

BA LLB (HONS.)

History –III

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UNIT I

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND INTRODUCTION

The vision was all-important. It was optimistic and progressive. Man was going somewhere, his life has direction. This vision is part of the general attitude known as the idea of progress, that is, that the history of human society is a history of progress, forever forward, forever upward. This attitude is implicit throughout the Enlightenment and was made reality during the French and Industrial Revolutions. With relatively few exceptions, the philosophes of the 18th century embraced this idea of man's progress with an intensity I think unmatched in our own century. Human happiness, improved morality, an increase in knowledge were now within man's reach:

This was indeed the message, the vision, of Adam Smith, Denis Diderot, Voltaire, Thomas Jefferson and Ben Franklin

The transformation of industry and the economy in Britain between the 1780 and 1850 is called the first industrial revolution. This had far reaching effects in Britain. Later similar changes occurred in European countries and in USA. These were to have a major impact on the society and economy of those countries and also on the rest of the world.

This phase of industrial development in Britain is strongly associated with new machinery and technologies. These made it possible to produce goods on a massive scale compared to handicraft. The Chapter outlines the changes in the cotton and iron industries. Steam, a new source of power began to be used on a wide scale in British industries. Its use led to faster forms of transportation, by ship and railways. Many of the inventors and ship and railways

Industrialization led to greater prosperity for some. But in the initial stages it was linked with poor living, including women and children. This sparked off protest, which forced the government to enact laws for regulating laws.

The term “Industrial Revolution” was used by European scholars- George Michelet in France and Friedrich Engels in Germany. In English first time used by Arnold Toynbee (1852-83).

The First Industrial Revolution evolved into the Second Industrial Revolution in the transition years between 1840 and 1870, when technological and economic progress gained momentum with the increasing adoption of steam-powered boats, ships and railways, the large scale manufacture of machine tools and the increasing use of steam powered factories

WHY EUROPE:

Britain was first country to experience modern industrialization. It had been politically stable since the seventeenth century, with England, Wales and Scotland unified under a monarchy. This meant that the kingdom had common laws, a single currency and market that were not fragmented by local authorities levying taxes on goods that passed through their area, thus increasing their price.

In the eighteen century , England had been through a major economic changes, later described as the ‘agriculture revolution’ This was the process by which bigger landlords had brought up small farms Creating very large estates and increasing food production. This forced landless farmers, and those who had lived by grazing animals on common land to search jobs elsewhere. Most of them went to nearby farms.

MAJOR TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The commencement of the Industrial Revolution is closely linked to a small number of innovations, beginning in the second half of the 18th century. By the 1830s the following gains had been made in important technologies:

Textiles – Mechanized cotton spinning powered by steam or water increased the output of a worker by a factor of about 1000. The power loom increased the output of a worker by a factor of over 40. The cotton gin increased productivity or removing seed from cotton by a factor of 50.

Large gains in productivity also occurred in spinning and weaving of wool and linen, but they were not as great as in cotton.

Steam power – The efficiency of steam engines increased so that they used between one-fifth and one-tenth as much fuel. The adaption of stationary steam engines to rotary motion made them suitable for industrial uses. The high pressure engine had a high power to weight ratio, making it suitable for transportation. Steam power underwent a rapid expansion after 1800.

Iron making – The substitution of coke for charcoal greatly lowered the fuel cost of pig iron and wrought iron production. Using coke also allowed larger blast furnaces, resulting in economies of scale. The cast iron blowing cylinder was first used in 1760. It was later improved by making it double acting, which allowed higher furnace temperatures. The puddling process produced a structural grade iron at a lower cost than the previous processes. The rolling mill was fifteen times faster than hammering wrought iron. Hot blast (1829) greatly increased fuel efficiency in iron production in the following decades.

Iron: by 1720 most iron in England was imported due to a shortage of charcoal for smelting in 1709 Abraham Darby invented a way of smelting iron using coke (processed coal) instead of charcoal the iron industry took off after 1760 since iron ore and coal were both very plentiful in England 1779 Iron Bridge (photo)

The Steam Engine:

Newcomen Engine (about 1712) filled a cylinder with steam and then condensed it to draw the piston down. 1/2% efficient, but widely used to pump water out of coal mines.

