



**B.A. PART-III
(SEMESTRE-V)**

**HISTORY – PAPER A
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
(1500-1950)**

UNIT NO. 2

Section : B

**Department of Distance Education
Punjabi University, Patiala**

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LESSON NO. :

- 2.1 : Crimean War : Causes and Effects
- 2..2 : Industrial Revolution and its impact on the World
- 2.3 : Russian Revolution of 1917
- 2.4 : Causes of the First World War
- 2.5 : Rise of Fascism and Nazism
- 2.6 : Causes of the Second World War

**Note : Students can download the syllabus from
Department's website www.dccpbi.com**

The Crimean War

In the forties of the nineteenth Century the Near East remained peaceful. But national rivalries were at work which in the early fifties led to the Crimean War. Like all wars, the Crimean War was caused by a number of converging causes. These have remained a subject of controversy among contemporary observers and modern historians. In the opinion of Queen Victoria; "The origin of the war can be traced back to the selfishness and ambition of one man (Tsar Nicholas) and his servant". According to Kingslake. "Napoleon III provoked this perfectly useless war in cold blood and under one motive for action. Nevertheless, Britain was as much responsible for war as any other power". The causes of the Crimean war may be examined as under : The underlying causes and the immediate cause.

Underlying Causes

1. Russian ambition and Miscalculation

Immediately after the signing of the Straits convention (1841). Tsar Nicholas began to entertain schemes for the partition of Turkey. Experience had taught him that the problem of Turkey was not the domestic concern of Russia but an international issue in which most of the Great powers were interested. At the same time, he felt convinced that Turkey was about to fall to pieces and decided to discuss his scheme of partition with the other power, particularly Great Britain. But it was difficult to allay the suspicion of the other great Powers. Russia had emerged from the war of 1823-29 with increased prestige. The position in the Balkans was unstable. The success of the Greeks had produced nationalist stirrings among other subject races. It was feared that Russia might resume her aggressive policy. In 1844 Nicholas I visited England determined to remove British suspicion by a frank explanation of Near Eastern policy. He suggested to Lord Aberdeen the British foreign secretary that Turkey was a sick dying man and that England and Russia should reach an understanding as a means to preserving the peace of Europe. He believed that Lord Aberdeen would not only appreciate his view point but would be able to persuade the leading English policy makers about the sincerity of his views; and he left England under the impression that the British leaders sympathised with his suggestion. But Lord Aberdeen and his friends in the cabinet did not fall in with his suggestion. He expressed the hope that "Sick man" might be nursed back to health and promised that in case of an emergency

British and Russia could consult each other as to the best course of action to pursue.

In February 1853, Nicholas I returned to the subject in a conversation with the British Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Sir Hamilton Seymour. He suggested that the "sick man" was about to collapse, that the Balkan states should be made independent under Russian protection, that Russia should occupy Constantinople but not annex it and that Britain should have Egypt and Crete. The manner in which his suggestion was received by the British Government left the impression that Britain would support his scheme.

British Policy

In 1853 the British Cabinet was divided into two groups. Lord Aberdeen (Prime Minister) and Lord Clarendon (Foreign Secretary) were in favour of secret diplomacy. In fact, they wanted to collaborate with the other Great Powers and to impose an agreed settlement on Turkey. Palmerston who suspected Russian intentions and advocated the preservation of Turkey as a bulwark against Russian expansion, was in favour of forceful policy. He wanted to convince Russia by a forceful demonstration of British support then she must respect the integrity of the Turkish Empire. In addition, the British ambassador at Constantinople Sir Stafford De Redcliffe was friendly towards Turkey and hostile to Russia. The Turks trusted him and were always willing to follow his advice, Aberdeen and Clarendon feared that Redcliffe wanted war. In the words of Clarendon: "He is bent on war and on playing the first play in setting the great Eastern Question." But they did not withdraw him for fear of his forming an alliance with Palmerston and dragging the country into war. This confusion in British policy was largely responsible for war. In the words of Gordon A. Craig: "The result of this temporizing was to obscure British intention. The Tsar was encouraged by the diplomatic behaviour of Aberdeen and Clarendon to believe that they sympathized with him, whereas the Turks were led, by Stafford's attitude any by movements of the British fleet in the vicinity of the Dardanelles. To assume that the British (and the French who had dispatched a fleet to Salamis even before the Russians crossed the Pruth were on their side".¹ (Gordon A. Craig: Europe since 1815 p. 157-58.)

Responsibility of Napoleon III

Napoleon III was undoubtedly, an upstart. He believed that a striking success could strengthen his position at home. But, as Albercutt-Carrie had pointed out: "there is no evidence that Napoleon had any large or well thought out scheme in mind let alone war....." (Albercutt-Carrie, Diplomatic History of Europe p. 86). This view is supported by Prof. A.J.P. Taylor, "Nicholas needed a subservient Turkey for the sake of Russian security.

1. Gordon A. Craig: Europe Since 1815, pp. 157-158.

Napoleon needed success for the sake of domestic position ; the British Government needed an independent turkey for the security of Eastern Mediteranean: "Yet none of the three had conscious plans of aggression, not even Napoleon despite his welcome of the disturbance for its own sake".²

Immediate Cause : The Holy Places

The immediate cause for the war provided by a dispute between Latin and Greek Orthodox churches over the custody of the Holy places in Palestine, in the Ottoman Empire. The custody of these places was shared by Latin and Orthodox churches, their rights being protected by the Russian governments respectively. After the out break of Revolution, French interest lapsed, and the Greek monks were able to encroach upon the rights of their rivals. In 1852 Napoleon III protested to the Sultan for the restitution of the rights of the Latin monks and put diplomatic pressure through a naval demonstration. The Sultan recognized the claims of the Latin monks by a firm issued in December, 1852. At the same time, however, the Sultan issued another Firman, not public, but communicated to the Tsar, which likewise recognized the claims of the Greek monks. This expedient had the desired result. It intensified the conflict between Great Powers.

Menschikoff Mission

In February 1853, the Tsar sent Prince Menschikoff on a special mission to Constantinople to obtain the recognition of the Russian claim to be accepted as the protector of the Christians of the Balkan peninsula. In this way Russia in effect re-opened the Eastern Question but reaction in the Western countries took time to gain strength. It was the British ambassador at Constantinople. Sir Stratford de Redcliffe who played the leading part in encouraging Turkey under his advice, the Sultan decided to accept the Russian demand concerning the Holy places but refused to grant a special position to Russian as protector of the Christians in the Balkan peninsula. In May 1853, Menschikoff left Constantinople in protest against the Sultan's decision. His threats were not long in being implemented. In June 1853, Russian troops began to occupy Wallachia and Moldavia as a means of pressure on the Turkish government. These drastic measures on the part of Russia did not immediately lead to war because she had certain treaty rights in these principalities.

The Vienna Note

European diplomats made the last attempt to avert war and conference was held at Vienna and a proposal known as the Vienna Note was drawn up with the object of satisfying Russia without offending Turkey. In a vague language, it recognized the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji and Russia's interest

2. A.J.P. Tylor, Struggle for Mastery in Europe, pp. 60-61

in protecting the Christian subjects of Turkey : But it did not admit Russia's right to interfere in affairs of Turkey. The Sultan, on the other hand, regarded the note so that its meaning was reversed and Russia, while accepting it gave a dangerous interpretation of it. Meanwhile, Russian troops had completed the occupation of the Principalities, passions continued to grow hot in both countries and in October, 1853 the Sultan declared war on Russia.

Faulty Diplomacy

Until October 1853, none of the Powers had expected that the outcome of dispute about the Holy places would be a major war involving a number of Great Powers. It was only gradually and under the pressure of circumstances the Great Powers drifted into war. In England Aberdeen and Clarendon wanted to avoid war but Palmerston's anti-Russian policy strongly supported by the press and the public. As a result, the Russian government remained under the impression that England would throw her weight on the side of peaceful settlement while the Sultan of Turkey, encouraged by the British ambassador, felt convinced that England would support him against Russia. Similarly, the Tsar had confidentially hoped that Prussia and Austria could support him. In a meeting at Olmutz he tried to persuade these powers to help him. But Prussia remained neutral, and Austria actively towards Russia. Thus, faulty diplomacy was largely responsible for the war.

Britain and France enter the War

In Britain and France the war fever rose slowly and steadily. At the end of October 1853, the two powers sent their fleets into the straits to give moral support to Turkey. In November, when the Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet near Sinope and demanded active British intervention. In January, 1854 the British and French fleets entered the Black sea, which meant that an undeclared war had begun. The two powers now sent an ultimatum to Russia to withdraw her troops from Wallachia ; and Moldavia and when he refused to comply, they formed an alliance with Turkey and declared war on Russia (8th March, 1854).

Evacuation of the Principalities

The Allies decided to land troops at Varna on the coast of Bulgaria and to attack the Russian in the principalities. At the same time, they tried to bring in Austria on side, but the attempts failed. Austria and Prussia formed an alliance to oppose the extension of Russian power in the Balkans. Austria mobilized her forces, and forced Russia to withdraw from Wallachia and Moldavia. There upon Austria occupied the Principalities with the consent of Turkey for the duration of the war. Thus the belligerents were separated and the object of war seemed to have been achieved.

Four Points of Vienna

The diplomats renewed their efforts for a negotiated settlement. Vienna continued to be the centre of negotiations. On August 8, Britain, France and Austria reached an agreement and formulated the “Four points of Vienna”.

- (i) No Russian protectorate over the principalities.
- (ii) Russia should renounce her exclusive Patronage over the Sultan’s Christian subjects, collective arrangements to be made for both.
- (iii) Freedom of navigation on the Donube.
- (iv) Revision of the Straits convention 1841.

Such humiliating terms were not acceptable to Russia as she had not yet suffered any military defeat. The Allies, therefore, decided to continue war.

Invasion of the Crimea and the Siege of Sebastopol

The Allies decided to invade Crimea and to destroy Russian naval power in the Black Sea by capturing the naval base at Sebastopol. In September, 1854 the Allied armies landed to the north of Sebastopol, defeated a Russian army at Alma, and laid siege to the great fortress : The Allied commanders were incompetent and their arrangement were inadequate. Several bloody battles were fought to drive away the Russian relieving forces under Menschikoff. The Russians were defeated in the battle of Balaclave and in Kermans. In January, 1855, Sardinia Pedemont joined the Allies and sent 1700 troops to the Crimea. But the seige dragged on until September, 1855 when, ultimately, the Russian’s surrendered Sebastopol. The news of the sufferings of the soldiers brought Miss Nightingale and a number of other nurses to Constantinople, where they took care of sick and the wounded. Their services not only saved many lives, but also led to improvement in the medical and nurses service and to the foundation of the International Red Cross.

End of War

Both sides had suffered several losses. Nicholas I had died in March, 1855, and his successor, Alexander II was anxious to end the war. While the English wanted to continue the war, Napoleon III was willing to make peace. In December, 1855, Austria sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding the acceptance of the Allied demands. And, finally, the king of Prussia, Fredrick William IV made a personal appeal to the Tzar to make peace.

There upon the Tzar agreed to make peace.

The Congress of Paris (1856)

The congress of Paris sat for about five weeks and hammered out a settlement on the basis of the four points.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Paris were :

1. No war indemnity was imposed.
2. The Black sea was neutralized on warships were to be permitted in it, and no fortification were to built on its shores.
3. Russia was deprived of access to the Danube by the transfer of the strip of Smith Bassarbia between the Northern most of the Danube and the Prieta to Moldavia. She also restored Kars to Turkey.
4. The independence and integrity of Turkey was guaranteed and she was admitted to the concert of Europe. By a recent decree the sultan had guaranteed charter of liberty to his subjects.
5. Russia renounced her claim to the protection of the Orthodox Christians in the Turkish Empire.
6. Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia were to be autonomous principalities under Turkish suzerainty. Russian protectorate came to an end and was replaced by a guarantee of the Great Powers.
7. The navigation of the Danube was declared open to all nations under new supervision of an international commission
8. The powers also signed a declaration concerning Maritime Law. Privateering was abolished in war, enemy goods except contraband were not to be protected by a neutral flag; neutral goods, except contraband were not to be captured enemy flag, blockade was recognised but only effective.

