

## SYLLABUS

III SEMESTER

PAPER : XV ( CORE PAPER)

### CBCS PATTERN

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1900

##### UNIT – I

Nature of international relations – National powers and instruments for the promotion of national interests – diplomacy – treaty system – secret alliances – rivalry for supremacy – I world war.

##### UNIT – II

Paris Peace Conference – League of Nations – Inter-war period : Washington Conference – The great Depression – Rise of Dictatorship in Italy – Germany and Turkey  
Totalitarianism in Russia – Militarism in Japan .

##### UNIT – III

II World war – UNO- Cold War – Disintegration of USSR- Reunion of Germany – Apartheid in South Africa.

##### UNIT – IV

Post Cold War Era : Challenges to Peace – Nuclear Arm Race – CTBT – NPT- Oil crisis – Gulf war – Terrorism – the attack of World Trade Centre – the efforts of the UNO to tackle terrorism

##### UNIT – V

Emergence of new world order – WTO-IMF-ADB-Free Trade Policy – Globalization – Role of international association such as Commonwealth , NAM,SAARC,OAU,ASEAN,G-7,G-15,G-77 etc.

# 1. NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Describe international relation and point out its nature.

## Introduction

No man can lead a secluded life like an animal. As no man can be divided from other human beings, a state or nation cannot be deviated from the world community. One nation should depend upon the other for some reason or other. So interaction and inter-dependence cause international relations. The industrial revolution and the developed transport and communication have brought the world nations nearer to each other. The relationship which existed among the neighbouring states has now become widened as international relations. Economic involvements, commercial needs, international contacts, political supremacy, exchange of the ideas of science and technology have made the international relation as a diplomatic one.

## Meaning of International Relations :

- (1) In the 17th Century Richard Zovche employed the term 'intergenets', the Latin equivalent of international.
- (2) In the 18th century Gergy Bentham used the word international for the first time. (3) The term international indicates the official relation among sovereign nations.
- (4) This term indicates official, legal, diplomatic, economic, financial, cultural relations nowadays. So it is evident that international relation means both official and non-official relations developed by governments of states and non-official institutions. (5) International relations refer to relations

which exist between "groups, nations, states, governments, people, regions, alliances, confederations, international organisations, cultural organisations, religious organisations" (6) International relations refer to aspects of "unity, validity and understanding". (7) It indicates the "to world society".

### Approaches to International Relations :

The International relations are approached in two (1) (a) classical approach is the first one. (b) It is derived from history and law. (c) It will be a tentative one. (2) (a) Scientific approach is the next one. (b) This approach is logical and centres around verification of facts. (3) This study could be approached on the basis of some theories. (i) (a) James Rosenau, W. Deutsch, A.M. Chelland, Raymond Aron, Stanley Hoffmann etc. have given importance to system theory. (b) This system theory refers to the relations between the nations through the units of politics available in them, the objectives which they have and the activities performed by them in achieving their goals. (c) Balance of power, the loose bi-polar, the tight bi-polar, the universal, the hierarchical and the unit Veto system are the six systems employed in (ii) K. Zawadny, has mentioned the international system as a game. But it is an unending game and in it no power can take away anything from others permanently. (iii) (a) International relations centre around communication processes. (b) Charles A. Mechelland in his work "Theory and international system" has mentioned that it can be approached through communication based on cultural relations, public opinion and attitudes.

### Nature of International Relations :

(1) It is not at all a solution to solve the problem among the nations. (2) As pointed out by Palmer and Perkin

contains ways to approach the problems in a planned and objective manner. (3) Priguy Madison has called it as problems which cross the borders of a state and associate with the other nations of the world. (4) The foreign relation of a country alone will not be international relation. The preservation of the welfare of the world nations without affecting the national welfare of a state will form the basis for international relations. (5) International relations point out the ways and means to be adopted by one nation on par with other nations. (6) It avoids friction and aims at co-operative and co-ordinated functioning. (7) It is based on the fact that the people living in different countries belong to a single mankind (8) It stresses an universal brotherhood. (9) Mere political relation alone alone will not be called as international relations. Economic relations, commercial contacts, political and cultural affinities too will be covered by international relations. (10) Religious missionaries, tours, news papers, cultural exchange visits, treaties, Radio, T.V., Cinema, hand bills etc., are few means which assist the promotion of International relations. (11) The sovereignty of the state, the equal rights and status among nations are the facts which decide international relations. (12) Internationalism is a train which runs on national and international ideas. Only when nationalism is not a narrow minded one internationalism could be achieved. So broad mindedness is the basis for internationalism. (13) Nationalism is not a contradictory factor to internationalism because internationalism includes nationalism also. (14) By international relations one nation will respect the rights and privileges of other nations. Every nation's actions will be restricted without affecting others. So it is an aspect which protects the common welfare of the mankind. (15) It is not discovered by any international organisation. (16) It emerges out of the fact that every nations depends upon the other fellow nations. (17) It may either be enmity or cordial relationship.

(18) It aims at national security through international co-operation.  
 (19) International relations centre around individualism and collectivism. It means that every individual nation should have a collective approach for its own sake and also for the world community. (20) It avoids danger of mass annihilation and encourages an unprecedented era of human progress.  
 (21) It depends upon realistic approaches with specified ideas.  
 (22) As the wants of men have increased now, only through internationalistic outlook the plenty available in other nations are used.

### Uses of international relations:

(1) As a matured state of international relations many new international organisations such as UNO, UNESCO, WHO etc. have come out now. (2) The UAE, SAARC, etc., are the outcome of international relations. (3) European Common Market Non-aligned countries etc., have emerged mainly on the basis of international relations. (4) It avoids wars, aggressions and promotes peace and security. (5) It assists the welfare of mankind and international society.

### Conclusion :

As hope for the fear filled world international relations occupies a significant place. For a successful approach to international politics, world affairs, maintenance of peace and security international relation plays a prominent role. International relations are approached by many ways. It covers both governmental and non-governmental activities. "The student guard himself against any value judgement in the study of international relations".

## 2. NATIONAL POWER AND INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.

1. Define National power and point out the various instruments employed for national interests.
2. How for National power and promotion of National interests affect international relations? (1999)

### Introduction :

In every nation its political condition plays a significant role. It will be a difficult task to estimate the quantum of national power because it contains various determining factors. They vary due to various reasons among different nations. So the qualities of the national power will be transitory and ephemeral in nature. They tend to change according to the changing trends.

### Meaning of National Power :

(1) National power is the power of a people of a state formed on principles of Nationalism. (2) As pointed out by Hoffmann National power is the power which is utilised to protect the national welfare of a nation. (3) It is the feeling of oneness of the people living in an united manner within the stipulated territory. Thus it is the total capacity of the people in making their state to be always dynamic.

### The factors which determine National Power :

(1) **Geography** : (a) The geographical setting of a nation decides the national power and the international relations. Napoleon has mentioned that geography is the factor which

describes the foreign policy of a nation. (c) The countries like Japan, Britain and America encircled by sea are prevented from foreign attacks. (d) The condition of weather too plays its role. For example the Russian winter is detrimental to foreign attacks. (e) While majority of the Indian States came under the British Yoke, due to its Geographical setting, Nepal was left alone.

**(2) Population :** (a) The population of a country is responsible for its strength and weaknesses. (b) The man power of a state assists to reveal the efficient development. (c) Israel, which has only a limited population survives because of the full utilisation of the man power and resources.

**(3) Resources :** (a) The power of a nation lies behind its fertile soil, rain, mining prospects etc. (b) The coal, iron and other metal ores promote industrial development. (c) Petroleum is another important raw material (d) Both America and Russia are popular because of their natural resources (c) The Gulf countries are known for their production of petrol.

**(4) Technology :** (a) The technological skill of a nation assists the promotion of science and industries, transport and communication etc. (b) Japan and Germany are strong and powerful because of their technological improvements.

**(5) Coordination and Leadership :** (a) There will be power when all the human resources, natural resources, technical skill etc., are all utilised in a co-ordinated way. (b) The co-ordinated efforts will enhance the power and capacity of production. For instance Napoleon of France, Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy relieved their respective countries from their distresses and made them powerful due to their leadership which centred around co-ordination. In the same way Churchill was responsible for the success of the joint venture of the allied powers.

**(6) Nationalism and discipline :** (a) The spirit of nationalism, social customs and traditions, the experiences

gained etc., form the national power among the people. (b) The hard working nature of the Japanese, the disciplined self control of the Germans were mainly due to their national bent of mind. (c) When the countries like Britain, France, America etc, offer significance to individual liberties, there is no scope for autocratic rule. (d) At times of war and aggression only when the people unite with each other there will be national power.

**(7) Strength of the army :** (a) Every nation exposes its strength through armed forces. (b) Training, war techniques, weapons etc. form the basis for fixing the strength of the army. (c) To oppose the strong and powerful enemy, the small nations ally themselves. The NATO formed against the strength of Russia could be cited as a suitable illustration for this.

Thus the national power can be enhanced by the use of the above said measures. In addition to the above there are few other aspects which also assist as instruments for promotion of national interests. They reveal the qualities of nationalism.

**Qualities :** (1) The spirit of unity and solidarity which prevail among people due to race, language, religion will be a stepping stone for promoting national power.

(2) The concept of multi nationalism which exists in countries like Switzerland will promote national power.

(3) Common enemy, danger and invasions will enrich national unity and that will promote national power.

(4) The literary giants and scholars by their works create simple and pure nationalism among people. For instance the works of Wordsworth, Milton, Shakespeare and others have turned out a tremendous achievement.

(5) The Jews, who were attacked by various people during many times, stand now only due to their national power. They withstand the challenges of the Arabs and continue survive.

(6) Nationalism can be called as an enlarged tribalism. Germany during the two world wars due to its unshakable faith over racial superiority aimed to become a world power. The people of Germany too supported it.

(7) Toynbee considered nationalism as "a religion unawowed". The Nationalistic spirit will attach no importance to right or wrong. Even by violence they will try to maintain their national superiority.

(8) The theories such as the 'survival of the fittest' and 'might is right' will also inculcate the spirit of nationalism. Such a nationalism cannot be avoided due to their method of outcome.

(9) The genius, action and reactions, the ambitions, the working conditions of the labourers, the idea of national state propaganda and public education are few other aspects which enhance the spirit of nationalism.

### **Conclusion :**

Thus if we trace the history of different nations of different periods it will be seen that they stood for nationalism and national power. The patriotic minded people and the economic factors such as capitalism, communism, socialism etc. support the cause of nationalism.

## **3. DIPLOMACY**

1. Define the term 'diplomacy' with reference to the International Relations since 1914 to the present day :  
(1989)

2. Define personal diplomacy. Point out its advantages and disadvantages  
(1992)

3. Distinguish open diplomacy from secret diplomacy.  
(1999)

4. Assess the role of diplomacy in international relations.  
(2000)

### **Introduction:**

During the modern period the international relations are maintained by diplomatic ideologies. Since all the nations have to depend upon others for some purpose or other they are particular in adopting their own diplomacy. As diplomacy plays a significant role in their political relations with other countries we must have a knowledge of diplomacy.

### **Definition or Meaning :**

(1) Oxford dictionary offers the meaning that diplomacy is "the management of international relations and skill in negotiation".

(2) It is derived from the Greek word 'Diplomad' meaning a parchment having secret written instructions.

(3) Harold Nicholson in his work 'Diplomacy' has mentioned that it refers to five things. (a) It is associated with foreign policy of the nation. (b) It points out the speeches about the countries. (c) It points out the ways and means to carry out the decisions of the countries in a uniform manner. (d) It points out that it is a foreign service. (e) It refers to the efficient method employed in the talks between the countries

(4) As pointed out by Earnest Chalten it deals with the successful functioning of relationships between countries in an effective way.

foreign office when he felt that any of his nationals are ill treated. Such facts should be immediately intimated to the home government. (13) The senior most ambassador or a diplomat of a country will preside over the conferences of the diplomats arranged. (14) At times of crisis or adverse notice he can be asked to be called back by the home government. (15) The diplomats or consuls or ambassadors do not formulate national policies. (16) The foreign ministers also offer instructions to the diplomats. (17) As they are responsible for causing changes among the nations they are described as 'the telephone girls of history'.

### **The Evolution of diplomacy :**

In India diplomatic functions were carried out even from the time of the Vedic age. Even the epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata too have given details about the relations among the states. Aryan references are available about this in Arthashastra.

- (1) (a) From 476 A.D. to 1450 A.D. the relations among the states were made temporarily (b) The relation among the Greek city states were not permanent and the elders carried out such activities. (2) After 1450 A.D. diplomatic relations were carried out by permanent institutions. (3) After the First world war democratic political diplomacy gained significance. (4) By conferences the diplomatic relations have all been improved. (5) The political activities of the power blocs have enhanced the significance of the diplomatic relations among the nations.

### **Kinds of diplomacy :**

The Diplomatic relations of today are of different kinds. Every one of them has its own merits and defects.

- (A) Secret diplomacy :** (a) Such secret diplomacies were popular and prominent before the first world war. (b) In this type of diplomacy the nobles and high caste people carried out the political activities. (c) Such secret diplomacies created problems to various nations and their people. The Triple Alliance, the Dual

Alliance etc. caused first world war. (d) The secret activities led to suspicion among the nations. (e) As the secret diplomacies led to chaos and war conditions that diplomacy is not at all accepted now-a-days.

- (B) Open or democratic diplomacy :** (1) Such a diplomacy emerged during the commencement of the 20th century. (2) It deals with the activities carried out by the people. (3) This had the following defects. (a) The people's representatives, who were unaware of the essence of diplomacy, when involved in diplomacy they could not do full justice to that. (b) The diplomats arrive at conclusions only on the basis of the views of public. It takes a long time to arrive at decisions. Thus it leads to delay. (4) It has the following merits. (a) It enables the people of a nation to know about the policies of their country. (b) This is helpful for taking easy and open decisions.

- (C) Personal Diplomacy :** (1) During the ancient period the leaders of the countries carried out their diplomatic relations through their ambassadors or diplomats. (2) Today the development of information and publicity measures have caused changes in the form of diplomacy. (3) A President of a nation can have direct contacts with his counterpart of another nation to take quick decisions after discussions with other leaders. (b) It avoids unnecessary frictions and confrontations among the leaders. (c) There will be ample scope for give and take among the leaders. (d) It allows nations to get some rights and privileges. Such privileges can be announced only by the leaders of the nations. (e) Personal diplomacy enables the two involved parties to take quick decisions. (f) By this kind of diplomacy, the problems of secret diplomacies can be avoided. (g) The non-availability of any confusion in this will yield perfect decisions. (4) This kind of diplomacy is having its own defects. (a) The decisions by the personalities on their own accord may be hasty. (b) There will be no opportunity for the leaders to discuss the issues with the people. So their decisions may or may not be apt.

(c) There will not be any scope for discussion as done in a conference. (d) Hasty and quick decisions will be always unsure.

**(D) Diplomacy by conference.** (1) It informs the decisions taken by many nations through a conference. (2) The League of Nations, which emerged after the first world war, introduced such a kind of diplomacy. (3) The NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact etc. are suitable examples for this.

The diplomacy of every nation depends upon the international relations and a country. At present every nation is much interested in dealing with the political affairs of other nations. It has become now necessary among nations to stabilise their powers by diplomatic relations. The super powers are particular in enhancing their status in the world. The super powers of the nations centres around their political uses. In addition to political diplomacies there are economic and commercial diplomacies. Anyhow diplomacy creates good will and fame for the nation.

## 4. FIRST WORLD WAR (1914 - 1919)

1. "The soldiers won the war and the diplomats lost the peace" - Discuss the statement in reference to the peace settlement of 1919
2. Discuss the view that colonial and commercial rivalry was the fundamental cause for the I.W.War. (1989)
3. Explain what is meant by the balance of power. (1991, 1993, 2000)
4. Critically examine the 14 points of Wilson (1997)

5. Show how the Peace Settlement (1919) was a mixture of Wilsonian idealism and selfish interest of the victorious powers. (1998)

6. "The failure of balance of power led to the outbreak of the I.W.War" - Discuss. (1999)

### Introduction :

Wars have played a significant role in the the history of Europe during various periods. The 30 years war, Spanish succession war, Austrian succession war, Seven Years War, Napoleonic wars etc. were popular among them. But there are many differences between them and the first world war which commenced on 1914. This war, emerged due to various diplomatic reasons, produced a lot of consequences. The principle of balance of power, the Versailles treaty, Fourteen points of Wilson, principles of reparation etc were facts related to the first world war. Above all as it was a war fought between various powers in continents like Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia it can be very well called as a world war.