Watt Engine (1774) had had a separate condenser, making the engine much more efficient

James Watt later added:

Sun and planet gear converted reciprocating into rotary motion to power machines automatic control mechanism double-acting engine made for much smoother power

Transportation Technology:

Improved roads built in large numbers 1750-1815 (about 1000 miles), reduced transportation costs 20-30%

Canals

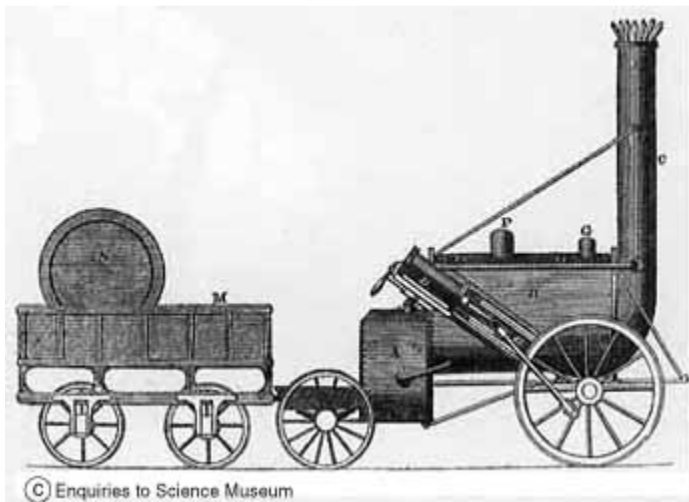
The Duke of Bridgewater's Canal started in 1759--7 miles but had to cross a river valley. People thought this was a wild dream, but built in 5 years. Very profitable--halved the cost of coal in Manchester Canal building boom 1750-1800--by 1830 England had 3875 miles of navigable water (though only 1/3 of that was canals). The Oxford canal paid a 30% return for 30 years. Provided much cheaper transportation of bulky goods



Canals in Birmingham

Railroad:

Locomotives tried in coal mines first, but were generally too heavy for existing tracks used by horse-drawn cars 1825 Stockton and Darlington Railroad was first common carrier to use locomotives in 1829 the Liverpool and Manchester had a contest to test locomotives. Thousands of people came to watch. Won by the Rocket designed by Robert Stephenson.

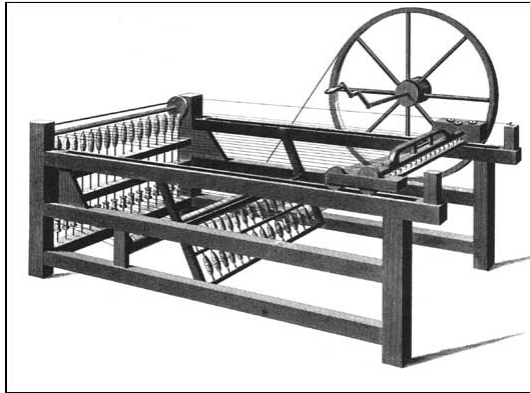


1829 Rocket

Railroad spread rapidly after that National Railroad Museum

The Factory System:

The first big industry was cotton textile factories, though other kinds of factories developed as well machines had been used some by workers who did piece work at home with spinning wheels and hand looms. What brought the workers together into a factory was the invention of machines for spinning that could spin more than one thread at a time and then the application of water power first to spinning and then to weaving James Hargreaves, Spinning Jenny , invented 1764-1770

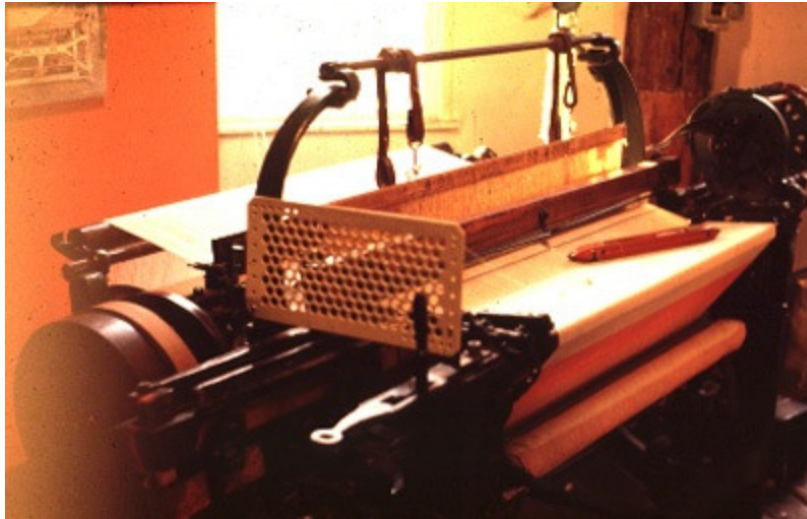


Spinning Jenny

Roger Arkwright, Water Frame , 1769

Samuel Crompton, Mule , 1774-1779

Edmund Cartwright, Power Loom, 1786-1788



PEM photo--power loom (Slater Mill)

