the next 26 years and, in the process, arguably left more impact on world's history in the twentieth century than any other political figure. 'The explanation for this remarkable transformation rested partly on Hitler himself, in his particular personal qualities and gifts, and partly in the situation in which he found himself, with a nation in deep crisis.'

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In 1920, Hitler joined the German workers party, the National Socialist German Worker's Party, popularly known as the Nazi Party. Hitler's skills for publicity and as a speaker gradually popularised the Nazi Party. Soon Hitler succeeded in ousting the leader of the party Drexler and assumed supreme power in the party. In 1923, he attempted to overthrow the Bavarian government at a coup but this attempt was unsuccessful. During his trial he made the remark, 'There is no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918', which attracted much attention. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment, but was actually released after nine months in prison. During his imprisonment, Hitler wrote the *Mein Kampf* or 'My Struggle' in which he repudiated the parliamentary practice of majority rule and foreshadowed the future programme of Germany's territorial ambitions. According to Hitler there were easy solutions to the complex problems which the people of Germany faced in the 1920s. He blamed Germany's weak government and stated that Germany lost the war because of 'a stab in the back'. He further argued that if pure Germans who were also known as Aryans controlled Germany's destiny, it would return to greatness. Hitler blamed Jews for many of Germany's problems.

During the imprisonment of Hitler, the Nazi party was proscribed and its disintegration was set in. The party participated in the elections of 1924, but the number of its supporters fell considerably. In 1925, Hitler rebuilt the Nazi Party, and decided that he had to obtain power by democratic means rather than by force. The Wall Street crashed in 1929 because of the Great Economic Depression and the subsequent worldwide depression also hit Germany hard. Hitler used this situation and blamed Jews and Communists, using them as scapegoats to gain support for himself. Hitler spoke in a charismatic style that impressed the people of Germany. He blamed outsiders for causing troubles in the nation. Due to his charisma, the popularity of Nazi party started increasing. In the election of 1932, the Nazi Party captured 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag. However, Hitler was restless to capture power. In 1932, he contested the presidential elections but lost to Hindenburg by a narrow margin. Therefore, during the primary part of the 1930s, the Nazi movement had grown quite powerful in Germany.

In early 1933, Hindenburg dismissed his Chancellor Schleicher and he was succeeded by Hitler as the chancellor by forming a coalition with the Nationalists and others. Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and ordered for a fresh election on 5 March 1933. The Nazis, now in power, were able to use all the apparatus/devices of the state, including the press and radio to try to whip up a majority. Senior police officials were replaced with reliable Nazis and the second private army got instructions to show no mercy to the Communists and other enemies of the state. Six days before the ballot, the Reichstag building was burnt, Hitler accused the Communists of arson and bloody revolution. He ordered the arrest of thousands of Communists and Social Democrats and suppressed the campaign activities of the anti-Nazi parties. The Nazi party was able to secure 44 per cent of the votes polled. The Nazis won 288 out of the 647 seats, 36 short of the magic figure for majority. The Nationalists again won 52 seats. This turned out to be the best performance of Nazis in a free election, and they never won an overall majority. However, Hitler managed majority in the Reichstag by putting all the Communist deputies behind the prison. Within hundred days, all opposition was suppressed. In August 1934, Hindenburg died and Hitler himself became the president of Germany and by the Enabling Act of 1933, he also got dictatorial powers.

4.5.3 Factors for the Rise of Nazism in Germany

Adolf Hitler, who was almost unknown until 1929 in or outside Germany, emerged as the unchallenged leader of Germany in 1934. Several factors contributed to the rise of Nazism and Hitler to power in Germany and these were as follows:

1. **Treaty of Versailles:** After the First World War, Germany was filled with a sense of discontent, hatred and revenge, as the Treaty of Versailles crippled her physically, exhausted her economically and weakened her emotionally. The humiliating treatment meted out to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the German people and army, and they wanted to see Germany rise to the glory which it once enjoyed.

No doubt, during the Republican rule, Germany's terrible amount of war indemnity was reduced, reparation was divided into 58 installments and the allies withdrew their armies from the Rhine land, yet the Germans nourished a feeling of resentment against the humiliating and insulting behaviour meted out to them by the Allied power and eagerly looked for an opportunity to avenge the same.

These sentiments were fully exploited by Hitler, who in the words of Benns, 'was an adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman, he was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organizer'. He openly encouraged the Germans 'to consign the Treaty of Versailles into the waste-paper basket'. The humiliating treatment was also the major factor, which Hitler exploited to win the popular support. As Langsam said, 'The continuing hostile attitude of France, the quarrel over the Ruhr, the Rhineland occupation, the Saar and the Reparation, the wrangling over disarmament-all these fed the anger of many Germans'.

2. **Growing danger of Communism:** The growing strength of the Communists in Germany was also exploited by the Nazis to strengthen their position. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Communist influence in Germany considerably increased. The Communists organised themselves effectively and succeeded in capturing a number of seats in the Reichstag. Hitler expressed grave concern over these developments and warned the people that the Communists of Germany on getting power shall become the orderlies of the Russian masters and Germany shall be clouded by destructive doctrines of Communists. He impressed on the people that Nazism alone could keep the growing influence of Communism under check. Hitler asserted, 'If the National Socialist Party collapses there will be another ten million Communists in Germany'. By taking an open anti-communist stance, the Nazi Party succeeded in securing the support of the big industrialists and wealthy people who were greatly scared of the Bolshevik ideals. Highlighting this point Schuman says, 'Industrialists and Junkers subsidized the brown shirt Nazi storm troopers hoping to make use of them against Communists, Socialists, the trade unions and other threats, real or imaginary, to prosperity and privilege.'
3. **The economic crisis and growing unemployment:** The economic crisis, which confronted Germany in the post First World War period, and the growing unemployment, also considerably contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. No doubt as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to suffer in agricultural production, colonies, foreign investments, merchant marine and foreign trade contracts. However, after 1923, Germany staged a remarkable recovery and made considerable industrial progress.

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By the end of 1929, as a result of commercial boom, the standard of living of the Germans rose very high. However, this position did not last long and after the middle of 1929, the country witnessed a steep economic decline. The reparation quarrels continued and Germany was not able to secure any foreign loans. The foreign countries raised tariff walls against the German goods. As a result, there was considerable increase in the number of unemployed youth. During the period of Economic Depression following the 1930s, unemployment figures reached an all-time high. In a population of 6,40,00,000 there were around 10 per cent people who were unemployed. Even the condition of the farmers and shopkeepers was miserable. The Nazi Party fully exploited this and asserted that all it would see that no one walked without a job in Germany. Hitler said that the day the entire German race happened to abide by the Nazi ideology; it would recapture its lost glory, power and prosperity. Fortunately for the Nazis, when they came to power, the world began to recover from the Economic Depression. This greatly appealed to the German people and they extended full support to the Nazi Party.

4. **Resurgence of militant nationalism:** The Germans by nature and temperament had weakness for prestige and glory. They could not reconcile with the weak democratic parliamentary system prevailing in the country and still remembered with pride the days when order and discipline prevailed in Reichstag. They felt that only a strong man could restore the past prosperity and prestige of Germany. When they found such a strong man in Hitler, who promised them all glory, they welcomed him with open arms. The Germans felt the need for a strong man to check the growing popularity of Communism in the country, due to swelling ranks of the discontented workers.
5. **Nazi propaganda against Jews and absence of unity among the opposition:** The anti-Semitic propaganda carried on by the Nazi Party also contributed to its popularity. The Nazi Party described the Jews as traitors who conspired with the Allies during the war and had the potential to commit treason against Germany. It impressed on the people that their hardship was due to the exploitation by the Jews, who dominated the German economy. It called upon the people to settle the accounts with the Jews. In view of this anti-Semitic propaganda, all the anti-Jew people thronged behind the Nazi Party. Also, the rise of Nazi Party in Germany was facilitated due to a lack of any strong opposition party or unity among the opposition parties. As a result the Nazi Party did not encounter any effective resistance and gained smooth popularity.
6. **Establishment of volunteer corps:** The development of Nazism in Germany was greatly facilitated by the establishment of volunteer corps. Under the Peace Settlement, the number of forces of Germany was considerably curtailed and a large number of German soldiers were thrown out of employment. The Nazi Party roped in all these soldiers and organised volunteer corps, which served as party army. The party army was divided into two wings. One wing wore brown shirts and red batch on the left arm with *swastika* sign. The other wing, which consisted of the chosen members of the party, wore black shirts. These party army members propagated the programme of the Nazi Party and worked for safeguarding its interests. These corps rendered great service to the popularisation of the Nazi Party in Germany.
7. **Leadership of Adolf Hitler:** The personality of Hitler was one of the major factors in the rise of Nazism in Germany. As historians pointed out, Hitler was an

adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman. He was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organiser. He was convinced that a political revolution must be preceded by a psychological revolution. He tried to create this psychological revolution through his autobiography *Mein Kampf* and mentally prepared the young Germans to avenge the wrong done to them by the Allies in 1918.

8. **Contrast between the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Party:** The Weimar Republic, which was the name given to the parliamentary representative democracy of Germany after the First World War, was dull in working and unable to maintain law and order. Whereas on other hand, the Nazis promised strong, powerful, and decisive government for the restoration of national pride. People were impressed by this irresistible combination of the Nazi party.