Significance of the Crimean War and the Treaty of Paris

The Crimean war was one of the most important events in the history of Modern Europe. In the words of Ketelbey, "the Crimean war checked and humiliated Russia and gave a new lease of life to Turkey under the joint protection of the powers. Napoleon III gained a great advertisement. England a heavy National Debt, Austria an enemy for a generation. Its indirect results were greater. "Out of the mud of the Crimea a new Italy was made and less obviously, a new Germany. A new impetus was given to Russian reorganization and a new direction to Russian expansion, whole tide, demand in Europe, flowed into Asia. A fresh movement was set on foot towards Balken reconstruction. Europe was saddled with new responsibilities, forced in to new paths and the edifice built at Vienna was shaken to its foundations"

Russia : The war was a turning point in evolution of Russia; it marked the beginning of a process of reform which culminated in the Revolution of 1917. The fact that Russian expansion in Europe was checked gave a new direction to expansion in the Middle East and the far East. Russian influence in Europe suffered a serious set back.

France: France won glory. Napoleon III was the most popular figure in Europe and the congress of the powers was held at Paris.

England: The British people felt disappointed. It was felt that the results did not justify the cost in men and money. Some of her statesmen attitude towards the Eastern Question. Nevertheless, Russian advance towards Constantinople was definitely checked.

Turkey: "The sickman of Europe". Turkey got a new lease of life. Her integrity was guaranteed by the Great Powers.

Austria: Austria friendship with Russia came to an end, and she was left diplomatically isolated

Italy: At the congress of Paris, Cavour, the Sardinian Prime Minister, raised the question of Italian independence and unity, and felt encouraged by the attitude of Great Britain and France. It was observed with much justification that out of the mud of the Crimea a new Italy was made.

Rumania : By abrogating the right that Russia had possessed since the Treaty of Adrianople, the Congress of Paris took the first step towards the creation of the independent state of Rumania.

Concert of Europe

The conduct of the Great Powers during the Crimean war and at the peace conference re-affirmed the principle of collective responsibility and action and established the principle that all problems of international scope would have to be settled by the concert of Europe and by it alone.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1 . Grand and Temperley : Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.
2. Goldson A Craig : Europe Since 1815
3. Garrett and Godfrey : Europe Since 1815
4. Marriott, J.A.R. : History of Europe 1815 to 1939

LESSON NO. 2.2

**INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT
ON THE WORLD**

Meaning of the Term Industrial Revolution : The term Industrial Revolution defines a series of extensive economic and social changes which have ushered in industrial societies. In such societies, population depends upon the mass production of goods by machinery and mechanical devices and upon a world-wide exchange and distribution of these goods. Thus the Industrial Revolution involves a series of revolutions mechanical or technological, in transport, commerce and in the use of capital.

The introduction of the term "Industrial Revolution" in 1884, is often attributed to Arnold Toynbee. Its essence was the adoption of large scale production by employing power-driven machinery in big factories. But such factories could only be established by a large scale investment of capital. Further these industries could only be worked by organised groups of labourers. It is sometimes suggested that the word 'evolution' should be used in place of 'revolution' because there was no violent change in the methods of production. It took about one and a half century to complete the process of change. But, in fact, the word revolution is appropriate in the sense that it completely revolutionised the very nature of the industrial system in Europe. Various arguments are given in support of this view. Formerly production of things were done with hands and now the machine took the place of manual labour. Machine, became a big tool to man in his work of production. With the help of tools and machine, men found it easier to produce things. Formerly things were manufactured at home, but now the production was transferred to big factories. It was a revolution because it affected all the classes of society and everybody. The triumph of the machine meant the triumph of the class that controlled the machine. It is natural that the class, which controlled the means of production, controlled the reins of the rulers. Elucidating the point further Ramsay Muir notes that these changes were the beginning of an immense social revolution

which was in course of time to transform the conditions of life throughout the world and to render necessary a complete reconstruction of the social system. Lastly, at no other time of history there have occurred such important and economic changes for the better, as during these one hundred and fifty years i.e. from the second half to the 18th to the end of the 19th century.

CAUSES

Development of Trade and Industry : Till medieval times people mostly lived in villages. And their only important means of production was land and those who owned land were landlords, and those who cultivated land were tenants or serfs. But with the passage of time various type of workers like carpenters, goldsmiths and blacksmiths made their appearance in towns and marked the beginning of industry and trade. Even in the medieval age many Europeans were engaged in exports to eastern countries, and in imports from there to the European countries. Another reason for the progress of industry was that with the enclosure of agriculture lands, many peasants were thrown out of employment. They took employments in the small scale industries set up by the small capitalists in the towns. Hence forth, the agricultural produce was needed in the cities also to feed the workers. It led to the employment of hand machines in agriculture, digging of canals, improvement in seeds, manure and cattle etc. Gradually the produce became abundant and capital could be spared for investment in small scale industries.

Expansion of Means of Communication and Transport : Next, for the movement of the agricultural produce, roads were developed which proved useful for industrialization as well. Trade competition among the European countries secured to the European nations, markets and colonies in Asia and African for the consumption of manufactured goods and the supply of raw materials.

Contribution of Renaissance : In this direction, no less was the contribution of Renaissance Movement which developed science and expedited the process of industrialising Europe.

The new-awakening opened up new avenues for application of self-expression for every individual. As such in addition to agriculture and military career, men became interested in many vocations and professions.

Abolition of Serfdom : Last though not the least, abolition of serfdom in almost in all the countries during the 19th century expedited the work of industrialization because it provided cheap labour force for the industries.

Progress of the Industrial Revolution

In England : In industry, England forged ahead chiefly by the immigration of foreign artisans. The religious wars on the continent forced many protestants to leave their countries and take refuge in England. When the Spaniards were trying to crush the revolt in Netherlands a large number of artisans also fled from Netherlands to England. It is said that 30,000 of them settled in east of England. Queen Elizabeth imposed a condition while allowing them to settle in England that each house would employ one apprentice. They helped England to build up her textile industry. Protestant refugees who came from France taught the English silk-weaving, In the later half of the seventeenth century, a large number of skilled workers migrated to England from all over the continent and Britons learnt many skills and trades from them, e.g., manufacture of paper, glass mechanical toys, clocks and watches.

However, note may be taken of an important fact here that all these industries that had developed in England were cottage and home industries. Craftsman usually worked in their own houses in the time spared from agriculture. There were guilds or association of craftsmen in each trade. The master craftsmen took apprentices and taught them their art. Sometime there were small factories where a number of looms were fitted. Cottage industry not only flourished in England but in every country where there was industry. Some time a trader provided the raw material and tools to the workers and they manufactured in their own houses. However, at that time workers were not the regular employees. On the contrary wages were paid in proportion to the quantum of work done. Gradually workshops were started by the capitalists and the employees began to work in the workshops but this industrial production by hand was very slow and on a very small scale. This system was also called the domestic system of manufacture. Similarly, trade in manufacturer was not carried on a large scale because there were no good means of communication. There were no railways, no navigable canals and good roads.

Why did Industrial Revolution come First to England ?

Here a question arises why England was the country where the Industrial Revolution started. The factors responsible can be studied under the following heads :

Political Causes : As compared to other European countries, England was politically stable. For centuries, there had been no war of succession. English people loved peace and order, they concentrated on economic development

and developed their industries. Besides England had developed a parliamentary form of Government and people enjoyed freedom of thought and expression. There was freedom for experimentation. Government did not place an unreasonable restriction on manufacturing. It was in this atmosphere that people started thinking and planning about the new methods of production in various fields and a large number of inventions were made. England had adopted the policy of splendid isolation and was not interested in continental warfare. When other countries like France, Spain and Austria were busy in mutual wars, English people were bringing out new inventions. England, by keeping herself away from continental politics, saved herself from being crushed and exhausted by the costly wars.

English Navy : Being an island, England maintained huge naval power and this made England safe from external attacks. Her superior naval strength enabled her to prevent European rivals from exploiting her. France, Spain Holland and Portugal had to depend on their home markets to dispose of their manufactured goods. British Empire was quite extensive, so its various colonies served as markets from where raw materials could be brought and to which manufactured goods could be sent. Due to her naval supremacy, England kept up her overseas trade and made herself enormously rich. So English people could easily afford to invest money in factories. England as compared with other countries, was more fortunate so far as the availability of raw materials for industries was concerned. Due to the enclosure system and raising of good breed of sheep, England had a supply of superior domestic wool for her textile industry.

Economic Causes : Banking system in England was sound. People usually Invested their money in banks. The Bank of England established public and private financial systems. British Government guaranteed the soundness of the banking system through the Bank of England. Thus banks lent money to the industries. The surplus capital available in this country played a great role in the development of industry and trade.

Cheap Labour : Before the Industrial Revolution several changes had taken place in agriculture. Due to the enclosure system many labourers were thrown out of work. They now supplied cheap and abundant labour to the factories. Apart from it, England had purged herself of feudalism earlier than other European countries. Serfdom ceased to exist. English people were no longer tied to the land, They could move out and settle wherever they liked. A number of agriculturists and peasants left cultivation of land and rushed to factories,

where they got better wages. With the passage of time they became trained factory workers. Ultimately, it resulted in the better production of manufactured goods.

Discovery of the use of Coal : Up to 1750, charcoal was used for melting iron but the Derby discovered that coal could be used instead. It led to the opening of the great iron and steel manufactures. Fortunately for England, there was an abundant supply of good quality of coal and iron in the area around Birmingham. English coal in comparison to the French coal was far superior.

Improvements in the Means of Communication : Means of communication were improved so that the raw material and manufactured goods could be easily supplied everywhere. In 1761 Brindley, a brilliant engineer constructed the first ship canal from Worsley to Manchester. However, this was only eleven miles long and was called the Bridgewater Canal. Soon after, canals were constructed all over England. Scottish engineers named John Macadam, Telford and Netcalfe introduced the Methods of constructing metalled roads and built a number of them. In 1804, George Stephenson invented the first steam engine. In 1825, the first railway line was laid between Stockton and Darlington, but it was used for transporting goods only. In 1825, the first railway for carrying passengers was built from Manchester to Liverpool. Soon, there grew a network of railway in the country. The first English steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1838. This made transport much easier.

Freedom of Trade from State Control : English people enjoyed complete freedom of commercial and industrial enterprise from state control. But on the other hand, restraints were imposed by most of other European governments on both internal and foreign trade. The domestic workers of these states felt discouraged by internal custom barriers. Against it, English people enjoyed freedom of trade within the country. The union of Scotland and Ireland with England widened the area of internal free trade. Earlier, in foreign trade British Government had enforced the policy of protection to promote English industry and commerce, but when England established her supremacy in industrial field and was in need of foreign markets, she abandoned the policy of protection. British Prime Minister Pitt the Younger, adopted Free Trade Policy (*laissez faire*) as adopted by Adam Smith in his book *Wealth of Nations* brought out in the close of 18th century. This policy was continued by his successors. Free Enterprise made England the workshop of the world and brought her great prosperity.

Scientific Progress : In the 17th century, the Royal Society was founded, which promoted scientific inventions. People utilised science in trade and industry. It led to many inventions. Important inventions are given below :

Flying Shuttle : In 1773, John Key invented the Flying Shuttle. This greatly increased the speed of weaving and enabled weavers to weave cloth of greater width. As a result, weaving became so quick that spinning could not keep pace with it.

Spinning Jenny and Water Frame : In 1755, Hargreaves invented Spinning Jenny, which could spin eight threads at a time. It was worked by hand. He had named it so after the name of his wife.