With these technologies the industry took off--by 1833 237,000 people were employed in cotton textile factories in England this was a whole new way of life

46% of workers were women, 15% children under the age of 13 (Child Labor) wages were barely enough for a family to survive if all members over the age of 8 worked in some areas 1/2 to 3/4 of worker families lived in a single room with no plumbing (dumped their chamber pot into the street or gutter) reform laws started in 1833-- factory act of 1833 forbade employment of children under 9 and limited hours for children to 9 hours a day for children 9-13 and 12 hours a day for children 13-18

Chartist movement fought unsuccessfully for political change, but conditions gradually improved

The Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries was revolutionary because it changed -- revolutionized -- the productive capacity of England, Europe and United States. But the revolution was something more than just new machines, smoke-belching factories, increased productivity and an increased standard of living. It was a revolution which transformed English, European, and American society down to its very roots. Like the Reformation or the French Revolution, no one was left unaffected. Everyone was touched in one way or another -- peasant and noble, parent and child, artisan and captain of industry. The Industrial Revolution serves as a key to the origins of modern Western society. As Harold Perkin has observed, "the Industrial Revolution was no mere sequence of changes in industrial techniques and production, but a social revolution with social causes as well as profound social effects" [*The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (1969)]

The INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION can be said to have made the European working-class. It made the European middle-class as well. In the wake of the Revolution, new social relationships appeared. As Ben Franklin once said, "time is money." Man no longer treated men as men, but as a commodity which could be bought and sold on the open market. This "commoditization" of man is what bothered

Karl Marx -- his solution was to transcend the profit motive by social revolution

There is no denying the fact that the Industrial Revolution began in England sometime after the middle of the 18th century. England was the "First Industrial Nation." As one economic historian commented in the 1960s, it was England which first executed "the takeoff into self-sustained growth." And by 1850, England had become an economic titan. Its goal was to supply two-thirds of the globe with cotton spun, dyed, and woven in the industrial centers of northern England. England proudly proclaimed itself to be the "Workshop of the World," a position that country held until the end of the 19th century when Germany, Japan and United States overtook it.

More than the greatest gains of the Renaissance, the Reformation, Scientific Revolution or Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution implied that man now had not only the opportunity and the knowledge but the physical means to completely subdue nature. No other revolution in modern times can be said to have accomplished so much in so little time. The Industrial Revolution attempted to effect man's mastery over nature. This was an old vision, a vision with a history. In the 17th century, the English statesman and "Father of Modern Science, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), believed that natural philosophy (what we call science) could be applied to the solution of practical problems, and so, the idea of modern technology was born. For Bacon, the problem was this: how could man enjoy perfect freedom if he had to constantly labor to supply the necessities of existence? His answer was clear -- machines. These labor saving devices would liberate mankind, they would save labor which then could be utilized elsewhere. "Knowledge is power," said Bacon, and scientific knowledge reveals power over nature

CONCLUSION:

The vision was all-important. It was optimistic and progressive. Man was going somewhere, his life has direction. This vision is part of the general attitude known as the idea of progress, that is, that the history of human society is a history of progress, forever forward, forever upward. This attitude is implicit throughout the Enlightenment and was made reality during the French and Industrial Revolutions. With relatively few exceptions, the philosophers of the 18th century embraced this idea of man's progress with an intensity I think unmatched in our own century. Human happiness, improved morality, an increase in knowledge were now within man's reach.

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B) FRENCH REVOLUTION: OVERVIEW OF FRENCH REVOLUTION:

A watershed event in modern European history, the French Revolution began in 1789 and ended in the late 1790s with the ascent of Napoleon Bonaparte. During this period, French citizens razed and redesigned their country's political landscape, uprooting centuries-old institutions such as absolute monarchy and the feudal system. Like the American Revolution before it, the French Revolution was influenced by Enlightenment ideals, particularly the concepts of popular sovereignty and inalienable rights. Although it failed to achieve all of its goals and at times degenerated into a chaotic bloodbath, the movement played a critical role in shaping modern nations by showing the world the power inherent in the will of the people.

Prelude to the French Revolution: Monarchy in Crisis

As the 18th century drew to a close, France's costly involvement in the American Revolution and extravagant spending by King Louis XVI (1754-1793) and his predecessor had left the country on the brink of bankruptcy. Not only were the royal coffers depleted, but two decades of poor cereal harvests, drought, cattle disease and skyrocketing bread prices had kindled unrest among peasants and the urban poor. Many expressed their desperation and resentment toward a regime that imposed heavy taxes yet failed to provide relief by rioting, looting and striking.

