

6. Treaty of Versailles (1919)

(16) Give an account of the salient features of the Treaty of Versailles.

After the overthrow of the central powers, the Allied Statesmen viz, President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando met at Paris in 1919 to decide the future map of Europe. They played a very important part in the deliberations of the conference. Though Germany had surrendered on the basis of Fourteen points of President Wilson, they could not be made the basis of the settlement. They had to be altered in order to fit in with the secret treaties among the Allies regarding the distribution of the possessions of the enemies. Hence, the settlement of Paris was unsatisfactory in many ways.

Treaty of Versailles:

The signing of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany on 28th June 1919 was not an easy affair. When the draft of the treaty was ready, Germany was asked to send her delegates. The German delegates led by its foreign minister, were kept in a hotel behind barbed wires. They were not allowed to communicate with anybody. On 7th May 1919, the peace terms were handed over to the German delegation. It was informed that they must send their reply within three weeks and all communications by them must be in writing. After some minor alterations, the terms of the treaty were imposed upon Germans. When the German delegates left Paris for Versailles for signing the Treaty, the Parisian mob hurled stones at them and threw abuses on them. Under these circumstances the German delegates were forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles on 28th June 1919, the 5th Anniversary of the murder of Archduke Ferdinand.

Provisions of the Treaty:

The documents containing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles consisted of 15 parts and had 440 articles and a score of annexes.

1. Germany had to give Alsace - Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, Memel to Lithuania and large

part of Posen and Western Prussia to Poland. Silesia was partitioned between Germany and Poland in such a way as to leave more than half of the people and the land area to Germany, but Poland was given more of economic resources.

2. Danzig was taken away from Germany and set up as a Free city under the League of Nations. Poland was given special rights in the city of Danzig.
3. The Rhineland was demilitarised. The existing fortifications were to be destroyed. No military force was to be maintained in that area. No manoeuvres of the army were to be held in the Rhineland.
4. Germany had to give the coal mines of Saar Valley "in full and absolute possession with exclusive rights of exploitation". The Saar Valley was put under the League of Nations for 15 years and then a plebiscite was to be held to decide as to whether the Saar Valley was to remain under the League or go to Germany or France.
5. Germany accepted to destroy the fortifications and the harbours of the islands of Heligoland and Dune. Germany promised to acknowledge and respect the independence of Austria.
6. Germany was forced to give up all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions to the Allies. Japan got the lease of Kiao - Chow and the German portion of the island of Samoa. England got German West Africa. England and France divided among themselves Kame-roon and Togoland.
7. The independence and sovereignty of Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia were recognised by Germany. She also agreed to cancel the Treaties of Brest-Litvosk and Bucharest.
8. Germany gave up to her special rights and privileges in China, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco and Liberia, The property and concessions, enjoyed by Germany in Bulgaria and Turkey were forfeited.

9. The military strength of Germany was completely crippled. The German General Staff was abolished. The total strength of the German army was fixed at one lakh. The army had to be maintained only for the maintenance of law and order within the country and the protection of the frontiers.
10. The German Navy was also drastically reduced. She was allowed to have only 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines were allowed. She had to surrender all her aeronautical war materials.
11. William II, the German Emperor, was charged with "the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties". He was to be tried by a tribunal.
12. Germany was held completely responsible for the great losses of the war by the 'war guilt' clause. She had to pay the cost of restoring the devastated areas and the cost of the damage done to civilian property. In addition she had to pay war pensions to allied countries and take over the Belgian debt.
13. A Reparations Commission was duly appointed and ultimately it fixed the war indemnity at 54 billion dollars. Germany agreed to pay annual tribute of coal to France, Belgium and Italy.
14. Germany was required to return the trophies, works of art and flags taken from France in the Franco Prussian war of 1870-71. She was to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents.
15. The rivers Elbe, Danube, Oder and Neimen were internationalised. The river Rhine was put under the control of an international commission. The Kiel canal and its approaches were opened to all nations.
16. Finally provision was also made for the enforcement of the above clauses. The German territory, west of the Rhine, was to be occupied by the Allied troops for a

period of 15 years. If Germany misbehaved the occupation was liable to be prolonged.

Criticism:

The Treaty of Versailles fell short of expectations. The treaty was not "open covenants of peace openly arrived at" but terms dictated by victors to the vanquished. The Treaty of Versailles was not equitable and contained in it the seeds of another world war.

1. According to J.L.Carvin, "Europe was balkanised" i.e. broken into many fragments. Jarred by violent antipathies of the irredentist problems like Alsace Lorraine, more were created than were solved.
2. Keynes called the settlement as "Carthagian peace" landing and considered that the terms of treaty were immeasurably harsh and humiliating. Some of them were impossible of performance. They were based on the principle "To the victors belong the spoils and the Allies are the victors".
3. Critics point out that the Treaty of Versailles was imposed on the people of Germany. It was a dictated peace. Obviously, the Treaty of Versailles was signed at the point of bayonet, because the delegates were threatened with the invasion of their country.
4. The Settlement was made in a spirit of revenge. No treaty in modern history had ever inflicted such crippling terms. That is why it is considered that the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 was partly responsible for the war of 1939. The peace settlement of 1919 had in itself the germs of World War II.
5. It is pointed out that the strict enforcement of the reparation clauses would have brought ruin both to those who paid and those who received.
6. It is maintained that so far as the terms of the peace settlement deviated from the Fourteen Points of Wilson, they constituted a breach of faith.

7. It is also pointed out that when Germany was disarmed it was intended to take a similar action with regard to other powers as well. But no disarmament ensued among the victors. This breach of faith provided Germany with material for torpedoing first one clause and then another of the treaty.

'Treaty Revision' was a phrase that loomed large in continental politics. Europe was divided into two main groups, revisionists and anti - revisionists.

8. The League of Nations

(18) Describe the aims, organisation and achievements of the League of Nations. Why did it fail?