## I. CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

### (A) European alliances and Balance of power :

(1) During the beginning of the 20th century European powers were divided into two major military camps. (2) After the defeat of Napoleon III, the ruler of France, at the battle of Sedan, during the Franco - Prussian war, Otto von Bismarck was able to establish the united German empire in 1870-71. (3) He believed that the defeated France can wreak vengeance for that at any time. (4) So he decided to keep France aloof from becoming an ally of



any other European powers. For achieving his end he himself wanted to have alliances with many powers. (5) (a) In 1872 Germany, Austria and Russia formed the Three Emperor's League. (b) After the Berlin Congress of 1878 when there arose differences of opinions between Russia and Austria, Russia got herself out of the Three Emperors' League. (c) So Bismarck arranged for the Dual alliance with Austria in 1879. (d) In the same year to maintain the relation with Russia he concluded the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. (e) Though he could not bring Britain, which followed the policy of isolation, with him, he was capable of making Italy as an ally of Germany. So in 1882 the Triple alliance came into existence. Thus Otto von Bismarck successfully kept France away from the other European powers and enhanced the status of Germany by making military alliances under its control. (6) (a) Triple Entente was created in 1907 to rearrange the tilted balance of power in Europe. (b) This Triple Entente emerged due to the following reason. In 1890 Russia relieved herself from the Reinsurance Treaty. At this critical juncture France decided to gain the support of Russia and wanted to put an end to her isolation. So in 1893 France and Russia signed the Dual alliance. At the same time Britain, which was deflected due to the activities of Germany, came nearer to France. So in 1904 France and Britain signed a treaty between them. In 1907 when France, Britain and Russia came nearer to each other, the Triple Entente was created. Thus at during the beginning of the 20th century Europe had two groups.

<b>Triple Alliance</b>	<b>Triple Entente</b>
(1882)	(1907)
Germany	France
Austria	Britain
Italy	Russia

These alliances created rivalry and enmity among the big powers. As they agreed among themselves to help each other at time of crisis a war was inevitable. In the Balkan affairs when Germany supported Austria, it began to indulge in the war without any hesitation.

**(B) France's aim of revenge :** (1) France met with drastic defeat in the Franco Prussian War in 1870 - 71. (2) Napoleon III ruler of France was defeated at Sedan and was taken as prisoner. (3) Alsace Lorraine, the two fertile areas of raw materials, were snatched away by Germany from France. (4) This created a hot summer in the bosom of every French man. (5) The announcement of the German Empire by Otto von Bismarck in 1871 kindled the fury of the Nationalistic minded French. They were awaiting an opportunity to commence the war of revenge against Germany.

**(C) Expanded military power :** (1) The problem of arms race among European nations was another cause. (2) Through the information attained from the spies about the progress of armed forces, every European country was particular in enhancing its military strength. For instance the German army, which had 4 lakhs in 1890, was doubled in 1914. (3) The standing army of the European powers which was 26,90,000 in 1890 was increased to 44,16,000 in 1914. (4) Germany and Britain openly expressed their rivalry in increasing their naval forces. Britain announced that it will construct two ships when Germany constructed one. (5) The disarmament conferences which met at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 did not succeed materially. Thus increasing military strength led to the first world war.

**(D) Abnormal military growth of Germany :** (1) In 1871 when Germany was united it became a powerful military nation. (2) Along with its development of industries, commerce, economics, Germany introduced an armed race. (3) That tilted

the balance of power in Germany. (4) The Triple alliance created in 1882 changed the balance of power into a balance of terror.

**(E) The autocratic Kaiser :** (1) Kaiser William II was particular in making Germany a world power. (2) "World power or down fall" was his policy. (3) He showed evincing interest in establishing German colonies throughout the world. (4) Kaiser William supported the strong and diplomatic foreign policy enunciated by his Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Thus the personal ambitions of Kaiser William was another reason for the war.

**(F) Balkan crisis :** (1) "The Balkans were a powder keg mixed with racial prejudice". (2) The Pan Slav movement was gaining momentum in Balkan with the support of Serbia and blessings of Russia. (3) Austrians have annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 against the decisions of the Congress of Berlin of 1878. This infuriated the Slavs. (4) (a) The Slavs wanted to relieve Bosnia and Herzegovina from the hands of Austria. (b) By establishing secret societies such as 'Black hand', 'Union or death' they tried to achieve their ends. (5) The Balkan crisis had the following issues. (a) The Serbians supported Pan Slav movement. (b) The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. (c) The unconditional support of Russia to Serbia. (d) The unconditional support of Germany to Austria. (6) Austria compelled Serbia to vacate the Adriatic region. But Austria established a new state called Albania. It condemned Serbia to be a land locked country without any access to the sea.

**(G) Moroccan crisis :** (1) When France tried to establish her sway over Morocco thrice, at all times there were tensions. (2) (a) Kaiser William II visited Tangier and expressed his support to the Sultan of that place. (b) By his stress in 1906 an international conference was convened at Aljijiers (c) In that conference Britain, Italy, Spain and Russia supported the cause of France. So Germany could not achieve anything. (d) In 1908 the French soldiers entered into the German embassy at Casablanca and

misbehaved. (e) In 1911 France was responsible for the Agadir crisis. Because of that France had to give up one million square miles of territories at Congo to Germany. Though this brought the Moroccan crisis to an end the enmity was not forgotten. (3) By giving more pressure to France in Moroccan crisis, Germany wanted to achieve political gains. It strengthened the relationship between Britain and France.

**(H) Spirit of Nationalism :** (1) With the commencement of the 20th century, stern nationalistic spirit began to occupy the European nations. (2) For maintaining their nationalism and National spirit they were ready to dedicate anything. (3) The news papers by giving importance to shocking news added fuel to the fire. They pointed out that nationalism and patriotism should be preserved at any cost even by dedicating their lives. (4) Bulgaria, which was defeated in the second Balkan war could not tolerate such defeat. (5) Though Italy was unified that has not created a full fledged national outlook.

**(I) Absence of any international organisation:** (1) There was no international organisation to settle the issues among the nations by peace talks. (2) No steps were taken to curtail the military activities of the nations. (3) The Hague conference of 1899 suggested that the issues between countries can be settled by tribunals. But that too did not materialise. (4) The European nations were particular in settling their issues only by established power and not by peaceful methods.

**(J) Immediate cause:** (1) Arch Duke Ferdinand of Austria was murdered by a Serbian Nationalist at Serajevo on 28th June 1914. "The human race was suddenly fractured by a crime at Serajevo". (2) Austria accused Serbia and insisted by an ultimatum that within 48 hours Serbia should explain the cause for that action. (3) As Serbia could not offer a proper reply on 28th July 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia.

popular before the first world war, met with disastrous failures in Germany, Russia, Turkey and Austria lost their status. (b) When the German Emperor Kaiser William fled to Holland, the German empire came to end. (c) Weimar Constitution was introduced in Germany. (d) The empires of Austria-Hungary also disappeared and republics were introduced there. (e) Austria lost much of her territories and shrunk into a small state. (f) In Russia the three hundred years rule of the Romanovs came to an end in 1917. The Bolshevik rule under Lenin was established there. (g) Turkey, the sickman of Europe met its end. The rule of the Ottoman Turks came to an end. A republic was established there by Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

**(3) New empires :** After the first world war many new national states emerged in Europe. (a) In the Balkan coast states called Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia came up. (b) In the Balkan region states like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia emerged as new states. (c) Due to the day light robbery of the European powers Poland was partitioned among them in 1795. After 123 years Poland was rearranged, and it again found its place in the map of Europe.

**(4) Emergence of Dictatorship :** (a) As pointed out by Woodrow Wilson the world was made as a secured place for democracy after the first world war. (b) Instead of the desires the countries had to meet with so many economic and social problems. (c) It was felt that democracy should be replaced. As an alternative dictatorship and autocracy were accepted on the principle of despotism. (d) In Germany the Weimar Constitution disappeared and it gave way to the Nazi principles of Adolf Hitler. (e) In Russia the rule of Kerensky was removed and it was replaced by communist ideologies. (f) In Italy Fascism gained significance

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under Benito Mussolini. (g) In Turkey 'Kemal Ataturk' or Kemal Pasha established a republic but it was also restricted one. (h) In Portugal Salazar started the single man rule. (i) In countries like Hungary, Austria, Horthy and Dolfus were independent rulers. (j) George II of Greece, Rawara of Spain and Alexander of Yugoslavia were maintaining individual rule.

**(5) League of Nations :** To avoid the horrors and disasters of war in future, to settle the issues among nations by talks, and to create a world of peace without war an international organisation came into existence and that was known as League of Nations.

Thus the first world war was the biggest war which occurred in the world between 1914 and 1919. It was the war which introduced many changes in the political sphere of the world.

## IV. FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

Since the failure of balance of power led to the outbreak of the first world war we have to notice the relation between those two things. The first world war emerged due to the following reasons:

- (1) The revenging attitude of France.
- (2) The rise of Germany with military strength under Kaiser William II.
- (3) The Balkan issue.
- (4) Morocco crisis.

# THEORY OF ORGANIZATION

The first part of the theory of organization is concerned with the study of the organization as a whole. It is the study of the organization as a system of interrelated parts. The second part of the theory is concerned with the study of the organization as a system of interrelated parts. The third part of the theory is concerned with the study of the organization as a system of interrelated parts.

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2. Importance of Organization
3. Characteristics of Organization
4. Types of Organization

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1. Definition of Organization
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(1) A Treat thrusted : (a) Germany was not invited to attend the Versailles conference. (b) The Germans were given any opportunity to express their views and sentiments regarding the treaty. (c) The victorious powers arranged this treaty and compelled Germany to sign it. (d) Their genuine opposition were left without any care. (e) Germany was threatened by force. (f) It was like the Carthaginian peace.

(2) A deliberate cheating : The Germans accepted to stop the war on the principles of Wilson's 14 points on 11, November, 1918. But on 29th May 1919 when they saw the provisions of the Versailles treaty, they were shocked. The provisions included the calling of Germans as war accused. Such provisions were deliberate cheating.

(3) A treaty of enmity and vengeance : Clemens, the French Prime Minister and President of the Versailles conference was so particular in making Germany as a weak country in economic and army matters. He wanted to wipe out the discredit which France met due to its failure in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-71. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister announced that Kaiser William II should be hanged and the pit of silver should be tapped from Germany. Germany was accused and the indemnity was imposed on her. Her colonies were forfeited. Her natural resources and industrial progress were curtailed. Thus it was a treaty based on enmity and vengeance.

(4) A treaty created by victors for them : (a) The disarmament of the defeated nations was imposed on them. (b) But with regard to the victors it was left with the League of Nations. (c) The idea of self-determination was carried out only in favour of the victorious nations. (d) The placement of Danzig under the control of Poland and the grant of the Saar Valley under self-determination and Nationalism.

(5) A treaty which led to Second World War : (a) Within short span of 20 years after the signing of the Versailles Treaty the second world war broke out in 1939. (b) The harsh and stringent provisions of the Versailles Treaty created an indelible scar in the minds of Germany. (c) The Germans were awaiting for an opportunity to pass over the treaty. The people supported Hitler for this purpose. The endeavour to recover Danzig and the Polish Corridor by Hitler led to the second world war.

(6) The merits of the Treaty : (a) This treaty shifted the lands on the basis of the views of people on the principle of self-determination. (b) To respect the nationalistic ideas of the different sets of people of Austria new states such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were all created. (c) This treaty set aside the views of France regarding the Rhine territories. (d) Steps were taken to protect the rights and welfare of the minorities (e) The Mandate system introduced by this treaty protected the colonies from the annexation by big powers. It also assisted the attainment of freedom by them. (f) The treaty of Brestlitvok imposed on Russia by Germany was given up. (g) It assisted the establishment of the League of Nations.

## VI. MANDATE SYSTEM

(1) This system was introduced after the treaty of Versailles. (2) When the Victorious allied powers tried to bring the colonies of Germany and the Turkish territories in which no Turks lived, to stop such things Mandate system was introduced (3) According to this Mandatory system the nations which are made as in charge will act as trustees. (4) They have to plan and execute various development activities, for the progress of the mandated territories. (5) When they attained a specific level of progress they will be given freedom. (6) The nations which are entrusted with the mandate should submit an annual report to the League of Nations.

(D) Treaty of Sevres : (1920) The allied powers signed this treaty with Turkey. By this treaty the areas of Turkey were divided in the following way. (a) Smyrna and areas of Adranop were assigned to Greece. (b) Palestine and Mesopotamia were placed as Mandates under Britain. (c) Syria was placed under France as a mandated state. (d) Hijaz was approved as an independent ruler of Saudi Arabia. (e) Armenia was accepted as an independent state. (f) Kurdistan obtained independent status under the control of the United Nations. (h) The financial measures of Turkey were kept under the control of big powers. (i) The army of Turkey was restricted to 30,000.

The severe provisions imposed on Turkey allowed the Nationalists of Turkey to rise against it under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Greeks who wanted to capture Smyrna were repulsed. Turkey was declared as a republic in 1922. Turkey after that in 1923 signed the Treaty of Lausanne with allied powers. According to that Turkey got back Smyrna, Constantinople, Eastern Thrace etc. At Anatolia the Turkish rule was established. The previous treaties and financial controls imposed on Turkey were all withdrawn.

## VII - FOURTEEN POINTS OF WOODROW WILSON

The American President Woodrow Wilson announced his fourteen points on 8th January 1918. It "treated democratic self-determination as a sacred cause and chose to interpret America's role in the war as that of a crusade, bringing liberty and justice to the war-torn old world. Germany agreed to stop the war on this basis on 11th November 1918. The following were the fourteen points:

- (1) "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at after which there shall be no private international undertakings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in public view.
- (2) Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- (3) The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- (4) Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- (5) A free, openminded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based on a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
- (6) The evacuation of all Russian territory, and as such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and absolute co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development of national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of her good will, of their comprehension of her

(6) Russia was not allowed to determine its own constitution. From 1919 to 1922 when there was a civil war in Russia, countries like Britain, France, Japan, Czechoslovakia etc. involved in directly.

(7) Without offering any significance to the nationalistic spirit of the people, the boundary of Italy was changed, the people of Hungary were given the right of self determination and the boundaries of Balkan states were rearranged. So the national minded people lived as minorities in other states.

(8) Poland was renewed. But the approach given to it to reach the sea created a problem with Germany. That led to the second world war.

(9) As the Turks did not have the sovereignty over Anatolia Kemal Pasha had to solve that issue only by military force.

(10) The establishment of a world organisation was treated as a measure adopted for the maintenance of the victory by the victorious nation.

### ***Causes for the failure of the 14 points.***

- (1) The Versailles treaty was not arranged either by Woodrow Wilson or his 14 points.
- (2) The President of the Versailles conference Clemensu criticised the 14 points of Wilson.
- (3) So most of the suggestions given by it were left out.
- (4) As the 14 points were the creations of Wilson without anybody's suggestion or consultation it was a failure.
- (5) The other big powers kept silence, when the problems arose out of the 14 points.
- (6) They were impracticable because they were high sounding without any basic principle or ideology.
- (7) Even before the entry of America in the world war and announcement of the 14 points, countries like Britain, France, Russia, Italy etc., have come to the conclusion in secret ways.
- (8) The 14 points itself had its own self contradictions. For instance while it insisted on the demarcation

of boundaries on the principle of self determination, it avoided the union of Germany and Austria. (9) While a sea route was arranged for Poland, the people were not at all consulted. (10) Since Wilson did not consult the other American leaders it was opposed by the American Congress. So America did not become a member of the League.

### ***Estimate of the 14 points of Wilson :***

- (1) It did not have the attitude of revenge and it did not claim any reparation.
- (2) It did not allow the annexation of other's territories.
- (3) It tried to avoid the causes for the future wars.
- (4) As it was treated as the personal outcome of Wilson, he could not insist on it. Thus it was a high sounding nothing.

## **VIII. THE ISSUE OF REPARATION**

The word reparation indicates the war fines and their payment either in kind or cash or both. In general it was a "Compensation either in money or in materials, commodities, capital equipment, merchant vessels and the like payable by a defeated nation as war indemnity for direct damages and for loss from war expenditures, occupation, costs etc, sustained as a result of aggression by the defeated nation". So it was connected with the politics of greed and revenge adopted by the allied powers against defeated Germany. So to fix up the amount of reparation a committee was appointed and it was requested to submit its report before May, 1921. In the meanwhile Germany was compelled

to give 100 crores of Dollars immediately. The Reparation commission was expected to do the following functions.

- (1) The determination of the precise amount to be claimed.
  - (2) To draw up a schedule of payments on the basis of resources and capacity of Germany.
  - (3) to demand Germany surrender any piece of her.
  - (4) To determine the annual payments made by Germany etc.
- After deep discussions during January 1921 the report of the commission was submitted. In a meeting held at London it was decided that Germany should give a reparation of 660 crore Dollars.

### **Spa Conference :**

In the meantime during April 1920 they met at Spa and in July 1920 they met at Spa. In the conference the German chancellor and foreign ministers were allowed to attend the conference but their views were not at all accepted. By the conference of Spa, the Allied powers came to the following agreement regarding the ratio for the distribution of reparation receipts. British Empire 22%, France 52%, Italy 10%, Japan 0.75%, Belgium 8%, Portugal 0.75% and 6.5% was received by Greece, Rumania etc.