In the fall of 1786, Louis XVI's controller general, Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), proposed a financial reform package that included a universal land tax from which the privileged classes would no longer be exempt. To garner support for these measures and forestall a growing aristocratic revolt, the king summoned the Estates-General ("les états généraux")—an assembly representing France's clergy, nobility and middle class—for the first time since 1614. The meeting was scheduled for May 5, 1789; in the meantime, delegates of the three estates from each locality would compile lists of grievances ("cahiers de doléances") to present to the king.

The French Revolution at Versailles: Rise of the Third Estate

France's population had changed considerably since 1614. The non-aristocratic members of the Third Estate now represented 98 percent of the people but could still be outvoted by the other two bodies. In the lead-up to the May 5 meeting, the Third Estate began to mobilize support for

equal representation and the abolishment of the noble veto—in other words, they wanted voting by head and not by status. While all of the orders shared a common desire for fiscal and judicial reform as well as a more representative form of government, the nobles in particular were loath to give up the privileges they enjoyed under the traditional system.

By the time the Estates-General convened at Versailles, the highly public debate over its voting process had erupted into hostility between the three orders, eclipsing the original purpose of the meeting and the authority of the man who had convened it. On June 17, with talks over procedure stalled, the Third Estate met alone and formally adopted the title of National Assembly; three days later, they met in a nearby indoor tennis court and took the so-called Tennis Court Oath (“serment du jeu de paume”), vowing not to disperse until constitutional reform had been achieved. Within a week, most of the clerical deputies and 47 liberal nobles had joined them, and on June 27 Louis XVI grudgingly absorbed all three orders into the new assembly.

The French Revolution Hits the Streets: The Bastille and the Great Fear

On June 12, as the National Assembly (known as the National Constituent Assembly during its work on a constitution) continued to meet at Versailles, fear and violence consumed the capital. Though enthusiastic about the recent breakdown of royal power, Parisians grew panicked as rumors of an impending military coup began to circulate. A popular insurgency culminated on July 14 when rioters stormed the Bastille fortress in an attempt to secure gunpowder and weapons; many consider this event, now commemorated in France as a national holiday, as the start of the French Revolution.

The wave of revolutionary fervor and widespread hysteria quickly swept the countryside. Revolting against years of exploitation, peasants looted and burned the homes of tax collectors, landlords and the seigniorial elite. Known as the Great Fear (“la Grande peur”), the agrarian insurrection hastened the growing exodus of nobles from the country and inspired the National Constituent Assembly to abolish feudalism on August 4, 1789, signing what the historian Georges Lefebvre later called the “death certificate of the old order

CAUSES OF FRENCH REVOLUTION:

French Revolution began in the year 1789 in France against the monarchy and in support of democracy. The main reasons behind the revolution were –

- (1) The French government under Emperor Louise XVI was under huge debt in the 18th century.

- (2) The government imposed heavy taxes on the French citizens to meet its expenditure.
- (3) The King, the nobility and the clergy lived a lavish life whereas the common people of France lived in misery and were burdened with heavy taxation.
- (4) The feudal system gave the big landlords the power to enjoy various privileges and exploit the poor peasants by extracting taxes and tributes from them.
- (5) The clergy also collected separate taxes called Tithes from the people.
- (6) The prices of essential commodities were very high due to increased demand and wages were low. This made survival difficult for the poor sections of the society.
- (7) The growth of middle class and the ideas of philosophers like Rousseau and Voltaire on equality and freedom made the people aware of their rights.

All these factors combined together and took the shape of the French Revolution in 1789.

The Economy

By 1789, France's economy was in turmoil. Ministers had raised taxes to pay for foreign wars, some of which were being fought across the Atlantic. Since aristocrats and the clergy were tax-exempt, the entire burden fell on the classes least able to afford it: the peasants, artisans, and bourgeoisie. This caused great popular resentment. Royal extravagance and a poor grain harvest further damaged the economy.

During the French and Indian War, France spent large sums to send troops and supplies across the Atlantic. After losing the war, France immediately began improving the army and rebuilding the navy—an expensive project. In 1778, France entered the American Revolution as an ally of the colonists. By the time of the American victory in 1783, France had spent more than a billion *livres* on the military.

From 1783 to 1788, the government survived by borrowing money; the king's ministers attempted to reform the tax laws so that the wealthy landowners would have to contribute something, but the attempt failed to become law. In 1787 and 1788, a cycle of drought and then fierce hailstorms and flooding destroyed most of the nation's grain crop; this led to soaring prices, high unemployment, and conditions of near-famine by the spring of 1789. Throughout the countryside, people went on rampages, breaking into storehouses and stealing everything edible.