Moreover, Germans favoured Nazism as it provided a sense of normality after the Weimer Republic instability. Therefore, any violent act committed by the Nazis, whether directed or aimed against the Jews, Communists or any opposition faction of German society, was legitimised and this in turn led to both active and passive consent from the German population, whose attitudes were already finely tuned by propaganda. The success of Nazis, whether in foreign policy, matters of economy or the creation of a sense of national community explains peoples' active consent throughout most of the Nazi regime or period. The impact or effect of Nazism was so much on the German population that even when the tide began to turn against the Nazis in 1942–43, Nazism was not actively resisted by the German population; instead, they remained passive with some informal resistance.

Although many different interpretations concerning the extent of Nazism's social-political impact are there, it is unreasonable to state that partial inroads were made into wider German society. Significant and important changes took place in mentality among the general population as well as the creation of a national community, but at the same time there was no change in the basic class structure. These inroads can be explained by the successes of the Nazi regime in the fields or areas of foreign policy, increased economic prosperity and political stability, as these were manipulated by Nazi propaganda and there was terror to create a society that either actively supported the regime, or was too afraid to openly resist it. For millions of Germans, the feeling of insecurity and instability of Weimar was replaced by a sense of normality and strong leadership, and for rest of the world this was the violence and injustice of the Nazi regime or period. The rise of Nazi Germany and the aggressive policies pursued by it encouraged the growth of revisionist sentiments strengthened the status quo forces. This led to a division of the world in two hostile camps, which ultimately culminated in the Second World War.

4.6 SUMMARY

- The Industrial Revolution in Europe leading to the search for newer markets and sources of raw material, the growth of modern means of transport, new found consciousness of nationalism and spread of trade and commerce led to fierce competition among the countries.
- The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. The objective of improving economic situation expanded into the act of raising a strong army and huge military build-up to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets.

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Check Your Progress

8. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) Hitler got the dictatorial powers through the _____.
 - (b) Hitler attempted to overthrow the _____ government at a coup in 1933.
9. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler repudiated the Parliamentary practice of majority rule in Germany.
 - (b) The Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the German people and was one of the factors that led to the rise of dictatorship.

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- The First World War, which was fought on global scale, was a major war centred in Europe. This War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact practically on all the countries and regions of the world.
- The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers.
- Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy; the growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War.
- The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time as many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force for the War.
- The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks' time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany.
- The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia's weak government and economy, resulting in mass shortages and hunger. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned the people and particularly the soldiers, against the Tsar, whose decision to take personal command of the army seemed to make him personally responsible for the defeats.
- The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. When this government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.
- The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as Bolshevik Revolution is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world and ranks in importance in the category of the French Revolution.
- There were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the treatment of peasants cruelly by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in the industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the West.
- After 1912, various revolutionary parties, especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them.
- Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrats, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903, over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority.

- In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. There were widespread strikes, riots, and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin.
- The first important event of the Revolution in Russia was the March Revolution or the February Revolution in Russia. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest.
- According to the Russian calendar, the March Revolution started on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually started on 08 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg. Soon it became a city-wide demonstration as furious industrial workers left factories and protested against shortage of food.
- Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as Lenin—was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg. Most of the time of Lenin was spent travelling, working, and campaigning in Europe—partly because of fear for his own safety, as he was known Socialist and was considered as an enemy of the Tsarist rule.
- The primary basis of Lenin's brilliant successes as the Russian Revolution leader can be attributed to his deep mastery of Marxian theory.
- In the post-First World War era democracy received a great boost in the world and in the European countries in particular. In most of these countries, monarchies were abolished and demand rose in favour of democracy, representative assemblies, universal suffrage and people friendly representative governments.
- The concept of modern totalitarianism arose in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a new kind of state. Even today many scholars have trouble defining it. According to the early writers it originated with the total war efforts of the First World War, and that the War called forth a tendency to subordinate all institutions and classes to the state so as to achieve the supreme objective—victory.
- Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic governments established after the First World War proved a miserable failure as they failed to solve the social, economic and political problems facing their countries in the post-war period. Their failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to the people and gave rise to frustration, despondency and despair among the people.
- Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin from the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of the Roman authority.
- Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in the Romagna. Politically he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*. He fell out with the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the War and started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia*. Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside Italy. During the First World War period, he joined the army and took active part in it. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings.

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- To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of the Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education.
- The leader of the Nazi party and Nazi movement in Germany, Adolf Hitler was an Austrian citizen. He began his career as a political agitator after the First World War.
- Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme, which emphasised the need of scraping the Treaty of Versailles which had been imposed on Germany, establishment of vast German empire after bringing back the lost colonies of Germany, increase in the military power of the country, non-recognition of Jews as German citizens and their removal from all important positions, ban on the entry of foreigners into Germany, imposition of ban on parties which propagated against nationalism, opposition to communism and opposition to parliamentary system of government which was detrimental to the interest of the country, etc.
- In the economic sphere, the party stood for increasing incomes, limitation of profits from wholesale enterprise, land reform, nationalisation of all trusts, departmental stores and ban on land speculation.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Weltpolitik:** This term meant ‘world policy’ and referred to the policy adopted by Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany in 1897, and replaced the earlier ‘Realpolitik’ approach.
- **Triple entente:** This was the name given to the alliance among France, Britain and Russia after the Anglo-Russian Entente was signed in 1907.
- **Treaty:** It is an express agreement under international law entered into by actors in international law, namely, sovereign states and international organizations.
- **Imperialism:** The *Dictionary of Human Geography* defines imperialism as, ‘the creation and/or maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination’.
- **Industrial Revolution:** It is the name given by historians to the period in history when there was significant and rapid change in the way things were made, produced or manufactured.
- **Italia Irredenta:** The term means unredeemed Italy and refers to an Italian patriotic and political party, which was of importance in the last quarter of the 19th century.
- **Militarism:** The term means a strong military spirit or policy or the principle or policy of maintaining a large military establishment.
- **Dreadnought:** This was the British battleship which was launched in 1906, and was the first of its type.

- **Entente Cordiale:** This was an understanding reached by France and Britain in April 1904, which settled outstanding colonial disputes.
- **Internationalism:** This is a policy or practice of cooperation among nations, especially in politics and economic matters.
- **Duma:** The Duma was the council assemblies and was created by the Tsar of Russia.
- **Bolshevik Revolution:** It refers to the overthrow of the government of Russia, which took place in the fall of 1917.
- **Communism:** Communism (derived from Latin *communis*—common, universal) is a revolutionary socialist movement to create a classless, moneyless, and stateless social order.
- **Socialism:** This is a social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership or control of property and other natural resources.
- **Pravda:** It is a Russian political newspaper and official mouthpiece of Communist Party of the Russian Federation.
- **Totalitarianism:** It is the concept of modern totalitarianism arose in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a new kind of state.
- **fasci di combattimento:** The local party units in Italy were known as *fasci di combattimento* or fighting groups. The word *fasces* meant the bundle of rods with protruding axe which used to symbolize the authority and power of the ancient Roman consuls.

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4.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The First World War began in 1914 and ended in 1918.
2. When Great Britain concluded a treaty with Russia in 1907, the Triple Entente came into existence.
3. The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.
4. (a) Bolshevik Revolution; (b) Lenin
5. (a) True; (b) True
6. (a) League of Nations; (b) Fascists
7. (a) True; (b) True
8. (a) Enabling Act of 1923; (b) Bavarian
9. (a) True; (b) True

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Give reasons for the outbreak of the First World War.
2. List the Fourteen Points announced by President Woodrow Wilson.
3. What is the economic impact of the First World War?

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4. List the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
5. State the economic causes of the Russian Revolution.
6. Write a short note on the October-November Revolution.
7. Write a short note on the emergence of Lenin's leadership.
8. What were the benefits of the Fascist rule?
9. Compare the ideologies of Benito Mussolini and Adolph Hitler.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the series of international crises that led to the First World War.
2. Explain the course and impact of the First World War.
3. Describe the various provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
4. Critically evaluate the causes and course of the Russian Revolution.
5. Explain the February-March Revolution (1917).
6. Evaluate the impact of the Russian Revolution.
7. Explain the causes for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe with special reference to the rise of Fascism in Italy.
8. Evaluate the causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 WORLD WAR II AND POST-WAR MOVEMENTS

NOTES

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Second World War: Causes and Effects
 - 5.2.1 Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland
 - 5.2.2 The Munich Conference, 1938
 - 5.2.3 The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939
 - 5.2.4 Hitler's Demand for the Return of Danzig
 - 5.2.5 Causes of the Second World War
- 5.3 Colonialism and Nationalism in Asia
 - 5.3.1 Growth of Nationalism in Indonesia
 - 5.3.2 Growth of Nationalism in Vietnam
 - 5.3.3 Growth of Nationalism in Burma
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Terms
- 5.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.7 Questions and Exercises
- 5.8 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Three factors were responsible for the expansion of imperialism which were very significant to the start of the First World War. These factors included the demand for raw materials by the European nations, the emerging sense of nationalism, and military expansion. The demand for raw materials was the main reason for the growth of imperialism.