### **Rhur occupation :**

The first instalment of 5 crores of dollar as reparation was granted by Germany. But it affected the economy of Germany and it had to meet with inflationary condition. The value of Mark fell down. In 1920 one dollar was equal to 250 marks. In 1921 it was 1000 marks. So Germany could not repay the amount. Because of this France and Belgium occupied Rhur, the industrially rich area during 1923. It further deteriorated the German economy. The German government opposed this by passive resistance. The occupation of Rhur was condemned by Britain and others.

### **The Dawes committee: (Plan)**

The annexation of Rhur did not offer any expected result to France and Belgium. They were afraid that they have to lose the reparation. So they realised that it is their duty to maintain the economy of the defeated Germany. To revive and vitalise the economy of Germany suggestions were expected from the Dawes committee which met from January 14 to April 19, 1924. It recommended the following things.

- (1) (a) Reparation issue is not a political issue but an economic issue. (b) So to stabilise its economy all the resources should be left with Germany. (c) Arrangements should be made for foreign and proper system of balance of payment.
- (2) (a) It recommended the introduction of a new currency called Reichmark to be controlled by a Bank of issue which will be free from the control of the government. (b) It informed that the Bank should have equal number of directors from Germany and other nations. (c) It should function with a capital of 40 crores of gold mark. (d) It should have been given the right to issue paper currency for a period of 50 years.
- (3) Germany, because of its increased economy, was to give five crore dollars annually as reparation for five years. Finally the annual amount should be raised to 12.5 crore dollars.
- (4) The reparation should be collected only by German coins.
- (5) A foreign Agent General was appointed to supervise the payment of reparations.
- (6) Rhur area should be speedily evacuated to allow Germany to maintain its economic sovereignty.
- (7) Germany should be given a foreign loan to the tune of four crore dollars.



League occupied Vilna on 1st October 1920. After talks with the Ambassadorial level Vilna was conceded to Poland on 11 February 1923.

#### **(7) Corfu issue :**

When steps were taken to form the boundary between Greece and Italy one Italian was murdered on 23, August, 1923. Though Greece was prepared to pay an indemnity, Mussolini occupied Corfu island, located on the mouth of the Adriatic Sea. It was settled that Greece should give 500 million Lira as compensation. Italy evacuated Corfu islands.

#### **(8) Greece - Bulgaria border dispute :**

On 19th October, 1925 a commander of the Greek frontier force and a man of his group were murdered by Bulgaria. When Greece invaded Bulgaria the matter was referred to the Council of the League of nations. Immediately the council took a decision and asked Greece to get back from Bulgaria. Greece accepted to do that. It had to pay a compensation. Then a council consisting of five members was appointed to have an on the spot study.

#### **(9) Mosul issue :**

Britain and Turkey were in feuds with each other with regard to petroleum of Mosul in Iraq. Britain and France were to demarcate the boundary of Iraq which was a mandate territory under Britain. But as it was not carried out the mandate territory was approached and that appointed an investigation commission. The boundary arranged by the commission was not at all accepted by Turkey. By the Treaty of Angora signed on 5th June 1926 between Turkey and Britain. By that Turkey obtained a small portion of Mosul along with a Royalty.

(4) A new body called "The Bank of International settlement" was made as the trustee for the creditors. It was to be administered by a Board of Directors.

(5) It insisted that the international army placed in the Rhine lands should be withdrawn before 30, June 1930

(6) " The payments to be made by Germany in kind were reduced to 10 annual instalments of gradually decreasing amount".

(7) "The Belgium claim to cover the loss of the depreciated German marks left in the country after the war was left to be settled by separate and direct negotiations".

In 1929 there was a great depression in the economy of America. It stressed the American President Hoover to declare one year's moratorium. He pointed out that all the receipts and payment will be stopped during 1931-32. This was a boon to Germany.

#### **Laussane Conference:**

The moratorium announced by Hoover was to be extended for one more year because the economic difficulties had not been reduced. So to solve this issue, countries like France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Japan met at Laussane on June 16, 1932. Greece, Canada, India, New Zealand, Poland and Portugal, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, South Africa and Yugoslavia also participated in it. It was decided that the reparation issue should be brought to an end by asking Germany to pay a total amount of 15 crores of Dollars. It was expected that America will give up the loans payable by the allied powers to America.

Thus the history of Europe after the first world war was the history of reparation. Germany paid a reparation of 85 crores of dollars. Germany had borrowed a loan of 95 crore dollars. Dawes plan and Young plan settled the issues of financial crisis.

## 5. LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. How did the League of Nations handle disarmament question and with what effect.
2. Estimate the success of the League of Nations establishing itself as a normal and necessary part of the international relations. (1999)
3. 'The years between 1924 and 1930 were the period of the League's greatest prestige and authority'. comment. (1999)
4. Estimate the success of the League of Nations in establishing itself as a normal and necessary part of the international relations. (1992)
5. Comment on the failure of the League of Nations (1995)
6. Evaluate the work of the League of Nations and account for its failure (1999)
7. Analyse the achievements and failures of the League of Nations (2000)

### Introduction:

After the first world war, the first international organisation called the League of Nations was established. The end of that organisation led to the second world war. So it becomes necessary to know about the League of Nations on the basis of international significance.

### Origin:

The International Institute of Agriculture started in 1905, the International Health office of 1907 were few organisations functioning at the international level prior to the League of Nations. In 1905 Sir Henry Campbell expressed his views about the creation of the League of Peace. On 5th January 1918, British Prime Minister Lloyd George stressed the need for establishing an international organisation to solve the problems of war and disarmament on 22 January 1917 Woodrow Wilson proposed the need for a 'world league for peace.'

In March, 1918, the Phillimore committee brought out the draft convention of the League of Nations. The League of Nations - A practical suggestions - Sir Cecil Hust and David Hunter Miller prepared the framework of the League. In 1920 the League came into existence.

### The aims:-

1. Promotion of international co-operation, fulfilment of international obligations and provisions of safeguards against war.
2. Creation of open and honest relations among the nations.
3. Adoption of international law with regard to the contacts among the nations.
4. Recognising the reputations of the Treaty of Versailles.

### Structure of the League:

In 1920 when the league was formed it had three principal organs. They were the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. There were other agencies.

**Assembly:** (1) All the members of the League were members of the Assembly. (2) Each member nation sent three

representative vote. (3) At the League it had 43 members. Once it had a maximum of 65 members. (4) Its headquarters was located at Geneva. (5) It met once in a year and discussed problems pertaining to world peace. (6) It carried out specific functions. (a) It admitted new members by the approval of 2/3 of the existing members. (b) It elected three of the nine permanent members. (c) It elected the General Secretary. (d) It appointed the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. (e) It can amend the constitution of the League by a majority. (f) It supervised the work of the Council and other wings. (g) It can revise the budget of the League prepared by the Secretariat or it can approve it. Because of its powers the Assembly was a powerful organ of the League.

**Council :** (1) Council was the executive committee of the League. (2) It has five permanent members and 40 non-permanent members. (U.K., U.S.A. France, Italy and Japan were the permanent members) (3) The non-permanent members were elected for a period of three years. (4) It carried out the following duties. (a) It had public as well as secret meetings. (b) It planned for the reduction in arms or disarmament. (c) It suggested ways and means for preventing wars. (d) It decided the working plans for the preservation of peace. (e) It decided and submitted its report. (f) It decided the needed naval military and air force of the members to be sent to the League. (g) It enquired the disputes and recommended actions to be taken. (h) It decided the execution of the mandatory actions.

**Secretariat:** (1) Under the Secretary General the Secretariat was functioning. (2) The Secretary General was appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly and two Deputy Secretaries assisted the Secretary General.

**(c) The Nature of the League :**

- (1) Though it was the League of nations, in practice it was not so.
- (2) Germany which joined the League after 1926 got out of it in 1934.
- (3) Russia did not join the League till 1934.
- (4) Japan and Italy withdrew from the League in 1931 and 1936 respectively.
- (5) The activities of the bigger powers were hurdles to the execution of collective security.
- (6) In general it was an association of the European nations and not the nations of the world.

**(D) Deficiency in International faith :**

- (1) The member nations did not approach the problem of world peace in broader outlook.
- (2) The issues were considered mainly on the basis of narrowminded nationalism. So the problems were not at all solved. But increased.
- (3) France was so particular in maintaining its own security.
- (4) Japan thought that she will be safe by annexing Manchuria.
- (5) Britain was so keen in protecting the interests of her empire.
- (6) No country was prepared to give up its national interest. As the vanquished nations were not respected, the League met with its end.

## (E) The drawbacks in the principles of League :

- (1) The rules and regulations of the League responsible for its failure.
- (2) When it allowed the nations to involve in war for the security it is evident that it encouraged war.
- (3) The nations were also of the opinion that problems could be solved by war.
- (4) As it was the rule that every resolution should be accepted it complicated the issues.
- (5) It was difficult for all the nations to accept all the decisions without any opposition.
- (6) Since one member nation is given one vote it will not be fair with regard to big powers. For instance when Russia and Siberia were given equal opportunities by a single vote such activities affected the individuality of the nation. Only if some special rights were given they would have come forward to undertake many responsibilities.

## (F) The League without an army :

- (1) The League had no rights to enrol an army or to control a member to act in a particular way.
- (2) As there was no army the league was weak. So the members were not compelled to act according to the directives of the League.

## (G) The Big Powers :

- (1) Britain and France failed to adopt strict policies regarding the international issues.
- (2) Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Abyssinia engaged themselves in open aggression. The big powers did not oppose such atrocities.

- (3) When the League adopted the policy of persuasion with regard to aggression it weakened the League.

## (H) Rise of dictatorships:

- After the first world war Nazism and Fascism emerged in Germany and Italy respectively.
- (2) Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini were dictators.
  - (3) They did not pay any heed to the principles of the League of Nations.
  - (4) They had faith and belief over aggression and expansion.
  - (5) The resolutions of the League were not considered.
  - (6) By threat and army they decided to achieve their ends. Such atrocities and rise of dictatorship governments led to the fall of the League.
- Thus the League of nations was established with a good aim of international peace. Though it carried out many things it failed due to its own weaknesses.

## 6. THE INTERWAR PERIOD BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

1. Examine the foreign policies of Germany between the two world wars. (1989)
2. "The most important and single factors in European affairs in the years following 1919 was the French demand for security" - Discuss. (1991)

3. Critically estimate the work of the Washington conference of 1921-22
4. Discuss Mussolini's Foreign policy
5. "History of the world between 1919 and 1939" simply the history of French quest for security. Elucidate.
6. Review the nature of British policy in between the two world wars.
7. Comment on the provisions of the Locarno Pact.
8. Explain the aims and consequences of the foreign policy of Nazi Germany under Hitler?
9. Assess the impact of Spanish civil war (1936) in international relations.
10. Give an account of the international build up in Germany between the two world wars. (2000)
11. Estimate the causes of the Manchurian crisis and its effects on international relations. (2000)

### Introduction:

After the first world war peace treaties were dictated to Germany. In Germany monarchy was abolished. Germany and Italy emerged as countries adopting dictatorships. In Russia in 1917 the Bolshevik revolution broke out and its foreign policy began to change during the period. The Kellogg-Briand Pact (1925), etc, were the international events of diplomatic significance. So let us see the various occurrences of this period one after the other.

### 10) Manchurian Issue :

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In Manchuria the North eastern province of China, Japan had established her railways. That track was blasted out during September 1931. Japan accused China for that. Japanese army captured the towns of Manchuria. China brought this to the notice of the Council of the League. Without minding the requests of the League Japan continued her aggression. So the League appointed the Lytton commission to offer a report after enquiry. But before that Japan had brought entire Manchuria under its control and had declared that as an independent state of Manchuko. When the League opposed it, Japan withdrew from the League of nations. The failure of the League in settling the Manchurian issue affected the prestige of the League greatly.

### (11) Annexation of Abyssinia :

In 1936 Italy encroached Abyssinia i.e. modern Ethiopia. This matter was taken to the League. On the basis of collective security economic blockade was imposed on Italy. But without cognizance of such activities Italy completed her aggression. Italy also withdrew from the League. The economic blockade arranged due to collective security became useless.

(12) In 1935 the League made arrangements for a plebiscite at the Saar region. As decided by that that area was ceded to Germany.

### (13) Aggressive measures of Hitler :

The aggressive measures of Hitler was a challenge to the League. In 1934 Germany quitted from the League. In 1935 she began to increase her military strength against the treaty of Versailles. In 1936 the Rhine land became a military settlement of Germany. In 1938 Austria was annexed. But the League could not take any vigorous steps.

security. It created an unity among nations which were unprepared to give up their own welfare, interests and security. But within short span of 20 years it met with a failure and disappeared. Anyhow it was a lesson for the future United Nations Organisation.

### **Causes for the failure of the League :**

The League of Nations was created with expectations and hopes. But within 20 years the aims became a nightmare. It was started to create peace and to avoid a war in the future. But it did not materialise. Due to various reasons it could not achieve even collective security.

#### **(A) The Peace Treaty and the League :**

- (1) The League of nations emerged as a part and parcel of the peace Treaty.
  - (2) It created the feeling that the League was created for preservation of the welfare of the victorious nations.
  - (3) Germany which had an aversion against the Versailles treaty looked at the League with hatredness.
  - (4) As that association had to fulfill the responsibilities of the treaty of Versailles the League also became unpopular.
- (b) America was not a member :**

Woodrow Wilson, the President of America was treated as the Father of the League of Nations. So narrowminded nationalism succeeded by the Congress. It would have enabled the other nations to accept the view of the League. Thus the non-inclusion of America was a cause for the failure of the League.

## **I. THE LOCARNO PACT ( 1925 )**

This Locarno Pact was a substitute measure for the regional security. France was not satisfied with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919. She was afraid that Germany may revive and decide to take vengeance. So she signed a protective treaty with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium etc. Mercilessly she was stubborn in collecting the war indemnity from Germany. Since Germany failed to pay her dues, France occupied the Rhur valley of Germany. France was in a dilemma whether to adjust with Germany or to suppress her. To solve these problems France gained an opportunity through the Locarno Pact.

#### **Circumstances which led to this pact:**

1) The Treaty of Rappallo signed between Germany and Russia in 1920 alarmed the European countries like France. They thought that there are dangers of communism and rise of militarism. So to relieve Germany from the control of Russia they wanted to have an agreement with Germany.

2) The annexation of Rhur from Germany by France affected the economy of Germany largely. So Germany to redress the grievances realised the need for the treaties with Western countries.

3) a) Such abnormal political conditions attracted the attentions of the diplomats of the European Powers. b) German Chancellor Gustav Stresemann believed that only with the support of the western powers she can set aside her destruction. c) Briand, the Foreign Minister of France believed that the spontaneous guarantee offered by Germany alone will be the basis for real protection. d) Austin Chamberlain, the Foreign Minister of Britain felt that he should diplomatically support

the moves of France and Germany. e) Italy also came forward to extend its support.

- 4) a) On 10, January 1925, Stresemann, the Chancellor of Germany declared that they can sign a treaty regarding the collective security of the borders of Germany and France.
- b) Briand also welcomed and approved that proposal.
- c) He suggested that along with France, Germany, Belgium and Italy, Countries like Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia can also be invited.

### The Treaty :

In October 1925, the diplomats and statesmen of several states called Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia assembled at Locarno, a city in Switzerland and discussed various matters. Finally the Locarno agreement was arrived in three parts. They were a) Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of Rhineland pact. b) Arbitration treaties c) Treaties of France with Poland and Czechoslovakia.

#### A) The Treaty of Mutual Guarantee :

This important Treaty was signed between France, Britain, Belgium, Germany and Italy. The following were the provisions:

- 1) The parties signed agreed to maintain collectively and severally the territorial status quo.
- 2) They agreed to give up any solution collectively and decided to avoid war.
- 3) The problems which arise among the nations should be settled by peaceful means.
- 4) The issues can be settled by a decision of a coalition commission or that matter can be referred to the council of the League for disposal.

- 5) The violation of the agreement should be referred to the League's council.
- 6) The League's council's decision should be accepted by all the members.
- 7) This pact did not affect or break the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
- 8) a) It accepted the territorial integration of the signatories. b) It stressed the demilitarisation of Rhineland. c) The problems should be settled on the basis of the suggestions given by the Geneva Protocol. d) It supplemented the provisions of the League with regard to territorial integrity and security of the members of the League.

#### B) Arbitration Treaties :

a) These treaties were signed between Germany and Poland and also between Germany and Czechoslovakia b) By these treaties the signatories accepted that the international disputes will be settled by the Permanent Conciliation Commission. c) They can refer the cases to a tribunal of International court of Justice.

#### C) Treaties of France with Poland and Czechoslovakia:

a) France signed separate treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia b) By that it was decided that if any one of them was attacked the others should come to her rescue.