Water Frame : In 1769, Arkwright invented Water Frame, a spinning machine which was driven by water power.

Mule : In 1779, Mule was invented by Crompton and it had the merits both of Spinning Jenny and the Water Frame i.e., it could spin several threads at time and was worked by water power. These machines increased the rate of spinning and yarn was produced in large quantities. Weavers had more yarn than they could weave.

Power Loom : In 1785, Cartwright invented a machine which enabled weaving to be done at a greater speed.

Steam Engine : In 1769, James Watt improved the steam engine, which had been invented by Newcome and the machines began to be driven by steam, This invention had a very good effect, before this invention machines had to be set up near courses but now these could be installed at places, more favourable for industry.

Davy's Safety Lamps : There was one difficulty in the digging of coal. Sometimes gas in coal mines caused explosions and there was considerable loss of life. In 1815, Sir Humphry Davy, the great chemist, invented safety lamp. This made work in mines safer.

Industrial Revolution in France

In the 18th and 19th centuries, France had only cottage industries. Though France had many woolen, silk, linen and hempen goods industries, yet small cottage industry was growing. Englishmen were employed for the introduction of newly invented machines. Hargreave's Spinning Jenny was introduced into France by an Englishman, Arkwright's Water Frame was also introduced into

France by another Englishman Milne. While big factories were coming into existence, the French Revolution of 1789 broke out and the French industry was ruined.

During the period of Napoleon I, trade and industry again flourished. He aimed at the conquest of the whole world and England was his greatest enemy forming coalitions to crush him. So, on the one hand, Napoleon organised Continental System to ruin Britain's industry—which was the main source to keep her alive and fighting, on the other, he tried to develop French industry and trade. He recognised the French economic and industrial system. He set up banking and credit systems. He established a society for the encouragement of French industry. He organised technical education and rewarded the inventors of new machines. He granted freedom to the industrialists. As a result, woolen, iron and silk industries flourished. French held supremacy over other countries in industrial chemistry. After Napoleon's fall, French industry, due to confusion at home, started declining.

However, during Louis Philips period (1830—1848), French cottage industries changed into big factories due to the impact of English machines. Policy of protection was also adopted. Means of communication were improved and large business houses came up. Joint stock companies were formed. Heavy machines were imported from England. Thereafter, Napoleon III (1848—1870) did a lot to develop industry and trade but after the Franco-Prussian War, France lost the coal mine areas of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and with it she lost also her second position as an industrial nation in Europe.

Comparison of the English and French Industrial Progress : In spite of the best efforts of all the rulers, France as compared to England, lagged behind in its trade and industry. There were many reasons for it ; (i) France was a continental power and had to fight against other continental powers, and this caused serious industrial dislocation. (ii) Politically she was not a stable country. Within six decades after 1789 there were three successive revolutions and she had to fight against other countries too due to her aggressive policy. She had to bear the heavy burden of costly wars (iii) As compared with England, she did not have sufficient supply of coal and iron which were essential for large scale industrialisation (iv) French colonies could not supply her with variety and volume of raw materials available to England from her colonies and dependencies.

Industrial Revolution in Germany

Before 1870, there was no united Germany. The Holy Roman Empire was wiped

out by Napoleon and the German Confederation of 39 states was created by the Congress of Vienna. Dominating state among these was Prussia. In the 18th century, the Prussian ruler Frederick the Great, did his best to develop industry. He founded iron, steel and textile factories. Preference was given to cottage industries. Within ten years (1763-1773) 254 cottage industries for the manufacture of velvet, silk, satin, woollen goods, leather, iron and sugar were set up. However, during the Napoleonic wars Prussia had to suffer greatly. But in 1839, Germany took an important step towards the economic union and industrialisation of the country. *Zollverein* (economic union) of the various German states was established, and considerable freedom of trade within Germany was guaranteed to the Germans.

By 1871, unification of Germany had been completed. As imperial government was set up and industrial revolution commenced. Germany had rich potentialities for industrial expansion but she exploited them after 1871. She had rich mines of coal and iron in Silesia, Ruhr, Westphalia and Saar. She had a network of artificial water-ways. During the 19th century, Germany produced men, who developed German economy. Bismarck laid great emphasis on railway lines, which helped to distribute coal all over the country to feed industries. Technical education, manufacture of machines including engines, was encouraged. Efforts were made to develop electricity. Germany launched a big programme of ship building for overseas trade. In chemicals she took lead in the world. Banking system was reorganised by Bismarck and industry was aided. During 1871-1914 Germany made tremendous progress in the industrial field and became one of the leading industrial countries of the world. Reasons for quick industrial development were many like natural resources, stable government, technical education, cheap and highly efficient labour, colonial empire. According to Bends, industrial competition offered by Germany to France and England was one of the important causes of the First World War of 1914.

Industrial Revolution in Russia

Russia was an agricultural country. It was Peter the Great (1689-1725) who established state and private factories and foundries. Up to 1850, only industry was being run on industrial scale. Russia was still an agricultural country. But thereafter certain measures taken by the Russian Czar resulted in the industrial development of Russia. To cite a few of them : (Czar Alexander II abolished serfdom. Emancipation of serfs resulted in the development of

industry (ii) in the later-half on the 19th century means of communication, water-ways and railways were improved which facilitated the supply of raw materials of the factories : (iii) European powers like France and England invested in Russian industry, new bank and credit institutions were opened; coal and iron mines were exploited : iron and cotton industries were set up; and (iv) policy of protection was adopted by the Government against foreign competition. As a result when the First World War was started Russia had been greatly industrialised but she received a great set back during the War.

Industrial Revolution in U.S.A.

In 1789, the 13 colonies which had won their independence, founded a union. Before their independence, they imported English manufactured goods. There were only a few cottage industries in America. Napoleonic wars gave a chance to the Americans to develop their own industries American food grains and raw materials were in great demand in Europe. America developed its ship building industry to carry the goods to Europe. However, English and French Governments imposed restrictions on American trade with Europe. As a consequence of it, the American shipping industry received a set back. Americans had to set up their own industries, because European goods were available at a very high cost. During 1806-14, 50 companies were started for the manufacture of textiles. Iron, glass and pottery industries were also developed. In 1816, the policy of protection was adopted, because Napoleon's fall had resulted in a great increase in the import of European goods in U.S.A. Another factor was that cheap Negro labour and cotton were available in South America. Here, it is notable that the industrial revolution in U.S.A. as the one in England, was based on free enterprise, aided by the protectionist policy in the state whenever that protection was needed. Industrial progress made by U.S.A is evident from the following figures : in 1860, industrial production was worth 1886 million dollars and in 1915, American industry produced goods worth 24, 246 million dollars.

Effects of the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution profoundly affected the social, economic and political life of the people. More significant effects can be discussed under various heads as follows :

Social and Economic Effects : (i) Industrial Revolution led to the emergence of the well defined classes. (ii) The growth of the factory led to the beginning of the struggle between the capitalists and the labour because capitalists were motivated by profit motives only. (iii) England's material resources increased so

much that she was able to stand the heavy strain of the French Wars. (iv) It led to the growth of cities and urban living ; many new industrial towns sprang up. Population shifted from the old centres of the Southern and Eastern England to the northern and western which were thickly populated. (v) It led to the growth of industrial civilization and countries were changed from agricultural to industrial and commercial ones (vi) It reduced the mass of the population into wage-earners. (vii) It created a large number of new problems Children and women were forced to work sometimes 15 hours a day under most inhuman and cruel conditions, Low wages were paid to the workers. (viii) They had to live in crowded and unhealthy houses. New industrial towns were not well planned. Ventilation, light and water supply were not provided in them. (ix) They remained 'undernourished' due to the high price of bread (x) No facilities of education, medicine, recreation, etc, were provided, (xi) Industrialisation resulted in unemployment due to overproduction of manufactured goods, loss of markets and the deficient supply of raw materials. Since industrial workers knew no other trade they became unemployed in such calamities.

Political and Constitutional Effects : (i) As most of the new towns enjoyed no representation in parliament, Parliamentary reforms became very necessary. A great outcry was raised against the antiquated representation system (ii) The condition of the labour under the factory system led to the Chartist Movement in England and socialistic demands for reforms throughout the world. Many laws had to be passed from time to time to improve the condition of workmen. (iii) Industrial Revolution was responsible for many wars including the First World War, because all the highly industrialised countries wanted to capture more and more markets for the supply of raw materials and consumption of manufactured goods.

General Effects : It resulted in the creation of capitalistic society in which the rich grew richer and the poor became poorer. (ii) The growth of the factory system weakened the close friendly relations between the master and employees. Struggles between the capitalists and the labourers commenced. (iii) The Industrial Revolution brought both nationalism and internationalism. (iv) The inventions linked up the whole world and made the various countries inter-dependent. (v) The philosophy of individualism owes its origin to Industrial Revolution. The British philosophers like Mill and Bentham emphasised the necessity of leaving individuals to work out their own salvation.

Factory Laws : We have noted above that the Industrial Revolution resulted in many evils. The misery of the workers resulted in a public demand for state action to improve the lot of the workers. A series of factory acts were passed in England in 1802, Health and Morals Act passed by the British Parliament regulated child labour in cotton factories. In 1819 and 1833, two more Factory Acts for children working in the textile industry were passed. In 1844, Children's half-time Act was passed. It restricted working days for children to 1/2 of the day or alternate days. In 1842, an Act was passed, which prohibited women and boys under 10 from working in the mines. At present unemployment sickness and accident insurance acts exist to ameliorate the condition of the workers. The Governments of France, Germany and U.S.A. also passed similar Acts.

Trade Unionism and Labour Movements : The workers realised that if they wanted to improve their conditions of work and wages, they must organise themselves into combinations strong enough to make their collective demands effective. They organised themselves into trade unions like Railway Men's Union and the Mines' Union. Progress in the formation of Trade Union was very slow due to the lack of education and experience among the workers, and because the capitalist controlled the parliaments. In the beginning Trade Unionism had to face an unsympathetic public opinion too. Laws were passed in England to prevent the formation of trade unions, but after long fighting, collective bargaining was legal and the anti trade union laws were repealed in 1825.

Workers demanded their representation in Parliament in England. They rightly felt that the capitalist nominated Parliament would not be able to deal with the problems of the working classes. In 1893, Labour Party was founded in England and the labour movement began. In 1900, the first labour member was elected to the British Parliament and by 1907, their number rose to seven. The American Federation of Labour was formed in 1881. Similarly in 1890, a labour organisation came into existence in Germany. Labour organisation in France came later and slowly. In 1895, The French General Confederation of Labour was organised.

Conclusion : The Industrial Revolution, as we have seen, began when human and animal sources of energy came to the increasingly supplemented by mechanical energy. Unlike other revolutions, which have a beginning or an ending, the Industrial Revolution is a permanent revolution—continuing and growing even to this day.

Relevant Pages of Books for Further Study

1. H.G. Wells : *A Short History of the World*, pp. 248-57.
2. J. L. Nehru : *Glimpses of World History*, pp. 356-66.
3. Ramsay Muir : *British History*, pp. 456-60.
4. H.A. Davis : *A Outline of the World*, pp. 452-81.

Self-Check Exercise

1. Discuss the effects of Industrial Revolution on the world.

LESSON NO. 2.3

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1917

Introduction : The coming of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 is related to the state of economy, polity and society of nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia. The revolution of 1905 was a spontaneous movement of protest and has been evaluated as being a 'grand rehearsal of the Revolution of 1917'. Events gradually gained momentum and the pace of the revolutionary movement accelerated after the poor performance of Russia in the Great war (1914-1917). Finally the sequence of events of February 1917 and October 1917 ushered in a total transformation in Russia's Economy, Polity and Society.

In this lesson, we give you a brief idea of the Russian rulers of (1861-1917). In 1861 during the reign of Alexander II, the first major thrust of reforms took place in Russian history. The emancipation of the serfs and other reforms however inadequate were "an instrument for modernizing Russia." We study the impact of their policies on the Russian people to focus attention on the emerging climate for revolutionary movement. The causes of the revolution of 1905 and finally the coming and course of the Revolution of 1917 have been discussed later.