The First World War and the subsequent Great Economic Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorship in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Unlike the 1914–18 (First World War), the Second World War was a much more complex affair with major campaigns taking place in the Pacific and the Far East, in North Africa and Russia as well as in Central and Western Europe and the Atlantic. This War later turned out to be even more horrific and disgraceful compared to its earlier version. Many historians still believe that the Second World War was Hitler's personal war, and that he always intended to fight a war—as a re-run of the First World War. He did not believe that Germany had lost fairly. However, it is difficult to accept that the Second World War started only because of Hitler's assault on Poland. In fact, it was a continuation of the First World War and the chain of political crisis that followed from 1919 to 1939. The main cause of the two World Wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power. But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first and foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and then for loot and German domination. But historians like

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A. J. P. Taylor do not agree. According to them, ‘Hitler never intended a major war, and at most was prepared only for a limited war against Poland.’ However, many historians believe that the policy of appeasement adopted by England and France towards the dictatorial powers, largely contributed to the commencement of the War. From the mid-1920s until 1937, there was a mistaken notion that War must be avoided at all costs, and Great Britain and even France drifted along, accepting the various acts of aggression and breaches of the Treaty of Versailles.

In May 1937, when Chamberlain became the British Prime Minister, he gave a new drive to appeasement. He took the initiative to find out what Hitler wanted and further wanted to show him that reasonable claims could be met by negotiation rather than use of force. Chamberlain went to the extent of observing at the time of Locarno treaties that, ‘no British government would ever risk the bones of a single British grenadier in defense of the Polish Corridor’, the German’s thought that Great Britain had turned her back on Eastern Europe. Appeasement reached its climax at Munich, where Britain and France were so determined to avoid war with Germany that they made Hitler a present of the Sudetenland, setting in motion the destruction of Czechoslovakia. This act of Britain and France emboldened Hitler even more who had decided to destroy Czechoslovakia as part of his *Lebensraum* (Living Space) policy as he hated the Czechs for their democracy as well as for the fact that their state had been established under the controversial Versailles settlement.

This unit discusses the causes and effects of the Second World War. It also discusses the growth of colonialism and nationalism in Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes of the Second World War
- Assess the significance of the Munich Conference, 1938
- Analyse the growth of nationalism in Indonesia
- Evaluate the Japanese occupation of Indonesia
- Explain the growth of nationalism in Indo-China and Vietnam
- Describe the growth of nationalism in Burma

5.2 SECOND WORLD WAR: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

The Treaty of Versailles was being seen by Germany as a mark of humiliation. When Hitler came to power in Germany, he decided not to honour the treaty that was a source of mortification for Germany. Under Hitler, Germany had become an aggressor and a totalitarian regime. Hitler had his own expansionist plans and he had strengthened his army and navy to carry on his plans. But the Great Britain and France wished to avoid a repetition of World War I, and so adopted the diplomatic policy of appeasement. Under this policy, they allowed Hitler to capture territories. The Treaty of Versailles allowed the demilitarization of Rhineland. Hitler gave excuses of Germany feeling threatened and so sent the German forces to capture Rhineland. He feared the interference of France and Great Britain, and had ordered his forces to retreat if they faced resistance

by France. But both France and Great Britain failed to act and Hitler was encouraged to capture more territories. The Treaty of Versailles also forbade Germany to capture Austria, but Austria was Hitler's birth country. So, Hitler decided to integrate Germany and Austria. And even here, Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Allied Powers adopted the appeasement policy to secure peace, which the League of Nations had clearly been failed to do. Part of this inaction can be attributed to the economic slump that most economies were facing at this time. This inaction by the Allied Powers instilled more confidence in Hitler.

The Treaty of Versailles had made provisions for the creation of Czechoslovakia that also comprised the Sudetenland. Sudetenland was mainly occupied by the German population. The Nazi influence had spread even in Sudetenland, and in April 1938, a demand for autonomy came from the Sudeten Nazis. At this point, Chamberlain feared German invasion of Czechoslovakia. So, he issued a warning of Britain's interference to Hitler if Czechoslovakia was captured by him. Hitler ordered his military forces to launch an attack on Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain tried to hold peaceful negotiations with Hitler to prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Hitler had a new demand—that of absorbing Sudetenland into Germany. The Czech President was advised by Britain and France to hand over all German territories that had a majority of German population. But this meant a huge loss to Czechoslovakia.

Hitler warned that he would occupy Sudetenland and will expel the Czechoslovaks living there. Soon, events turned in a different direction, and a four-power conference was held on 29 September, comprising Hitler, Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier (the Prime Minister of France) and Benito Mussolini (the Prime Minister of Italy) in Munich. They allowed Hitler to carry on his invasion of Sudetenland, but allowed that an international commission would be established to decide the fate of other disputed areas. Czechoslovakia was denied support from all other countries, and so, it had no alternative but to comply. A peace treaty was signed between the United Kingdom and Germany. Chamberlain believed that he was able to establish peace now that the peace treaty had been signed. But he could not be more wrong as a month later, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, and was divided among Germany, Hungary, Poland and an independent Slovakia. (See Figure 5.1)



Fig. 5.1 Map of Sudetenland Showing its Integration with Germany

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The act of appeasement and capitulation before Germany that unfolded in Munich exposed the vulnerability of the erstwhile European powers like Britain and France, and paved the way for more such acts of aggression. The policy of appeasement helped in temporarily averting the War but it gave Hitler an apparently effortless way of furthering his policy of aggression through the 1930s. In his book *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961) A. J. P. Taylor argues that, ‘Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on’.

5.2.1 Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland

Hitler’s excuse for the opening propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland was that 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under their leader Konrad Henlein, were being discriminated against by the Czech government. It is true that unemployment was higher among the Germans, but apart from that they were probably not being seriously discriminated against. The Nazis organised huge protest demonstrations in the Sudetenland, and clashes occurred between the Czechs and the Germans. The Czech President, Benes, feared that Hitler was stirring up the disturbances so that the German troops could march in to restore order. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister Daladier were afraid that if this happened, war would breakout. They were determined to go to almost any lengths to avoid war and they put tremendous pressure on the Czechs to make concessions to Hitler. Chamberlain flew to Germany twice to confer with Hitler, but no progress could be made.

5.2.2 The Munich Conference, 1938

In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss about the Sudetenland’s future in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler. In other words, it was an Agreement that permitted Nazi Germany’s annexation of Czechoslovakia’s Sudetenland. Sudetenland comprised areas along the borders of Czechoslovakia, which were mainly inhabited by the ethnic Germans. These areas were of immense strategic importance to Czechoslovakia, as most of its border defenses and its banks were situated or located there. When it seemed that war was inevitable, Chamberlain and Daladier were invited by Hitler to a Four-power Conference which met in Munich on 29 September 1938. Here a plan that was actually written by the German Foreign Office was produced by Benito Mussolini and it was accepted.

According to the plan unveiled at the Conference, Sudetenland was to be handed over to Germany immediately, but Germany along with the other three powers had to assure the rest of Czechoslovakia will remain intact. Neither the Czechs nor the Russians were invited to the Conference. The Czechs were told that if they resisted the Munich decision, they would receive no help from Great Britain or France, even though France had guaranteed the Czech frontiers at Locarno. The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by this act of the United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the ‘Munich Dictate’. Sometimes, the phrase Munich Betrayal is also used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and the United Kingdom was not honoured. The Government of Czechoslovak realising the hopelessness of fighting the Nazis alone reluctantly agreed to abide by the rules mentioned in the Agreement. According to the

Settlement, Germany got the Sudetenland starting 10 October 1938 and also had de-facto control over the rest of Czechoslovakia as long as Hitler agreed to go no further. After some rest on 30 September, Chamberlain went to Hitler and asked him to sign a peace treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. After this was interpreted to Hitler, he happily agreed. When Chamberlain came back in Britain, he was given a rapturous and joyful welcome by the public who thought war had been averted. Chamberlain himself remarked, ‘I believe it is peace for our time’. Though the British, the French, the Nazi military and the German diplomatic leadership were pleased, Hitler was furious. He felt as if he was forced into acting like a bourgeois politician by his diplomats and generals. He shouted furiously soon after the meeting with Chamberlain and said, ‘Gentlemen, this has been my first international conference and I can assure you that it will be my last’. However, everybody was not so enthusiastic like Britain and France. Churchill called Munich ‘a total and unmitigated defeat’. Duff Cooper, the First Lord of the Admiralty, resigned from the Cabinet, saying that ‘Hitler could not be trusted to keep the agreement’. Later, it was proved that they were right.

5.2.3 The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939

As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurised the Czechoslovakian President, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 Germany troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action. Chamberlain said the guarantee of the Czechoslovakian frontier given at Munich did not apply, because technically the country had not been invaded rather Germany troops had entered by invitation. However, the German action caused a great rush of criticism. Even for the first time the appeasers were unable to justify what Hitler had done because he had broken his promise and seized non-Germany territory. Even Czechoslovakia felt this was going too far and for that it hardened its position. After taking over the Lithuanian port of Memel, Hitler turned his attention to Poland.

5.2.4 Hitler’s Demand for the Return of Danzig

The German resented the loss of Danzig and the Polish Corridor at Versailles, and now that Czechoslovakia was safely out of the way and Polish neutrality was no longer necessary. In April 1939 Hitler demanded the return of Danzig and a road and railway across the Corridor, linking East Prussia with the rest of Germany. This demand was not unreasonable, since Danzig was mainly German speaking. However, after the seizure of Czechoslovakia the Poles were convinced that Germany demands were only the preliminary to an invasion. Already strengthened by the British assurance of help in the event of any action which threatened Polish independence the Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck rejected the German demands and refused to attend a conference. The British pressure to surrender Danzig had no impact on the Poles.