During the World War I, the people experienced untold sufferings and miseries. Hence, many suggestions were made from time to time for the creation of an international organisation which could check wars in the future. As a result of the sincere endeavours in this regard the League of Nations was established by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 on the initiative of President Wilson of America who was its chief sponsor. The Covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles which was signed by the German delegation on 28th June 1919. The first 26 articles of the treaty contained the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League of Nations officially came into existence on the 10th January 1920.

'The League', says Lipson, 'sought to achieve the profoundest of all physical revolution to convert the war mentality of man into a peace mentality'. According to Schuman, "The League of Nations represented the most ambitious effort to extend the method of international organisation into the sphere of political relations among states".

The headquarters of the League were fixed at Geneva in Swizerland. Membership was thrown open to all countries except the defeated powers in the war. But later, they were also admitted. Its first meeting was attended by 42 nations and by 1935 its membership increased to 63.

Aims of the League:

1. The removal of the causes of war and the preservation of international peace and security. To this end, secret diplomacy was to be abandoned and disarmament introduced.
2. Peaceful settlement of international disputes through arbitration.
3. To prevent aggression by imposing sanctions against the aggressor.

4. Betterment of conditions of labour, women and children.
5. The well-being and development of the people of the colonies.

Organisation of the League:

The main organs of the league were (1) The Assembly (2) The Council (3) The Secretariat (4) The Permanent Court of International Justice and (5) The International Labour Organisation.

The Assembly:

Every member of the League of Nations was a member of the Assembly, the supreme body of the League. Each member had only one vote. It met once a year to discuss important problems. The Assembly admitted new members to the League by a two thirds majority. Every year it elected a certain number of non-permanent members of the council; The judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice were also elected by it for a certain number of years. The Assembly divided the League's expenses among the member states.

The Council:

It was the executive body in the League of Nations. At the inception of the League there were four permanent members. They were Britain, France, Italy and Japan. In addition to this there were four non-permanent members also. Later their number was raised to 11. The non-permanent members were elected by the Assembly. It met thrice a year. Its functions were to prevent war, to enforce disarmament and to supervise the administration of the mandates. In 1926, Germany became a permanent member.

The Secretariat:

It consisted of the Secretary-General and such other staff as were required for its work. The Secretary-General was appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly. The Secretariat was located at Geneva in Switzerland. Its staff was appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Council. The member states had to pay towards the expenses of the Secretariat in certain proportions. The secretariat continued to work

throughout the year. Without it, the work of the League would have been impossible.

Permanent Court of International Justice:

This was situated at The Hague. It was created to settle international disputes. It consisted of 15 judges elected jointly by the Council and the Assembly. Their tenure of office was 9 years. The court gave its judgements on questions involving the interpretation of International Law, Treaties and other mutual obligations.

International Labour Organisation:

The purpose of this organ was to promote the welfare of the labour, women and children especially in backward areas. Its governing body consisted of the representatives of the Governments, employers and workers.

The Mandate System:

This system was devised as a substitute for the annexation of the territories which the Allies had conquered from Germany and Turkey during the World War I. The conquered territories were put under the guardianship of the League of Nations and certain powers were put in charge of them to carry on their administration. The mandatory power was required to administer the mandated territory in such a way as to help the political, social and economic development of that territory. There were three classes of mandated territories.

Achievements of the League:

In spite of many drawbacks in the organisation of the League, it did achieve some measure of success in minor spheres of activity.

Political:

(1) In 20 years the League was called upon to examine about 40 political disputes. One of the first disputes brought to the attention of the League concerned the Åland islands which lie between Sweden and Finland. The League settled the quarrel and awarded to Finland.

- (2) It helped to settle some inter-state disputes such as between Turkey and Iraq and between Columbia and Peru regarding Leticia.
- (3) It administered satisfactorily two places, the Saar Valley and the city of Danzing.
- (4) It earnestly served for the fair treatment of minorities.
- (5) It encouraged the Lithuanian Government to grant autonomy to Memel.
- (6) It took sincere attempts to stop the aggression of Greece on Bulgaria.

Social:

The International Labour Office of the League had rendered commendable service for the cause of the labour. It tried to improve the condition of labour, women and children by the abolition of slavery, prevention of forced labour and traffic in women and children.

The Health Organisation of the League helped many European countries to overcome epidemics like Cholera, Plague, Small pox, etc. Researches were conducted for the prevention of diseases like Malaria, Tuberculosis, etc. The promotion of child welfare was undertaken. It helped the nations to improve national health.

Cultural:

In 1926 the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation was established at Paris. It tried to coordinate the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts.

Causes of Failure:

The failure of the League was the outcome of two main factors:-

- (1) It was handicapped right from the beginning by the absence of the United States.
- (2) It failed to achieve a solution on certain outstanding problems. They were as follows:

- a) **Disarmament:** The principle of Disarmament could not be enforced for the crux of the problem was that disarmament was impracticable without security and security was unattainable without disarmament.
- b) **National Sovereignty:** The question of national sovereignty was counted much by every state. Hence the member states were not ready to budge or surrender their power on problems concerning the human and vital interests of the state.
- c) **Aggressions and defections:** Japan occupied the State of Manchuko in Manchuria created by the League and seceded from the League. Likewise, Mussolini also defied the authority of League and annexed Abyssinia. Then Italy also left the League. Thus the absence of great powers like Japan, Germany and Italy from this international organisation weakened her and was partly responsible for its ultimate failure.
- d) **Absence of collective security:** The principle of collective security was not applied in actual practice. Each state decided to follow her own policy and the principle of collective security was weakened and thus there was nothing to check the aggressive policy of Hitler. Only a few contributed for the collective security with which the League was not able to achieve substantially. Geneva walls became silent during the crisis which led to the war in summer of 1939 i.e. World War II.

The final League Assembly was attended by 34 delegates at Geneva in 1946 amidst the wreckage of blasted world. The funeral of League was dedicated to the birth of the United Nations.

9. The League And The Collective Security

(19) What is meant by collective security? How far this principle was adopted in the League of Nations?