Internal Reforms : The period from 1855 to 1863 of Alexander's reign is called the era of reforms. During this period, Alexander introduced a number of substantial reforms in the administrative structure of the country which went a long way to alleviate the sufferings of the Russian people.

Liberation of Serfs : The main occupation of the people in Russia was agriculture. The whole land was divided into a number of estates owned by the crown and the nobles. There were serfs who cultivated the land. Majority of Russian population consisted of serfs. The condition of these serfs was deplorable for their lords sold them with the land, whipped them, banished them to Siberia and could even put an end to their life. Therefore sections of serfs frequently revolted against their lords. Alexander II was wise enough to realise that the emancipation of serfs was the primary because discontent among the serfs could lead to serious uprisings. Alexander had said to the Russian gentry : "you know that the present system of serfs ownership cannot remain as it is, better

we should abolish it from above than it begins to abolish itself from below". In March, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was announced by which serfs gained civil right, became free peasants and were released from the bondage of their masters. Each peasant was given his personal house and garden. In each village the lord transferred a piece of land to the village community for the use of all villagers. Serfs were to pay to the Government the money which had been paid to the Lords as compensation in lieu of the land which had been transferred to the village community. This sum was spread over a period of 99 years and the Serfs had to pay the same to the Government in instalments. The immediate response to the Edict of Emancipation was not very enthusiastic. Serfs complained that the land given to them was not enough to meet their needs, that the payments which they had to make to the Government every year were heavy and that if they were free from the control of the Lords, they were placed under the control of the village community. But taken as a whole, the Edict of Emancipation was a measure of great importance in the social life of the Russian people. It was nothing short of a great but silent rural revolution. It was on account of this great social and humanitarian reform that Czar Alexander II came to be regarded as the Czar Liberator.

Administrative Reforms—Introduction of Local Self Government :

Alexander II tried a new system of local self-government which eventually proved very successful. The new system gave the people training and experience in handling affairs of local importance which ultimately equipped them to manage more important administrative affairs with great efficiency. In each district (Russia was divided into 33 districts), a local council was constituted, consisting of the representatives elected by the people of various classes residing in that district. The main duties of this popularly elected local councils were to look after roads, buildings and bridges, to get them repaired, to improve public health by creating good sanitary conditions, to prevent crime, etc. Similarly, provincial councils were constituted on the pattern of the districts councils. The councils, comprised of the representatives of the districts. Though the powers of the district and provincial councils were limited, yet these measures marked a significant stage in the road to self-government.

Judicial Reforms : Alexander II introduced far reaching reforms in the Judicial system of the country which had several defects and abuses. Alexander wanted to model it on the British and French ideas of jurisprudence. A commission was constituted to suggest measures for the reorganisation of the judicial system.

In 1864, many changes were introduced on the recommendation of this commission. Judicial and administrative powers were separated and trial by jury was instituted. Petty cases were to be tried by justices of peace, elected by the people, Court proceedings were no longer secret but were made public. All necessary steps were taken to make justice cheap, fair and efficient.

By these extensive reforms, especially, concerning the emancipation of the Serfs and judicial and local administration, Alexander II performed a great service to his country. A new spirit began to inspire Russian politics, economics, philosophy and literature.

Polish Revolt and the Beginning of Reaction (1863)

The Polish Revolt of 1863 brought about a great transformation in the political attitudes of Czar Alexander II. The Revolt marked the beginning of a reactionary phase in the life of the Czar. The Poles had high hopes and expectations from the liberal Czar. Alexander's relaxation of repressive measures imposed upon the Poles in the reign of Nicholas, raised the hopes of the liberals. But Alexander's concessions fell far short of the liberals programme. The Czar made it very clear that there was absolutely no question of granting autonomy through a separate constitution. Dissatisfied with the hard line of the Czar, the Poles revolted in 1863. In the social structure in Poland, there were basically two classes, the aristocrats and the peasants. Alexander wanted to crush the Revolt with the help of the Polish peasants. In 1864, the Czar issued an ordinance to that effect. Bismarck, the Prussian Minister-President also offered help to put down the Revolt. But Czar Alexander successfully crushed the Revolt without Bismarck's help. Every effort was made to smash the hopes and programmes of the Polish liberals. Czar struck at the roots of the Polish aristocracy. By an order of 1864, peasants were given partial rights on land. As the Roman Catholic priests had also participated in the Revolt, the Church lands attached to the monasteries were confiscated. The policy of thorough Russification of Poland was now adopted by the Czar's Government and Russian was made the state language of Poland. Alexander II was so disturbed by the Polish Revolt that he gave up all liberal policies and measures within Russia also. He had now turned a staunch reactionary.

Alexander II turned a Reactionary

The period from 1866 to 1881, was a period of strict repression in Russian history. According to Ketelbey, "Progress was checked and the first ten years of rapid movement were followed by stagnation and then reaction," The change

was due to the following factors : a general disillusionment followed the new measures ; the peasants still felt themselves oppressed; the new law courts were not working well; the administration continued to be corrupt; and there was general discontent.

The Polish rebellion was a turning point in the life of Alexander. The most obvious effect of the Polish Revolt was that Alexander became a reactionary. There followed a period of severe repression and every attempt was made to undo all that had so far been done in the direction of reforms. Press was subjected to rigorous censorship and the critics of the Government were either thrown behind the bars or exiled to Siberia. Such autocratic measures resulted in the organization of secret societies.

Nihilism and Assassination of Czar Alexander II

Since open criticism of the Government was not possible, the extreme social revolutionaries (the Nihilists), who believed in terrorism and violence organised in 1879 a society called "Will of the People." Their leader was Peter Lavrov. The Nihilists were of the opinion that a new Russia should be brought into being by putting an end to all political, social, economic and religious institutions then existing in the country. The rule of reason and science, i.e, all that could be based on reason and science, should exist and all that did not appeal to them should be swept away for ever and should have no place in the life of new Russia. Societies were formed throughout the country to preach to the people what Nihilism meant. The Nihilists prepared the people to conspire against the Government and overthrow it. They wanted to achieve their object by violence. Their campaign of violence resulted in the murder of a few officials. In 1881, it was the explosion of a bomb by a Nihilist that killed even Alexander II.

ALEXANDER III (1881—1894)

Alexander III succeeded his father as the Czar of Russia in 1881. The assassination of his father had neither frightened him nor in any way diminished his zeal for absolutism. Profoundly religious and a champion of the cause of the slaves, Alexander III was a man of grim determination. He had no faith in liberalism of any kind whatsoever. He was opposed to all reforms and had no faith in the Western ideas, systems and parliamentary government. The best ideal for Russians, according to him, was "One Czar, one Church, one Russia." The conservative ideas and policies of Alexander III were successful for some time but could not endure for long. His important reactionary measures were : all the

persons responsible for the death of father were either executed or exiled. The press was subjected to rigorous restrictions and the activities of the intelligentsia who favoured revolutionary movement in the country, were strictly watched. All other elements suspected of opposition to the Government were crushed.

Policy of Russification : Alexander III followed a policy of thorough Russification with regard to the subject races residing in the country. He was anxious to bring about unity of language, religious faith, law and system of government in the country and to attain this object he resolved to overcome all obstructions.

The Jews, one of the subject races in Russia suffered the most due to the Policy of indiscriminate persecution pursued by the Czar. They were not allowed to come out of their cities. Further, they were neither allowed to purchase any property, nor engage themselves in any trade. They did not enjoy the educational rights which other citizens freely availed of. Often their houses were reduced to ashes.

Industrial Development : When Alexander III became the Czar, Russia was predominantly an agricultural country. The methods of agriculture were primitive. Industrialisation, in the modern sense of the term, had not yet begun in Russia. Road communications were very defective and there were very few railways in such a vast country. Alexander was genuinely interested in the industrial development of his country. He appointed Count Witte, a very capable person, as his Finance Minister in 1892. He realised that a vast country like Russia with abundant potential at natural resources and manpower must be self-sufficient in agriculture and industry. However, money was vital for such a planned development of the country, he, therefore, invited foreign capital to Russia and gave it all the incentive and encouragement. Witte also took into hand an extensive programme of laying down railway lines in the country.

Industrialisation brought problems too. Large and huge cities sprang up. A rich capitalist class emerged and along with it arose a strong and powerful class of workers and labourers. The political and economic problems of the employer and the employee began to arise. While the rich industrialist demanded a share in the administration, the working class drifted towards socialist propaganda. New forces were taking shape in Russia. This period marked the dawn of a new era in Russian history. The reign of Alexander III witnessed the growth of industries and economic development, though politically the Czar was a conservative and against all liberal and democratic movements.

NICHOLAS II (1894-1917)

Nicholas II became the Czar of Russia in 1894 after the death of his father Alexander III. He was a reactionary like his father and opposed liberal and progressive ideas. People had expected the new Czar to take up the cause of reform and reconstruction but Nicholas proved disappointing. In a declaration about his policy, Nicholas proclaimed that he would uphold absolutism. He adopted a strong policy for suppressing the revolutionary ideas. Following the footsteps of his father, he enacted stern measures against the Jews and other dependent races and nationalities. At the time, there was no freedom of expression or discussion in Russia. Free expression and exchange of ideas was not permitted. If somebody had the courage to express his view in public, he was imprisoned, exiled or given severe punishment. However, in spite of such a ruthless policy of the Government the country made progress in commerce and industry under the able guidance of Count Witte.

Under pressure from the people, committees were constituted to deliberate and make suggestions for the measures to be undertaken for reforms in various aspects of the country's national life. These committees made recommendations for representative government, liberty of thought and expression, and freedom to follow any vocation. As a result of these recommendations, Count Witte who was generally held responsible for Czar's reactionary policies was removed from office. After this, the Czar did not pay any attention to the cause of internal reforms.

Preparation for the Revolutionary Movement in Russia (1905—17)

Towards the closing years of Alexander III's reign and the beginning of Nicholas II's reign, there was a tremendous economic and industrial progress in Russia. Count Witte, who was the Finance Minister, greatly encouraged the development of new industries and investment of foreign capital, particularly French. Availability of cheap labour, the emancipated serfs, and abundance of iron and coal greatly helped the Industrial revolution in Russia. The output of coal, iron and oil multiplied. Numerous factories were installed, the shipping industry expanded and a network of roads and railways covered the whole country. Industrialisation resulted in the emergence of a powerful capitalist class which was naturally kept to be associated with the administration of the country. At the same time, industrialisation also resulted in the increase in the numbers of the working class in Russia. The condition of workers in new factory towns was miserable

and they were very dissatisfied about their lot. But the rich and capitalists in Russia paid no attention to improve the social and economic condition of the working class. Consequently, workers in factories organised powerful and effective unions. The capitalist structure of society also inspired the workers to organise revolutionary parties. The programme of these parties included regulation of hours of work, wages and the working conditions of workers. Among the radical Russian parties of these days the one with the largest following was those of the Social Democrats. The programme of this party was inspired by the philosophy of Karl Marx. The fundamental principle of his philosophy was the inevitable struggle between the capitalists and the workers. The Social Democrats advocated constitutional methods to bring about change and reform in the Russian society. Terrorism, as a means for the realization of political, social and economic changes and reform, had not yet been successfully adopted in Russia. The ultimate objective of the Social Democrats was to bring about political changes by means of an initial economic revolution.

Russo-Japanese War and the uprising of the Russians against the Government

In 1904, war broke out between Russia and Japan. Russia performed badly in the war and was eventually defeated by Japan. Discontent in Russia increased considerably during the war. The bureaucratic Russian regime lost all confidence of the people. The Minister for interior, Plehve, was murdered in July, 1904, because he was identified with the absolutist policies of the Czar. The New Minister for Interior invited suggestions of the people for reform. He removed many restrictions on individuals liberty and the freedom of the press.