**Estimate :** 1) After the first world war France was able to achieve its security. 2) a) Germany gained the opportunity to have equality with other European powers and allowed Germany to become a member of the League of Nations. b) Germany accepted the permanent loss of the Alsace and Lorraine c) France had to give up her imperialism over Rhineland d) Germany signed the Locarno pact whole heartedly. So it is evident that Locarno pact was able to achieve which had not been done by Versailles. 3) Locarno pact was signed in an atmosphere of peace and honesty.

- 4) It created a new era of cordiality between Germany and France.
- 5) It paved the way for conciliation, arbitration and peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- 6) The Locarno agreements represented the greatest diplomatic achievements of the peace years 1918-1939.
- 7) Any further aggression against Germany was not satisfied with the loss of Silesia and Western Prussia.

Thus the Locarno spirit paved the way for a new era in diplomatic history of the world.

## II. FRENCH SECURITY

As pointed out by E.H. Carr, after 1919 the fear of the security of France stood as an individual aspect. French foreign policy centred around the security of its eastern border. French foreign policy after the Versailles Treaty event though France was able to achieve a secure position it was afraid of its security due to the following reasons.

- 1) France did not forget the successful entry of Germany twice into its territory within one generation period.
- 2) Even though Germany was crippled by the Treaty of Versailles France had its own fear that Germany may revitalise its strength quickly.
- 3) a) To reduce the fear of France, Rhine territory was demilitarised b) Germany was strongly prevented from establishing its military strength in that area. c) Britain and America will come to the rescue if the eastern border of France was attacked by any nation. d) When American senate refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles the fear of France increased further. The above causes enhanced the fear of France regarding her security. So it was particular in signing various treaties of Security.

### The French Treaties of Security

- 1) In 1920 it signed a military pact with Belgium.
- 2) In 1921 it had a treaty with Poland.
- 3) It signed a treaty with Czechoslovakia in 1924.
- 4) Friendly agreements were signed with Rumania and Yugoslavia in 1926, and 1927 respectively by France.

### Collective Security through the League:

- 1) Through collective security France stressed that the member nations should stand against the aggressor in an united manner.
- 2) A Temporary Mixed Commission was created by the League. To this commission Robert Cecil of Britain and Col. Requin of France submitted that a) There must be general reduction of armaments b) The reduction should be based on the guarantee assigned for security c) The guarantees also should be general. d) But such guarantees will be assigned only on the condition of giving an undertaking regarding reduction of army e) This commission was appointed in 1922.

### Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance ( 1923 )

This treaty was accepted by 18 nations. But the Labour government of Britain opposed this treaty. So it was not executed. Any how it announced that a) the wars of aggression, should be declared as international crime. b) Within the four days of aggression, the aggressor should be brought to the notice of the council of the League. c) The members should render all sorts of helps to the aggressed to redress its grievances.

### Geneva Protocol ( 1924 )

The rejection of the Draft Treaty of Mutual assistance did not hinder the enthusiasm of the collective security. On 2nd October 1924 on the basis of the suggestions rendered by Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England and Mr. M. Herriot, the Premier of France, a proposal was made on such a protocol. Dr. Bernes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia



3) a) No steps were taken to execute this treaty by mention anything about the members who deviated provisions.

4) The country which deviated the provisions will be to enjoy the benefits.

5) This pact did not mention about the ways and means preserving peace.

6) It could not decide whether it was a war of aggression or a war of security.

7) It was a treaty which challenged the provisions of League of Nations.

#### Criticism :

It was a pact only in paper. It did not do anything substantial for the execution of the provisions. It was only spiritual and not sounding nothing. Though it condemned war it did not take any decision on those who involved in the war. This pact became invalid when Italy and Japan engaged in open aggression.

### IV. FOREIGN POLICY OF MUSSOLINI

Benito Mussolini's foreign policy was the reflection of Fascist principles. Only by understanding the ideas of fascism one can estimate the foreign policy of Italy. It was a symbol of fire sticks with axe. They had their own stage it was a movement without principle. At the initial to the miseries and sorrows of the people who had no satisfaction on anything. The functioning of the Fascist government exposed the principles of Fascism.

#### Principles:

- 1) Fascism centred around the narrow minded nationalism and it insisted that a man who lives for the state should be prepared to dedicate himself for the cause of the society.
- 2) The Duke who runs the Government should be believed, obeyed and fought on his behalf.
- 3) Both democracy and communism will be barriers for the functioning of the state.
- 4) Production, distribution should be controlled by the state and they should not be nationalised.
- 5) News papers, education and communication processes must be under the control of the state.
- 6) On the principles of single country, single state, single party and single leader both Fascism and Nazism were one and the same.
- 7) Italy should attain the glory of the ancient Roman empire. It meant that Italy should reach the status of an Empire.
- 8) Mediterranean sea is our sea and it should be converted into an Italian Lake.
- 9) The Versailles treaty has disappointed Italy, for Italy which dedicated six lakhs of lives and 12 million pounds received only Tyrol, Transino, Dalmatia and they were not sufficient for Italy. Fume was not given to them. According to Mussolini the soldiers won the war but the politicians failed. Italy, which won the war could not achieve anything in the peace conference. The victorious Italy's position was very weak. So Italy was particular in avoiding the treaty of Versailles.
- 10) Italy was in short of raw materials. So it felt the need for having colonies for attaining raw materials. It became

member in it, that became the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis against the allied powers.

**10) Intervention in the Spain civil war:** In the war of Spain, Mussolini supported the cause of General Franco. So in Spain the fascist government under Franco established.

**11) Annexation of Albania :** In 1927 Italy signed alliance with Albania, located on the eastern shore of Adriatic sea. So it became a protectorate under Italy. In the entire administration of Albania was taken up by Italy.

**12) Munich Congress:** Since Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia was populated by German race Hitler wanted to annex that with Germany. So to discuss that during 1939, Britain, France, Italy, Germany etc. met at Munich. Mussolini wanted to solve this issue peacefully. So Sudetenland was handed over to Germany.

**13) Steel Treaty:** (1939) In 1938, when Hitler invited Rome he expressed his desire for close relations with Italy. Germany and Italy signed a military treaty among themselves. Due to its strength it was known as Steel Alliance.

**14) II World war:** In 1939 Hitler started the second world war by invading Poland. Mussolini believed that Germany will be the final winner of the war. So in 1940 when Germany will be second world war. Italy attacked that from the south. Thus Italy entered the war.

**End of Mussolini :** The role of Italy in the second world war was not at all an appreciable one. Because of his failure his prestige was reduced. He was removed from power and placed under house arrest. Finally he was shot dead and his body was hanged in the meeting spot of four roads at Milan. Thus he met with a failure.

## V. FOREIGN POLICY OF HITLER

Hitler, in his work called 'Mein Kampf', has expressed his principles of Nazism. On the basis of that his foreign policy emerged. His policy was having the following things.

- a) A wide Germany which will be capable of accommodating all the population of German race.
- b) Making the Versailles and St. Germain Treaties useless.
- c) For the prosperous living and to settle the people of German race, creation of German colonies.
- d) The Germans are people belonging to Aryan race which is worth to rule the world.
- e) Semitic people such as Jews who are inferior should be crushed.

f) The entire human race grows by constant wars. Regular peace will destroy that. Military strength is worth to be accepted. The boundaries of areas created by men can be changed by men themselves.

Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany on 30, January, 1933. Immediately he carried out two things which alarmed the nations of the world. 1) During 1933, October Germany quit away from the international disarmament conference held at Geneva. 2) It also withdrew its membership from the League of Nations which affected the prestige of Germany. It was approved by 95% of the German population.

Any how to pacify and to please the world nations he carried out the following activities also.

- 1) Treaty of Mutual Assistance was signed with Britain, France, and Italy for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

2) In 1934 he signed an anti-war treaty with Poland. By the treaty of Versailles Poland received Danzig, Pomerania, West Prussia, Silesia from Germany. By the Locarno Pact Germany refused to give the same recognition to his western and eastern boundaries. By his treaty with Poland he was a puzzle to the diplomats of the world.

**Austrian issue ( 1934 )** In his Mein Kampf Hitler had stressed that Austria should be united with Germany. In 1934 he encouraged the Nazis to revolt. The Austrian Chancellor Dollfus was murdered. This was expected to be another Sarajevo. Italy was prepared to take action to protect the freedom of Austria. In Austria also, the anti German feeling was increasing. So Hitler was to postpone his plan of Anschluss merger.

**Annexation of Saar ( 1935 )** According to Versailles Treaty Saar region was kept under France with the supervision of the League for a period of 15 years. To know the views of the people of Saar a plebiscite was arranged in 1935. Since 90% of the people expressed their willingness to be with Germany, it was annexed with Germany. This was a victory attained by Hitler due to his diplomacy.

**Remilitarisation ( 1935 )** After quitting the Geneva disarmament conference, Germany began to concentrate on remilitarisation. He announced that demilitarisation and disarmament proposals of the League will have no control over Germany. He also informed that Germany will have an army upto the strength of 5,55,000 soldiers. Britain, France and Italy, met at Stresa and condemned the military activities of Germany.

**Anglo-German Navy:** Britain, which signed the Treaty of Stresa, decided to have a naval treaty with Germany. It was agreed that the German navy should be upto 35% of the British navy. Thus Britain was responsible not only to the deviation from the treaty of Versailles but also to the break up of the Stresa alliance.

**Breach of Locarno Pact :** Next to the above Hitler decided to break the Locarno pact. When France and Czechoslovakia had alliances with Russia against Hitler, he disregarded the Locarno pact and sent the German army to Rhineland. He also informed that he is prepared to have no war pacts and demilitarised areas.

**Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis:** Both Fascism and Nazism opposed communism as their first enemy. So both of them allied together against Russia. Italy also became a member of the anti-Comintern pact signed between Japan and Germany. Italy accepted the anti-Comintern pact because Germany maintained neutrality with regard to the capture of Abyssinia. By that again Germany supported Italy because she interfered in the civil war in Spain. Thus the alliance among these three countries in 1937 was known as Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

**Anschluss :** It 1938 when Germany wanted to annex Austria, it did not materialise due to the opposition of Italy. Now after the formation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, Italy did not oppose the activities of Germany. By mere threats Hitler was able to annex Austria.

**Munich Conference :** It took place in 1938. In Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, majority of the people were Germans. Hitler wanted to annex that on the ground that the Germans of that area are ill-treated. He warned that he is going to invade Czechoslovakia against the efforts of Britain and France. American President Roosevelt suggested to settle that issue by talks. Mussolini also compelled Hitler to concede for a talk. So in 1938 Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, Laval, the France Premier, Hitler and Mussolini met at Munich. There Hitler declared that the annexation of Sudetenland will be his last annexation and he obtained that territory. He was proud of the fact that he had avoided war. The annexation of Sudetenland created confusion in Czechoslovakia which was not invited to attend

Munich Conference. By utilizing this opportunity Germany annexed Czechoslovakia and captured majority of the areas of the East. Allowed by these activities of Hitler, Britain and France have taken severe actions against Hitler.

**Annexation of Memel:** The Treaty of Versailles assigned Memel, located in the Baltic sea region to Lithuania. They were to recover that. But due to fear, Lithuania handed over Memel to Hitler.

**Spanish Civil war:** In the civil war of Spain, this supported France and helped it by men and material. It was against the principle of the league of nations.

**Non-Aggression pact:** In 1939 Hitler signed the pact with Russia. Even from the beginning Hitler signed the pact with Italy and Japan due to his opposition to Communism. After his aggression over Czechoslovakia he directed his attention towards Poland. He believed that it will be beneficial to have the support of Russia for this. Russia was against the activities of Britain and France. So it decided to co-operate with Germany. Due to that the non-aggression pact was signed between Germany and Germany during 1939. Thus Germany was relieved from the problem of fighting at two fronts simultaneously.

**Danzig issue:** According to the Treaty of Versailles Danzig harbour of Baltic sea was placed under the control of the nations of the world. Polish corridor was arranged to reach that port. Hitler stressed that Danzig and Polish corridor should be handed over to Germany. Poland refused to do so. So on first September 1939, the German army entered into Poland.

**II World War:** Britain and France which failed to persuade Germany at Munich, now strongly supported the cause of Poland against Hitler. The British Prime Minister gave an ultimatum that Germany should evacuate Poland within 24 hours. Hitler did not reply heed to that on 3rd September. Britain declared war on

Germany. France also plunged into the war. Thus the war responsible for the second world war.

### **Explain:**

Hitler was a dictator who adopted the policy of aggression and expansion. He decided to extend the policy of expansion in Europe. He was an example for the fact that power will corrupt an individual and state. Hitler was enough wealthy and powerful and capable to utilize every situation in his favour. The agreement towards the Treaty of Versailles, the fear of the western countries towards Russia, the Treaty of Munich and over the western countries etc. were regarded carefully by Hitler. He never hesitated to sell his soul to evil forces. He felt that a responsibility will be with someone else. Any town due to his wrong aggressions and unlawful activities he met with his fatal end without any name and fame.

## **VI- Munich conference (or) the policy of appeasement**

When Hitler expressed his principle of widened Germany, expanded to all the areas where the Germans live, the small and minority states around Germany were threatened. Czechoslovakia located in the south of Germany was affected since that state contained majority of German population. Further Czechoslovakia was a state created by the League of nations. Hitler who wanted to dislodge that, was particular in destroying Czechoslovakia to utilize the natural resources and industrial development. He believed that such things will strengthen Germany. Further Czechoslovakia was having alliances with Britain and France, which were the enemies of Germany. But he was aware of the fact that Russia can send her troops to Czechoslovakia only through Poland or Rumania and both of them will not allow the Russian army to march through their nations. He was quite

**October Revolution :** (1) Lenin decided to bring all Soviets under the control of the Bolsheviks. (2) Trotsky was elected as the President of the Petrograde soviet. (3) The Bolsheviks attained majority in the Moscow Bolshevik Executive Committee. (4) They demanded that the soviets are the most powerful bodies with many powers. (5) A red army which did not like war was also constituted. (6) On October 24, the Red Army brought the Railway Station, bridges, banks, post offices etc of Petrograd under its control. (7) Public buildings were also brought under its control. (8) Atora, the warship also supported the cause of the Bolsheviks. (9) The residences of the ministers were encircled by the Red Army. (10) Kerensky escaped. Thus the interim government was removed and a Bolshevik government under Lenin was established.

**The results of the Russian Revolution :**

- (1) February Revolution brought the Romanov rule to an end.
- (2) The October revolution by bringing the Bolsheviks to power created the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (3) The communist principles were put into practice.
- (4) The workers of the world were united and they emerged as a powerful force.
- (5) Russia was relieved temporarily from her defeats in the wars.
- (6) By the Treaty of Brestlitwosk peace was bought by Russia.
- (7) The allied nations treated Russia as a enemy.
- (8) Communism was imposed by force in Russia. Those who opposed communism were all massacred.
- (9) This Red Terror alarmed the allied nations.

- (10) A civil war emerged in Russia and countries like Britain, France, Czechoslovakia interfered in the civil war and sent armed force.
- (11) Japan annexed major portions of Eastern Siberia
- (12) Russia was isolated and she was not at all invited to participate in the Versailles peace conference.
- (13) Woodrow Wilson in his fourteen points mentioned that Russia can have its own constitution without the intervention of others.
- (14) Russia aimed at the introduction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world nations.
- (15) This enabled the nations of the world to look at Russia with suspicion.

Thus the Russian revolution was a significant international event between the two world wars.

**VIII. RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY (1917 - 1939)**

The Russian revolution of 1917 caused drastic changes in her foreign policy. Russia was particular in promoting the principles of Karl Marx throughout the world. It decided to oppose and annihilate capitalism. It condemned imperialism vehemently. It was also particular in preserving its national interest. According to the changes Russia was also keen on transforming her policies. From 1917 to 1939 clear cut policies were adopted by Russia with regard to foreign countries.

and Italy supported France. But the Western countries maintained neutrality by passing a resolution. This neutrality was favourable only to France. So Russia lost hopes over the Western Countries.

**Munich Conference :** In 1938 it was convened. It centred around the policy of appeasement. To the conference which centred with the case of Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. Russia was not satisfied with offering of Sudetenland to Germany. Russia was not that the Western Countries try to appease Hitler and treat Nazism and communism without any disparity. Russia realised that the appeasement of Germany was mainly to maintain the status quo against Russia.

### **Non-aggression Pact with Germany (1939)**

Russia was able to understand that the policy of appeasement, the Anti-comintern pact, its impossibility to get the support of Britain and France etc have all isolated her disastrously. So to safeguard its position Russia signed this pact with Germany in 1939. By that (a) She was able to avoid the aggression of Germany (b) and thought that she can indulge in aggression of East Europe. So it executed the following activities.

- (1) In 1939 when Hitler attacked Poland Russia attacked her from the east. Both Russia and Germany divided Poland among themselves.
- (2) Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were annexed by Russia.
- (3) When she annexed the territories of Finland in an aggressive way, Russia was thrown out of the League of Nations.
- (4) She annexed the territories of Moldavia of Rumania.
- (5) In 1940 Russia signed another non-aggression pact with Japan.
- (6) She declared war as an imperialistic one.