The League of Nations was the first organisation successfully established for the main purpose of the removal of the causes of future wars and the preservation of international peace and security in the world. But for the successful achievement of its purpose, the League mainly depended upon its 16th Article of the Covenant. It declares that any nation which aggresses and violates the resolutions of the League is deemed to have declared war upon all other nations of the League. Hence, the League should in accordance with the recommendations of the Council take collective action upon the aggressor such as economic blockade, withdrawal of diplomatic relations, sending military forces for collective action. The implication of collective security is that the protection of the occupied country becomes the responsibility of all the member nations of the League. It was believed that the collective action taken by the League would definitely make the aggressor to bow down and surrender to the League.

Of course this may appear as feasible in principle but has many inevitable drawbacks in it.

- 1) First and foremost all the member nations must have intrinsic faith upon the Covenant of the League. This cannot be achieved practically because, the aggression on any member nation could not be considered by all nations as an aggression on them individually. This mentality could not be created easily. All nations could not be expected to create an international outlook by which problem of a nation to be considered as the problem of all the member nations. For instance the conquest of Manchuria by Japan may strike horror in the minds of the neighbouring countries like China and Russia because of their geographical proximity. The same intensity of danger may not be realised by a far off nation like Liberia and Argentina. Hence, those nations which are not really and practically affected by the aggression could not be expected to offer more than lip service in the collective security measures.

- 2) There is every danger of converting a conflict between two nations as a world wide menace by means of collective security measure.
- 3) For the effective implementation of the principle of collective security, all nations of the world should become members of the league. Unfortunately Woodrow Wilson who pioneered its formation of the League could not enrol his country. USA and another powerful nation USSR remained out of the League for a long period. This had weakened the collective security measures of League.
- 4) Finally the selfish interest of individual nations became inherent hurdles in implementing the collective security principle. France was always preoccupied with its boundary disputes and was planning to encircle Germany. Britain was not ready to take up international commitments and on the other hand, she looked upon League only a means to perpetuate the balance of power. USSR, a staunch advocate of Communism was not ready to associate with capitalist countries in common endeavours.

Hence it was not a wonder that all the efforts of League ended in fiasco.

Now let us see how the Manchurian crisis exposed the weakness of the League of its weapon of collective security.

Manchurian crisis:

Manchuria was an integral part of China in the north east. Japan had her eye on Manchuria for a long time. In 1927, Tanaka, the Prime minister of Japan memorialised to the Mikado his imperialistic ambition of world power. Many factors were responsible for the aggressive policies pursued by Japan.

- 1) Japan had already got control over the South Manchurian Railway and was entitled to keep 15,000 soldiers in Manchuria. Japan built towns along the railway and also executed modern projects which added to the prosperity of the area.
- 2) Japan's population was increasing by leaps and bounds and hence she wanted additional territory for her surplus

population. Besides this industrially developed Japan needed suitable markets for the finished products as well as raw materials to feed her industries. The twin objectives, she felt, could be fulfilled by acquiring colonies like Manchuria

- 3) Japanese considered Manchuria as a place of their strategical importance and if any other power especially Russia tried to penetrate it, would be a menace to their security. Hence they themselves wanted to conquer it from China.
- 4) The nationalist government by Kuo Ming Tang party preached nationalism in Manchuria and tried to revive patriotic fervour in the minds of Manchurians. This made Japan restive and the Sino - Japanese interests clashed with one another.
- 5) The world wide economic depression of 1929 made cheap Japanese goods in hot demand. The western countries placed restrictions to check Japanese imports. The decline in Japanese silk exports to U.S.A. created economic hardships to Japanese farmers who depended on American markets. The militarists began to preach that Japan's hope of economic salvation lay in exploiting fully the resources of Manchuria.
- 6) Japan had built up a formidable army - the Kwantung Army to defend rail-roads, Japanese life, property and commercial interests in Manchuria.
- 7) In such an atmosphere of umpteen disputes between China and Japan over the right of Manchuria "the Nakamura incident" proved to be the last straw that broke the camel's back. The Japanese Captain Nakamura was said to have been murdered by the Chinese soldiers in June 1931.

Invasion of Manchuria:

It was on the night of 18th September 1931, that a Japanese patrol claimed to discover a detachment of soldiers near Mukden trying to blow up the south Manchurian railway. The Kwantung army moved into action, captured Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. The armies moved swiftly and freed the whole of Manchuria

from the Chinese troops. By January 1932, the whole of Manchuria was completely conquered by Japan. Thus Japan without any formal declaration of war ultimatum, had occupied Manchuria an integral part of China, But the civilian government of Japan at Tokyo assured China and the world that Japan had no aggressive design over Manchuria and was engaged only in a police action.

China's appeal in the League:

The aggrieved China moved to the League of Nations on the basis of 10, 11, 15, & 16th articles of the Covenant and pleaded for international action on the Manchurian crisis. The Japanese representative assured the League that Japan coveted no territory. He also declared that Japan preferred direct negotiation with China but the Chinese refused, so long as the Japanese soldiers did not vacate Manchuria.

By the end of Sept. 1931 the League proceeded cautiously in this matter and resolved that both the warring nations should withdraw to their original places. China demanded that a committee of neutral nations should be appointed to ensure the withdrawal of the conflicting nations. But this was highly objected by the Japanese. Hence the Council of the League had dropped the Chinese demand.

America, though a non-member of the League, showed much concern about the Manchurian crisis and had offered its good counsels by deputing its representatives to the Council's deliberations.

In the meanwhile. Japan had occupied further more territories instead of withdrawing from the already occupied areas. The League could not take any decision against Japan since any decision had to be taken unanimously. British attitude was highly disappointing in this matter of grievous concern. Further Britain was not willing to impose economic blockade in the wake of world wide economic depression. Hence the only instrument of subduing the aggressors namely economic blockade, could not be imposed upon Japan. While the League of Nations hesitated to take action against Japan, the attitude of Japan became all the more stiff. She resented the interference of other powers in the affairs of Manchuria.