The only way to save Poland could have happened through a British alliance with Russia but the British response was slow and they were hesitant in their negotiations for an alliance, which allowed Hitler to reach out first and sign a non-aggression pact with the USSR. It was also agreed to divide up Poland between Germany and the USSR. Hitler was convinced now that with the Russian neutrality, Britain and France would not risk intervention. When the British ratified their guarantee to Poland, Hitler took it as a bluff. When the Poles still refused to negotiate, a full-scale German invasion began on 1

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September 1939. Even on this situation the British Prime Minister Chamberlain had still not completely thrown off appeasement and suggested that if Germany troops were withdrawn, a conference could be held, but Germany preferred to remain silent on this. Only when pressure mounted on him in the parliament and in the country Chamberlain did send an ultimatum to Germany. When this expired on 3 September, Britain declared war with Germany. Soon afterwards, France also declared war.

5.2.5 Causes of the Second World War

The Second World War which began in 1939 lasted for 6 years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged in all corners of the world and ‘it was the most widespread war in history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercise that ensued’. In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the war effort, and this erased the distinction between the civilian and military resources. This War was marked by many significant events involving the mass death of civilians, which included the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War resulted in 50 million to over 70 million fatalities. Because of these deaths, the Second World War is considered as the deadliest conflict in all of human history. Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany but the real causes were much deeper and diverse in nature.

1. The Follies of Victors in the First World War

The Second World War origins were contained in the First World War itself. At the end of the First World War, many of the disputes were outstanding which still needed to be settled. When Germany surrendered, the Germans felt a huge amount of resentment for other countries interfering in their matters. The ill-feeling and divide between Germany and other countries was so massive that Germany was not even invited to participate in the peace treaties that were put in place at the end of the War. The Treaty of Versailles that specifically dealt with Germany’s future left no room for discussion on the part of the Germans. The consequence was that Germany was left bitter and full of hatred for those who had sought to demean it as a race-hatred that would be exploited by Hitler in the 1930s during his rise to power. ‘Hitler stood under the banner of revenge against other countries for Germany’s defeat. His desire for power was justified by claims that he wanted to get rid of the government that surrendered in the First World War, and replace it with his own organization, the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, which became known as the Nazi party, so that he could have full control of the European powers that had subjugated Germany after 1918.’ Thus, it is justified to conclude that the First World War was the major cause of the Second World War as it was the first in the chain of events that finally led to the declaration of war in 1939.

2. The Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was concluded in 1919 immediately after the First World War but the same angered the German people for several reasons. The first was that it was a Diktat or Dictated Peace settlement and Germany had no say in the preparation of the Treaty. Germany was forced to agree to the terms of this harsh Treaty and the mass opinion which was decisively not in favour of it. Over the period of time, other European powers realised that the original terms had been very strict. The basis of the Treaty was mainly spirit of revenge. Germany was deprived of her colonies, territories and natural resources and was also burdened with reparations which were beyond its capacity or

control to honour. This factor of dictation and humiliation led to the spirit of revenge. Germany started looking for a chance to tear off the Versailles treaty and finally when Hitler broke the Treaty after many years, it was taken as an indication that many people agreed with Hitler that the Treaty had been wrongly thrust on the Germans. The consequence of the Treaty of Versailles was that it did not settle any dispute; it created more conflicts between countries which were already restless and were trying to recover from the previous war. If the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with magnanimity, and foresight, and Germany was meted with a light treatment, the Second World War might have been turned away. Thus, the short sighted and selfishness of the winners was one of the main causes that paved the way for another World War.

3. Aggressive Nationalism of Germany

Another reason was the desire of the German leaders to make her a world power and to take on the policy of militarisation greatly added to the Second World War. After Hitler's position was consolidated, he embarked on the path of expansion of German empire. He occupied Rhineland, Czechoslovakia and annexed Austria. After this, he casted his eyes on Danzig and Poland. Hitler could pursue aggressive policies due to an attitude of indifference on the part of Great Britain and France. This 'aggressive nationalism' of Germany ultimately led to the Second World War.

4. Rise of Fascism in Italy

The growth of extreme nationalism in Italy in the form of Fascism was another factor responsible for the Second World War. Benito Mussolini, the Fascist leader glorified war. He said, 'war alone bring to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon people who have the courage to meet it'. It was under Mussolini that Italy began to think of restoring the glory of the Old Roman Empire. Italy annexed Abyssinia and in Spain the Italian volunteers were able to place General Franco in the saddle. In 1937 Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact to strengthen its position and concluded a 10 years alliance with Germany in 1939. It was agreed by both the countries to help each other if any of them was involved in war.

5. Japanese Imperialism

Another cause of War was the Japanese imperialism. After the First World War, Japan obtained many concessions at the Peace Conference. However, these were to some extent taken away from Japan by the Washington Conference of 1921–22. But Japan had decided to dominate the Far East. In 1931, Japan intervened in Manchuria and in spite of opposition from the League occupied it. Japan started an undeclared war against China in 1937 and conquered many cities one after other. When the Second World War began the Chinese war was still going on. Japan had joined Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, and this gave a further momentum to the Japanese programme of expansion and conquest. A war was inevitable under such circumstances.

6. The Great Economic Depression

An economic strife throughout the world was caused due to the Economic Depression which was triggered by the stock market crash in America in the late 1920s. America could not finance Germany to meet the obligations of reparations, and instead they wanted the money back from Germany. As a result of this America went into isolation as it wanted to nurse its own economy and avoided being dragged into another costly

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European war. Economic crisis was being faced by countries all over the world, and distrust started to develop again between countries. There was unemployment all over the world, and this problem was solved by countries by creating large armies. In Germany, Adolph Hitler's Nazi Party sought to establish a fascist government. With the beginning of the Great Depression, domestic support for the Nazis rose and, Hitler was appointed the Chancellor of Germany in 1933. In the aftermath of the Reichstag fire, a totalitarian single-party state was created by Hitler and it was led by the Nazis. During that time in order to overcome the serious problem of unemployment some of the countries started arms manufacture, but this gave a serious setback to disarmament efforts and promoted military competition among the states. Therefore, the global Economic Depression which surrounded the world for some years after 1929 was also a contributing cause of the Second World War and this gave Germany an excuse to break away from the Treaty of Versailles and establish larger armed forces on their own turf.

7. Failure of the League of Nations

In 1919 the League of Nations, an international organisation, was set up to help keep peace in the world and eliminate war as an instrument of policy. The intention was that all countries would be members of the League and that in case of disputes between countries they could be settled by negotiation rather than by force. If this was not successful then countries would stop trading with the aggressor country and if that too did not work out then countries would use their armies to fight. Theoretically, the League of Nations was a good idea and did have some early successes. But finally it turned out to be a failure.

In the late 1920s the whole world was hit by a depression. A depression is when an economy of the country falls, trade decreases, businesses lose income, prices drop and unemployment rises. Japan was hit badly by the Economic Depression in 1931. People lost confidence in the government and turned to the army to find a solution to the problem. Manchuria in China, an area rich in minerals and resources was invaded by the army. China appealed to the League of Nations for help and solution. The dictatorial Japanese government was told to order its army to leave Manchuria immediately. However, the army took no notice of the government orders and continued its conquest of Manchuria.

Then the League called for countries to stop trading with Japan but due to the Economic Depression many countries did not want to risk losing trade and disagreed to the request. After this the League made a further call for Japan to withdraw from Manchuria but instead Japan left the League of Nations. Italy invaded Abyssinia in October 1935. The Abyssinians were unable to withstand an attack by Italy and appealed to the League of Nations for help. The League criticised the attack and called on member states to impose trade restrictions with Italy. But these trade restrictions were not carried out as they would have little effect because Italy would be able to trade with non-member states, particularly America. Furthermore, Great Britain and France did not want to risk Italy attacking them. A meeting was held to stop Italy's aggression by the leaders of Great Britain and France and it was decided that Italy could have possession of land in Abyssinia only if there were no further attacks on the African country. Although Benito Mussolini accepted the plan, but there was a public outcry in Great Britain and the plan was ultimately dropped. In 1935 Italy occupied Ethiopia and Albania in 1936. Though economic sanctions were imposed by the League upon Italy yet the other members did not apply them.

Encouraged by these developments Germany defied the Treaty of Versailles in 1936 and rearmed itself. In 1938 Germany occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia by using force. The League remained silent. In 1939, Russia attacked Finland, and this led to Russia's expulsion from the League.

There were many reasons for the failure of the League of Nations. These were as follows:

First, though the idea of formation of the League of Nations came from the American President Woodrow Wilson, there was a change of government in the United States before the Treaty was signed and the new Republican government refused to join it. An early blow was suffered by the League when the US could not join it. Germany was not allowed to join the League as a punishment for having started the First World War and Russia was also not included due to a growing fear of Communism. Some of the other countries decided not to join and some joined but later left the membership. The main idea of collective security was that when one country attacked another, the aggressor would have sanctions imposed against it. First there would be material sanctions and then military sanctions. The trading with that country would be stopped. This process was known as collective security, as all the other countries were supposed to support the League and contribute to stopping the aggressive country from waging a war. Even those states who accepted membership of the League showed indifference to this principle of collective security.

Second, the League of Nations was powerless. The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country. However, this did not succeed as countries could still trade with non-member countries. When the Economic Depression in the late 1920s hit the world, countries were unwilling to lose trading partners to other non-member countries.

Third, the League had no army of its own. Member states were to supply the soldiers. However, countries were reluctant to get involved and risk provoking an aggressive country into taking action directly against them and failed to provide troops.