**Russia and II World War :** On 22nd June 1941 Hitler invaded Russia without any intimation. The non-aggression pact disappeared. Now Russia, with the support of allied powers wanted, to oppose the axis power. But Japan did not attack Russia.

Thus Russia, which took part in the world war II enhanced her political powers. She became the constant rival of U.S.A. Communism and capitalism became fighting forces. After the end of the II world war Russia began to involve in the cold war.

### **IX. SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-1939)**

It was not a mere civil war but an international war. Foreign armies involved themselves in the war indirectly. Finally it was a tug of war between Communism and Fascism. In March 1939 the war came to an end. It was treated as a preliminary training for the second world war.

**The political condition of Spain (1921-31)** Spain was having monarchical form of government. The ruler Alphonsha XIII was weak and inefficient. He could not solve the problem of the state. The Spanish army was defeated at Anuel in 1921 by the people called Ris of Morocco. So in 1923 Rivera, the General captured the power. The king was a puppet in the hands of Rivera. Upto 1931 the military dictatorship went on in Spain.

**Establishment of a Republic :** Rivera dissolved the parliament. The rights of people were all forbidden. The people who opposed dictatorship rose in rebellion against it. In 1931 Rivera gave up his power. So Ferrencur came to power. To pacify people he announced the Municipal elections. In the election Republicans

(e) League of Nations... it passed a resolution that no nation should... with the activities of other nations. It also appointed a commission to see the non-intervention. But the commission which consisted of Britain, France, Germany and Italy could not prevent the intervention of others.

**End of the war :** After 1938 the Republicans failed. Franco was able to capture Barcelona. Gradually in 1939 March, Madrid, Lavalenshia etc. fell. The republicans surrendered to Franco. Thus Franco became the virtual dictator of aggression.

(2) Hitler was also encouraged by Mussolini and Hitler were particularly in Albania and Czechoslovakia respectively. (4) Britain and France were not for a direct war. (5) Russia was able to understand that Western countries will never support her. (6) The League of Nations could not turn out anything tangible.

### X. MANCHURIAN CRISIS

The victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 made her an imperialist country. The ideas, such as aggression and economic imperialism also developed. Japan, the 'Britain of the East' was particular to become an Empire like Britain. In 1892 after defeating China, Japan gained Formosa and trade rights. In 1902 when she signed a treaty with England she gained confidence to become an imperialist.

(1) World war and Japan : (a) while the European powers were engaged in the war in the western fronts, Japan without any opposition became an imperialist. (b) She entered the war against

Germany. (c) She annexed Shantung peninsula and Kiachow harbour in China. (d) It also annexed Marian, Carolin, and Marshal islands in the Pacific. (e) She compelled China to accept her suzerainty by approving the 21 demands imposed on her. (f) In the forecast, America too was forced to accept the expansion of Japan due to the crisis of war. (8) After the 1 world war in the peace conference, Japan enjoyed the position of a super power.

(2) Washington conference : (1922) This conference was convened to avoid the naval competition in East Asia. Britain, France, America, Italy and Japan were the signatories. By that Japan obtained a place next to America and Britain. She gave up her rights over Shantung to China by a separate treaty with her.

(3) Tanaka Memorial : After the Washington conference Japan postponed her policy of annexation and conquest for a short while. Tanaka, the Prime Minister of Japan prepared the plan for future course of action. By that he informed that Manchuria and Mongolia are essential for Japan for its security and development. On that line in 1934 the Japanese Munroe doctrine was instituted. It stressed that no European power should interfere in the affairs of East Asia, which was the rightful claim of Japan.

In the light of the above circumstances. Japan began to devote its attention on Manchuria in 1931.

#### Manchurian crisis : (1931)

Manchuria was the North eastern province of Japan and that had already established her economic imperialism there and had laid railway tracks. Due to the following causes it was attracted by Manchuria.

(1) Manchuria had large quantity of coal and iron ores which were necessary for Japan's industrial development.

(2) Manchuria was a suitable place for using it as a colony to settle her population.

(3) The great depression had its own impact on Japan's economy was affected. It led to policies to try to reduce her economy, the privatization of banks, and the recovery.

(4) The influence of the army was strong in the 1930s. The activities of the military generals led to the rise of Manchuria.

**Aggression:** (1) In 1931 Japanese troops entered Manchuria and established Japan's first colony. The army began other activities. Manchuria brought many changes to Japan by aggression. The Japanese treated it as a colony and not as a part of the empire.

(2) League of Nations: China brought this aggression to the Council of the League and required to settle. But the Council could not do anything against Japan because it was also a member in the Council. Further on the basis of this, surely the Council can announce economic blockade. But no other powers did not follow such an action, the League can take any action against Japan.

**Lytton Commission:** While the Lytton Commission was working into the affairs Japan had completed the aggression in Manchuria. It was decided as an independent state in the name of Japan. As the League informed that the members did not support Manchuria, Japan cancelled its membership in the League.

**Significance:** (1) Manchurian crisis created a pressure on international politics. (2) The League's weakness was seen aggression of Japan. (3) The League lost an opportunity to defend the principle of collective security. (4) Britain and France adopted the principle of appeasement. (5) No power was there to

oppose aggression and to provide peace. This was an opportunity for the aggression.

**Manchuria:** (1) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (2) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (3) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (4) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (5) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (6) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war. (7) Japan's aggression in Manchuria was a step towards the world war.

### XI. DISARMAMENT BEFORE II WORLD WAR

Arms race was a major cause for the II world war. For the need for disarmament was felt for the maintenance of peace. However Wilson also stressed it as a significant aspect in the 14-points. Arms race was important due to the following causes: (1) It encouraged war and created tension in the nearby regions. (2) It consumed majority of the income of the state. (3) It provided the danger of war. (4) The war expenses arrested the use of sufficient fund for the rest of the welfare schemes. (5) The knowledge, time and energy were misused in preparing weapons than to use them for developmental activities. (6) Armed forces enabled the nations to devise an aggression.



- (2) Russia suggested complete and total disarmament.
- (3) Britain offered an idea that the weapons should be divided into two i.e. the aggressive and security. (10) The Washington Plan was another measure. According to the following suggestions were made: (a) Britain, France, Germany and Italy can have equal number of forces and Russia may be allowed to have a higher percentage. (b) As it was a period of great depression, Merchantman cross and establishment of Nazi rule in Germany, the Washington commission offered the following advice:
- (i) No weapons should be used by air forces.
  - (ii) Chemical and nuclear weapons should be avoided.
  - (iii) The sale of weapons should be restricted.
  - (iv) Every nation should submit a financial report regarding its army.

In 1920 Germany came out of the conference. Japan followed it. So in 1921 the conference was postponed and it was not convened after that.

**Washington Conference (1921 - 22)** This conference was convened to control naval expansion at the Pacific and also to pacify China. Britain, France, America, Japan, China, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal etc. were the participants. They signed the Five Power naval agreement with regard to the reduction of naval forces. (a) According to that the countries like Britain, America, Japan, France and Italy will have their navy in the following ratio:

5 : 5 : 3 : 17 : 17

(b) It was accepted that no big powers should establish any naval base in the Pacific region. (c) Japan felt unhappy because it had no equality with America. So it insisted in the London conference of 1923 that the disparity should be removed. As it was not accepted by America and Britain, Japan staged a walkout and informed that the Washington conference provisions will not control her.

### Causes for the failure :

- (1) All the nations attached importance only to national welfare.
- (2) France stressed that security first and then only disarmament.
- (3) Germany's stress for equality alarmed the nations.
- (4) It was very difficult to distinguish the offensive and defensive weapons clearly.
- (5) The treatment of submarine as an offensive weapon by Britain was not accepted by the other nations.
- (6) The leaders failed to create a trend about disarmament among the people. This issue was not approached in a psychological way.
- (7) The League of Nations could not curtail the activities of either Germany or Italy or Japan.

Thus the failure of the League in achieving success in disarmament led to its end. Further it was a measure which could not avoid the second world war. Germany, Italy and Japan became imperialistic and aggressive.

## XII. WASHINGTON CONFERENCE (1921-22)

In 1921-22 the Washington conference was convened to control the naval activities in the Pacific region and to satisfy China which was affected by the Versailles conference. It was attended by nations like Britain, France, America, Japan and China. Separate treaties were signed among the nations. This conference convened due to the efforts of America continued from 1912.

- (4) Pacific region was made as a zone of peace for a short while
- (5) Open door policy was approved and it was a diplomatic victory for America.
- (6) Japan did not achieve anything and it declared that Washington conference will not have any control over her.
- (7) Japan's naval strength was controlled.
- (8) Japan without any body's interference and opposition began to adopt the policy of aggression and imperialism.

## 7. SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

1. Was the second world war due to the failure of diplomacy? (1995)
2. Trace the causes for the II world war and trace its impacts in the international relations.
3. Discuss the causes and results of the II world war.

### SECOND WORLD WAR - CAUSES - COURSE AND RESULTS

**Introduction :**

The second world war emerged due to the policy of vengeance adopted by Germany, which was crippled in the I world war. The growth of the military strength of Germany led to the war. The arrangements of peace made after the I world war led to the second world war. Within a short span of 20 years

after the first world war, another big war started in 1939 and it was terrible and catastrophic in many ways. Since it brought out significant changes in the nations of the world one should know the circumstances which led to the war and also the results of the war.

**Causes :**

**(A) Versailles Treaty :** (1) While the treaty was drafted Germany was not given opportunity to express its view and it was not invited to the Paris peace conference (2) By threat and force the victorious allied powers compelled Germany to sign that. (3) (a) By that treaty six million people lost their lives and properties. (b) Germany lost 25,000 sq. miles of her territories. (c) 65% of steel mines, 45% of coal mines were to be handed over to the victors. (d) It lost 9 mill sq. miles of colonial territories and 13 million people lived there. (e) The Saar valley was forfeited. (g) 2 million Germans were left as refugees in foreign countries. (h) Foreign armed forces occupied Rhine land. (i) Germany was accused and made as the convict of war. (j) Germany was made wholly responsible for the war. (k) Germany was forced to give a war indemnity of 660 crore dollars. (l) German territories were divided by the other powers in the following way.

- Euphen, Malmedy and } - Belgium
- Monseratte } - Belgium
- Absace & Lorraine - France
- Northern Schleswig - Denmark
- Major portions of Silesia, } - Poland
- Western Russia, Danzig } - Poland
- Saar valley - under the League for 15 years
- Memmel - Lithuania.

### **Results of the war :**

- (1) In this total war states, people and societies were all involved. So the total loss was also heavy. Agriculture fields, Public buildings, industries etc. were all destroyed.
- (2) Nearly 2 1/2 crores of people lost their lives 3 1/2 crores of people were injured.
- (3) 1000 million dollars of amount was wasted in the war.
- (4) The damages done to public and private properties were immeasurable.
- (5) Many cities reached the position of graveyards.
- (6) The dropping of atom bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki shook the entire mankind.
- (7) The autocratic Fascism and Nazism disappeared totally.
- (8) In Italy republic was constituted and Germany was placed under the Allied powers.
- (9) The balance of power of Europe was completely changed.
- (10) America left out its policy of isolation and began to interfere in the European politics.
- (11) Russia emerged as a super power.
- (12) After the dismemberment of Fascism and Nazism the big powers under capitalism and communism became rival powers.
- (13) The rivalry and fear between Russia and America led to the old war.
- (14) European Imperialism and colonialism came to an end.
- (15) Spirit of Nationalism among various powers led to their freedom.
- (16) Above all to avoid future war and to achieve peace the United Nations Organisation was created.

## **II. Diplomatic conferences during the wars.**

The allied powers won victories due to the repeated conferences among the leaders of various nations. They set aside all their differences temporarily and arrived at uniform decisions. The world leaders were known for their diplomatic skills. To know the diplomatic relations one should have the knowledge of various conferences.

### **Atlantic Charter : (1941)**

On August 14, 1941 British Prime Minister Churchill and American President Roosevelt met in a ship called *St. Augusta* in the Atlantic Ocean. To bring political unity, democracy and world peace both the countries came nearer to each other. They revealed their decisions by the Atlantic charter. They contained (a) opposition to aggression. (b) to establish any form of government on the basis of self-determination. (c) Establishing a world organisation for preservation of world peace.

Though America did not indulge in war at the beginning it maintained neutrality. He condemned the Nazi atrocities. Though the principle of self determination was accepted England did not give the right to India. Finally America also plunged into the war.

### **Casablanca conference (1943)**

In 1941 when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour America entered the war in support of allied powers. She was able to get many victories at North Africa. Russia also fought against Nazi Germany. So Churchill and Roosevelt met again at Casablanca to decide the future course of action in the war. They decided to continue the war till the unconditional surrender of Axis powers. The plans about west and southern fronts were also discussed.

### **Moscow Conference (1943)**

Though Russia and Germany had the non-aggression pact with each other, Germany invaded Russia on 22, June 1941. So Churchill by treating the enemies of Hitler as his friends came to the support of Russia. The two enemy nations i.e. Britain and Russia signed an agreement on 12, July 1941. Both of them agreed to help each other. Till the end they should oppose Germany and should not come to any peace with Germany. So during 1943 the foreign ministers of U.S.A, Britain and Russia met at Moscow and

- (1) Germany was divided into four divisions. They were placed under Britain, France, America and Russia respectively. (2) The war indemnity was fixed. (3) The machineries and warships of Germany were all divided among people. Germany was looted and disarmed. (4) Germany's imperialism and faith over Nazis were all removed. (5) Gradually democracy should be introduced in Germany. (6) Danzig and Eastern Prussia should be handed over to Poland. (7) Konigsberg should be given to Russia. (8) Poland border was to be extended upto Oder-Nisse. (9) The Nazi leaders were to be enquired and convicted.

Thus by understanding and adjustment the big allied powers stood against the common enemies i.e. Axis powers. As soon as the war came to an end the trouble started among allied powers. From Stedney of the Baltic to Triesty of the Adriatic sea there was an iron curtain. The cold war started.

## 8. UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

1. Describe the role of the Security Council of UNO in solving the problems. (1994)
2. Point out the measures of disarmament by UNO and outside.
3. Bring out the services of UNESCO to human development. (1996)

## I. U.N.O - ORGANISATION & ACHIEVEMENTS

### Introduction :

The leaders of the nations of the world were of the opinion that there must be a world organisation to maintain world peace. The Atlantic Charter of 14, August 1941 informed about the UNO. The talks at Washington (1943) Moscow (1943) and Dumberton Oaks (1944) paved the way for such an organisation. The charter was approved by 44 nations at San Francisco in 1945. From October 4, 1945 the UNO started to function.

**Aims :** (1) Establishing peace and security among world nations. (2) Developing friendly relations. (3) Through co-operation social, economic, human and cultural unity should be created. (4) Respecting the human rights, fundamental rights of the nations.

### Structure :

It contains six organs and other specialised agencies. The General Assembly, Security Council, social and economic council, Trusteeship council, International court of justice, and Secretariat are the six main organisations.

**General Assembly :** (1) All the nations which have joined the UNO are members in it. (2) It will meet once in a year. (3) Emergency meetings can be convened. (4) It finds ways and means for maintenance of peace. (5) It approves the budget. (6) It selects some members for specialised agencies. (7) It allows new members. (8) If the security council cannot settle an issue by 2/3 majority the General Assembly can arrive at decisions. (9) Now there are 188 members in it.

## II. UNO AND DISARMAMENT

On 24, October 1943, UNO came into existence. It aimed at world peace by various ways and means. Arms race was the major cause for various issues. So disarmament was the importance by the UNO. The 11th schedule of its charter has given the right to the General Assembly to deal with the control of arms. By creating a committee general advices regarding disarmament are obtained from them.

### **Atomic Energy Commission :**

In 1946, the General Assembly established the commission. It consisted of 12 members. It rendered advice regarding disarmament and control of atom bombs. The Russian member announced that the entire atom bombs should be destroyed within three months.

### **Traditional arms reduction :**

A separate commission was established to avoid weapons other than atom bombs. Russia insisted that the nations should reduce 1/3 of their total weapons, America compelled that tension should be reduced before abolition of weapons. But nothing tangible emerged.

### **Baruch Plan :**

This American representative informed that all the mines which are useful for the production of arms should be brought under the control of UNO. But it did not succeed.

### **Disarmament Commission**

In 1950, the American President Truman announced that the previous disarmament commissions should be united into the Disarmament Commission. It was accepted.

### **Atom for peace :**

In 1953 Eisen Hover, the American President announced this idea. He pointed out that the atomic energy should be handed over to the Atomic Energy Commission for utilising them for peace. But Russia did not accept it.

### **Arms race :**

Upto 1949 America was having the monopoly of producing arms. In that year Russia tested its first atom bomb. In 1952 USA discovered the Hydrogen Bomb. Britain (1957), France (1960), China (1964) became nations using atomic energy.