In the background of these developments, the representatives of the Zemotoves and various local bodies met at Petrograd and drafted an eleven point programme. The more important of these were : freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to organise meetings, and freedom to organise unions. In addition to this programme, suggestions were put forward to constitute a supervisory body of elected representatives to exercise general supervision on the administration of the country. A strong movement gained momentum in Russia for the establishment of constitutional government and people planned organised struggle for the realisation of the above goals. Mass strikes took place in Moscow and other big cities. But the Czar remained indifferent to the general discontent and strikes and paid no attention to the

cause of reform. Rather he remained firm on his absolute policies. While a large procession of strikers, led by Father Gapon was peacefully proceeding to present a charter of demands to the Czar, the royal troops fired on the processionists. This indiscrete act is remembered as the "Bloody Sunday" and the entire episode of the protests and resistance is also known as the Revolution of 1905. When the news of this unprovoked firing spread to other parts of the country, the navy and army revolted against the Czar. The Czar's uncle was murdered. There was trouble and discontent all over the country. It seemed that the Czar's Government would not be in a position to handle the situation.

Concessions and Reforms

Scared and apprehensive of these developments, Czar Nicholas proclaimed that he was ready to introduce reforms. He also removed all those ministers who were harsh and conservative. A Declaration was made in August, 1905, by which the Czar gave freedom of speech to the people. Apart from this, he promised to establish popular Duma or elected assembly. Further, he promised that these elections would be fair and open; the Duma would be a constitutional assembly and present proposals to the Government for reforms.

First Duma (1906)

The First Duma was elected amidst tremendous popular enthusiasm and met in 1906. But this Duma did not achieve much, because there were divisions among the various political groups. Another reason was that the other house of the Parliament, which was established by the Government, was conservative and reactionary. Moreover, the Czar had the right to reject laws enacted by the Parliament. In fact, the powers of the Duma were extremely limited and when the Duma attempted to interfere in administrative matters, it was dissolved. It is also notable that through the Duma was an elected and representative body yet the right to the vote was restricted to very few people.

Second Duma (1907)

The Second Duma was elected in 1907, but was dissolved within four months of its election. At the time of the elections, the Czar's Government worked hard to prevent the election of candidates with progressive and liberal views. The Government adopted both fair and unfair means to get its representatives elected. But eventually the opposition parties gained an overwhelming majority in the elections. This Duma wanted to bring the general administration and the top ministers under the control.

Third Duma (1907)

At the time of elections to the Third Duma, the Czar and his Government were convinced that a loyal Duma could only be elected if the right to vote was not extended to a large number of workers. The Government interfered in this election to such an extent that constituencies which had earlier returned candidates of the opposition parties ceased to do so. This right to vote was restricted to the big landlords. As a result of Government's interference the Third Duma, which met on November 14, 1907, consisted of a majority of loyalist members. This Duma merely endorsed the policies of the Government. The only significant measure enacted by this Duma was to recognize the cultivator as the proprietor. This Duma enjoyed a full term of five years.

Fourth Duma (1912)

Elections to the Fourth Duma took place in 1912. Government interference and control of the elections resulted in majority of reactionary and conservative members being elected to Fourth Duma. But in 1916, a large number of members known as Octoberists, who supported the Government, joined the ranks of the Progressives. The Progressives now formed a formidable group. The progressives demanded establishment of democratic rule on the model of Western democracies. On the contrary, the Socialists felt that Socialism could not come by peaceful means. They favoured revolutionary and violent methods. Ultimately, the revolution occurred in 1917 in Russia.

In addition to the above background, the Revolution of 1917 was due to the following causes :

Faith in the Realisation of their Objectives : The movement demanding reforms in the administrative structure of the country had a long history. True constitutional methods had not achieved reform or reconstruction of Russian life and society, but the aspirations of Russians patriots were still alive. The patriots cherished the firm conviction of materialising their programmes. Since Russian population was increasing, the desire of the peasants to own land became dominant and they took the decision of forcibly occupying the land.

Repressive Policy of Russification : The subject races in Russia namely Jews, Poles, Finns, etc., who were victims of the policy of Russifications of the Czar, joined hands with the opposition parties. They were determined to oppose the policy of the Government and plot for a change of the Czarist regime in Russia.

Revolutionary Ideas : Russians were inspired and influenced by the revolutionary ideas of Western Europe. The revolutionaries wanted to end the conservative Czarism in Russia and bring about political reforms on the basis of Western ideas and models. The failure of peaceful agitation to achieve any definite purpose with regard to reforms had convinced the reformists to adopt revolutionary means for the realisation of this programme.

This Instability of the Czarist Regime : The Czar's Government was totally insufficient and incompetent. People had lost all confidence in it. Ministers were changed at short intervals. The Chiefs of the Council of Ministers, for example, was changed for times, the Minister for Interior six times. The Government was unable to provide the country with a reasonable civil administration in times of peace and military preparedness in time of war.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

Discontent in the Army : In the events of 1914, the test came for the Government when the First World War broke out in Europe. On the outbreak of the war, the opposition parties in Russia put aside their differences and extended their support to the Government. But the Czarist Government greatly mismanaged the war; Russians fared badly in the war. There was growing discontent against the succession of higher officials who had directed the war. Besides the deteriorating military and economic condition further complicated the situation. There was grave shortage of food in the country and large scale mobilization upset the industrial production completely. The Czarist Government was thoroughly discredited. Many people who were harassed and disillusioned with the Great War took an active part. There was general devastation and destruction. The Russian army which survived the war till the months of March and April, 1917, identified itself with the cause of the revolutionaries in Russia.

Discontent and Frustration among the People : Deteriorating economic situation within the country increased the discontent and agitation among the common people. Prices of food were speedily growing up. 1916-17, there was shortage of coal in the country; as a result the factories remained idle. This led to ever growing unemployment. The pressure of War also harassed the peasants; thousands were compelled to join the army. This affected the production of food in the country.

EVENTS

In 1917, the harassed and oppressed people revolted against the Government.

There were strikes and uprisings in factories. The troops and soon joined the rebels and the fall of the Czarist regime was a matter of days. On March 12, 1917, the Duma established a Provisional Government. A constituent Assembly was to draft a new constitution. The Czar abdicated on the 15th. He and his family were imprisoned and finally they were shot on 16th July, 1918.

Liberals and moderate socialists were in majority in the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks did not associate themselves with the Provisional Government because they disapproved the manner in which the Provisional Government was constituted. Nevertheless the Provisional Government tried to save the War for Russia but failed to score victory.

The Provisional Government failed to become popular or win confidence within the country. The Bolsheviks planned to bring about a Socialist Revolution within the country. They wanted that power should be in the hands of the working class. Consultations took place between the Bolsheviks and the army at Petrograd. The Government tried to suppress them, many people were killed and the Government imposed many restrictions on them. Kornilov, the Commander-in-Chief in the Provisional Government issued orders for the suppression of the revolt in the army, but the army refused to be intimidated. The Bolshevik influence increased considerably.

The Bolshevik under the leadership of Lenin, who had reached Petrograd from Switzerland, issued a general appeal to the people of Russia and put forward the following programme : (1) Early armistice and conclusion of peace. (2) Confiscation of landed estates without payment of and compensation. (3) Workers control on factories. (4) People's control on production and distribution. (5) Appointment of workers and peasants to high offices in the state, (6) Exclusion of rich classes from the administration of the country.

The strength of the Bolsheviks increased. General attempt to set up a government in November 1917, but failed. The Bolsheviks successfully handled the "counter revolution," (attempt to overthrow the Government by Kornilov) and took charge of the Provisional Government for the first time. Lands were seized from the landlords, peasants and cultivations united together under the flag of the Bolsheviks. In the cities, workers and soldiers joined hands with the Bolsheviks. Lenin felt that the ripe moment had arrived for the Bolsheviks to take charge of the state power in the country. All Russian Congress of the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Deputies were elected. The Bolsheviks commanded a majority in this. On November 6, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized control of the

important buildings in Petrograd, Russian banks, railways stations, telephone offices, bridges, roads, power houses, etc. came under Bolshevik control. On the morning of 7th November 1917, the Congress issued a proclamation by which all the members of the Provisional Government except Kerensky, were rejected (dismissed). The Congress by another declaration assumed charge of the administration of the country. Lenin was made head of the new Russian Government and the foreign office was allocated to Trotsky.

Constitution

In 1918, the Communists promulgated a new constitution in Russia. According to the new constitution, Russia was declared to be Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. In 1922, was established the Union of Soviet Republics. In 1924 the new Constitution was enforced; amendments to this constitution were enacted in 1936. The Constitution of 1936 is known as the Stalin Constitution. The Russian constitution established a federal structure in Russia.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

1. The Revolution of 1917 marked the end of the absolute Czarist regime in Russia. The Czar Nicholas II and all members of his family were put to death. People seized control of the administration of the country.
2. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia was established under the leadership of Lenin. The new constitution was drafted in accordance with the philosophy and principles of Karl Marx.
3. The Revolution wiped out big capitalists and landlords. Land mines, factories and other sources of wealth were declared to be public property.
4. The Revolution totally changed the social and economic structure of the Russian society. The message of socialism spread gradually to the other neighbouring countries too.
5. On the War front on December 15 an armistice was signed between Germany and the Bolshevik Government. In March, 1918, the Bolshevik Government agreed to accept the German terms of peace and signed the Treaty of Brest Litovsk.

Relevant Pages of Books for Further Study

1. H A. L. Fisher : *History of Europe, II*. pp. 80, 1205, 9—10, 18, 38, 41.
2. David Thompson : *Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 224—26, 302—12, 75, 527—29.

3. C.D.M. Ketelbey : *A History of Modern Times from 1789*, pp. 220-21, 97-211, 27, 50, 54, 78, 79, 92, 93, 95, 430-32, 55, 56, 60, 61, 564.
4. G.W. Southgate : *A Textbook of Modern European History*, 1789—1960, pp. 190, 98.

Self-Check Exercise

1. Discuss the causes of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

LESSON NO. 2.4

CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Introduction

On the eve of the First World War, most of the European powers were organised in two armed groups. The two combinations were :

(a) Central Powers

Austria, Germany, Turkey and Belgium.

(b) The Allies

France, Russia, England, Serbia, Japan and Italy. Later America also joined the Allies.

The following were some of the important causes of the First World War.

CAUSES

Failure of the Modern Western Civilization to Substitute Right for Might

The people of Europe have made tremendous progress with the invention of machines, march of democracy and expansion of colonies in other continents. But in spite of these achievements, Europeans failed miserably in one significant field : they failed to substitute peace for war in international affairs. The issues in the Balkans and North Africa created a difficult situation in Europe but it was unfortunate and disgraceful that all powers jumped into the War. According to Hayes and Moon, the civilised people of Europe resorted to force to settle their disputes.

War Made More Terrible

War was not totally eliminated by the progress of human civilization, rather the instruments of destruction and modern warfare became more terrible. Scientists and researchers invented poisonous and destructive weapons. Small contingents of troops were replaced by well-trained national armies. As a result, the number of casualties in modern wars became much heavier than in ancient and medieval times. According to an estimate about seven and a half million soldiers died in the European war between 1890 to 1914. European governments felt extremely competitive about the superiority of their fighting forces.

International Anarchy

One of the most important causes of the First World War was international anarchy. A state of anarchy is one in which a particular government fails to regulate rule of law. There was no international body to enact and enforce respect for law among nations.