Fourth, the League was not able to act quickly. The Council of the League of Nations only met four times a year and its decisions had to be agreed by all nations. When countries called for the League to intervene or mediate, the League had to organise an emergency meeting, hold discussions and gain the agreement of all its members. This process meant that the League could not act quickly or rapidly to stop an act of aggression.

And finally, as the League of Nations was unable to maintain international peace, the European countries lost faith in its efficacy and entered into mutual political and military alliance. Therefore, the weakness of the League of Nations was a major cause for the outbreak of the Second World War because if it had worked, then there would have been peace within Europe, and there wouldn't have been a Second World War. However, as it was unable to fulfill its promise to protect member states, countries broke the rules to get what they wanted or desired.

8. Failure of Disarmament

Another major cause, intimately connected with the League of Nations was the failure of disarmament. The Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union led to the beginning of an arms race. America knew that it had become a superpower mainly because it was able to crush Japan's imperial designs by dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Moreover, the rising feeling of insecurity

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among nations after World War II made them find new ways of establishing supremacy and avoid containment. The two World Wars had made it clear that annihilation of countries was possible with bombs, and so efforts were made to establish peace in the world by following the policy of disarmament. Thus, the Security Council was created in the United Nations. The council tried to enforce the policy of nuclear disarmament. But the Soviets and the Americans did not trust each other, and entered an arms race. Article 8 of the Covenant had restricted the member states to take steps for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety. But as the League members had no faith in the system of collective security guaranteed by the League they entered into a race of rearmament. Due to mutual distrust of the members the various conferences for disarmament failed to achieve much both within and outside the League. Apart from Germany, which was compulsorily disarmed, the other country to reduce arms was Great Britain. After 1935 even Germany introduced conscription in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The other totalitarian states also followed the principle of ‘guns before butter’. This race for armaments had disastrous results for the security of peace loving countries.

9. Ideological Conflict

Another major cause of the Second World War was the ideological conflict between Dictatorial States of Germany, Italy, Japan and Democratic States like Great Britain, France and the US. Commenting on the ideological conflict Mussolini remarked, ‘The struggle between the two worlds can permit no compromise—either We or They’. This conflict was inevitable due to the different approaches and worldviews clashing with each other and trying to outwit each other. While the democratic countries stood for maintenance of status quo, the Fascist countries were keen to expand. Japan was land hungry and was determined to establish its supremacy in the Far East. Germany and Italy also wanted to expand their territories. This inevitably invoked a clash with the powers who were not willing to sacrifice their colonial empires.

10. Attitude of the Western Powers towards Russia

The Western powers continued to treat Russia as an outcast. They were scared of Bolshevism and encouraged the Fascist and the Pro-Fascist politicians in the West against Bolshevik expansion. The Western powers failed to realise that the Fascist aggression was directed not only against Russia but also against them. It was a folly on the part of the Western powers to have spurned the offers of friendship and truce made by Russia. Ultimately Russia got frustrated with the attitude of Western powers and concluded a no war pact with Germany.

11. Failure of the Policy of Appeasement

The policy of appeasement adopted by Great Britain and France towards the Dictatorial States also contributed largely to the outbreak of Second World War. During the 1930s, many protagonists of appeasement policy and politicians in both Britain and France came to see that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had placed restrictions on Germany that were unfair and the dictators had a real cause of grievance. Actions of Hitler were seen as understandable and justifiable. In 1934, when Germany began rearming, many politicians felt and believed that Germany had a right to rearm in order to protect itself. It was also argued or maintained that a stronger Germany would prevent the spread of Communism to the West.

In 1936, Hitler argued that as France had signed a new treaty with Russia, Germany was under threat from both France and Germany, and it was important for Germany to provide security for troops stationed in the Rhineland. France was not strong enough to fight Germany without the help from British and Britain was unwilling to go to war at this point. Furthermore, many people believed that since Rhineland was a part of Germany it was reasonable that the German troops should be stationed there.

Chamberlain became the prime minister of Britain in May 1937. According to him the Treaty of Versailles had treated Germany badly and that there were many issues associated with the Treaty that needed to be corrected. According to Chamberlain giving in to Hitler's demands would prevent another war. This policy that was adopted by Chamberlain's government was known as the Policy of Appeasement. The most notable example of appeasement was the Munich Agreement of September 1938. The Munich Agreement was signed by the leaders of Germany, Britain, France and Italy, and it was agreed that the Sudetenland would be returned to Germany and that Germany would make no further territorial claims. The Government of Czech was not invited to the Conference and it protested about the Sudetenland loss. They felt that both Britain and France with whom alliances had been made, had betrayed them. But, the Munich Agreement was generally viewed as a triumph and an excellent way of securing peace through negotiation rather than war. In March 1939, when Hitler invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia, the terms of the Munich Agreement were broken by Hitler. Although it was realised that the Policy of Appeasement did not work out, according to his statement Chamberlain was still not willing to take the country to war, 'over a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing'. Instead, he made a guarantee to come to Poland's help if it was invaded by Hitler.

According to the critics of the Policy, this Policy was based on wrong assumptions and should have been disposed of as soon as the designs of Axis powers became clear. It was a folly to have persisted or continued with this Policy after 1937 when the designs of Nazi Germany became clear. However, according to the defenders of the Policy of Appeasement the Policy was necessary and important to postpone the war to gain time for the Western powers to grid themselves for the expected struggle. By perusing this Policy after 1937, Chamberlain played for time and made available the Western powers the much needed time for preparing for the struggle against the Fascist power. This no doubt gave the Western powers the time to increase the military strength. But, at the same time Germany and other Axis powers were not sitting idle. The time was more in favour of the Axis powers rather than the Allies as Germany was able to increase the number and strength of its army relatively in a more effective way. According to some historians if war had started in 1938 it was almost certain that Germany would have been quickly defeated. By their inaction countries like Great Britain and France created a situation under which the democracies had to go to war under much worse or bad conditions.

Thus, the Second World War was the result of the follies of the victors, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, collapse of collective security, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict and the Policy of the Appeasement persuaded by Great Britain and France. Above all the Second World War was a 'war of revenge initiated by Germany and definitely the growing ambitiousness of Germany to become the greatest world power'. In 1937, although Japan was already at war with the Republic of China, the Second World War is generally said to have begun on 1 September 1939, when Poland was invaded by Germany, without a declaration of war. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September and all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations, except Ireland, quickly followed suit.

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks.

(a) In his book

_____ A. J. P.

Taylor argues that, 'Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on'.

(b) The phrase

_____ is used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and United Kingdom was not honoured.

2. State whether the following statements are true or false.

(a) If the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with magnanimity, and foresight, and Germany was meted with a light treatment, the Second World War might have been turned away.

(b) The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country.

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5.3 COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN ASIA

A dictator would be a strong nationalist because nationalism is described as a strong feeling of pride for one's country and a strong identification with a nation. In this unit, you will study about nationalism in Indonesia.

In 1905 victory of Japan over Russia gave an impetus to the rise of nationalism in many Asian countries. It showed that an Asian country, which had an organized army and relevant equipment, could face and withstand a strong and aggressive Western power. However, nationalism reached Asia after changing the structure of various governments in Western countries. The growth and rise of nationalism in various parts of Asia proceeded on different lines and depended on the political and economic conditions. In Asia nationalism became an important social force where the nation faced competition, rivalry or danger from other nations. In a country like Japan, nationalism developed and grew under conditions of unusual economic growth over a long period of time. But in other countries where there was foreign danger and no growth in economy, nationalism played an important role in trying to free the country from foreign domination.

Many factors were responsible for the development of national consciousness in Asian countries. These were: popular education, popular press, conscription armies, industrial revolution and foreign danger. The Asian nationalist leaders adopted different methods and strategies in different countries to achieve their nationalist aspirations. The Turks, in order to win their freedom, fought with a crusading zeal. India is the only striking example where people did not resort to force in gaining their independence. Consequently, India attained Independence in 1947 with the least amount of bloodshed. The success of nationalist movements in Asiatic countries brought stability and prosperity where there were foundations for liberal democracy and modern nationhood. But in some cases the unifying forces of the old order were destroyed quickly without adequate planning for its substitute. In such circumstances, there existed political chaos in the country.

5.3.1 Growth of Nationalism in Indonesia

Though the rise of nationalist movement in Indonesia is popularly dated from 17 August 1945 when the Proclamation of Indonesian independence was made, but the Indonesians had started some sort of sustained struggle about three centuries earlier when the Dutch started ruthless warfare to annex certain independent kingdoms. However, during the initial stages the struggle took the form of isolated attempts at resistance against local oppression. The anti-imperialist struggle in the sense of a mass movement aiming at complete independence of Indonesia from the colonial rule started only in the early twentieth century.

Early Anti-imperialist Struggles

The first to raise voice against the unfair and discriminatory policy of the Dutch was Prince Diponegoro, popularly known as the Sultan Radja of Mataram. Prince Diponegoro, who had good relations with the masses, was greatly agitated over the Dutch malpractices and policy of discrimination in the fields of politics, religion, social, and cultural spheres. He wrote a letter to the Dutch authorities against their policy of terrorism and exploitation against the common people. But when the Dutch authorities were not willing to change their policy he led the entire population of East and Central Java in a revolt against the

Dutch and with it the War of Independence, which soon spread to various parts of Java, started in 1825. Prince Diponegoro succeeded in retaining control over the territory of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and inflicted heavy loss of life on the Dutch. The Dutch could not suppress the power of Prince Diponegoro so, they resorted to trickery in 1830, and in the pretext of a negotiation treacherously arrested him and exiled him to Celebes. In 1875, the people of Aceh (northernmost Sumatra) revolted against the Dutch and it continued for almost 30 years. Apart from these, numerous other uprisings in various parts of the country kept the anti-imperialist struggle alive in Indonesia.