### **Disarmament Inner Council :**

In 1953 this committee was established with Canada, Russia, France, America and Britain as its members. It aimed at disarmament. But it did not achieve anything. So steps were taken outside the UNO for disarmament in the following way :

### **Geneva Summit Conference (1955) :**

In 1955 the leaders of America, Britain, Russia and France met at Geneva and discussed about disarmament. It recommended another talk.

### **10 - member Commission (1960) :**

In 1960 UNO established this with Britain, France, America, Russia, Canada, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia as its members. It analysed the different possibilities of disarmament. But nothing came out because of mutual fear and suspicion.

### **18 - member Commission (1962)**

Due to the recommendations given by Khrushchav, the Premier of Russia eight more members were included in the

(4) It recommends the inclusion of new members to the UN and also the name of the General Secretary. The General Assembly selects them.

### Achievements :

- (1) In 1950 the idea "Unity for peace" was introduced. By this if the Security Council failed to achieve peace the matter can be referred to the General Assembly.
- (2) Due to cold war tensions it cannot take proper stands on issues of Iran and Greece at the initial stages.
- (3) In the Korean issue it used peace forces and stopped the war between North and South Korea. Indian forces were sent there to maintain peace.
- (4) During the nationalisation issue of Suez Canal by Nasser, when it was opposed by European powers, the U.N. army was sent there to restore peace.
- (5) To places like Congo and Cyprus when there arose problems U.N. Peace forces were sent. They maintained peace.
- (6) Though it cannot stop aggression it has achieved success in making arrangements for peace. For instance during Arab-Israeli war it stopped the war. In the Indo-Pak. war also UNO succeeded in stopping the war.
- (7) It makes arrangements for the nations to express their view points. This reduces the tension of war.  
The Veto power assigned to the big powers is criticised as a hurdle. They use it as a weapon to avoid unnecessary supports. It carries out its duties effectively amidst multifarious considerations.

## 9. COLD WAR

1. Review the relations between the USA and the USSR between the years 1939 and 1950. (1991) (1992) (1993)
2. How did the cold war come to an end? (1994)
3. How was cold war friezed out? (1997)

### Introduction :

After the II world war there was rivalry between America and Russia due to enmity, envy, fear, suspicion etc. The tension caused created a situation of war and terror. Such a tension was called cold war. In this situation Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Holland stood in favour of America. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania supported Russia. There was an iron curtain in between those two groups of nations.

### Causes :

- (1) **No common enemy** : During II world war America and Russia stood in one group first to suppress the despotic Nazism and Fascism. To avoid aggression they came nearer to each other. But when the common enemy, Germany was completely defeated the rivalry and opposition started between them.
- (2) **Policy differences** : They were in two poles. Russia was a communist country and America was a capitalist nation. When they decided to impose their own ideologies over the others tension began to mount. While Russia wanted to make communism as a world idea America opposed it.

(3) **New balance of power** : After the II world war Britain and France were pushed back to secondary positions.

**Berlin issue :**

Berlin was in the East Germany under Russia. But the western part of the city was controlled by western powers. So Russia by cutting the land and water routes caused economic blockade. West Berlin suffered a lot. This was removed by air way by America. The communist controlled east German people were not happy. A wall was constructed between the Eastern and Western parts of Germany. In May 1949 when Russia removed the barriers the cold war tension was reduced.

**Treaties, Organisations etc:**

During the period of cold war many, military pacts were signed. They too added to the cold war situations.

(1) **Brussels Agreement :** On 17, March 1948 it was signed between Britain, France, Belgium, Netherland etc. It was a pact due to the fear of Russian domination. This paved the way for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or NATO.

(2) **NATO :** It was formed on 4, April 1949 by the treaty signed at Washington. 12 nations participated in it. It was formed by America against Russia. In this the states such as Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and countries like America, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Italy were members. As majority of the states were located on the north Atlantic area it was known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. It informed that if any one of these nations was attacked by other nations, the others should come to its rescue. Its head quarters was at Paris. But when France left NATO in 1969 the head quarters was shifted to Brussels.

(3) **Warsaw Pact (1955) :** It emerged as an alliance against NATO. Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania were members in it. The Russian army was placed in those areas. This was a security measure against western powers.

(4) **South East Asian Treaty Organisation. (SEATO) :** It was a measure adopted by America to avoid the spread of communism in South East Asia. On 8th September 1954 the countries like America, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, etc met at Manila and formed this. All the members had equal rights.

(5) **Bagdad Pact (1955) :** This was also known as Central Treaty Organisation. This was created to avoid the spread of communism. Iran, Iraq, America were members in it.

(6) **Anzus Pact :** In this America, Australia and New Zealand were members.

(7) **The cold war in other parts :** (a) The civil war in China (1947-49) caused the removal of Chiang Kai Sheik and installation of communism. This rivalry between Chiang and Mao Tse Tung enabled Russia and America to be in war tension with each other. (b) From 1950 and 1953 there were problems in Korea. North Korea supported by Russia invaded South Korea. The Americans supported South Korea. This was another tension and the war was stopped by the defeat of North Korea. (c) The Vietnam war which ended in 1975 was also a cause for the cold war. (d) The countries like Hungary and Czechoslovakia wanted to come out of communist clutch. Russia used her army. This was condemned by America. (e) The Suez issue 1952, the Cuban crisis of 1962 could all be mentioned as examples for cold war tensions. (f) In 1962 the U-2 Plane incident was the culminating point of the cold war. When Russia shotdown the American Aircraft U-2, on the consideration of a spy, the war was unavoidable. But no war took place.

**The reduced tension :**

After the Cuban crisis the cold war tension was reduced due to various reasons. (1) The big powers realised that a third world war will be a total destruction of mankind. (2) The Hotline

facilities arranged between Moscow and Washington reduced the tension. (3) There arose misunderstanding between Russia and China. (4) France came out of Nato. (5) USA and USSR began to concentrate on space research. This deviation of science avoided the cold war tension. (6) The meeting between the leaders reduced the tension. For instance Nixon went to Moscow in 1971. Brezhnev visited America in 1973. (7) The development of non-alignment movement reduced the tension.

**End of cold war :**

Gorbachav when became the President of Russia new changes occurred. He met Reagan and signed the Dismantling treaty in 1983. By his Prestroika and Glosnast he decided to reform Russia. He called back the Russian army from Afghanistan. The East European Countries gave up communism one after the other. The iron curtain was torn into pieces. In 1991 he signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty with George Bush. Thus these aspects reduced cold war.

**10. KOREAN WAR**

- 1. Narrate the effects of the Korean war in the international relations:

**Introduction :**

After the second world war, the Korean issue emerged as a great problem. It was a difficult issue for the UNO whether it can avoid war and aggression. UNO succeeded in its effort. It is located in the Far East adjacent to China in its North eastern border. Upto 1885 it was under the control of China.

By the Treaty of Shimonoski, which brought the Sino-Japanese war to an end, Korea became an independent country. But in 1911 Japan annexed Korea as its part.

**I World war and after :**

In the II world war Japan entered against the allied powers. In 1943 at the Cairo conference Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai Sheik decided to defeat Japan, and wanted to make Korea as an independent country. After the surrender of Japan, Korea was released from the aggression of Japan. It was divided into two by keeping the 38° Latitude as the separation line. North Korea was placed under Russia and South Korea came under America. Both the powers created a joint commission to form an United Korean government. But it did not materialise. In 1947 UNO wanted to conduct election at Korea simultaneously. It was decided to give it to the victorious nation. But as north Korea refused to co-operate the union was impossible.

**Two Koreas :**

In South Korea a government was formed under Singmen Ree after the election. Seoul was made as its capital. To retard this Russia formed the communist Government under Kim il Sung. Thus Korea was divided.

**The War :**

During June 1950 North Korea invaded South Korea and annexed most of the territories. When it was brought to the notice of the UNO it declared the activities of North Korea as an aggression. It informed N.Korea to withdraw its forces. But North Korea did not pay any heed. So a combined peace force of UNO was sent there. On the basis of 'unity for peace' the American representative brought a resolution. In the Security Council the resolution was not accepted. So it was passed and accepted by 2/3 majority in the General Assembly.



(2) **Corollary** : Theodore Roosevelt announced this doctrine as an addition to Munroe doctrine. By that he announced that America will take up the financial administration of the Latin American states and reconstruct the financial distresses. America taking up the financial administration under its imperialism on them by bringing the entire administration under its control.

(3) **Plot** : This law was created for allowing America to interfere into the affairs of Cuba.

(4) **Dollar diplomacy** : President Taft formed this to bring the Latin American states into its influence. Because of this the American control of Nicaragua lasted for a period of nearly 20 years.

(5) Even Woodrow Wilson who stressed on world peace did not adopt the policy of peace with his neighbour states. He attempted to send the American force into Mexico.

(6) **Good neighbourly policy** : This Latin American States opposed the policies of USA. So Mexico decided to have contact with Germany against U.S.A. America which noticed the danger of such policies began to adopt the good neighbourly policy. President Franklin-de-Roosevelt and his foreign Secretary Hull announced this. The following were its provisions:

(1) America will not interfere with the internal policies of Latin America. (2) America will recognise their independence and sovereignty. (3) Matters relating to Latin America will be settled only in consultation with them.

**The effects** : (1) America came out of Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua etc. (2) America did not interfere in the Cuban Revolution of 1933. (3) In 1934 it totally gave up the Reconstruction scheme. (4) It offered a compensation of 25 million dollars to Colombia. (5) In 1918 when Mexico captured the properties of American companies without any objection demanded only the compensation. (6) In 1936 Franklin de Roosevelt took part in the

American conference held at Buenas Aires and exchanged cordial ideas. (7) During the II world war Latin American states supported USA.

(Note : Add the facts given in the previous sub-chapter under Latin America and OAS)

## 13. AFRICA

1. Explain the term Apartheid and state its effects on international relations (1990)
2. Discuss the African policy towards Apartheid? How far is it effective? (1991)
3. What is meant by Apartheid? In what way it affects international relations (1995)
4. Analyse the factors for the growth of national awakening in Africa in the 20th Century. (1999)

## I. RISE OF AFRICAN STATES

### Introduction :

Africa known as "dark continent" is known as "Future continent". In the previous century it was a continent which was exploited by the European powers. Now it contains many independent states.

(3) *Egypt and Lybia* : Both these countries were liberated during 1951.

(4) *Ghana* : It attained freedom from the British yoke in 1957 in 1960 it became a republic. Its President Enkruma fought for the freedom of other African countries. In 1958 at Cairo and in 1960 at Adis Ababa he convened the African liberation conference and stressed that the Imperialist powers should vacate Africa. Because of his efforts in 1960 nearly 17 African states attained independence.

### **African Liberation and UNO :**

For the liberation of African states UNO took keen efforts (1) In 1960 a resolution was passed in the General Assembly about it. It informed that UNO should take steps for the freedom of African states. (2) So in 1961 a special commission was appointed. (3) In 1965 in South Rhodesia Ian Smith formed the minority white rule. UNO took economic measures against this. (4) In the same way UNO passed a resolution in favour of the freedom of Namibia. (5) The African union organisation also fought for the freedom of African states. (6) Because of the efforts of that organisation before 1967 except Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia almost all the African states attained significance.

### **Organisation of African Union :**

President of Ghana, Enkruma in 1958 convened a conference. In 1961 another conference was convened at the capital of Ethiopia. In 1962 another conference was convened at Casablanca. In 1963 at Adis Ababa another conference was convened. 31 African states participated in it. This conference paved the way for the establishment of OAU. It had the following provisions. (1) (a) There will be four wings in it. (b) the committee having the members of the states. It met once in a year. (c) The committee of the foreign ministers of the states met at times when there were problems (d) A Tribunal was convened to deal with the problem among the nations.

### **Achievements of the organisation of the African Union :**

Within a span of four years the foreign ministers met nearly 16 times and tried to solve the problems. (1) It has succeeded in getting the representation for the African states in U.N. Security council and Social and Economic Councils. (2) It established voluntary agencies for helping the African liberation organisations. (3) It condemned the apartheid policy of South Africa. So that Namibia attained freedom from south Africa. (4) It works for the establishment of African common market. (5) It tried to solve the border issues between Algeria and Morocco, Ethiopia, Somaliland and Kenya.

### **Results at the International level :**

(1) African influence has been establishment at UNO. (2) No African states views can be set aside (3) Most of the Africa states adopt non-alignment policy. (4) It has reduced the tensions of cold war.

## **II. THE APARTHEID POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Apartheid is the word which means seclusion or isolation. The South Africans adopted this against the negroes of that area. They kept the negroes from the normal life of others due to the following reasons. (1) The blacks were people of low origin by birth. (2) The whites were superior and born only to rule while the blacks were people of low origin by birth. (3) The low class negroes should not mix with the highly cultured whites. (4) They believed that the mixing between them will lead to a mixed race and that will reduce their status and prestige.

### Commonwealth :

South Africa was a member of the Commonwealth. In 1961 it came out of it due to the opposition shown to apartheid. In 1994 it was expelled from the Commonwealth by it. The non-alignment countries have also condemned apartheid of South Africa. Nations like Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Jambia etc opposed it. Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India created an African Fund to assist the nations of Africa.

### UNO and Apartheid :

UNO in its preamble itself has referred to human rights. It recommended fundamental rights to all. It insists on recognition of the fundamental rights and independence of all nations. In the first meeting of UNO itself India accused South Africa due to its policy of apartheid. From that time onwards UNO has condemned the apartheid of South Africa. In 1962 UNO announced that diplomatic relations with South Africa must be cancelled. In 1963 UNO announced that the raw materials should not be exported to South Africa. In 1966 South Africa was forbidden from being a trustee of Namibia. In 1967 it stressed an economic blockade. In 1974 it was expelled from UNO. But such genuine measures of UNO could not set aside the apartheid. From 1948 onwards only the supporters of apartheid were Prime Ministers. Dr. Molon was significant. In 1988 President D. Clark came forward to reduce the stress on apartheid. Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader was released after 27 years of imprisonment. The restrictions on the National Congress were also removed. Namibia got independence.

### End of Apartheid :

On 8th February 1993 the South African government and the African National Congress came to an agreement. On February 13th, 1993 a treaty was signed. In the election held in April 1994 Nelson Mandela became the President of the Republic. By that the apartheid was nailed.

## 14. BANDUNG CONFERENCE

- (1) Give an estimate of the Bandung conference of 1955. (1999)

### Introduction :

In the 19th Century most of the Afro-Asian Countries were the colonies of the European powers. European imperialism was predominant in those areas. After the II world war there was an awakening among them. The liberation movements of those areas were strengthened. In 1947 countries like India, Burma, Ceylon etc. attained independence. To point out the end of the imperialism in the Afro-Asian countries the Bandung conference was convened in the year 1955.

### The Circumstances which led to the conference :

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was the pioneer in creating peace and unity among the Afro-Asian countries. (1) In 1947 a conference was arranged to deal with the common problems of Asian countries and their co-operative efforts for development was also discussed. (2) In 1949 another conference was convened to express the opposition to the Dutch rule in Indonesia. Representatives from 19 countries participated in it. (3) Such conferences revealed certain common aspects in the social, economic fields of the Afro-Asian nations. (4) By co-operative joint endeavours it was felt that their progress and development can be achieved effectively (5) In 1954 the countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia etc. met at Colombo. All the independent Afro-Asian countries were invited. Communist China was also invited. South Africa and Israel were not invited.

Russia's issue. (9) The free and independent foreign policy adopted by nations avoid unanimous opinions.

### **The future of non-alignment :**

The changing political trend arrests the need for non-alignment. There is no bi-polarisation. The two opposition groups have disappeared. The rivalry among the imperial and super powers have disappeared. The meeting of the American and Russian leaders have also reduced the tension. So the need for the non-alignment has also reduced.

## **16. SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL CO-OPERATION (SAARC)**

1. Describe the aims of SAARC and explain how that has brought peace and co-operation among the South Asian nations

### **Introduction :**

UN Charter's 52 nd Article accepts the creation of regional alliances. They help each other to promote cultural, economic prosperities of others. It will promote the welfare of all. The diplomatic, political alliances also known as military pacts will be one of this. The economic alliance will be another form. The European Economic Community, Organisation of American Union, Organisation of American States etc. could be cited suitable examples for this. SAARC also could be treated as one among them.

### **Origin :**

The SAARC emerged mainly for the economic welfare of the nations. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Maldives are the seven nations included in it. For the economic development and to enhance standard of living of the people this came into being.

The President of Bangladesh Mr. Ershad stressed the need for such an organisation. So in 1985 May the foreign ministers of the seven states met at Timbu and made arrangements to establish this. The first SAARC conference met at Dacca on 7, 8 December 1985. This conference approved the SAARC charter.

### **SAARC Charter :**

The leaders of the countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan wanted to promote UNO, Sovereignty of the non-aligned countries, territorial integration, recognition of the foreign policies of other nations, world peace, co-ordination etc.