Lytton Commission:

When it became clear that Japan was determined to persist in her course of action, the League appointed the famous Lytton Commission consisting of the members from five nations. It was asked to investigate on the spot "any circumstances which affecting international relations, threaten to disturb peace between China and Japan". After eleven months of scrutiny it submitted its report in October 1932. It was surprising to note that among the one lakh words of the report, not even a single word was utilised to declare Japan as an aggressor. Its recommendations were couched in a very guarded language.

Emergence of Manchuko:

While Lytton Commission was carrying on its investigations, Japan had completed the occupation of Manchuria before February, 1932. It set up an interim government at Mukden and declared it an independent country. It was baptised as Manchuko.

The last ruler Puyi, of the last dynasty of China called Manchus who was dethroned in 1912 was now empowered to rule this new nation. Stimson, the Secretary of State of U.S.A. appealed to the nations of the world, not to recognise the new puppet nation Manchuko.

Resignation of Japan from League:

When the world body adopted the report of the Lytton Commission, in February 1933, and requested Japan to withdraw her armies, the Japanese delegation left the hall by giving a notice of terminating her membership of the League. The delegate had quoted the judgement of Jesus Christ on a woman alleged to have committed adultery i.e. "He that is without sin among you, let him cast a stone at her" (John 8:7)

Plight of the League, Appraisal:

This act of Japan revealed the helplessness of the weak nations and the futility of the world organisation. The League of Nations had been indicted for its weak handling of the Manchurian crisis. She failed to adopt strong measures against Japan due to several factors.

The League could not accuse Japan as aggressor since Japan occupied Manchuria without any formal declaration of war. Even China had not terminated her diplomatic relations with Japan. Japan held that it was only a self defence and a police action and exonerated itself by saying that there was no specific law of the League restricting the use of army in self defence. The League failed to take any action because of the vested interests of the leading powers of the world. Britain and France did little trade with China and so, the issue at stake did not seem important to them. U.S.A. was not prepared to put in jeopardy her considerable trade with Japan at a time when the world was passing through a depression. France had an eye on the Yunan region of China and considered Manchurian occupation to be a precedent to her and hence maintained neutrality.

Blow to the principle of collective security:

The failure of the League in the Manchurian crisis was a blow to the principle of collective security. Japan paid a glowing tribute to her delegate in the League by offering him a Grand Cross of the Legion of honour. Egged on by the easy victory in her plan of imperialism, she continued to snatch away further territories in the other parts of the world. This attitude of Japan encouraged person like Mussolini and Hilter in their aggressive designs.

Conquest of Abyssinia:

Benito Mussolini followed an aggressive policy in foreign powers with the aim of raising the prestige of Italy in the eyes of other powers. One among his naked aggressions was the annexation of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) having realised that the political conditions of Ethiopia were highly deplorable, he spent a lot of money to create internal dissensions among the people of Ethiopia. He waited for an excuse to start the war. It came in the form of an encounter between Ethiopian and Italian troops at Walwal in December 1934. Mussolini ordered his troops to cross the frontier and enter Ethiopia in Oct 1935.

But Haile Selassie, the ruler of Ethiopia had lodged a complaint in the League about the prospective aggression of Italy in his

country. The League did not take any concrete step in thwarting Italy from entering into Ethiopia. But when Italy entered into Ethiopia, the League took serious steps. Prior to this, it offered proposals for the adjustment of the boundaries between Italy and Ethiopia, Mussolini rejected all efforts and launched his aggression.

Hence the Council of the League of Nations on 7th Oct. 1935, declared that Italy had resorted to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 16 of the covenant. The Assembly of the League resolved to

- 1) prohibit all loans or credits to Italy
- 2) place an embargo on exports to Italy.
- 3) prohibit all imports from Italy.

Most of the nations excepting Austria, Hungary and Albania accepted to follow the measures advocated by the League. Yet the League was not able to achieve success because of the following factors.

Failure of the collective security principle:

- 1) In this case of Italy's flagrant violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations also, the members of the League did not adopt the principle of collective security.
- 2) It was so, because that France and Britain were more anxious to stop Mussolini from joining the Nazi leader Hitler by following a policy of appeasement. Sir Samuel Hoare of Britain and Laval of France the foreign ministers of the respective countries conferred with each other with this plan. They tried to offer 3/4 of the Ethiopian territories to Mussolini. Yet Mussolini penetrated into Ethiopia.
- 3) Petroleum was excluded from the embargo items on Italy. It made the blockade a meaningless one.
- 4) Even this partial economic blockade on Italy was relaxed by Britain in March 12, 1936.

It tantamounted to the stabbing at the back of the world body. If all countries had joined hands and given whole-hearted co-operation in enforcing economic sanctions, Italy might have been brought to knees. But France was not in favour of the enforcement.

The people of Ethiopia could not take their stand against the Italian troops who thoroughly mechanised and fully equipped in every way. Before the end of April 1936, the Italian army was near the capital of Ethiopia. The Emperor Haile Selassie left his country on 1st May, 1936 and with him all resistance ended. Ethiopia was occupied and the Italian King was proclaimed the Emperor of Ethiopia.

The League of Nations was completely discredited. It was practically dead and after 1936, continued to exist merely in name. The failure of the League was not due to any inherent technical defect in the covenant. The effectiveness of the covenant depended on the willingness of the great powers to enforce it. But they did not whole heartedly embrace collective security, which is based on the principle that the only way to assure peace is to get together and stop aggression whenever and wherever it arises. The two occasions which we have seen i.e. Manchurian crisis and Ethiopian crisis clearly indicate that they have not adopted the principle of collective security in letter and spirit. As a result the lone world body collapsed.

13. Foreign Policy of Italy - Mussolini

(27) What were the achievements of Mussolini?

or

Describe the domestic and foreign policies of Mussolini.