Unsuccessful Attempts to get rid of International Anarchy

Before the outbreak of the First World War, attempts were made to end anarchy and establish peace and respect of law among Europeans. In the middle ages in Europe, the Pope made repeated attempts to avert war; on many occasions the Pope mediated among European rulers to settle their disputes. In 1815, the Holy Alliance was concluded at the initiative of Czar Alexander to preserve peace in Europe. Metternich launched the Concert of Europe with, the same objective in mind but it failed. After Metternich's fall in 1848, European Congresses were called from time to time to settle international disputes. For example, European conferences were called to settle disputes between Turkey and Balkan States at Paris in 1856, at Berlin in 1878 and at London in 1913 successively. Similarly, to regulate the partition of Africa and frame some laws for the 'scramble' among European powers for acquiring colonies in that area, a conference was convened at Berlin in 1884-85. In 1900, to suppress the Boxer Revolt in China the 'Great Powers' decided to act jointly; but all the above Congress failed to realise their objectives. In 1899, the Czar Alexander II of Russia convened the First Hague Peace Conference to discuss the burden of the race for armaments among European Powers, and find, if possible, some means of removing from Europe the menace of war. Suggestions for the reduction of armed forces and armaments were turned down by Germany and some other countries. However, the constructive result of the First. Hague Conference was the establishment of the International Court of Justice. True the International Court of Justice had no authority to enforce law on the nations/. The Second Peace Conference was also held at the Hague in 1907. But unfortunately, there could be no end to international anarchy. Hayes and Moon say that the Hague Conferences failed to prevent a war between Turkey and Italy in 1911-12, then again another war which broke out between Turkey and Balkan States in 1912-13.

Territorial Disputes

Territorial disputes among major powers became an important cause of the Great War. The Congress of Vienna which met in 1814-15 disregarded the principle of nationality and finalised a territorial arrangement for Europe. The result was that Germany, Italy and Belgium had to resort to arms later in the 19th century to achieve independence. After attaining independence, these countries became a

menace to European peace because of territorial ambitions and competition. Italy wanted to get back Trenting and Trieste from Austria Hungary. There was a strong feeling in France against Germany on the question of Alsace and Lorriance. The creation of independent Poland was another serious problem. Russia, Germany and Austria were obstacles in the path of patriots of Hungary and Poland. Different European countries were motivated by selfish self interests in their policy towards the Turkish Empire. The Balkan States were a fair prize for major powers. The nationalists and Christians of these Balkan States wanted complete independence from Turkish rule.

Economic Imperialism

The Nineteenth Century gave rise to the idea of economic welfare (greatest good of the greatest number). It was felt that it was the duty of every government to safeguard the economic and commercial life of the people. In this way economic imperialism became another major cause of the First World War. Most of recent wars were inspir by motives of personal profits on the part of respective nations. The Opium War in China was fought for extorting economic concessions from China. The rapid industrialisation of European Countries increased the search for colonies. The competition for markets, raw materials and colonies became extremely acute in the beginning of the 20th Century. The Russians were interested in the construction of the Trans Siberian Railway and the Germans in the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. For the extension of territory, power and realisation of wealth, these powers resorted to force. It is pertinent to point out here that the consolidation of Germany on the continent to Europe and extension on other continents (colonies) was only possible by means of force.

Scientific Justification of Militarism

At this time scientists, social scientists and philosophers advocated and preached ideological justification of militarism. They accepted Spencer's principal of "the survival of the fittest", in context of the development of nations. Hayes and Moon feel that though it was a serious mistake to think in those terms, yet many people in Europe subscribed to these views. As a result of the prevailing ideology, the leading militarists not only justified armaments on the basis of self-defence but advocated the slogan of "struggle for existence". Professor Treitschke of Berlin justified war in these words: "War is a means by which states increase their power. It is the destiny of small states to be appropriated by the big powers." Burnhardy has commented, "War is the God of everything else. War is not only a law of human existence , but an ethical responsibility; that is why it is a fundamental necessity of civilization". In 1900, the German Naval. Bill was passed and Germany launched an ambitious Navy-building programme. England took it as a challenge to her naval strength and

decided to double her naval strength in proportion to Germany. This expansion of navy was also a part of the general militarist programme according to the estimate of Hayes and Moon. The expansion of the navy of one country affected the other and every country launched ambitious programmes for navy-building. Almost all states spent major parts of their national budget on military preparations and armaments.

Secret Diplomacy

Most of foreign ministers and ambassadors got together to convene secret meetings and concluded secret treaties. International relations were guarded as closed secrets by various powers. A common man would have no idea as to what important decisions were taking place. The nature of commitment of one country to help another was never disclosed and thus it could never be predicted.

Bismarck's Diplomacy

We have to go back to Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to understand some of the underlying causes of the First World War. Bismarck forced France to cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and as a result, France was totally estranged with Germany. But while Bismarck was in power in Germany from 1871 to 1890, France had to suppress the idea of 'revenge' against Germany because Germany had the strongest army in Europe and Bismarck himself was recognised as the greatest diplomat of his time.

The Triple Alliance and The Triple Entente

After 1871, Germany under Bismarck wanted to isolate France in International affairs. The subtle motive behind this diplomacy was to prevent France from having friends to collectively strike at Germany. Germany exploited Austria's apprehensions of Russian ambitions in the Balkans and also her fear of the growth of Pan-Slavism in the Balkans. Consequently, the two countries signed the Austro-German Alliance in 1879. The Treaty was renewed in 1882 and Italy became the third member of the Dual Alliance. The Triple Alliance was thus formed. This Treaty was renewed in 1887 and 1891. This Alliance was essentially defensive in character. It successfully prevented France from taking revenge from Germany. But at the same time, Germany estranged Russia to the extent that gradually Russia drifted towards France.

The Franco-Russian Entente of 1893 was really the result of the Austro-German Alliance of 1879. 1893 friendship between the two countries was given the formal form of Alliance in 1894. England joined this Dual Alliance in 1907, and in this way the Triple Alliance was formed. Europe was divided into two mutually hostile armed groups. A world war was inevitable as a result of this system of Treaties and Alliances. Germany was compelled to be involved in the politics of Balkans on behalf of Austria. On the other hand, France was committed to Russian policies and interests. The

period from 1871-1914 in the history of Europe can be defined as the period of armed peace and secret diplomacy.

Japan's Position

The members of the Triple Entente could look forward to the support and participation of Japan. England and Japan concluded a defensive alliance-the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. As Such Japan could almost be regarded a member of this group (Triple Entente).

Italy's Position

Obviously Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance combination, but secretly she was negotiating with the other group (Triple Entente). Italy concluded a secret treaty with France in 1902 by which Italy and France agreed to an arrangement about Tripoli and Morrocco. Italy got a free hand to extend her influence in Tripoli, and France in Morrocco.

The Balance of Power

The two armed groups, Triple Alliance and Triple Entente were eventually matched in strength. Neither of the two groups would decide to attack the other. Fear and suspicion was profound. No body could predict the future course of events. When one armed group realised that the other had increased its strength by the addition of another member country or raised its armed force, the natural impulse was to do the same. The main concern was not to upset the balance of power in international relations.

Germany's Alliance with Turkey

Germany concluded an alliance with Turkey to strike at British power in India. England consequently strongly opposed the Treaty.

Newspaper Propaganda

Usually newspaper propaganda can be very damaging in international relations. Often the newspapers present distorted view of events. The hostile countries are always in the wrong, the wrongs and flaws in national policies are committed. In every country press played a very destructive and negative role in the First World War.

Immediate Cause

Murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, an insignificant extent or excuse, was enough to plunge Europe into a general war. Infact, Europe was like an ammunition factory, and even a small spark could be set it ablaze. A Serbian citizen assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne.

“On a sunny morning in June, 1914, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary

and his wife were shot by a student Princep in the streets of Serajevo, a Bosnian town near the Serbian frontier. Princep hated the Hapsburg Dual Monarchy." Germany advised Austria to demand Serbian acceptance of Austrian control. Austria acted accordingly. Serbian refused to accept Austrian control. Finally declared war on Serbia on 28th July, 1914.

Russia supported Serbia; Germany supported Austria, Germany demanded right of passage from Belgium in order to invade France and Belgium refused Germany this passage; so Germany invaded Belgium and thereby violated the neutrality of Belgium. England dissuaded Germany from taking this step. But Germany was adamant and refused to take note of England's warning. Consequently, England also joined the War because England was a party to the international guarantee for Belgium's neutrality. Secondly, with German occupation of Belgium, England's own safety and security was in danger. In view of these consideration England entered the War.

The inevitable conflict between Austria and Serbia, when it erupted in 1914, could not be localised. Gradually the number of belligerents (participating powers) increased and the theatres of war became extensive. It became obligatory for the major powers to join the war in accordance with their treaty obligations. This explains the involvement of all the major powers in Europe in the War. Hence, this War developed into a major World War. Finally, in 1917, United States of America also entered the War on the side of the Allies.

The War was spread over a span of more than four years (1914-1918). Hostilities ceased in November 1918, when Germany signed the armistice.

The War naturally involved all the major countries and Great Powers and was fought in various theatres, throughout the world (Europe, the Near East, Middle East and Far East). Given below is a brief survey of the important events of the War during the course of four years.

COURSE OF THE WAR

1914

- (i) Austria invaded Serbia which capitulated after strong resistance.
- (ii) Belgium was invaded and captured by Germany.
- (iii) German forces marched into France to capture Paris. The Battle of Marne resulted in German retreat and Paris was saved.
- (iv) Germany rushed to the coast to check the English and the Battle of Ypres took place in which the Germans were defeated.
- (v) East Prussia and Galicia were invaded by Russia. The Russians failed in East Prussia but were successful in Austria.

- (vi) Turkey declared war against England; the latter had to defend the Suez and the Persian Gulf.

1915

This was a year of failures for the Allies. Italy joined the Allies.

- (i) Russia advanced in Austria but was pushed back.
- (ii) Germany again attacked the Allied lines. The second Battle of Ypres was fought in April, 1915.
- (iii) Allies failed badly in the Gallipoli campaign. Bulgaria joined Germany and crushed Serbia. The Allies occupied Salonika, so that Greece might not join the Germans. England invaded Mesopotamia but the plan did not succeed.
- (iv) The Germans sank Lusitania, the great American liner. This set the Americans bitterly against the Germans.

1916

- (i) The battle of Verdun was the first great event of the year 1916. The Germans lost heavily in this battle.
- (ii) Battle of Somme was the next important event but it remained indecisive.
- (iii) Battle of Jutland was the most important naval battle of the War. The Germans had to retreat to their original point of departure.
- (iv) Rumania invaded Bulgaria and the latter surrendered in spite of Allied help and her capital was occupied.

1917

- (i) Significant event of this year was the entry of American into the war on the side of the Allies.
- (ii) Russian Revolution of 1917 brought to an end the rule of the Czars. The Bolsheviks (revolutionaries) made peace with Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
- (iii) The Austrian and German forces broke through Italian resistance and entered Italy.
- (iv) Rebuff for the Turks, Baghdad was captured and the Turks were driven out of Mesopotamia. General Allenby marched on Palestine and captured Jerusalem. The Turkish advance was thus crushed.

1918

- (i) German inflicted heavy reverses on the Allies at St. Quentin.
- (ii) German victory in the Third Battle of Ypres, though they could not break through the Allied line.

- (iii) German offensive not the western front and German victories. The Allies were in a critical position. Entry of the United State into the War turned the tide against Germany. The Germans again reached Marne and were defeated.

Bulgaria surrendered on September 20. In October, Turkey Submitted. On 3rd November, Austria signed the armistice and Germany was left alone. Finally Germany accepted the terms of the armistice on the 11th November, 1918 and the Great European War came to an end.