Since every nation has to depend upon the other every one of them should recognise peace, freedom, social justice, economy, wealth and prosperity. The South Asian countries which have historical and cultural unity should understand each other and must improve their relations for their welfare and development.

The South Asian nations should indulge in the efforts of development for their mutual benefits.

The idea of national dependency should also be created among themselves.

The co-operation, relationships, exchanges and friendship are the basic factors among the members. They are all mentioned in the preamble of the charter of the SAARC.

(b) The abolition of terrorism. (c) To have unified resources for the development of the basic needs of the people (d) To issue SAARC passport to the parliament members, Chief Justices of the nation. It was decided to expand it to others gradually. (e) Pakistan came forward to establish a centre of Human resources development. It was created to encourage SAARC - 2000 scheme. (f) The attempts to use force was condemned. (g) It celebrated the year 1989 as the year of 'Intoxicants Preventive Year'. (h) In 1990 celebrated as the year of female children. (i) It celebrated the South Asian sports festival in India.

**Conference V :** It met at Maldiv under the Presidentship of Khayum in 1900.

**Conference VI :** It was convened at Colombo in 1993 and Premadasa presided over it. It discussed the co-operation in the field of economics.

**Conference VII :** Met at Dacca under the Presidentship of Sheik Hassina of Bangladesh in 1993.

**Conference VIII :** Met at New Delhi in 1995 under the chairmanship of Narasimha Rao of India and that discussed about the special trade rights among the members of the SAARC.

**Conference IX :** It took place at Maldives in 1997 under the Presidentship of Khayum. It suggested free trade among members before 2001.

**Conference X :** Met at Colombo in 1998 and Chandrika Prasad Sri Lanka presided over it.

### Special activities :

The activities are carried out with specific measures. (1) Research for utilising revised resources was arranged in Pakistan. (2) To give training in the decentralised village development programme and administration a team was imported from Bangladesh. (3) Seminar on land resumption was convened

at Delhi. (4) At Bangladesh a seminar was conducted to deal with the welfare of the village children. (5) Regional Space Research activities were carried out at India and Sri Lanka. (6) Special SAARC Quiz programmes and sports festivals are arranged.

### Estimate :

It has not achieved anything tangible. It took stern measures against terrorism. It tried to inculcate the spirit of co-operation among the members. It tries to eliminate the hurdles which obstruct political co-operation. India is accused for its big brother attitude over the other members. It restricted the anti-Presidential activities at Maldives. They attempt co-operation in socio-cultural aspects.

## 17. EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

1. Explain the stages of formation of the European Common Market. (1990)
2. Indicate the political significance of the European Economic community. (1991)

### Introduction :

After the spirit of Nationalism of the 19th century many nations emerged. The abnormal functioning caused economic problems with the neighbours. Many protective tariffs were created. Due to the economic problems after the Second world war, the European nations began to unite for their economic stability. The protective tariffs began to dissuade. Liberal trade policies were adopted. They felt the need for co-operation and joint endeavour. The diplomats wanted to have an united states of Europe. So the west European nations came nearer to each other in the fields of politics, economics and security.

## 18. COMMONWEALTH

1. Assess the working of the Commonwealth since world war II. (1991, 1992)
2. Describe the nature of the Commonwealth and point out its role in the international relations.

### Introduction :

Commonwealth is an unique organisation. As pointed out by Nehru people differ from continents, religion, life ways, race and feeling have been united into one and that is Commonwealth. It is a historical perspective. The colonies of U.K. even after independence have their contact with it through this organisation called Commonwealth.

### History :

In the 19th century in the British empire there was no sunset. Its empire was a well spread one in all the continents, big seas and islands. At places like Australia, Canada, New Zealand South Africa the British settled. In countries like India, Burma, Srilanka, Rhodesia, Gold Coast, Ghuayana etc. they created their colonies.

### Durham Report :

By this report the settlements such as Canada, South Africa, Australia etc, had the right of independence in their internal affairs.

(1) **Balfour Report** : By the Balfour Report of 1926 they became independent states. But they agreed to show allegiance to the British crown.

(2) **West Minister Act** : This Act passed in 1931 declared their independence in all respects including army, foreign relations etc. But they lived as Commonwealth due to their support to British crown.

(3) **Indian independence** : Upto that time the British settlements were treated as Commonwealth nations. But after 1947, i.e. after Indian independence the position changed. India did not want to give up all her contacts with Britain. It wanted to continue that relationship as a member of the Commonwealth. Because of that the word 'British' was removed from the British common wealth of nations. It became a body of the nations voluntary acceptance. Many Asian and African states relieved from the clutches of Britain became members of the Common wealth. It was left to the option of the states. Burma, Somaliland, Sudan etc. were not members in it.

### Special features :

- (1) **British crown** : British crown is treated as the chief symbol of the Commonwealth of nations.
- (2) It is an organisation of states having total sovereignty. They form their own government and follow their own policies. They need not have unanimous opinions regarding issues.
- (3) All members are treated equally and they have equal status. No special rights or prerogatives are given to any body.
- (4) The states have become members on their own individual accord. They have no coercion or compulsion. They can get out of it at their own will. In 1961 South Africa left the common wealth due to the problem of apartheid. In 1971 Pakistan became a non-member when Bangladesh was recognised by many nations.

## 19. INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

1. Review the foreign policy of India towards Pakistan. (1990)
2. Examine the impact of the Tibetan questions upon the relation between India and China. (1991)
3. Discuss the evolution of India's foreign policy based on non-alignment. (1992)
4. Examine the basic principles of India's foreign policy. (1997)
5. Estimate the diplomatic relationship of India with the neighbouring countries. (2000)

### I. THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF INDIA WITH HER NEIGHBOURS.

#### **Introduction :**

From the dawn of History, India was having cordial relations with her neighbours. It had no imperialistic mind and did not involve in any aggressive wars. On the basis of love and non-violence Asoka and Kanishka preached the Principles. But now due to the principle of diplomacy the political relations are changing.

#### **Basic principles :**

The concept of Pancha Sheel as pronounced in 1955 formed the basis for India's foreign policy.

- (1) Every nation should mutually recognise the sovereignty, territorial rights and unity of the neighbour nations.
- (2) Non-aggression.
- (3) Non interference with their internal affairs.
- (4) Mutual assistance and adoption of equality.
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

In this regard we should notice India's relations with her neighbours such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, Srilanka etc. All these nations are located around India and they are related historically with India. They are based on the culture.

#### **India and China :**

Upto 1959 cordial relationship existed between India and China. The Indians and Chinese were functioning as brothers. To maintain the cordial relations with China, India did not oppose the Chinese incursion over Tibet in 1950. In 1954 the Treaty of Pancha Sheel was signed with China. In 1960, the Dalai Lama, the head of the state of Bhutan came to India as refugee. This infuriated China. After annexing the areas of northern borders, China engaged herself in the war of aggression in 1962. India tried to settle the border disputes by peaceful talks.

In 1988 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China after 30 years. The purpose of this visit was to create a healthy atmosphere to strengthen the Indo-Chinese relations. Subsequently Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng visited India. Various treaties were signed and the tension was reduced. In 1993 Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited China. In 1996 the Chinese President visited India. Chiang Jemin was the first Chinese President who visited India. Four treaties were signed between these two countries.

Abdul Khayyum's position was at stake. Indian navy went there and took immediate action and the problem was solved.

### **India and Bangladesh :**

But for India's help Bangladesh would not have emerged as an independent state. Then arose an issue with regard to the establishment of Farrakka Dam. Any how it was settled amicably. In general there prevails a cordial relationship between India and Bangladesh.

### **SAARC :**

To have friendly relations and economic co-operation among the South Asian countries this organisation was created in 1985. This set up assists the development of the member nations through mutual understanding and co-operation.

### **Estimate :**

India is a developed country when compared with her neighbours. Because of that it is told that India is trying to control the other nations. The Maldiv incident referred above is cited as an example for this. But it must be remembered here that India tries to maintain peace with her neighbours.

## **II. INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

Pakistan was a part of India before 1947. Due to narrow-minded political reasons on religious grounds Pakistan was separated from India. This division led to so many problems of varied nature. The religious differences led to such unforeseen problems. In addition to that the ideological difference have also led to confrontations.

(1) At the initial stages there was clash between the secular and theocratic forms of governments. The Pakistan government and theocratic religious views wanted to enhance their position. They treated the war with India as Jihad or holy war.

(2) It was also a problem between non-alignment and military alliance. To enhance her armed forces equal to India Pakistan developed her relations with America. Thus cold war was brought into India.

### **The problems between India and Pakistan :**

(1) **Kashmir issue :** Pakistan is unwilling to accept the Union of Kashmir with India. In 1947 October Pakistan sent her trained tribes into Kashmir. But India repulsed that attack. After that when the army attacked India it was reported to the Security Council of UNO. In 1949 it brought truce. Pakistan refused to give up the territories annexed. To justify her stand Ovan Dixon and Frank Graham were sent. Such aspects prevented a pleb scite. The Kashmiri area captured by Pakistan was called Azad Kashmir

(2) In 1965 Pakistan tried to intrude into Pakistan. So there was a war for 28 days. UNO interfered and stopped the war. Russian Prime Minister Kogoyin made arrangement for the Tashkent meet. By the Tashkent declaration the tension was reduced. But now again the problem has crept in.

(3) In 1971 when the people of East Pakistan wanted to get relief from the military regime of Pakistan the war was revived. In this war Pakistan was defeated totally. 93,000 Pakistan soldiers were imprisoned. In 1972 India and Pakistan signed peace agreements. India returned the 8000 sq.k.m. areas to Pakistan. It was agreed that the Kashmir issue should be settled by peace talks.



Beyond all the above measures as India is a vast democracy USA is unwilling to sever contacts totally. The Democratic principles of India allowed America to have a cordial relation. In 1962 when China invaded India, America even without minding the opposition of Pakistan rendered its support to India. In the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 America maintained neutrality. In 1971 during the war with Bangladesh Nixon government rendered support to Pakistan. Stopped all the financial assistance to India. It sent its seventh fleet to the Bay of Bengal and threatened India. Thus the relationship became worsened. Anyhow after 1974 when the Foreign Secretary Kissinger visited India, the position it began to change. In 1975 when Jimmy Carter visited India he was given a warm welcome. Anyhow America was postponing the supply of Uranium to the Tarapur Atomic plant. Russia's support to India has created problems. Anyhow the relation seems to be cordial.

## 20. THE GULF WAR

1. Narrate the cause and results of the Gulfwar.
2. Give an estimate of the political and economic crisis of the Gulf countries.

### Introduction :

There are so many gulfs available in the world. With regard to international relation the gulf means only the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf was not at all a fertile region. It is one of the barren soils of the world. But today it is the wealthiest place. It is mainly because of the availability of petroleum in that region. So it captivated the attention of the big powers. Even a small incident which occurs in that place draws the attention of the world.

**The Gulf Countries :** (1) Saudi Arabia is the most significant country which receives an annual income of 33,500 million dollars. (2) Kuwait is the next country which has an annual income of 8500 million dollars. (3) Iraq receives an income of 22,000 million dollars a year. (4) Iran is the thickly populated gulf country. It gains an annual income of 8,500 million dollars a year. (5) The United Arab Emirate consists of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah etc. Seven Sheikhs are ruling. It also received an annual income of 7000 million dollars.

### Oil diplomacy :

Oil is not only the main source of income of the Gulf countries but also the cause for the political uplift of those countries. This oil politics plays a significant role in the nations of the diplomatic world. When there was a problem between the Arab countries and Israel, oil was used as a weapon. So to trouble the western countries which supported Israel oil was used as a means. By restricting the export of oil and enhancing the prices of oil they gave a lot of troubles.

### The Gulf crisis (1990-91)

#### Kuwait :

The cause for the gulf war was oil. Upto the 19th century Iraq and Kuwait were the provinces of the Ottoman Turks. Kuwait was in the Bangra province. It became an independent country under the Shaik of Sabharace. But due the fear of Turkey in 1981 Kuwait came under the protection of Britain. When Turkey was defeated in the first world war, according to the treaty of Lausanne Kuwait was declared as an independent state. Iraq became a mandated territory under Britain. In 1923 the Iraq, Kuwait, boundaries were demarcated.

attack of scuds. But Saddam Hussain did not worry. He felt that an attack over Israel will enable the country to enter the war. But the UN force and the Arabs will not accept it. So there will be schism in the army of UNO. Further he underestimated the qualities of USA. He felt that he can gain the support of Palestine by accepting their needs. By Islamic faith the support of Islamic nations can be obtained. He also expected that the death of 6000 American soldiers will make her to surrender. During February 24 the infantry started its attack. Within 100 hours Saddam stopped the war and asked the enemies to surrender. He announced that he will withdraw from Kuwait on 28th February.

### **Results of the war :**

The 40 days war made Iraq as a graveyard. 20,000 Iraqis were murdered. 60,000 soldiers were wounded. 300 women and children were killed in the trenches. 1,20,000 crore dollar worth of buildings were destroyed. The President of Iraq was to be removed from power. It was decided to destroy the army of Iraq. Iraq on its part burnt the oil wells. This was a victory for George Bush of America. It was revealed that UNO served as a puppet in the hands of U.S.A. Russia did not take serious part in the war due to her internal problems. It insisted that all the efforts should be taken to solve the problems of West Asia.

## **21. OIL DIPLOMACY OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES**

1. Examine the effects of oil politics on international relations. (1993)
2. Point out the basis for the Arab-Israeli issues and explain its condition now. (1994)

3. Examine the nature of the oil diplomacy of the Arab Countries. (1999)

### **Introduction:**

Like the various ways and means used for influencing one nation, oil is also a source with regard to Arab countries. Diplomacy, financial assistance, talks, ambassadorial approaches etc. were certain measures. The Arab countries use oil as a weapon.

### **Need for oil :**

For transport, development of industries and development of science and technology oil has become a significant aspect. For development of culture also oil is needed. During the II world war the axis powers failed mainly due to the non-availability of sufficient oil. Germany invaded Russia mainly due to the latter's oil resources. Petroleum is hailed as blackgold. It is not available in all the countries and all parts of the world. Even the West European countries such as Britain and Germany and the Far Eastern nation Japan suffers due to lack of oil resources. The Middle Eastern countries, Russia, America, Venezuela etc. have this natural wealth. The Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait etc are the countries which have more than 1/3 of the oil wealth of the world. So the imperialistic big powers concentrate on them.

In America the demand for petroleum is more than the availability. As the stock position of oil is also deteriorating Laurence Disney has informed that we are fighting for oil. Another scholar has warned that but for Russia all the other nations have to depend upon the Gulf countries for their oil needs. So oil plays a significant role in promoting the diplomacy of the middle eastern countries.

## 22. THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES

1. Critically review the super power rivalry in the Middle - East. (1991)
2. Discuss the role of the UNO, in finding solution to the crisis in the Middle East. (1995)

### Introduction

The Middle East, i.e. West Asia is playing a significant role in the international relations. The areas in the west of Pakistan, South of the Mediterranean, the places included by Caspian and Black seas are known as the Middle east. Due to cultural, racial and language Egypt also is included as the Middle Eastern country. Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Muslim countries and Israel are the Middle eastern countries. Due to various reasons they were popular during the historical period.

(1) It was the cradle of ancient civilisations. The Egyptian and Mesopotomian cultures existed there during 2000 B.C. (2) Geographically they are located in an area where three continents meet. The Europe, Asian and African continents meet there. (3) Many air, water and land routes cross through this. Particularly they reduce the 50% of the distance between the Eastern and Western Countries. (4) Important Airports such as Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad etc are located there. (5) The popular religions of the world such as Christianity and Islam emerged only from this region. The Zorastrianism and Jewism spread from there. Mecca, Medhina, Jerusalem etc. are located here. The crusades were the popular religious wars which

took place in this area. (6) Due to the cold war between USA and USSR middle east has become a popular region. Middle east offered a strong and healthy opposition to the spread of communism. America is so particular in having military treaties with those regions. (7) The black gold i.e. the oil has increased the significance of the Middle East. For the sake of their economic prosperity the Western countries endeavour to have their control over the middle east. (8) The Arab nationalism which emerged in the Middle east during the first world war developed largely after that. In 1945 the united Arab League was created. (d) It is an area comprising of people belonging to various races. The Arabs, Iranians, Jews etc. were popular there in that region. There was schism among the Muslims as sunnis and shiahs. The Armenian and Christians are also living there. (10) Against the Arab nationalism on the basis of Zionism, at Israel a state was created for the Jews.

All these facts led to many problems and interference of Western powers. To maintain its prestige there American President Eishenhover announced an economic plan. The Bagdad Pact was an economic and military pact. The Arab-Israel war came out because of the rivalry among super powers in the middle east.

## 23. Palestinian Issue (or) Arab-Israel War

1. Trace the significance of the Arab-Israel war in the international relations.
2. Discuss the fundamental principles of Palestinian issue.