The Monarchy

The most important obstacle to reform in French society was the conservative nature of the monarchy. An absolute monarch, being in a position of power, had no incentive to reform society. Both Louis XIV and Louis XV believed that they ruled by divine right and that their judgment should never be questioned. Instead of embracing a system of checks and balances and a government with multiple branches of authority, the king of France believed that in his own person, he was the government—courts, legislature, and executive. *L'état, c'est moi* (the government and I are one entity)—Louis XIV may never actually have said this, but he lived and believed it and passed the belief on to his successors.

Louis XIV died in 1715, when his heir was a five-year-old child. The Duc d'Orléans ruled France until 1723, when the king reached legal adulthood at age thirteen. Although Ivan the Terrible had taken firm hold on power in Russia at the same age, Louis XV showed no great desire to end the regency; his tutor and chief minister ruled the nation in fact, if not in name, for another seventeen years. Once Louis took over the actual business of governing in 1740, he relied heavily on the advice of his closest ministers. Their inconsistent advice led France into costly wars, with no plan for paying off the war debts besides raising taxes on the poorest classes of society, which could least, afford them.

Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather Louis XV in 1774. At a time when France needed a strong, practical leader, Louis was timid and weak. His marriage to Austrian princess Marie Antoinette did nothing to strengthen his position with his subjects, as Austria and France were old enemies. His dismissal of many of the experienced government ministers certainly proved a mistake. Some of these men had attempted to reform the tax system by establishing a tax on the landed aristocracy; this chance of reform was gone when the ministers were dismissed from office.

Louis XVI and his ministers, unable to find any way to solve the problems on their own, called the Estates General to a meeting at Versailles. This was the first time the nation's only assembly had met since 1614.

Wars:

A number of major wars had taken place in the forty years leading up to the revolution. France used to always participate in the war and King Louis had to invest a lot of money in wars and the weapons. All this money came from the taxes paid by the 3rd estate. For example: the war with British: in 1756 the French fought with the Americans against British. This caused the government run low on money at a time when prices were high. This contributed to the overall causes leading up to the revolution because it outraged the peasants to be so burdened that they could not afford to eat. On top of that they had

failed crops which further increased the price of the essential commodities. All this lead to unrest and food riots.

Priceincrease:

In 1700, the price of essential things increased so much that the wages of the workers could not match with the price of the commodities. So the families could not afford food and other basic necessities with such low incomes. This is long term causes which lead to French revolution as there was a lot of discontentment among the masses.

PoorHarvest:

In 1787-88, the harvests were very bad due to very severe cold winters. Thousands of people suffered because there was not enough food. Angry mobs gathered in the streets. The women played an important role in the French revolution as these poor women of Paris marched to the king's palace at Versailles to demand bread for their hungry children. This is one of the short term economical causes of revolution.

BurdenofNewTaxes:

In order to create funds for the war and to buy the weapons, the King Louis XVI kept on increasing the taxes which further added burden on the third estate as discussed in the other section. This lead to French revolution as the poor peasants could not cope up with theses taxes and could not do anything about it as they had no voice. They wanted to have a say in as to how the country should be run.

TheFirst

Estate:

the first estate mainly consisted of clergy. This was the Roman Catholic Church. They were the 0.3% of France's population and owned about 10% of the land. On top of that, they didn't pay taxes even though they were one of the wealthiest people of France. The peasants paid 10% of their salary only to the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots. The leaders of the clergy, bishops lived like nobles. The first estate contributed to the revolution but it was a short term cause. The Clergy took advantage of the fact that the king was so indecisive and non-judgmental. They thought that they could gain power by helping and advising the king when he would reach a dilemma. The greed for power contributed to the revolution because then the other estates wanted power as well.

TheSecond

Estate:

The second estates were aristocrats. They made up 1.5% of the population and owned 20% of the land. They didn't pay taxes either. They often ordered peasants to work on their land and made them pay to use the mills. They were given control over other villages. They were hated by both the estates. They were hated by the first estate because the aristocrats had control over more land. They were well of and wealthy and on top of that they didn't have to pay any taxes. Aristocrats were hated by the peasants

because they used to be used as slaves. The second estate contributed to the revolution because they refused to help King Louis by not paying the taxes especially during 1787 when the money was needed to fund the war against the British. The second estate did not help King Louis XVI to bring about reforms in the taxation system. In 1783, Charles de Calonne (Controller General of Finance) suggested that the nobility should also pay the taxes. The nobility refused to cooperate which further increased the economic problems of France.