Relevant Pages of Books for Further Study

1. Ketelbey, C.D.M. : *A History of Modern Times from 1789*, pp.385-444.
2. Fisher, H.A.L. : *A History of Europe*, Vol. 11, pp. 1024-77

Self-Check Exercises

1. Name the countries in each of two groups of powers :
 - (i) Central Powers.
 - (ii) The Allies.
2. The Balkan nationalities wanted complete independence fromrule.
3. Economic imperialism (competition) led to struggle for
 - (i) (ii) (iii)
4. The immediate cause of the First World War was the murder ofof Austria.
5. Mention the two important events of the year 1917 :
 - (i) (ii)
6. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between Germany and

6. Russia
- (ii) Entry of United States of America into the First World War.
5. (i) Russian Revolution.
4. Archduke Francis Ferdinand
3. (i) Colonies (ii) Markets (iii) Raw-materials
2. Turkish
- (ii) France, Russia, England, Serbia, Belgium, Japan and America.
1. (i) Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria

Answers

Check-up Your Position

- | | | |
|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| Excellent | : | More than 6 correct answers. |
| Good | : | 5-6 correct answers. |
| Satisfactory | : | 4 correct answers. |
| Unsatisfactory | : | Less than 4 correct answers. |

LESSON NO. 2.5

RISE OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

I. Fascism

Meaning of Fascism

The word 'Fascism' comes from a Latin word 'fasces' meaning bundle of rods, which was the symbol of authority of the Roman Emperors. The followers of this movement aimed at reviving the glories of ancient Rome.

Its Rise

The Movement rose out of discontent which resulted from the consequences of the First Great War (1914-1918). Though Italy had gained a lot from the Peace Settlement of 1919 yet her acquisitions fell short of the expectations. She chafed that her gains were incommensurate with her sacrifices. She had lost 7½ million men and 12 million dollars but had received only Trentino, Southern Tyrol, Trieste and Istria etc., but the cry of 'Italia Irredenta' has gone unheeded. In the distribution of colonies, she was completely ignored and at times the attitude of Clemenceau, and Lloyd George towards Orlando was insulting at the Peace Conference. This generated dissatisfaction among patriots in Italy. The onslaught of Communism also threatened the peace of the country. Staunch nationalists called Fascists formed an organisation Fascio to fight the dangers confronting the country. In this book, *The Last Phase* (Page 282-83). Harold Butler has described the origin of the movement thus.

"Fascism arose in Italy and Germany and its reasons can be traced to the War and its consequences, which created in the lower middle class youths a feeling of revolt against the difficulties created and the prospects of destruction gaping before them."

They had no future, their families had lost all their capital, there was no place for them in the trades and the prospects for economic betterment were so remote that they could not think of married life and civilised existence". Though Italy had been united in 1870 yet local and regional differences had undermined national unity. To become really powerful, this was essential. "It was thus an urgent need of a strong unifying force that formed the background for the rise of Fascism in Italy", writes Ketelbey (*History of Modern Times* (Page 62-63). Corrupt and incompetent administration of Nitti and Giolitti could not deliver goods. This gave the Communities and Socialists a fertile field to work in but they stood for Civil War and anarchy. Only

a strong nationalist movement could save Italy in such perilous times. The Fascist Party succeeded in doing so. To sum up the factors which led to the birth of Fascism, these were : (1) Repudiation of promises of 1915 of the Allies at the Peace Conference. (2) General dissatisfaction with the Peace Settlement of 1919. (3) Incompetent administration weakened the country. (4) Revolutionaries were bent upon creating chaos. (5) A nationalist awakening and desire for national greatness, etc.

The founder of this Movement was Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). His followers wore black shirts as uniform and adopted a bundle of rods called Fasces as their sign. Benito Mussolini was born to a black-smith, near Forli in the Romagna. His mother was a school mistress who exercised deep influence on him. For sometime he was a school teacher but in 1902 he fled to Switzerland to evade military service. Here he worked as a manual labourer and picked up Socialist ideas. On return to Italy in 1904, he became a socialist agitator and journalist. In 1918 he resigned from the Socialist party because it disfavoured war with Austria. He joined the army and was wounded on the Isonzo front and returned to Milan, where he began to edit the paper. He also founded tiny groups of working men. These groups were called Fasci and they agitated for social reforms. Later these groups were merged into a Fascist Party, and avowed to fight shevism and Anarchism. By dint of his brilliant oratory, Mussolini succeeded in enrolling discharged soldiers, fiery agitators, restless students, and all types of dissatisfied elements to the Party. He aimed at National integration by strong and direct methods and Black Shirts employed the bludgeon and the castor-oil bottles to beat the rallies of their communist rivals.

Principles of Fascism

- (1) It stood for party under one leader.
- (2) It aimed at promoting national good by all methods and at all costs.
- (3) It was opposed to the democratic form of government for it believed that Democracy was a plaything of the rich Western Europe.
- (4) It held that war was necessary for the progress of a nation.

Growth of the Movement

From 1921 Italy became an irregular battle-ground between the Fascists and the Socialists. There occurred serious riots in Milan, Florence and Bologna. The constitutional Government helplessly looked on. In 1922, Mussolini at the head of 40,000 Black Shirts marched upon Rome. The terrified Emperor Victor Emmanuel III invited the strong man to become Prime Minister of a coalition of Fascists and Nationalists in October, 1922. A month later Mussolini became a Dictator (Duce) - a bloodless revolution indeed and remained as such till his fall in 1944.

His Achievements

Under the Fascist regime Italy registered an all round progress :

- (1) Mussolini converted the whole of Italy into one constituency in which the electorate voted for or against 400 candidates nominated by the Fascists Grand Council. This was intended to bring about national integration and a new phase of Risorgimento.
- (2) Industrial disputes between workers and employers were settled by a National Council. Slackness and dishonesty were mercilessly punished.
- (3) Extensive programme of public works was implemented, natural resources were developed, agriculture improved and literacy was spread.
- (4) By the Lateran Treaty of 1929, the long quarrel between the Pope and State dating back to 1870 was settled. This closed the 'Roman Question' and the Pope was no longer the 'Prisoner of the Vatican'. The Papacy recognized the Kingdom of Italy under the House of Savoy with Rome as capital of the Italian state, while the kingdom acknowledged the absolute sovereignty of the Holy See over the city of the Vatican.' The Lateran Treaty was a political master stroke and brought about reconciliation between the church and the state.
- (5) All fissiparous attempts were ruthlessly suppressed. A Parliamentary government was placed under checks and brakes, the Press was bridled and strikes banned. Army was strengthened.
- (6) Though private enterprise was permitted, yet collectivist principles were encouraged and co-operation between workers and employer was promoted. This began to be known as "Fascist Syndacalism" in which individual had no existence.

Foreign Policy

The Fascist Party was committed to revive the memories of ancient Rome by exalting the heroic virtues of war and follow an aggressive expansionist foreign policy. Treaties with Turkey and Yugoslavia were concluded to expand influence over the Mediterranean Sea. In 1933 Italy signed with Russia a Non-Aggression Pact and two years later Mussolini-Laval pact was made with France. After befriending the Great Powers, Italy launched an attack upon Abyssinia in 1935. The League of Nation applied 'Sanctions' against Italy, a half-hearted attempt to show its disapproval. This drove Mussolini into Hitler's camp and Rome-Berlin Pact in 1936 formed the basis of the Axis (1936-45). Italy accepted Austro-German Anschluss (Union) in 1938 and strengthened friendship by a formal alliance by the so-called 'Pact of Steel'. Both Powers threw their weight on General Franco's side in the

Spanish Civil War. In 1939, Italy attacked Albania and annexed it. After the outbreak of the Second World War, Italy declared war on Britain and France on 10th June 1940. But Italy did not possess the resources to sustain a long war, her armies were not convinced of the objectives of it and her allies despised and distrusted her. Her ultimate defeat and the assassination of the Duce (Mussolini) sealed the fate of Fascism in Italy." "Fascism fell to pieces amidst dissension and shame." (Ketelbey, P. 466).

II. Nazism

Rise

Nazism emerged in the wake of military collapse and national humiliation of Germany in 1918. Her military machine completely broke down. The Allied armies of occupation stood on German fatherland. The German prisoners of war coming back from capture in Russia brought in their train a contagion of Communism. The clauses of the treaty of Versailles were extremely vindictive and besides loss of its entire colonial empire, Germany was saddled with a huge war-indemnity and a cancerous burden of Reparations. Germany had become a Republic with Her Ebert, the leader of social Democratic Party as Chancellor but parliamentary institutions did not work satisfactorily and the Governments proved helpless to solve post war problems. In the eyes of the people they were starvation government, which could not tackle Economic Depression and mounting unemployment. The value of German Mark fell so steeply by inflation that it was aptly remarked by a consumer that "Before the war I went to market with the money in my pocket and brought back purchases in a basket; now I take the money in the basket and bring the things home in my pocket." To the underfed but proud and national conscious Germans with no sound constitutional traditions only a social, political and psychological revolution under a strong leadership could get them their due place in the comity of nations. To achieve it they were prepared to make every sacrifice. Individual freedom mattered little for the good and greatness of the state. The only party which successfully exploited such a critical situation for its rise and growth and promised to reclaim for the German national her pre-War prestige was the National Socialist German Workers Party founded in 1919 and decisively nicknamed Nazi Party in 1923. The leader of this party was Adolf Hitler.

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)

Born in Braunau-on-Inn in Upper Austria to poor parents, he received education in Linz. He became an orphan in 1901 and up to 1913 he lived in Vienna eking out a miserable existence as a third rate commercial painter. In 1914, he crossed the frontier and enlisted himself in Bavarian infantry. He fought at the Battle of Some

and twice won the Iron Cross and became an corporal. On the eve of Armistice he was lying ill in the hospital of Pomerania. The news of Armistice sent a chill down his spine. He felt that German forces had not been defeated but had been stabbed in the back by the supine leaders and rapacious Jews. The military occupation of Germany by Enemy forces, compulsory disarmament, the dismemberment of Empire and national humiliation sank deep into his revengeful mind and he resolved to do his bit to retrieve the lost prestige. He gathered together discharged soldiers and embittered patriots, who shared his views and founded the Nazi Party. Soon he discovered his power of demagogic oratory in openair meetings where he attacked the Jews and the Treaty of Versailles. In 1920 he prepared the blue print of Nazism.

Aims of Nazism

- (1) To tear out the Treaty of Versailles
- (2) To increase the military power of Germany.
- (3) To re-establish the German Empire and re-capture her lost colonies.
- (4) To de-nationalise Jews as citizens of Germany.
- (5) To fight tooth and nail the communists and other anti-national elements.
- (6) To oppose democracy.
- (7) To confine women to homes, their prime function was to breed for the state.

In shorts, the programme was anti-Versailles and St. Germain Treaties, anti-Jewish, anti-democracy on one side and Aryanization, pan-Germanism, employment, rearmament and militarism on the other.

To achieve their objectives Nazis must raise a private party army (storm troopers) and repose absolute faith in one leader (Fuehrer). They must employ the press and the platform to propagate their views and disturb meetings of their opponents, the Communists and social democrats. A Party army was raised which consisted of two sections.

- (a) Brown Shirts to guard their own meetings and disturb those of opponents.
- (b) Black Shirts to act as body guards of leaders.

Both had arm-bands which bore Swastika, the Nazi-emblem. In raising his storm tro-order. Hitler was faithfully assisted by Goering, the airman and Geobbles, the propagandist.

Growth of Nazi Party

In November, 1923, the Nazis made an abortive attempt, called the 'Munich Putsch' to overthrow the Government of Bavaria. The police opened fire killing many. Hitler was convicted for treason and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. He remained in

goal for 13 months only, during which he wrote his story *Mein Kampf*. In this book he expressed his firm belief that the Germans belonged to the finest race (Nordic) and were culture builders, while Semitic races were inferior and culture destroyers. He demanded for the growing German population territory, a living space *Lebensraum*. He condemned the Treaty of Versailles and vowed vengeance. He stood for one party dictatorship (totalitarian state) under one leader, whose commands must be obeyed without question. "There were to be no classes, no parties, no trade unions, no semi-autonomous states, or relics of the old German Federal system, but one centralized, corporate state made up from top to bottom of Nazis, wearing shirts of the same colour, giving the same salutes, repeating the same catch-words, holding the same faith" (Fisher, p. 1307). *Mein Kampf* became the Bible of the Nazis. It was read widely by friends and foes and made its author world famous.