Achievements of Fascist Government:

Mussolini was a great leader and knew how to make Italy a powerful nation. With his tremendous energy and impressive personality he very soon made the whole Italian population his avowed followers. He worked to awaken the national sentiments of the Italians and made them interested in creating a national organisation and national prestige. Mussolini adopted very strong steps to end the civil war and to crush all anti-nationalist forces. His efforts resulted in tremendous social, economic and cultural progress. His orders were carried out by the faithful authorities who were appointed by him in every key posts of administration.

Acceleration of the Nation's Progress:

Mussolini did not rest even for a moment. He worked vigorously to make Italy progressive and powerful. The national administration was improved and the national budget balanced. The devaluation of the Italian currency was halted. Education was provided for all the illiterate Italians. Military training was made compulsory for every Italian. Mussolini improved country's naval power to match those of Germany and France. Considerable progress was made in the spheres of the aeronautics and radio engineering. The Hydro-Electric power plants were set up to meet the shortage of coal.

Economic Condition Improved:

Mussolini nationalised all the factories and mills and improved the lot of the workers. He curbed the personality cult in economic sphere. Syndicates were set up to improve the relations between the capitalists and the working men. The shortage of coal was met by the electric power. More and more lands were brought under cultivation. Transport system was expanded and the rai-

lways improved. These steps taken by Mussolini made Italy economically very powerful and self dependent.

Mussolini's Pact with the Pope:

To establish his full supremacy over Italy. Mussolini made a pact with the Pope who was still regarded by the Catholics. By the pact made on February 11, 1929, the following arrangements were made:

- (a) The Pope agreed to subordinate himself to Mussolini.
- (b) Pope was allowed to keep in his possession the Vatican and Cathedral of St. Peters.
- (c) Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights.
- (d) The Fascist Government recognised the Roman Catholic religion as the State religion.
- (e) Pope was authorised to appoint bishops with anti-fascist attitude.
- (f) Pope could also appoint teachers to teach religion and
- (g) All the ecclesiastical workers should dissociate themselves from the politics.

Mussolini's Foreign Policy:

The first aim of Mussolini was to revive the past prestige of Italy by pursuing a dynamic foreign policy. He took the following steps to achieve his aim:

- (a) By the treaty of Lousanne made with Turkey, he increased control over the Mediterranean. He also recovered the islands of Dodacanese and Radejh from Turkey.
- (b) He recovered Fiume from Yugolsavia in 1924 after making a treaty with her.
- (c) He increased Italy's influence over Albania by giving her massive economic aid. This was the first step leading to Albania's subjugation in 1939.
- (d) Anxious to win friends abroad, Mussolini made a trade pact with Russia and improved Italy's relations with her.

He also made a friendly pact with France. To meet the rising power of Hitler in Germany, he made a treaty with England.

- (e) Encouraged by the Japanese attack on Manchuria, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia. He was assured of help from France. England opposed Mussolini's action and the league of nations decided to take action against him. Now, France also withdrew her support. Hitler came to the help of Mussolini, his political guru. Abyssinia was captured by Italy. The League of Nations could not do anything to prevent it. Mussolini also gave up the membership of the League and became a dependable ally of Germany and Japan.
- (f) Mussolini like Hitler, helped General Franco of Spain to set up a fascist rule.

Thus Mussolini succeeded in reviving the past glory of Italy in Europe. At home, he put an end to all disorders and chaos. His reforms yielded quick and impressive results. But all this was done at the cost of the political freedom which was denied to the Italians. Parliament was not dissolved and the rights of members were snatched away and Mussolini became dictator for all practical purposes. He gagged the press and even the assembly speeches were restricted. In fact, Mussolini's word was the law and nobody could defy it.

14. Hitler And His Foreign Policy

(28) Sketch the career and achievements of Hitler.

(or)

Describe the foreign policy of Hitler.

(or)

Give an account of the Domestic Policy of Hitler.

Rise of NAZI Party:

The Republic that was set up in Germany after the Great War of 1914 did a lot of good work in putting back the country on the path of progress. Under the Dawes Plan, Germany improved the political situation at home and she was admitted to the League of Nations. But the country continued to suffer from the lack of stability. It was difficult for the Republic to follow a well co-ordinated and consistent policy, being composed of diverse elements. Its foreign policy was also not very popular.

In the eyes of the Germans, the Republic was responsible for the humiliation that was heaped on their nation, for it had submitted to the dictated Treaty of Versailles. Because of this weak-kneed policy, the Republic failed to assert itself strongly in the international affairs.

The Republic lost whatever sympathy it had from the people in 1929. That year, Stressemann, an able politician and statesman died, leaving his work of political rehabilitation incomplete. No able leader succeeded him. The same year the great world-wide slump (1929) badly hit Germany which was already passing through an acute economic crisis. The Germans felt greatly worried and disillusioned. It was at this time that Hitler and his Nazi Party made a successful attempt to get into power.

Hitler:

He was born in Austria. He fought as a German soldier in the First World War. After the war, he took to the house decorator's profession at Munich and joined the German Worker's Party consisted of only seven persons at that time. Slowly he grew influential in the party and give it a new name. "National Socialist

Party or Nazi party." He formulated a radical programme, which denounced the whole Treaty of Versailles and demanded the Union of all Germans in a Greater Germany. Hitler attacked the condemned the Parliamentary system.

Hitler was a great orator, and used this gift to propagate his ideas among the Germans. He attracted the people in large numbers by high-lighting the injustices and wrongs done to Germany. Rapidly people began rallying around him. Hitler raised a body of storm troops whose job was to protect the meetings of the Nazi Party and to break up those of other parties. He attempted an abortive coup in 1923 against the Republic. He was arrested and thrown into the jail. But his trials aroused more and more interest of the Germans in the programmes of the Nazi Party.

The patriotic programme of the Nazi Party strongly appealed to the Germans, whose feelings had been recently outraged by the French occupation of the Ruhr. In the prison Hitler produced his famous book "Mein Kampf" which become a sort of Nazi Bible. Through it Hitler taught the supremacy of the State, the superiority of the Nordic race and its destiny to rule the whole world.