Unfair taxation and the Third Estate:

The 3rd estate made up 98.2% of the population. The 3rd estate consisted of middle class and peasants. There were lawyers, doctors, bankers, soldiers, merchants, priests, artisans, urban workers and peasants. The majority of the third estates were the peasants. They owned little land. They used to be abused by the first and the second estates. They used to call the poorest members of the third estate sans-culottes. It was a term created by the French in 1790 to describe the poorest members of the third estate because they wore pantaloons instead of the more in fashion clothes. The taxation system prevalent in France was faulty as the poorest were forced to pay the maximum taxes. The 3rd estate comprising of mainly the peasants had to pay 1/10 of their salary to the church. This was known as “tithe”. There were many other taxes that they also had to pay. They paid the “taille” which was a sort of income tax. They had to pay “Seigneurial” to the local landlord, or lord of the manor. These taxes were known as “feudal dues”. For example; the landlord would charge peasants heavily to use his mill to grind corn. Corvée (work tax) was paid for few days each year. Peasants had to work hard for the upkeep of local roads. Gabelle was a tax on salt. There was tax on salt since it helped to preserve food and “Aide” was a tax on bottle of wine. The third estate weren't paid sufficiently and they had to pay so many different taxes. The revolution took place because there was unfair taxation. The poorest community of France was paying high taxes for multiple reasons. They paid taxes so that the aristocrats can live a lavish life. They paid taxes to fund the war. They paid taxes to save the economy of the country. They are the real heroes of the French revolution because they were the ones who took the first action which was known as the beginning of the French revolution. Because the peasants wanted new constitution, the trigger took place. They wanted power that's why they took over the king and gained power.

Population increase:

Population increase lead to the French revolution although it was a short term cause. The population increased dramatically in the 18th century. This caused peasants to become

landless. This also meant that there was shortage of resources as they didn't have surplus due to the poor harvest. Due to this reason the capable families worked really hard in order to feed their families and be capable of paying the taxes. This caused the revolution because it made the peasants want more land, money and power.

The age of Enlightenment:

The enlighten was a period of revolution; a time where there was a major shift in the way the people thought. People began to question, investigate, reason and find the logic behind the theories. They were confident as they were going against the church / questioning the church, and who ever did that was executed. The enlighten affected areas like POLITICS, ARTS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE and last but not the least RELIGION. People started having secular thoughts. People started becoming open-minded and were ready to accept the change. They made their own laws and customs and adapted reality. Due to this the people became more knowledgeable New political ideas were evolved which lead to a new view of a government. The government system changed. People wanted to have representatives government not one person ruling the country. They wanted to change their form of government from absolute monarchy to democracy. All the citizens wanted to share power. More universities and book were made. This also gave people a better sense of equality. There was a desire to change the society. The philosophers often gathered in Paris and other European cities. They discussed politics, science and society. They changed their ideology. They believed in secular thoughts, "SOCIAL CONTACT" and the "GENERAL WILL". Social contact was a deal with people for the good, the right to elect, impeaching a president (anyone who has power) and general will was that people should have a right to choose their ruler. These ideas and thoughts lead to the French revolution as the people of France became more aware of their rights and freedom and liberty.

Demands and The tennis court:

oath:

This was the trigger and led to the revolution. Louis XVI tried to prevent the national assembly from writing a new constitution by locking them out of their meeting rooms. However, they gathered in an indoor tennis court. There they took an oath not to disband until they had written the constitution. This was a major event which started the revolution because we can see that the people have gone against the king because he didn't let the people make laws and regulations. This also indicates that the citizens desired change badly that is why they took this action and took the oath that they will make a new constitution. The third estate declared themselves as the national assembly. There were three main demands of the peasants. The first one was that the peasants wanted Necker to return and become the finance minister as they knew that he would sort out the monetary issues. Secondly, they wanted new constitution, rules that would give the king less power and give the third estate a voice in the running of France. Their last demand was that they wanted to rule the country as they made the majority of the

population.

In conclusion, we can say that there were numerous causes which lead to the French Revolution out of which, most of them were economical. The revolution was imminent because the third estates were treated badly since they were abused, treated like slaves and paid heavy taxes when they couldn't afford it. They didn't have power either. The French revolution brought a sense of equality among the citizens of France and everybody shared power. All the causes of the French revolution are interconnected because one issue leads to another and piles up. And when all the causes pile up it becomes a burden and there is no way out, hence the majority wins and there is a new beginning. Like in this case, all the causes just piled up. When king Louis had no way out the wheel turned causing the majority to win, in this case the peasants and there was a new beginning. There was a new form of government, sense of equality and everybody had equal power. The political factors lead to the economical factors.

ii) GIRODINS AND JACOBINS

The history of the French Revolution is riddled with popular misconceptions, perhaps none more glaring than the contest between the Jacobins and the Girondins. The very phrasing betrays this, as most Girondins were also members of the Jacobin Club. Bound up in the story of how the Girondins came to be identified with as being outside the radical Jacobite movement is the story of the bloody Terror of the French Revolution. Other People Are Reading

The Difference between the Mountaineers & the Girondins

Who Were the Jacobins?