National Movement in the Twentieth Century

With the dawn of the 20th century the spirit of nationalism grew stronger in Indonesia and the movement entered a new phase. The growth of nationalism in Indonesia became possible due to the Western education. The Western education had exposed large number of Indonesians, especially those studying in abroad to Western developments and modern thinking, and these Western educated people took initiative to form the first apolitical cultural organization *Budi Utomo* in 1908. Under the leadership of Dr Wahidin Sudisohusudo, a retired government physician, this organization was founded, with a view to work for the advancement of the masses. However, shortly this apolitical organization assumed political character and lost its membership to the nationalist organizations.

Soon another organization based on the principles of Islamic religion known as the *Strek as Islam* was formed with a view to organize the small indigenous industrialists. However, in course of time the party developed political tendencies and in 1913 put forward the demand for self-government for Indonesia within the Dutch empire. As the Dutch authorities did not respond positively, the *Strek as Islam* declared its goal as attainment of complete independence, by force if necessary.

In the meantime, during the First World War, the Dutch government provided certain concessions and in 1916, they provided a Peoples' Council or *Volksraad*, a consultative body. This was an ineffective body but it provided the Indonesians a common platform to unite. The members bitterly criticised the lapses of the Dutch administration in the field of education and social reforms.

Causes of the National Movement

Various factors were responsible for motivating the Indonesians to launch a massive struggle against the colonial Dutch administration.

Firstly the Western ideas and the native intellectuals played a great role in realising that each human being has a right of human dignity in social, economic and other spheres. These intellectuals due to their education abroad discovered lot of discrepancy between the liberal thoughts of the West and practical realities in Indonesia. Contrary to the belief in equality, the colonial administration actually practiced discrimination in jobs, pay, educational opportunities, etc.

Secondly, the developments in other countries also provided great motivation to the national movement. The emergence of Japan as a great world power, the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the upsurge of nationalism in India, the Russian Revolution of 1917, etc., were some of the events abroad which exercised profound influence on the Indonesians. Even the peace treaties concluded at the end of the First World War provided an impetus to national movement by emphasising the principles of national self-determination.

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Thirdly, the post war Economic Depression in Indonesia also contributed to the growth of nationalism in the country. The Dutch in order to salvage their own financial interest completely neglected the interests of the native. This was greatly resented by the Indonesian people, and there were sporadic uprisings and movements in various parts of the country.

Finally, the colonial government in order to deal with the growing violence resorted to ruling through ordinances and martial law. It deported most of the political activists along with their families to an internment camp set up in Boren Digual, in the heart of Dutch New Guinea. A number of persons were also killed or hanged to serve as a warning to others. The Dutch government itself admitted that over 13,000 adults were taken into custody in November 1926 alone. Therefore, the violence of the colonial government further aggravated the common people of Indonesia and forced them to join the national movement.

Formation of Indonesian Nationalist Party

Despite the policy of repression pursued by the colonial Dutch government, the national movement could not be crushed. To free the nation from the clutches of the Dutch government some of the young national revolutionaries under the leadership of Achmed Sukarno founded the Indonesian nationalist party (Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia or PNI), in 1927, which advocated complete independence. Soon the Party, due to the oratory skills of its leaders like Sukarno, gained mass following. This greatly alarmed the Dutch authorities. It therefore, dissolved the Party and imprisoned Sukarno and three other leaders.

In the meantime, the Indonesian students studying in Holland and other European countries founded *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, another party under the leadership of Dr Mohd. Hatta. This Party believed in the policy of building-up nationalism gradually with the support of the elite and then enrolling the support of the uncoordinated masses. Dr Hatta represented Indonesia in the League of anti-imperialism, and Colonialism, an Asian Students Organization set up for the propagation of national freedom. It was at this forum that he came in contact with the Indian freedom fighter Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a prominent leader of this movement.

These political parties, especially the PNI, laid great emphasis on the idea of Indonesian unity and gave a call for one nation, one flag, and one language. The Party also adopted the emblem and symbol of free Indonesia and used national anthem at its meeting. To deal with the growing nationalistic feeling, the Dutch government took to repression and in 1929 arrested Sukarno, Hatta and other top leaders. These leaders were subjected to trial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. This sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. After their release, Sukarno, Dr Hatta, Sjahrir joined hands and provided a fresh momentum to the revival of anti-imperialist forces, which lay dormant for some time. The Dutch government again adopted repressive measures and locked up these political leaders after arrest.

Japanese Invasion and the National Movement

In 1942, in view of the danger of Japanese attack, Dr Hatta, Sjahrir suggested the Dutch government to initiate an emergency programme of training of Indonesians or permit to open independent defence units for the defence of their homeland. However, the colonial government did not respond favourably and refused to permit the Indonesians to form their own defence units. Even the attitude of the government did not show any sign of

change, rather they resorted to more police force, increased political arrests and further restrictions on the nationalist leaders. As a result, the tension between the people and the colonial Dutch government greatly increased. In view of this tension the Dutch government could not offer any effective opposition to the Japanese when they attacked Indonesia, and on 9 March 1942, just within a week of Japan's attack, made a complete surrender to them.

Japanese Occupation of Indonesia and New Direction to Nationalist Struggle

Though the occupation of Indonesia by the Japanese did not lead to the emancipation of the Indonesian people, it gave a new direction to the Indonesian national struggle. The Japanese soon after their occupation of the country released all the national leaders. They also declared their faith in the principle of 'Asia for the Asians' and 'Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere'. The Japanese administrators did everything possible to build up Indonesian antagonism towards the Dutch in particular and the white man in general. They organized an all-inclusive political party, youth groups, and labour organizations. The Indonesians keeping the requirement of time in view divided themselves into two sections and strategically worked according to the plan. While one section extended passive cooperation to the Japanese, the other group continued to struggle from underground. However, these sections maintained close co-ordination in their movement.

The Japanese occupation proved to be a boon for the Indonesians. As the Japanese did not have sufficient number of men to run the administration in Indonesia, they appointed the Indonesians to various administrative, technical and supervisory posts. This provided the Indonesians the first real opportunity of self-government and gave them the confidence that they could very well govern their own country. With a view to promote their own interests the Japanese also provided the Indonesians extensive training in techniques of military warfare, which further enhanced the power and confidence of the Indonesians. However, later the Japanese proved to be more ruthless rulers and worst exploiters than the Dutch, who even taught the people to steal and cheat. In the words of Sjahrir, 'during the period of three and [a] half years of Japanese occupation, everything spiritually as well as materially was taken loose from its old mooring'. But despite the fact that the period of Japanese occupation was a terrible period, it produced number of good results. To quote Dr. Hatta, 'While the people groaned under Japanese excesses, they began to take stock of the Dutch and the consequence of Dutch rule. With sharper insights, they were able to perceive how ineffective and valueless the Dutch administration had been. From that movement Indonesia awakened to the truth and there was a sudden upsurge of nationalism stronger and deeper than ever before'.

5.3.2 Growth of Nationalism in Vietnam

As the Second World War drew closer and the prospects of Japanese defeat became imminent, nationalism in Indonesia was at its ultimate state and the Indonesian leaders prepared themselves to declare their independence from the Netherlands crown. Whereas the Dutch sought to re-establish their authority in Indonesia and asked the Japanese army to 'preserve law and order' in Indonesia, the Japanese, however, were in favour of helping the Indonesian nationalists prepare for self-government. On 7 September 1944, with the War going badly for the Japanese, Prime Minister Koiso promised independence for Indonesia, but no date was set.

In the meantime, representatives consisting of all political parties set up a preparatory committee in June 1945 to draft the Constitution for the Republic of Indonesia.

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Ultimately, on 17 August 1945 Sukarno made the proclamation of independence, which read, ‘We the people of Indonesia hereby declare Indonesia’s independence. Matters concerning the transfer of power and other matters will be executed in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time’. A Red and White flag was hoisted and the national anthem was for the first time sung in an independent Indonesia. The following day the Central Indonesian National Committee elected Sukarno as the president, and Dr Hatta as the vice president.

This marked the first step towards the creation of greater Indonesia. The Proclamation electrified the whole nation and all the Indonesian civil servants, police and military groups immediately declared their allegiance to the new Republic. After the formal surrender by Japan when the British forces landed in Indonesia on behalf of the Allies they found that the Indonesians had already set up a working government. Therefore, in view of the political realities the British government decided to accord *de facto* recognition to the Republic. Later the Dutch who returned to Indonesia after Japan’s exit agreed to negotiate with the Indonesians under pressure from Britain. After prolonged negotiations the *Linggadjati* Agreement, brokered by the British and which was concluded and signed in November 1946, saw the Netherlands recognise the Republic as the *de-facto* authority over Java and Sumatra. Both parties agreed to the United States of Indonesia formation by 1 January 1949, which was a semi-autonomous federal state with the Monarchy of the Netherlands at its head. The Central National Committee of Indonesia did not consent to the Agreement until February 1947. Neither the Republic nor the Dutch were satisfied with it.