The Nazi Party gained popularity among the Germans and secured thirty-two seats in the Reichstag by 1924. But by 1932, it became the largest party in the Reichstag. When the 1923 slump overtook the whole world, Hitler saw an opportunity to capture power. By that time, the Nazi Party had also grown very strong and powerful. The slump had affected Germany most adversely. The Germans joined the Nazi party in large numbers hoping that it would relieve them of their problems and economic distress. President Hindenburg was compelled in 1933 to accept Hitler as Chancellor. But he wanted to get more powers to fulfil his aims. It was at this time that an attempt was made to burn Reichstag. He took full advantage of this incident. He held the communists responsible for the incident and then prevailed on the Reichstag to delegate to him all its power. Thus the Republic came to an end.

Hitler was now the Supreme Lord of Germany. He began exterminating the Jews and the Communists. At first, the Jews

were boycotted and dismissed from all public offices. It was followed by spasmodic assaults on them collectively and individually. Hitler banned the communist propaganda and broke up all their trade unions. He created the "German Labour Front," under the Nazi Party. Those who dared to oppose Hitler were hunted out of the country or led to the gallows. In 1934 he made a drastic purge of his party and thus got rid even of those who were his strong supporters but differed from him on some issues.

Germany Centralised:

In order to make Germany strong Hitler took the momentous step of centralising the administration of the whole country. He compelled the Reichstag in 1934 to frame a law abolishing all the provincial diets, depriving the states of their sovereign rights and transforming them into mere administrative units of the Empire (Reich).

On the death of Hindenburg in 1934, Hitler combined in his own person the offices of the President and the Chancellor. By a plebiscite he was declared the sole leader (Fuehrer) of Germany. Thus Hitler became the dictator of Germany and began a spectacular career that was to create a terror all over Europe within next five years.

Domestic Policy:

Hitler's domestic policy was based on his authoritarian and totalitarian principles. He abolished all the separate provincial Governments and brought the whole Germany under a centralised administration which functioned from Berlin. There was no other political party than the Nazi Party. The Jews and the Communists were considered anti-national elements and, therefore subjected to assaults and persecution. All spheres of national life economic, finance and education were brought straight under the control of the State. There was no individual freedom.

Hitler paid serious attention to the economic recovery of Germany. He discouraged imports and encouraged exports. He rationed all raw materials. He revolutionised the whole German industry. Coal, rubber, motor fuel were made by artificial process from such materials as wood and coal and very quickly the

substitutes for the imported articles were produced. Employment opportunities were increased tremendously by the armaments and by turning the unemployed into labour corps. All strikes and lock-outs were banned. Within five years Germany became self sufficient in all respects.

Foreign Policy:

When Hitler came to power there was only one aim that he wanted to realise and it was to crush all conditions imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. He had no faith in the idealistic principles of the League of Nations. He was convinced that Germany had to recover her lost prestige and glory even if it meant another World War. This was possible only if he succeeded in tearing to pieces the humiliating treaty imposed on Germany. The treaty had crushed her economy and military strength.

Hitler was determined to make Germany a powerful and big nation once again and to raise the German culture to the highest form of the World culture. With this end in view, he launched an extensive programme of militarisation, caring a little about the terms of the Versailles Treaty. He introduced compulsory military training and declared that Germany was no longer willing to accept even a single condition of the treaty.

The declaration of Hitler rocked the world capitals but no country was in a position to force Germany to observe the conditions of the treaty. Hitler took full advantage of this situation and went ahead with the programme of recovering for Germany the position of power and importance she had occupied once.

Hitler felt encouraged in pursuing a vigorous foreign policy by the return to Germany of Sarr which was under the charge of the League of Nations. The territory was snatched from Germany after the First World War. It was decided that after fifteen years a plebiscite would be held and if Saar did not favour its merger in Germany, it would be annexed to France. When a plebiscite was held after fifteen years, it favoured the merger in Germany. Saar helped Hitler in stepping up militarisation of the country.

Pact with Poland:

Hitler wanted to secure the German frontiers against any foreign dangers before launching his programme of adventures. In 1934, he made a pact with Poland for ten years on the agreement that each country would respect the boundary demarcations of the other. This pact was made by Hitler with an eye to the future. For some years he wanted to let Poland live in peace. At an opportune time he would recapture all those German territories which had been given to Poland by the Peace Conference of Paris (1919). The second object of the pact was to enable Hitler to annex Austria and then merge her in Germany.

Spanish Civil War:

Hitler wanted to test the strength of his enemy countries before proceeding further with his programme of world domination. Such an opportunity he got during the Spanish Civil War.

A republican government was set up in 1931. But as it drifted progressively towards communism. Nationalist revolt broke out against it in 1937 under the leadership of General Franco. Hitler and Mussolini gave all possible help to the fascist forces represented by French against the socialist and communist forces which received surreptitious help from Moscow. France succeeded and the Republic was crushed. Britain and France, divided as they were in their opinion, remained neutral. They silently saw the destruction of Spain by the Italian and German air forces. Rightly has been observed that the Spanish Civil War was an effect, "a dress rehearsal for a greater drama soon to be played on an ampler stage."

Anti Comintern Pact:

To balance his defences against Russia, Hitler made in 1936 a pact with Japan, a Pact known as Anti-Comintern Pact. Italy also joined this pact in 1937. Thus came into existence the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. This pact was directed against Great Britain, France and Russia, which after came to be known as the Allies.

Annexation of Austria:

The Spanish adventure had shown to Hitler that the victors of the First World War were weak and not in a position to compel Germany to observe the terms of the Versailles Treaty. This fortified his will to embark upon the policy of "naked aggression" and of violating the terms of the treaty.

Austria had been separated from Germany by the treaty. Hitler, therefore planned annexation of Austria. He encouraged Nazi agitation within Austria and compelled the Austrian Chancellor to appoint a Nazi minister. The Chancellor was also bullied into conducting foreign affairs according to the dictates of Germany. Hitler's efforts to annex Austria was opposed by Mussolini of Italy for he feared that it would become a standing menace to his country. He also made a pact with Czechoslovakia to oppose annexation of Austria by Germany. But when Mussolini was busy subjugating Abyssinia, Hitler taking advantage of this situation poured troops into Austria and annexed her to Germany.