Identification

The Jacobins were derived from the membership of the Jacobin Club, the largest and most powerful of the political clubs/factions in the French Revolution. The Girondins were a faction within the Legislative Assembly, and then the National Convention. They were not a political party, but a loose association of like-minded individuals, and most were members of the Jacobin Club.

History

The Jacobins were an outgrowth of the Club Benthorn, formed at the Estates General meeting of 1789 by Breton delegates. It grew from an exclusively Breton group to a national club. It grew to a membership of 420,000 before its end, including even the Indian monarch and British foe Tipu

Sultan. The Jacobins became the home for those in France who were radical revolutionaries, pushing for such things as universal suffrage, the separation of Church and State, and the abolition of the monarchy.

The Girondins, a faction of the Jacobins, owed what little leadership they had to Jacques Pierre Brissot. American revolutionary Thomas Paine was a Girondin. As most of their number were Jacobins, they were also radical democrats. They forced King Louis XVI to form a government from their faction in 1792; they were the group that forced the declaration of war on Austria that started the Wars of the Revolution that would then evolve into the Napoleonic Wars.

What ultimately separated the Girondins from the Jacobins was that they were more theorists and coffeehouse radicals than the men of action who led the club's other main block, the Montagnards ("Mountain Men"): Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. They preferred to posture, lecture, and publish while mobs rampaged in the streets, whom they disdained, and lacked the ruthlessness that characterized the Montagnards.

It was the overthrow of the Monarchy, the increasing chaos of the times, and the calling of the National Convention that started the swift fall of the Girondins. In the Legislative Assembly they had been radicals; in the tumultuous times that produced the National Convention, the Girondins found themselves in the role of law and order conservatives. Struggling to arrest the lawlessness of the country, they were outflanked on the left by the demagogues of the Montagnard faction. Although they had a majority in the Convention and controlled the government, the Montagnards painted them as sell-outs to a reactionary enemies at home and abroad to the Paris mob. The Montagnard-led mob intimidated the Convention, which ordered the arrest of over 30 Girondin leaders in 1793. With the triumph of the Montagnards, they became synonymous with the Jacobins as a whole.

Some of the arrested Girondins escaped, including Brissot, and fled to the provinces in an attempt to raise the countryside against Paris. This threat of Civil War was all the excuse that the Montagnards needed to begin the Terror. The 21 remaining Girondins in custody were given a farcical show trial and executed at the guillotine. Of those who escaped Paris, most were hunted down and killed by the radical Jacobin government before it too fell, in late 1794

MISCONCEPTIONS:

The Jacobins are often confused with the Montagnards of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, and the Girondins as a separate party. In fact, they were factions within the same party. Over time the

two terms became synonymous, with Montagnard being forgotten, but it is important to remember that the Girondins were never a separate, opposition faction.

Significance

After the fall of the Monarchy and the destruction of the Girondins, whatever moderating influence that remained in the French Revolution was gone. The result was the infamous Reign of Terror of September 5, 1793 to July 28, 1794, and period of unstable French Revolutionary governments that would last until the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. Under Bonaparte, some of the gains of the Revolution would be confirmed, while others were undone. Bonapartism itself was eventually defeated and the French Monarchy restored to power until 1848, it could be said that the defeat of the Girondins and the excesses that followed were the undoing of the Revolution itself.

Effects

With no external rivals for power, the leaders of the Montagnards soon fell out among themselves. In March 1793, he ordered the execution of his old ally Danton, Jacques Hebert, and their respective followers. The Montagnards fed on themselves, ultimately leading to Robespierre's own downfall.

During the times of the French Constitutional Monarchy two prominent radical groups fought for power: the Girondins and the Jacobins. Of the two groups, though both were radical, the Girondins were less radical and became arising power in 1791. During this time the group hoped to pass legislation allowing all blacks equal freedoms (The United States was a little behind on this..). The group also wanted to go to war with Austria in 1792 in hopes of showing power over the king. As a result of all of these new found politics of the Girondins, the Jacobins began to counter react in opposition to the Girondins.