On 25 March 1947, the Lower House of the Dutch parliament approved of a ‘stripped down version of the Treaty, as it was not accepted by the Republic. Both sides accused each other of violating the terms of the Agreement. At midnight on 20 July 1947, Operation Product was launched by the Dutch and it was considered as a major military offensive, with the intention of conquering the Republic. The Dutch claimed violations of the *Linggadjati* Agreement, and described the campaign as ‘police actions’ to restore law and order. In the meantime, the United Nations Security Council became directly involved in the conflict, established a Good Offices Committee to sponsor further negotiations, and this made the Dutch diplomatic position particularly difficult. At the same time, the United Nations Security Council brokered the Renville Agreement in an attempt to correct the collapsed *Linggadjati* Agreement. In January 1948, the Agreement was ratified and recognised a cease-fire along the so-called ‘Van Mook line’, an artificial line which connected the most advanced Dutch positions.

The final breaking point came on 19 December 1948 when the Dutch launched their Second Police Action and attacked the Republican capital. They captured President Sukarno, Vice-President Dr Hatta and a host of other important political leaders. This action aroused the people against the Dutch and they refused to offer any co-operation to the Dutch government. Due to strong resistance, the Dutch were finally forced to retreat. With the pressure from the UNO, India and other countries the Dutch agreed to release the Republican leaders in May 1949. On 30 June 1949, the Dutch withdrew from Yogyakarta and the Republican government moved in. The hostilities between the two ended on 1 August 1949. After a round table of the representatives of the Dutch, the Republic, the non-Republican territories and the United Nations Commission for Indonesia which was held at Hague on 23 August 1949 and the formal transfer of sovereignty took place on 27 December 1949 at Hague and Djakarta. This marked the culmination of Indonesia’s anti imperialist struggle and paved the way for the emergence of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on 17 August 1950.

Indo-China, which comprised Cambodia, Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China came under the colonial rule of France towards the close of the nineteenth century. Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established, Vietnam continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture. Vietnam was also linked to the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. The French intervention in Indo-China goes back to the year 1786 when a catholic bishop led a group of soldiers into Cochin-China. For the first time the French acquired territorial control in Indo-China in 1862. However, it was only towards the close of nineteenth century that France succeeded in establishing its domination over the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China. France also established protectorate over Tongking, Annam, Cambodia and Laos. This system of colony and protectorate virtually existed in theory because all the parts of Vietnam were under the control of a highly centralised system of the French administration.

Early Nationalist Movement

The nationalist movement in Indo-China started almost at the same time when the French succeeded in establishing their domination. Frequent plots for the overthrow of the foreign rule were prepared but the French put down these plots ruthlessly. The liberal policy followed by the Governor General Paul Doumer from 1897 to 1902 and the Governor General Albert Sarraut from 1911 to 1917, gave a further momentum to the nationalist movement in Indo-China. The writings of the French scholars like Montesquieu and Rousseau also exercised profound influence on the people and contributed to strengthen the nationalist movement. The victory of Japan over Russia also influenced the nationalist movement. However, it was the First World War, which brought the people of Indo-China in direct contact with the Western country. During the War over one lakh, Indo-Chinese troops were sent by the French government to take part in the War and they got an opportunity to experience the democratic system.

In the meantime, the French continued to exploit the territories of Indo-China. They obtained rubber, coal, rice and all precious items from this land. From the inception, they carried on the government in an oppressive manner without caring about the interests of the people. The local people engaged by the French government were paid minimum wages and the general public was subjected to a heavy dose of taxation. This was naturally irritating to the people and they were keen to get rid of the foreign rule.

These feelings against the foreign rule reinforced the movement and particularly in the post First World War period, the nationalist movement gained momentum and grew stronger in Indo-China. During the War period France made very generous promises to the people to win their support and to maintain peace in the country. At the end of the War, France refused to redeem these promises. This naturally wounded the feelings of the people and provided an impulsion to the growth of the subversive activities. The elite and the intellectuals of Indo-China, who were greatly stirred by the doctrine of self-determination proclaimed by the Allies during the War, deplored the French policy of denying political and economic responsibilities to the local people. Various political parties like Tokinese Party and the Constitutional Party also made demands for reforms. However, the government turned down the demand for reforms. This gave a serious setback to the Moderates and the Extremists succeeded in stealing the limelight.

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Revolutionary Movement in Indo-China

In 1925, the Revolutionary Party of Young Annam was founded but the Party was paralyzed due to internal conflicts. In 1927, the Nationalist Party modelled on the Kuomintang Party of China, was formed at the instance of Phan Boi Chau a revolutionary leader. The Party maintained contacts across China's Kwangtung province border and sponsored to eliminate the French Governor General in 1929. In February 1930 the Party staged a rebellion known as the Yen Bai Mutiny and on its directions the Vietnamese soldiers revolted and killed their French officer at the fortress of Yen Bat situated on the river North of Hanoi. However, the French ruthlessly suppressed this rebellion. Most of the leaders were arrested and force was used even against unarmed demonstrators. Also, its pro-Chinese organization was another reason, which prevented the popularity of the party amongst the people. After some time a peasant uprising was organized against the French but it was also ruthlessly suppressed. This greatly undermined the prestige of the Party and after some time it was dissolved.

Emergence of Communist Leadership

Another notable feature of the nationalist struggle in Indo-China was the emergence of Communist Movement. Nguyen Ai Quoc, popularly known as Ho Chi Minh, started this Movement in the 1920s. He advocated a liberal programme for Indo-China, which included self-rule, civil liberties, equality of rights, end of French mercantilist policies in Indo-China, etc. In 1930, Ho Chi Minh organized the Communist Party of Vietnam. Soon after its formation, the Party organized a small army mutiny. It also organized demonstrations in urban centers and abortive peasant uprising in Tongking. In view of the severity of the police action, the Communist Party went underground. However, on account of highly effective nature of the organization of the Party, it was able to survive the repression and continued its activities underground. But due to this repressive policy of the government the Party could not gain in numbers.

Second World War and its Impact on Nationalist Movement

The outbreak of the Second World War produced a great impact on the nationalist movement in Indo-China. It convinced the people that the Europeans were not invincible and it provided new direction to the nationalist movement. France after the defeat at the hands of Germany in 1940 was forced to make certain concessions to Japan. In September 1940, France granted to Japan its right to station aircrafts in Indo-China. By the Darlan Kato Agreement of July 1941, Indo-China was fully integrated into the Japanese military system, even though France continued to administer the country. Thus the people of Indo-China had to wage struggle at two fronts. On the one hand, they organized a number of popular risings against the France authorities, even though these were effectively brought down by the French. On the other hand the common people of Indo-China also started an anti-Japanese movement under Ho Viet Minh.

In the meantime an important change took place in Vietnam on 9 March 1945, when the Japanese ousted the French Admiral Decona and interned the French troops and personal. The Japanese also encouraged Bao Dai, the Emperor of Annam to declare independence and acknowledged him as the head of the independent state of Vietnam, created by uniting Tongking, Annam, and Cochin-China. Similarly the king of Cambodia and Laos were also permitted to declare their independence. All this convinced the people of Indo-China that Europe was not invincible and greatly contributed to the nationalist movement.

As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan. Anticipating that the Allies decided at the Potsdam Conference that pending the return of France, Indo-China should be temporarily occupied by China to the north of the six-tenth parallel and by the British to the south of the said line. Meanwhile, in the hills of the Tongking Viet Minh founded a provisional government for Vietnam. As soon as the Japanese were defeated, Bao Dai abdicated the throne and handed over the power to the provisional government. On 2 September 1945 Vietnam declared its independence. After overcoming his rivals Ho Chi Minh announced the policy of less taxes, lower rents, no forced labour, more food, better health and better school.

On 28 February 1946, an agreement was reached between Ho Chi Minh and the French. Under this Agreement, the Chinese troops were to leave Vietnam. By another agreement of 6 March 1946, France recognized Vietnam as a free state with its own government, parliament, army and finances, forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union. A referendum was to be held in Cochin-China to decide whether it should join the Republic. It was also agreed that further conference would be held to decide matters pertaining to the diplomatic relations of the Republic, the future status of Indo-China and the French cultural interests in Vietnam. The conference was held at Dalat in April 1946. At this Conference France and Vietnam offered different interpretations about independence. As a result no agreement could be reached. The things assumed serious dimensions following announcement by the French Admiral d'Argenlieu creating an autonomous Republic of Cochin-China. This was contrary to the assurance given to the nationalists, so, naturally this decision met with resentment. However, the French and the Vietnamese agreed to the cessation of hostilities on 14 September 1946 and also settled a number of cultural and economic questions.

The ceasefire between the two did not last long and soon hostilities broke out. The Vietnamese leaders were not willing to accept anything less than full sovereignty to Cochin-China. On 19 December 1946, the Vietnamese staged a surprise attack on the French garrison in Tongking and Annam. With this, the hostilities developed into full scale war. For the rigid stand of both the parties the War continued to drag on for almost 8 years. One of the main obstacles in arriving at any negotiated settlement was Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Vietnam who was a Communist and the French were not willing to enter into negotiations with him. Ultimately, on 20 May 1948, France proclaimed the Central Provisional Vietnam government with the President Nguyen Van Xuan as head of French sponsored states of Cochin-China. In March 1949, the French succeeded in persuading Bao Dai to become the head of the new French dominion consisting of Cochin-China, Annam and Tongking. However, the French retained control over foreign affairs and defence.