Himself an aggressor, Mussolini had no courage to oppose Hitler.

Hitler's Policy Towards Czechoslovakia:

Munich Conference: The easy annexation of Austria encouraged Hitler further. Now he began casting greedy eyes on Czechoslovakia which, created by the Peace Conference of Paris (1919), contained a large number of dissatisfied Germans. These Germans worked as fifth column and looked for an opportunity to merge themselves in Germany. Hitler taking up the cause of these Germans began levelling accusations against Czechoslovakia. He then demanded cession of Sudetland inhabited by the Germans to the Reich. He threatened the use of force if peaceful means failed.

Czechoslovak Government urged France to give support to it under the treaty executed in 1924. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain tried to appease Hitler. There was no other way because England was still not prepared militarily to face Hitler. France was also not in a position to fight. Hitler knew all this very

well. He threatened to use force. To avoid any calamity, an agreement was made at Munich in 1938. By the Munich Pact, Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetland and the integrity of the defenceless remnant of Czechoslovakia was guaranteed by England France, Germany and Italy. This guarantee proved ineffective when Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia six months after the Munich Pact.

After occupying Czchoslovakia Hitler compelled Lithuvania to surrender Memel. Now, Hitler seemed invincible.

Assault Upon Poland: A Polish was created by the Peace Conference of Paris out of the German territory. Hitler decided to take back this territory. He demanded the return of this territory and also annexation of Danzig. This was too much. Chamberlain opposed the demand, gave up his policy of appeasement and declared that England would go to the help of Poland if she was attacked by Germany. He also concluded a formal alliance with Poland and France. Military preparations began in England. Hitler wanted to prove himself clever. He signed a non-aggression pact (August 23, 1939) with Stalin of Russia, in order to deprive Poland of the Russian help. He thought he would be able to deal with France and England effectively, though doubted if these countries would risk any war with mighty Germany. When Hitler moved the German troops into Poland without any declaration of war (September-1, 1939), both Britain and France declared war on Germany. Thus began the Second World War.

16. The World War II

(32) Describe the causes and events of the Second World War.

or

What were the causes and results of the Second World War?

or

Narrate the causes, course and results of the Second World War.

The Second World War started. beyond doubt, due to the aggressive designs and policies of Germany. There were many factors which were responsible for this gigantic war. Their outline is given below:-

- (i) The Second World War was essentially a war of revenge initiated by Germany. The vindictive behaviour of the Allies was largely responsible for bringing about the war. The germs of the war were inherent in the Treaty of Versailles. That treaty deprived of all her colonies, armaments, navy etc. forced her to accept a dictated treaty. It was a disgraceful treaty. It was a humiliating treaty. The Germans felt deeply humiliated and a bitter sense of injustice pricked their hearts.
- (ii) Another factor which was responsible for bringing about the war was the Japanese empire. The successes of the World War I boosted the ambitions of Japan. She was now busy in extending and expanding her naval power. This challenged the supremacy of England which she could not tolerate for long.
- (iii) The establishment of dictatorships on the continent turned out to be another factor for the Second World War. Nazi dictatorship under Hitler was thriving in Germany. Mussolini was dominating Italian affairs almost on dictatorial lines. Thus Italy and Germany combined at this critical time.
- (iv) Yet another factor responsible for the Second World War was the class of dictatorial and democratic ideologies. Germany, Italy and Japan represented one type of ideo-

logy; Britain and France represented another type of ideology. In such a sharp contrast neutrality and co-existence was impossible. War was in the logic of history.

- (v) The weakness of the Weimar Republic in Germany, its inability to solve the post-war economic, social and political problems, the rise of Nazi Party and the dictatorship under Hitler were the important causes for the Second World War.
- (vi) Another factor generating the war was that the democratic nations were rather powerless as compared to the dictatorial powers. After the Peace - Treaty of 1919-20 England and France drifted apart. England followed a policy of splendid isolation. But ultimately she had to jump in the war even though she was not prepared for it.
- (vii) The Rome - Berlin - Tokyo Axis united the Fascist, Nazist and Japanese dictatorships. They jointly challenged the very existence of free democratic Governments.
- (viii) The ineffectiveness of the League of Nations and the selfishness of the big powers paved the way for the Second World War.
- (ix) Militarism was another cause which convinced the European statesmen that war was inevitable.
- (x) Finally Hitler's aggressive policy led to the war. The Rhineland was occupied in 1936. In 1938 Austria was annexed. By Munich Pact in 1938 Chechoslovakia was forced to submit to the German demands. In 1939 Hitler demanded Danzig from Poland. When Poland rejected the demand, the German troops entered into Poland and Second World War broke out.

Course:

(i) The Blitzkrieg: The war opened with a series of German triumphs which exceeded those of Napoleon. First, Poland was crushed in a few weeks of Blitzkrieg or lightning war. Hitler was

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resolved on "total war". So the German armies poured into Belgium. Within a few months, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Denmark and Holland were conquered.

(ii) The Fall of France: At this juncture France had to face a serious threat from Germany. General Weygand made a last effort to reform the French army. General Petain, the idolized hero of the First War, was called to make the direction of the government. But all were in vain. The German torrent flowed on. Paris was abandoned and in 1940 Hitler entered in triumph. He climbed the Eiffel tower and surveyed his conquest.

(iii) Dunkirk: The British army under Lord Government had been involved in the catastrophe; They were separated from the French by the on rush of the Germans. Escape was the best that they could hope for and they succeeded in escaping. All arms and equipments were abandoned. It was a very heavy blow, but it was so much less than at one time seemed probable that it was hailed as something like a victory, and is generally known as "the miracle of Dunkirk"

At this juncture Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister of England.