## Paris Peace Talks. (1968 - 1973)

American President Johnson wanted stopping the war. Due to the efforts of the U.N. General Secretary UThant peace talks started. In USA Nixon became President. In North Vietnam Ho Chi Min died and he was succeeded by Dr. Dhas. On 27, January 1973 peace was signed. The American army left Vietnam. War was stopped. It was decided to unite Vietnam.

## Vietnam verification (1975)

In 1974 North Vietnam and Vietkongs attacked Vietnam against the peace of Paris. America condemned this and did not stop the war. During April 1975 Saigon, the capital of south Vietnam fell. It was called as Ho chi Min Nagar. On 24, June 1976 both were united. Hanoi became its capital.

## Results of the Vietnam war :

- (1) It was a failure of the army and diplomacy of USA
- (2) America did not control the spread of communism in South West A.
- (3) The historical truth that no national power of people could be suppressed. It caused a heavy damage to men and material on both sides.
- (5) The prestige of America was reduced
- (6) UNO did not play any role in it.

# 25. AMERICA AFTER II WORLD WAR

1. Examine the foreign policy of USA in relation to USSR since 1970. (1990)
2. Account for the progressive abandonment of its policy of isolation by the states. (1993)

## Trace the relationship between China and USA. (1994)

1. point out the role of USA in the Far Eastern affairs since 1945. (1999)

4. Explain the foreign policy of USA in relation to the developing nations.

## 1. FOREIGN POLICY OF USA AFTER 1945

### Introduction :

The second world war created drastic changes in the foreign policy of USA. America had to give up her policy of isolation. USA became a member of the UNO and took active part in it.

### Aims of foreign policy :

To contain communism was the main aim and it acted as a police force against communism.

### Interference in European politics.

(1) II World War affected the balance of power. (2) Germany was divided into four divisions. (3) Russia alone emerged as big power. So America by entering the European politics tried to arrest the spread of communism.

### Cold war :

After the II World war, the world level rivalry between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R was called cold war. There were communist and

(4) Lend and lease Act also was passed. By that it was decided to offer weapons to allied powers on lease. (5) The British ships which carried various commodities were protected by the American ships and air crafts. (6) In 1941 when the German submarines destroyed three American ships it was declared to destroy the German submarines on the spot. The cargo ships were also protected by arms.

### Atlantic charter :

The above facts revealed the dependent policy of USA towards allied powers. Gradually the policy of neutrality was disappearing. So the Atlantic charter was issued by Churchill and Roosevelt. It contained eight provisions regarding war policies. They revealed that both USA and UK had no willingness for aggression and they would assist people to form governments of their own liking.

### Japan's war in the Far East :

The Japanese aggressions in the Far East enabled the Americans to plunge into war. Japan which annexed Manchuria in 1937 by its war policies annexed North China and its coastal areas. America insisted on the "Open door Policy" and condemned the activities of Japan as pure aggression. In 1940 Japan, Germany and Italy formed the Rome - Berlin - Tokyo Axis. Further Japan was particular in executing its "New order" plan in Asia. On the basis of Asian Co-prosperity sphere it wanted to establish an Empire comprising of China, Indo-China and Indonessia. Since the Dutch government had handed over its security in the Far East to America, it felt that it is the genuine duty of America to protect them. So America took measures against the activities of Japan. It imposed restrictions on the export of iron, oil etc. to Japan. Further it ordered that the Japanese properties in America will be controlled by America. So Japan was more furious and came to the conclusion that all the enemies in the Pacific Ocean

should be destroyed. It wanted to have peace talks with America to hide her aggressions. It requested America to accept her main-land scheme. On 7, December 1941 she attacked Pearl Harbour and scheme. On 7, December 1941 she attacked Pearl Harbour and scheme. On 7, December 1941 she attacked Pearl Harbour and scheme. On 7, December 1941 she attacked Pearl Harbour and scheme. All these things compelled America to enter the war with Japan. Philippines. All these things compelled America to enter the war with Japan. Philippines. All these things compelled America to enter the war with Japan. Philippines.

## 26. RUSSIA

1. Comment on the decline of Soviet Union. (1993)
2. How was communism established and disestablished in the Soviet Union? (1996)
3. Examine the relations of U.S.A. and Russia before and after the break-up of the Soviet Union. (1998)
4. How did cold war come to an end.

### I. RUSSIA AND CHINA

The Peoples Republic of China was announced by Mao Tse Tung on 1 October 1949. He was able to defeat Chiang Kai Shaik after four years of war. The Kuomintang government was pushed to Taiwan. For this success the military assistance rendered by USSR was the major reason. It was also a victory for the foreign policy of Russia. It was also a success for Russia in the diplomatic cold war.

**The break up of Russia :**

In 1989 the multiparty election system to the Russian parliament was introduced. Anti communists won the majority. Those who wanted drastic reforms also succeeded. In 1990 February the communist party lost its hold. The unity among the soviets also was affected due to the fall of communism. The republics began to secede from the Soviet Union. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia became independent. As they had no racial language and religious affinities with Russia they came out of the union.

**Commonwealth of independent states : (1991)**

During 11, December 1991 the important parts of Russia such as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus Republic etc met at Minsk and decided to dismiss the Soviet Union and wanted to create the Commonwealth of independent states.

**Alma Ada Conference :**

The leaders of Russia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Tazistan, Georgia etc. met at Alma Ada and created a Commonwealth of nations during December 1991. In that conference the dismantling of the Soviet union was announced.

**Results :**

- (1) Bipolar politics came to an end. The fall of communism gave an individuality to the capitalism of America.
- (2) The cold war came to an end. Thus the fear of III world war disappeared.
- (3) The iron curtain of Russia also was torn into pieces.
- (4) The Warsaw military pact disappeared.
- (5) Market economy gained greater impetus. The control of state and government over production and distribution were

dropped. Free economic policy was adopted. (6) Both East and West Germany were united. On 10, November 1989 the German wall was destroyed and Germany was united. (7) The fear of communism in the East European countries disappeared. They became democratic and utilised the market economy. The importance of communism was removed and independent election were convened.

Thus with the fall of the communism in Russia the capitalist economy achieved success.

**27. INTERNATIONAL RELATION TODAY**

1. Offer the new trends in the international relations of to-day? (1990)

**I. NEW TECHNIQUES IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS****Introduction :**

The relations at the international level will not be uniform at all times. It is changing frequently. The scientific and technical growth has allowed such changes. When the super powers involve in aggression the other nations could not avoid it.

In 1982 when Britain captured Falkland island near Argentina beyond 6000 miles, the other nations kept quite. Russia and few non-aligned countries condemned it. In the same

rule of Sukarto in Indonesia came to an end, after 35 years due to student's agitation. In 1999 a plebescite was arranged by UNO and 75% of the people opted for the independence of Dimmor. Indonesian army left Dimmor. It was an issue settled by UNO.

### **(B) Bosnian Crisis :**

After the first world war Yugoslavia emerged as an independent state. It became a communist country under Marshal Tito. But it did not come under the iron curtain, and adopted a neutral policy. In 1990 due to the fall of communism Yugoslavia also divided into six divisions called Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Kossova. Now it is functioning as five separate states.

After 1993 when Slovenia and Croatia attained independence Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted their freedom. But due to racial issues it was not at all possible. There were 44% Muslims 31% Catholics and 17% Crotes. The Crotes and Catholics wanted whom independent Bosnia. But the Serbians opposed it. They wanted united living with Yugoslavia. On 29 February 1992 a plebescite was arranged at Bosnia to know about its independence.

The Serbians neglected it. Since 79% of the people liked freedom, Bosnia declared its independence. The Serbians opposed it and attacked the people of Bosnia. Civil war broke out. The Muslims were affected. Muslims and Crotes were driven out of Bosnia. Nearly 25% of the people of Yugoslavia were refugees.

The Muslims and Crotes of Bosnia were imprisoned. Nearly 1,05,000 people were arrested and imprisoned in the 94 refugee camps. Even basic requirements were not provided. Red cross society and other voluntary agencies could not help them. So an UN peace force was sent to Bosnia 14,000 soldiers, 530 police officials and 519 administrative officials were sent. Sathesh Nambiar was an Indian Presided over the UN forces.

But due to the Serbian activities Bosnian activities of UNO were delayed. Economic barrier was imposed on Yugoslavia.

On 21 November 1995, at Daiden in America a peace treaty was signed among them. The American foreign Secretary Warren Christopher and Richard Halbrook were responsible for this. But the treaty was not totally put into practice. All the parties accused each other. Terrorism and disturbances continued. Now there is peace due to the efforts of the forces of NATO. Nearly 2.5 lakhs of Bosnians were killed. 51% of Bosnia and Herzegovina are left with Muslims and Crotes. 49% is occupied by the Serbs.

### **(c) Kossova crisis :**

Due to the fall of Yugoslavia the Kossova issue also started. In 1389 Kossova became a part of Ottoman Turks. It is populated by Muslims. They were belonging to Albanian race. In 1991 when Yugoslavia was affected it was felt that Kossova will become independent. But it did not take place. Only in 1995 they fought for their freedom. They involved in guerilla tactics.

The Serbians were particular in disallowing Kossova's independence. They were involved in terrorism. The Kossova Muslims were affected by this. They ran away to Albania and Macedonia. At Macedonia there were nine lakhs of refugees. The Kossova issue turned into an European issue. The European union advised that Yugoslavia should give self rule to the people of Kossova. Kossova was also asked to accept self rule by giving up of their agitations. Kossova was to give up its fight for independence. The President of Yugoslavia murdered nearly 3000 Kossova people within three months.

So the European union decided to take military action on Yugoslavia. The cities were attacked by the NATO army. Properties were damaged. Loss of life was also heavy. Now there is peace.

So to reform the economy of Germany American economist Dawes introduced a plan in 1923. By that the instalment amount given was fixed as 5 crore dollars. Then it was allowed to reach 125 crore dollars. Germany was allowed to remit amount in its own currency. By this the fall in German economy was avoided.

### 3) Vietnam:

Vietnam, one of the South East Asian country was a French Colony. In 1954 according to the Geneva Treaty France left Vietnam. So in the North and South Vietnams, Communist and American powers were in charge respectively. There was no cordial relation between them. So a war was inevitable. Though America supported South Vietnam it could not stop the advancement of communist supported North Vietnam. By the Paris treaty of 1993 USA withdrew her forces from South Vietnam. So North Vietnam annexed South Vietnam. Now that is an united country.

### 4) Camp David:

During 1978-79 America took efforts to bring the Arab Israel war to an end. So the representatives of Israel and Egypt met at Camp David and signed a treaty during March 1979. By that Israel withdrew from its annexed territories called Kaja and Senoy. It agreed to have peace talks for the liberation of the Arabs who lived in the west coast. This brought the 30 years old enmity between Egypt and Israel to an end.

### 5) Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty : ( CTBT )

It is a complete test ban treaty. In 1997 nearly 147 states have signed this treaty. India, Bhutan, and Lybia refused to accept this treaty. India declared it as a partial one. It informed that it will create a faction among the nations as a country having

atomic weapons and a country without it. As it did not do anything for complete ban India denied.

### 6) Nelson Mandela :

He was the leader of the African National Congress. He opposed the apartheid policy of the South Africa. So he was arrested and imprisoned for 27 years. In 1991 he was released then he had talks with President D. Clark. The Government came forward to give up apartheid. In 1994 Mandela was elected as the President of the Republic.

### 7) Treaty of Sevres ( 1920 )

After the defeat of Turkey in the first world war, this treaty was signed with Turkey by the allied powers in 1920. The area of non-Turkish people was made as a separate state. Some of them became mandated areas under big powers. It was decided that the Straits will be maintained by a commission of UNO. The army of Turkey was reduced to 50,000 soldiers.

At this treaty was a hard one the Turkish nationalists rose under Kemal Pasha and refused to accept it. They drove away the Greeks by force. So in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed and that avoided foreign rule in Turkey.

### 8) Mandate System :

After 1 world war this system was introduced by the allied nations. To deal with the colonies of Germany and Turkish provinces this system was introduced. By that it was decided that those areas will be placed under certain big power as decided by the League. The big powers were asked to serve as trustees.



Territories	Powers
Palestine & Mesopotamia (Iraq)	} Britain
Syria	
German East Africa	France
Togoland and Cameroon	Britain
German South Africa	Britain & France
German Islands in the Pacific	South Africa
Bismark & Solomon Islands	Japan
Samova	Australia
Navu	New Zealand
	Britain

The big powers had to submit annual reports to the League regarding the progress.

### 9) Nazism

The Principles of Adolf Hitler is known as Nazism. It is the German Nationalist Labour Party. Its principles are all revealed in his work called 'Mein Kampf'. The following are the Principles  
 1) Widened Germany having all the people belonging to the German race. 2) The Aryans are born to rule the world. The Germans are nordic and pure Aryans 3) Destroying and nullifying the Versailles treaty

This party advocates autocracy and dictatorship "Single State; single party and single leader" was its principle. There will be no rights for other political parties and individuals. One should dedicate all the things for the state. It stressed narrow minded nationalism. With the defeat of Germany and suicide of Hitler Nazism also disappeared.

### 10) Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Axis:

Signed between Italy, Germany and Japan in 1936. This agreement came into vogue before the second world war. This agreement called axis powers and caused the II world war due to their policies of aggression. It was an anti-Communism or anti-Communist Pact. In the II world war these powers were allied.

### 11) Berlin Crisis :

After the II world war, by the decisions of the Potsdam conference, Germany was divided into four parts. They were placed under Britain, France, America and Russia. But due to cold war, the areas under Britain, France, and America were all united and the last one was with Russia. The Berlin city's Eastern part was a Russian territory and the other part was in the west. So Russia started this crisis to remove America from there. In 1948 Russia cut off all contacts with west. But America by her aircrafts managed the issue. In 1949 Russians dropped that siege. In 1958-59 and 1961 such problems were created by Russia again. But they were all managed. Any how Berlin crisis was also a cause for the cold war.

### 12) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

It is a military alliance emerged under the Presidentship of America in 1949. Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Netherland, Luxembourg, America, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, were members in it. Italy, Turkey, Greece and Spain became its members subsequently.

### Aims :

It is an alliance made against Russian communism. It suggested military action on the state which is involved in an aggression. It had both offensive and defensive measures. In 1966 Brussels became its head quarters. The Home Ministers or the Defence Ministers will carry out the provisions. By this

Rocket launching stations were arranged at West Germany, Belgium, Norway etc. It increased the tension during the cold war.

### **13) Truman Doctrine :**

To contain communism during the cold war period this doctrine was the basis for the foreign policy of America. By this America decided to avoid the spread of communism anywhere. The communists penetrated into Greece and Turkey and toppled the government. American President Truman announced this policy to suppress the military activities. By this the local problems at Greece and Turkey were reduced.

### **14) Warsaw pact :**

It was a pact signed by Russia against NATO of America in 1955 at Warsaw the Capital of Poland. Moscow was its headquarters. Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania were members. It also had the equal aims like that of the NATO. It was also an offensive and defensive weapon. In 1994 it was given up.

### **15) Marshall Plan:**

After the II W. War countries like France, Belgium, Italy etc. suffered a lot economically. Unemployment problem was also an unsolvable one. There was scope for the spread of communism. So to nib it in the bud America came forward to offer them economic aid. It was announced by the Secretary of State for America called George Marshall. It was also known as European Recovery Programme. By this 12 nations were benefited. Its services minimised economic problems. It reveals the fact that finance is also treated as weapon during the cold war.

### **16) COMCON:**

It was the council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was an opposite measure for the Marshall plan of America.

It was to reduce the Dollar imperialism. Moscow was its head-quarters. East European Countries, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam etc. were members in it.

### **17) Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty : (SALT)**

During the cold war period both Russia and America added their weapons. ICBM, ABM, Neutron bombs etc were produced in plenty. They had the fear that if these things are not controlled then there will be barbarism. So in 1969 USA and USSR had their talks and signed this Treaty in 1972. It was agreed that it will be in vogue for five years. In 1979 the SALT II was signed between Jimmy Carter and Brezhnev.

### **18) Hungary Issue:**

It was a communist country of East Europe. As its economy did not improve the people began to hate Russia. In 1956 Prime Minister Imray Nagi announced that he has decided to reduce the economic contacts with Russia and to conduct elections. He told that Hungary will be made as a neutral country. But Russia did not want to allow, Hungary to go out of the iron curtain. The Russian army massacred the freedom of Hungary. The capital Budapest was attacked. Prime Minister Imray Nagi was hanged. Under Inos Codre a new government was formed and Hungary was controlled by Russia.

It was taken to the UNO'S Security Council. Due to the stage of veto power by Russia it was taken to the General Assembly. The UN commission appointed was not accepted by the government of Hungary and the cold war tension mounted.

### **19) Panch Sheela:**

It was the brain child of Nehru. In 1954 July 20, Prime Minister Nehru and Chinese Prime Minister Chou En Lai signed an agreement and one among its provision was Panch sheela. They are the five moral principles to be adopted in the foreign policy.

- 1) Recognising the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of a nation.