The things got further complicated with the emergence of Communist rule in China. The Peoples' Government of China immediately accorded recognition to the government of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. Soon the USSR and its European satellites also accorded recognition to Ho Chi Minh's government. On the other hand, Great Britain and the US proceeded to accord formal recognition to Bao Dai government. With this Vietnam got embroiled in the 'cold war'. Now the French continued the war with American money. However, with passage of time the hope of France victory became dim. The US insisted France to adopt a bolder plan but the France plans were shattered when the

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Vietnamese inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Dien Bien Phu on 6 May 1954. In view of the growing public opinion against the French involvement in France, Mendes decided to bring this hopeless and costly colonial war to an end.

The Geneva Conference

The Geneva Conference was held in 1954, to conclude the Armistice Agreement with regard to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Cambodia, Laos, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR, China, the US and Britain attended the Conference. Under the Geneva Agreement, it was decided to partition Vietnam. While the north portion went to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and south portion went to the Saigon Government. However, the partition was envisaged purely as a provisional arrangement and general election was to take place in July 1956 under the supervision of International Commission to unify Vietnam. To supervise and control Vietnam an International Control Commission consisting of India, Poland and Canada was set up.

At the Conference, the two governments (the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Saigon Government of Vietnam) had agreed to hold discussions about the arrangements for holding elections in the country. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam faithfully worked for holding the proposed elections. But in view of the non-helpful attitude of the Saigon regime the elections could not be held and the Geneva Agreement was buried. After this incident, the American involvement in Vietnam continued to grow. America backed the Diem government in South Vietnam but due to its anti-Buddhist policy, it was unpopular with the people. The growing resentment against the Diem regime culminated in the formation of the National Liberation front of South Vietnam in Cochin-China with an objective to overthrow the dictatorial Diem regime. The growing resentment found outlet in a popular revolt in 1963 in which the Diem government was overthrown. However, America continued its help in terms of military equipment as well as military advisers to South Vietnam. Despite this help, America could not check the growing influence of the Communists. Ultimately, America decided to send full-fledged combat troops into Vietnam to crush the National Liberation front of South Vietnam, which was receiving arms and men from North Vietnam. Because of the American intervention, the civil war in South Vietnam was transformed into a full-flagged war between America and Vietnam.

The Soviet Union immediately issued a stern warning stating, ‘Soviet Union will be compelled, together with the Allies and friends, to take further measures to ensure the security and strengthen the defence capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam’. China went a step further and publicly offered help to North Vietnam. Despite all this America continued the bloodbath for 3 years and finally agreed to stop bombardment and hold peace talks at Paris. At the Paris peace talks, USA and North Vietnam agreed on an unlimited ceasefire. In addition, they recognised the right of the people of the South Vietnam to self-determination. It was also agreed that an international conference to acknowledge the signed agreements, to guarantee the ending of the war and to maintain peace would be held within 30 days of the signing of the cease-fire. The Agreement was hailed all over the world and brought peace to Indo-China almost after 30 years of struggle. On 2 July 1976, the newly elected national assembly announced the unification of the country under the name Socialist Republic of Vietnam with Hanoi as its capital. This marked the culmination of the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam.

5.3.3 Growth of Nationalism in Burma

Like Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), Burma was also liberated from British control in 1948. After freedom, the Burmese patriot pioneers were embroiled in battles within their state with the military. In 1989, the name of the nation was formally changed to Myanmar, drawing on the conventional relationship, just as Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka. In the same year, Aung San Su Kyi, the daughter of the early pioneers of the patriot development against the Japanese in Burma, was put under house arrest for her leadership in the fair resistance.

5.4 SUMMARY

- The First World War and the subsequent Great Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorships in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The main cause of the two world wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power. But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and revenge and then for loot and German domination.
- In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss about the Sudetenland's future in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler.
- As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurised the Czechoslovakian President, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 Germany troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action.
- The Second World War which began in 1939, lasted for 6 years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged in all corners of the world and ‘it was the most widespread war in history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercise that ensued’.
- In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the war effort, and this erased the distinction between the civilian and military resources. This War was marked by many significant events involving the mass death of civilians, which included the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War resulted in 50 million to over 70 million fatalities.
- Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany but the real causes were much deeper and diverse

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks.
- (a) The first to raise voice against the unfair and discriminatory policy of the Dutch was Prince Diponegoro, popularly known as the _____.
- (b) Another organization based on the principles of Islamic religion known as the _____ was formed with a view to organize the small indigenous industrialists.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
- (a) As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan.
- (b) The liberal policy followed by the Governor General Paul Doumer from 1897 to 1902 and Governor General Albert Sarraut from 1911 to 1917, gave a further momentum to the nationalist movement in Indo-China.

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in nature. Like the follies of victors in the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles, aggressive Nationalism of Germany, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, the Great Economic Depression, failure of the League of Nations, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict, attitude of the Western powers towards Russia, failure of the Policy of Appeasement.

- Many factors were responsible for the development of national consciousness in Asian countries. These were: popular education, popular press, conscription armies, industrial revolution, and foreign danger. The Asian nationalist leaders adopted different methods and strategies in different countries to achieve their nationalist aspirations.
- Though the rise of nationalist movement in Indonesia is popularly dated from 17 August 1945 when the Proclamation of Indonesian independence was made, but the Indonesians had started some sort of sustained struggle about three centuries earlier when the Dutch started ruthless warfare to annex certain independent kingdoms.
- With the dawn of the twentieth century the spirit of nationalism grew stronger in Indonesia and the movement entered a new phase. The growth of nationalism in Indonesia became possible due to the Western education.
- As the Second World War drew closer and the prospects of Japanese defeat became imminent, nationalism in Indonesia was at its ultimate state and the Indonesian leaders prepared themselves to declare their independence from the Netherlands crown. Whereas the Dutch sought to re-establish their authority in Indonesia and asked the Japanese army to ‘preserve law and order’ in Indonesia, the Japanese, however, were in favour of helping the Indonesian nationalists prepare for self-government.
- Indo-China, which comprised Cambodia, Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China came under the colonial rule of France towards the close of the nineteenth century. Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established, Vietnam continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture.
- Vietnam was also linked to the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. The French intervention in Indo-China goes back to the year 1786 when a Catholic Bishop led a group of soldiers into Cochin-China. For the first time the French acquired territorial control in Indo-China in 1862. However, it was only towards the close of nineteenth century that France succeeded in establishing its domination over the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China.
- The nationalist movement in Indo-China started almost at the same time when the French succeeded in establishing their domination. Frequent plots for the overthrow of the foreign rule were prepared but the French put down these plots ruthlessly.
- The outbreak of the Second World War produced a great impact on the nationalist movement in Indo-China. It convinced the people that the Europeans were not invincible and it provided new direction to the nationalist movement. France after the defeat at the hands of Germany in 1940 was forced to make certain concessions to Japan. In September 1940, France granted to Japan its right to station aircrafts in Indo-China.

- As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan. Anticipating that the Allies decided at the Potsdam Conference that pending the return of France, Indo-China should be temporarily occupied by China to the north of the six-tenth parallel and by the British to the south of the said line.
- The Geneva Conference was held in 1954, to conclude the Armistice Agreement with regard to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Cambodia, Laos, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR, China, the US and Britain attended the Conference. Under the Geneva Agreement, it was decided to partition Vietnam. While the north portion went to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and south portion went to the Saigon Government.
- Like Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), Burma was also liberated from British control in 1948. After freedom, the Burmese patriot pioneers were embroiled in battles within their state with the military. In 1989, the name of the nation was formally changed to Myanmar, drawing on the conventional relationship, just as Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka.

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5.5 KEY TERMS

- **Diktat:** It is an order imposed by a powerful authority without popular consent.
- **Imperialism:** It refers to a policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force.
- **Munich Dictate:** The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by the act of the United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the 'Munich Dictate'.
- **Budi Utomo:** It was the first apolitical cultural organization in 1908 under the leadership of Dr Wahidin Sudiso Husodo, who was a retired government physician.
- **Strek as Islam:** It is an organization based on the principles of the Islamic religion, formed to organize the small indigenous industrialists.
- **Valksrad:** It is a consultative body which was an ineffective body but provided the Indonesians a common platform to unite.
- **Perhimpunan Indonesia:** It was a party formed under the leadership of Dr Mohd. Hatta.
- **Linggadjati Agreement:** The Linggadjati Agreement was brokered by the British and concluded and signed in November 1946, and it saw the Netherlands recognize the Republic as the *de-facto* authority over Java and Sumatra.
- **Darlan-Kato Agreement:** It was an agreement signed on July 1941, by which Indo-China was fully integrated into the Japanese military system, even though France continued to administer the country.

5.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961); (b) Munich Betrayal
2. (a) True; (b) True

3. (a) Sultan Radja of Mataram; (b) *Strek as Islam*
4. (a) True; (b) True

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5.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the causes of the Second World War.
2. Write a note on Hitler's demand for the return of Danzig.
3. State the factors that led to the failure of the Policy of Appeasement.
4. What motivated the Indonesians to launch a struggle against the colonial Dutch administration?
5. Write a note on the revolutionary movement in Indo-China.
6. Write a note on the significance of the Geneva Conference.
7. State the similarities between the growth of nationalism in Ceylon and Burma.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland.
2. Explain the Munich Conference, 1938.
3. Describe the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939.
4. Assess the growth of nationalism in Indonesia.
5. Evaluate the significance of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in the Indonesian national struggle.
6. Discuss the growth of nationalism in Indo-China.

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