(iv) Italy declares war: The collapse of France brought Italy into the field against her. The armies of Italy marched into France to an assured victory.

(v) Petain and Laval: Petain became nominal ruler of a portion of France and made Vichy his capital. Since he was an old man, the real power was exercised by Laval.

The French under the leadership De Gaulle maintained an underground war. He was one of the really heroic figures of the Second World War.

(vi) The Battle of Britain: From August 1940 onwards for some months the German planes constantly came over England and especially over London. They wrought immense destruction and killed many thousands of civilians but they were met by the airmen of Britain with a skill and courage that nothing could suppress

them. Thus the British boldly withstood the German attack. The battle of Britain and the Battle of London had been won.

(vii) The Mediterranean: The Balkan Peninsula was overrun. The Greeks heroically defended their cities against the Italians. But the island of Crete was taken by them.

In Africa, Great Britain and her allies had gained important victories. Abyssinia had been liberated and the Italian forces were driven to surrender.

(viii) Hitler attacks Russia: In June 1941, Hitler, without alleging grievances or explaining his reasons, invaded Russia. He hoped now, as Napoleon had hoped in 1812, to smash the Russian power and then to bring the forces of half the world against Britain. The Russians abandoned without a struggle what they could not hold and destroyed crops and factories, villages and roads and railways so that the Germans should not be able to profit by their acquisitions. What has been called the "misery belt of Europe" was plunged into a condition of suffering and starvation that has assuredly never been exceeded in history. The suburbs of Leningrad, were reached and the city was cruelly bombarded for months, but resisted until events elsewhere brought relief. The Germans were close to Moscow and attacked it from land and the air.

(ix) United States declares War: In December 1941, the United States of America, the most pacific of states whose effort had been devoted to keeping out of the war, threw her heavy sword into the balance. She was forced to make this step by the sudden attack of the Japanese by air and sea upon Pearl Harbour, her great naval base in the Pacific. Immense damage was done, much more than the world knew at the time; the power of the United States for aggressive action in the Pacific was for the time crippled. So she threw her huge resources and her whole population into a life and death struggle.

At this juncture, the three prominent leaders Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin jointly decided to destroy the Axis powers.

(x) Continued Victories of the Axis: The whole world was now at war. The Allies utilised their whole energy against the Axis. China was exhausted by many years of war. On the other side, Italy was weary, disappointed, nerveless. Nothing had gone well with her. Abyssinia had been lost. The attack on Egypt had failed. The Germans fought to the end with unabated courage, and their commanders showed high military skill which was recognised by their opponents. Rommel and Rundstedt were leaders of the highest gifts.

The Germans gained great victory in North Africa under Rommel. Egypt, Cairo, Moscow and Leningrad were in danger. In 1942 Stalingrad was about to fall. Further South Sebastopol was taken. Both the British and the Americans were driven farther and farther back. The British were pushed back in Burma and driven out of the Malay Peninsula. The Americans lost Philippines in May 1942.

(xi) The Turn of the Tide:

(a) El Alamein:- The first great move towards victory for the Allies came in Africa. General Montgomery, under General Alexander, took charge of the British English Army, and in October 1942 began his advance from 'El Alamein'. The German and Italian forces under Rommel began to retreat. In May 1943, Bizerta and Tunis were taken by the converging forces, and some 2,50,000 of the enemy laid down their arms.

Stalingrad: In Stalingrad also the Germans met a great disaster. In February 1943, the German army, which had been for long surrounded by the Russians, surrendered. During this war, 3,43,000 Germans were made prisoners and 8,50,000 soldiers were killed and wounded. The air forces of Britain and America started, now the continuous bombardment of Germany, and many of her cities, famous for industry and ordered beauty, were reduced and ruined.

Sicily: Sicily was severely attacked by the Allies. There was heavy fighting. Finally it was taken.

Palermo and Syracuse: Palermo and Syracuse were very easily taken by the Allies.

Italy: Now it was very clear that Italy was utterly beaten. Mussolini was arrested and imprisoned, but was almost immediately rescued by a daring German expedition. In the end Mussolini was killed by Italian hands and his body exposed to ignominy in the streets of Milan. The Allies passed over Italy, and in June 1944 occupied Rome, the city itself being saved from bombardment.

The last act of the long and terrible drama had now arrived. The Russians retook Kharkov and Sebastopol, crossed the Dnieper and clearly threatened the heart of Germany.

(xii) The Liberation of Europe: In May 1944 a great American and British force landed in Normandy. Moreover Germany was finally attacked from three sides, for the Italian front collapsed in 1945. Paris was taken by the Free French force under De Gaulle. The Germans under Rundstedt struck back with some success in 1944 but the daring move was in the end defeated. The Rhine was crossed. The suburbs of Berlin were in the hands of the Russians. All the German armies laid down their arms on 7 May 1945.

(xiii) Japan: The armies, navies and air fleets of Allies worked in the closest and most efficient collaboration. The battle of the Philippine sea in June 1944 was a decisive one. During this battle over 400 Japanese aircraft were destroyed. In 1945 the island of Okinawa was captured by the Americans. The invasion of Japan was imminent. But the conflict took a dramatic and decisive turn.

(xiv) The Atom Bomb: The Allies were in possession of a weapon of frightful destructive power, against which the world had no defence. On 6th August 1945, the first atom bomb was thrown on a Japanese city, Hiroshima, and again on Nagasaki a few days later. Hence the Japanese surrendered unconditionally. Thus the Second World War was brought to an end.

Results:

- (i) The dictatorships in Germany and Italy were overthrown.
- (ii) The war led to the downfall of western imperialism.

- (iii) The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. emerged as the major world powers.
- (iv) It paved the way for the independence of many Asian and African countries from foreign domination.
- (v) The war paved the way for the rapid spread of communism in the world.
- (vi) Due to this war many thousands and thousands of people lost their lives. It is estimated that over 22 million soldiers were killed in the war.
- (vii) The economic condition of the world was paralysed by this war.
- (viii) Finally the United Nations Organisation was established to preserve the world peace.