Success of Nazism

The World Depression of 1929 was a blessing in disguise for the growth of Nazism. The Nazis exploited the starvation with the closure of factories. The Nazis became the second largest party in Germany in 1929. People were disillusioned with other parties. With the failure of three Chancellors in three years to alleviate the miseries of the unemployed, President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as the Chancellor on January 30, 1930. Hitler desired more than this to become an absolute dictator. The Reichstag Fire on the night of 27th February 1933 gave him the much sought for opportunity to realize it. He charged his enemies with committing arson and liquidated them. After the death of Hindenburg in 1934, Hitler became the President and Chancellor (*Fuehrer* of the German Reich). By his authoritarian methods, he ended all political parties except his own, threw the Jews in concentration camps and suppressed the Roman Catholics. His spy service, the Gestapo, handled his enemies. Youngmen were indoctrinated with Nazi ideology in the schools. He made military training compulsory and removed unemployment by increasing land, sea and naval forces. Strikes were forbidden and factories worked day and night. Self-sufficiency in agriculture was achieved.

Foreign Policy

Dissolution of the Treaty of Versailles was the foremost aim of the Nazis. The demilitarized zone of Rhineland was reoccupied in March 1936 and fortifications were built in abrogation of Versailles and Locarno Treaties. Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. He played off his potential enemies against each other and by his Alliance with Mussolini created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Both entered into Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. By crafty strokes of diplomacy, Austria and Czechoslovakia were annexed in 1938. During the same year by means of threats

of aggression on Lithuania, Hitler captured Memel. The French and English statesmen who desired to avoid another war till their own preparations to fight were not completed, followed a policy of appeasement as evident in the Munich Pact (Sept. 1938). But when Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 in order to capture Danzig, and broke all promises to the contrary, they declared a war upon Germany. The War had its ups and downs but series of failures on the eastern front against Russia culminated in the Allied landing in Normandy. Hitler was cornered in the ruins of Berlin where, after marrying his mistress Eva Braun, he shot himself dead on 30th April, 1945. With him died Nazism, at least for the time being.

Suggested Readings

1. Butler, H. : *The Last Phase*, pp. 282-83.
2. Hazen, C.D. : *Modern Europe*, pp. 649-76.

Self-Check Exercise

1. Trace the rise and growth of Fascism in Europe.

LESSON NO. 2.6

CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

1. Legacy of the First World War

Wars do not solve problems, they rather create fresh ones. Like gun-powder they destroy but do not build. A vicious circle is strengthened in which the victors continue to keep their powder dry so that vanquished do not throw another challenge and the latter increase their armed strength openly and secretly so that they may not sustain further losses.

The First World War (1914-1918) was no exception. It fanned rather than extinguished the fires of vindictive patriotism. Woodrow Wilson's (1856-1924) dream of 'war to end the war' was dashed to dust by the farmers of the Peace Settlement. His 14 Points became 14 disappointments. The peace conference decated peace rather than negotiated it, the terms of it carried 'the weight of hate.' The victors attitude was evident from the following remark of Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister to the German delegates 'Gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so at Versailles, you shall do so at Berlin.

2. The Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty was drawn in haste, and under constraints, when popular passions were keyed to a high feverish pitch. Germany was humiliated and disarmed, stripped off her colonial Empire and relegated to the position of an outcast, who lost millions of his own people living in Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Economically she was crippled beyond easy recovery. Thus the statements of 1919 moved in the old route. Human nature defeated them once again and they sowed the seeds of the Second World War. They did not establish peace but only concluded armistice for 20 years Lloyd George, one of the authors confessed that "the Allies were sowing hatred for the future, they were not only creating problems for the Germans but also for themselves.

3. Desire for Vengeance

The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, her occupation of Rhur Valley and Saar Basin, the division of Schleswig, taking of Posen from Prussia, the creation of Polish Corridor for Poland to control Danzing and the gift of Memel to Lithuania left

a bitter trail in the minds of nationally conscious and proud Germans and contained germs of a war of revenge. The Germans could neither forget nor forgive such deep humiliation. They were bound to rise up again to reclaim their losses and to avenge their insults. The spectre of next war soon visible.

4. The ineffectiveness of the League of Nations

The League captured a fleeting and momentary sentiment when the first Great War had taken such a heavy toll.

“The League” wrote Dr. Radha Krishnan, “was like a gun that fired blank cartridges.” It had no armed force to coerce recalcitrant members into accepting its resolutions and relied on ‘Sanctions’ which were applied, if at all, in a half-hearted way. It failed to prevent Japanese aggression on Manchuria and China, Italian aggression against Abyssinia or attack of Russia on Finland. It had miserably failed to assert itself against German aggrandizement.

By the time the Second World War broke out, the League of Nations was practically dead. It was unfortunate that when the world was in the jaws of death, there was no effective organization which could bring about a rapprochement between the belligerents.

5. Heir Hitler

(The rise of Adolf Hitler is given in the previous lesson).

Hitler, who became the Chancellor of the Reich, in 1933, believed that war only could restore Germany's due place in the comity of Nations and that war must come in his life time. His first task was to consign the Treaty of Versailles to the waste paper basket after tearing it into bits. His promise to do it at the earliest hypnotized his impatient audiences. The supreme death is the death in the battle, he thundered and his listeners would go in hysterical excitement. They accepted his programme of anti-Semitism anti-Communism, antiliberation, anti intellectualism and anti-feminism to promote violent military nationalism, unity and Teutonic supremacy.

Aggressive Aggrandizement Step by Step

For 3 years from 1933 to 1936. Hitler concentrated on rearmament. He withdrew from the League in 1933 and introduced conscription in 1935 building up land, sea and air forces. The Third Reich was perfectly geared to war. He told his people that the reconquest of lost territories, “cannot be achieved by solemn appeal to Almighty God or pious hope in the League of Nations but by armed force.”

(a) Reoccupation of Saar

Saar a German District, 800 sq miles in an area across the Rhine was rich in coal. It was placed under the League in 1919 with France Controlling its mines in

compensation for the war losses. On Germany's claim, a plebiscite was held which favoured merger with Germany but France again occupied it, causing bitterness.

(b) Rhineland re-occupied

It was an area bordering Belgium, Luxemburg and France. The Treaty of Versailles had placed it under Allied troops for 15 years and de-militarized a 30 miles wide zone on the right bank of the river. Germany's default in paying quota of Reparations gave an excuse to France and Belgium to occupy in 1923, the Ruhr Basin, leading mining and manufacturing region of Germany. The British and Americans opposed the move but passively. The British evacuated it in 1926 and France in 1930. But Germany feared that the French would reoccupy it. Hitler marched and re-occupied the demilitarized zone in 1936 in flagrant violation of the Treaties of Versailles and Locarno Pact. Preoccupied with the crisis in Abyssinis, the British contented themselves with protests.

(c) Union with Austria (Anschluss)

The Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain had forbidden the reunion of Germans in the two countries. A Nazi attempt at coup in 1934 killed the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss. Four years later Hitler bullied Chancellor Schuschnigg to resign in favour of pro-German Seydewitz in Vienna, who invited German armies to occupy Austria. By a Nazi controlled Plebiscite the annexation was legitimized on 10th April, 1938.

(d) Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia

The hunger for expansion was whetted, Hitler by his pacts and gestures of friendship and lulled his enemies into slumber. The Rome-Berlin Axis of 1936 had made him bold.

By the Treaty of St. Germain, Sudetenland in the northern Bohemia (inhabited by 3 million German people) had been given over to Czechoslovakia. In 1935, a Nazi financed party led by Konrad Henlein agitated for union with Germany. The Czech Government resisted because their mines and armories stood in this area. Hitler threatened war and European nations were frightened at the prospects. In September 1938, Neville Chamberlain, Mussolini and Daladier met Hitler and signed the Munich Pact, conceding German demands on the assurance that Hitler would demand no more. But in March 1939, he gobbled Bohemia and Moravia. Czechoslovakia was thus dead.

(e) The Capture of Memel

After Czechoslovakia, came Lithuania's turn. An ultimatum to her was issued to surrender Memel, a port town, and the surrounding areas. A war psychosis was created and Lithuania gave over Memel in March, 1939. "The legally, illegally by

promise, threat or force, by hook or by crook he got his way”, writes Ketelbey (page 472).

(f) Designs on Danzing and the Beginning of the War

Although Germany had concluded a Non-Aggression Pact with Poland for 10 years in 1934 but in the eyes of Hitler, no pact had sanctity and he made demands on her. The Treaty of Versailles in order to give Poland an outlet (Polish corridor) to the sea, made Danzing, populated by Germans a Free City under the League of Nations with its foreign policy, customs and trade under the Polish control. A local Nazi leader Forster in 1939 proclaimed union with Germany. This was too much for the European Powers to concede. Their policy of appeasement had failed and their patience had been exhausted. This unleashed, what in a sense, may be called Hitler's War.

7. Complacency of the Great Powers

The Great Powers became complacent in matters of security after castrating Germany in 1919. They deluded themselves that Germany would rise no more. Germany was admitted to the League of Nations after it became a party to Locarno Pact (1925), which contributed to general pacification of Europe. She concluded a ten years Non-Aggression Pact with Poland (1935), a pact with England on limiting army and formed an Axis with Italy (1935) which was later on extended to include Japan (1937) so that it became the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. At the top of it all, Hitler in August 1939 drew into his ring the Communist Russia, his avowed enemy. Had the powers not been lulled into sleep for so long, the catastrophe of the Second World War might have been averted. They fully knew that a conflict between two ideologies, i.e. Dictatorship and Democracy must occur one day. It was unmistakably evident from the candid remark of Mussolini who said, “The struggle between the two words can permit no compromise. Either we or they.

8. Belligerent France

France always stood on tip-toe because she felt obsessed about her security. She deprived Germany of her sinews of war, the Saar Basin, Rhur and Rhineland, etc. To isolate her she signed Pacts of Mutual security with Italy and Czechoslovakia, etc.

To outdo Austro-German merger a Treaty with England (1935), and to enlist the support of a powerful pact with America (Kellong-Briand) were made. For mutual aid, Russia was also befriended. To make herself invulnerable, she constructed Maginot Line of forts along her eastern frontier.

9. Policy of Appeasement

The Western Powers gave concessions to Germany to avoid war. They let the grass under their feet, when treaties were being violated, promises broken, international

law defied, rearmament resumed, coups encouraged and annexations made. The thirst of Hitler was whetted by every successive concession and he was encouraged to believe that he was being appeased because his enemies were too weak for him. The policy of Appeasement culminated in the Munich Pact (September 1938), which in the words of Winston Churchill was a total unmitigated defeat of Great Britain. Peace which had been concluded lasted hardly for 11 months.

10. Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

The Japanese had become an imperialist power. In 1934, she withdrew from the League. She created a puppet state of Manchukuo out of Manchuria in 1931. Japan felt sore against the U.S.A. for keeping her naval strength 60% of the latter (Washington settlement of 1921) and demanded parity. She thought she was the Queen of the Pacific, destined to rule the waves of it. She entertained imperialistic designs in South-East Asia. She terminated the settlement with U.S.A. in 1939 and entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany against the rising tide of Communism. This was converted into a world triangle of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis in 1937.

Thus, for reasons given above, the world was once again drawn into the vortex of another brutal war with Great Britain, her Commonwealth partners, France; U.S.A. U.S.S.R. (After the German attack) and Poland on one side, and Germany, Italy, Japan on the other.

Suggested Readings

Hazen, C.D. : *Modern Europe* pp. 649-76,

Ketelbey C.D.M. : *A History of Modern Times Since 1789*, pp. 470-76.

Palmer & Perkins : *International Relations*, pp. 138-162.

Southgate, G.W. : *A Short History of Europe*, pp. 1304-6.

Self-Check Exercise

1. Discuss the causes of Second World War.