An example of the different political views of the two groups is found with the reactions to the September Massacres. The massacre was instigated by Georges-Jacques Danton, a revolutionary leader. Danton gave a speech on September 2nd 1792 in which he said, "When the tocsin sounds, it will not be a signal of alarm, but the signal to charge against the enemies of our country... To defeat them, gentlemen, we need boldness, and again boldness, and always boldness; and France will then be saved." In reality Danton was probably speaking of boldness needed in fighting the war but most French citizens took it as boldness needed in fighting within France to those who were viewed as "traitors" and killing occurred all over the streets. By

September 7th over 1,000 people had been massacred. Girondins urged citizens to stop the violence while Jacobins encouraged the bloodshed. The gap between Girondins and Jacobins grew more and more with the Jacobins becoming the more powerful force.



Danton – lifted from Wikipedia

When the king was put on trial for treason the Girondins fought for the king to be exempted from execution while the Jacobins argued that the king should be executed in order to assure the revolution's success. The Jacobins were successful. As a result, they were a monopolizing power and in the National Convention the Jacobins arrested and killed 22 Girondins. They had won the battle between the two groups. The main leader of the Jacobins was Jean-Paul Marat. Parisians loved him and cheered him in the streets. His reign ended though when Charlotte Corday snuck into his bath, stabbed him, and Marat was named a martyr of the revolution.



71063_jacobins-girondins

c) THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

Napoleon ruled for 15 years, closing out the quarter-century so dominated by the French Revolution. His own ambitions were to establish a solid dynasty within France and to create a French-dominated empire in Europe. To this end he moved steadily to consolidate his personal power, proclaiming himself emperor and sketching a new aristocracy. He was almost constantly at war, with Britain his most dogged opponent but Prussia and Austria also joining successive coalitions. Until 1812, his campaigns were usually successful. Although he frequently made errors in strategy—especially in the concentration of troops and the deployment of artillery—he was a master tactician, repeatedly snatching victory from initial defeat in the major battles. Napoleonic France directly annexed territories in the Low Countries and western Germany, applying revolutionary legislation in full. Satellite kingdoms were set up in other parts of Germany and Italy, in Spain, and in Poland. Only after 1810 did Napoleon clearly overreach himself. His empire stirred enmity widely, and in conquered Spain an important guerrilla movement harassed his forces. Russia, briefly allied, turned hostile, and an 1812 invasion attempt failed miserably in the cold Russian winter. A new alliance formed among the other great powers in 1813. France fell to the invading forces of this coalition in 1814, and Napoleon was exiled. He returned dramatically, only to be defeated at Waterloo in 1815; his reign had finally ended.

Napoleon's regime produced three major accomplishments, aside from its many military episodes. First, it confirmed many revolutionary changes within France itself. Napoleon was a dictator, maintaining only a sham parliament and rigorously policing press and assembly. Though some key liberal principles were in fact ignored, equality under the law was for the most part enhanced through Napoleon's sweeping new law codes; hereditary privileges among adult males became a thing of the past. A strongly centralized government recruited bureaucrats according to their abilities. New educational institutions, under state control, provided access to bureaucratic and specialized technical training. Religious freedom survived, despite some conciliations of Roman Catholic opinion. Freedom of internal trade and encouragements to technical innovation allied the state with commercial growth. Sales of church land were confirmed, and rural France emerged as a nation of strongly independent peasant proprietors.

Napoleon's conquests cemented the spread of French revolutionary legislation to much of Western Europe. The powers of the Roman Catholic Church, guilds, and manorial aristocracy came under the gun. The old regime was dead in Belgium, western Germany, and northern Italy.

Finally, wider conquests permanently altered the European map. Napoleon's kingdoms consolidated scattered territories in Germany and Italy, and the welter of divided states was never restored. These developments, but also resentment at Napoleonic rule, sparked growing

nationalism in these regions and also in Spain and Poland. Prussia and Russia, less touched by new ideologies, nevertheless introduced important political reforms as a means of strengthening the state to resist the Napoleonic war machine. Prussia expanded its school system and modified serfdom; it also began to recruit larger armies. Britain was less affected, protected by its powerful navy and an expanding industrial economy that ultimately helped wear Napoleon down; but, even in Britain, French revolutionary example spurred a new wave of democratic agitation.

In 1814–15 the victorious powers convened at the Congress of Vienna to try to put Europe back together, though there was no thought of literally restoring the world that had existed before 1789. Regional German and Italian states were confirmed as a buffer to any future French expansion. Prussia gained new territories in western Germany. Russia took over most of Poland (previously divided, in the late 18th century, until Napoleon's brief incursion). Britain acquired some former French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies (including South Africa). The Bourbon dynasty was restored to the French throne in the person of Louis XVIII, but revolutionary laws were not repealed, and a parliament, though based on very narrow suffrage, proclaimed a constitutional monarchy. The Treaty of Vienna disappointed nationalists, who had hoped for a new Germany and Italy, and it certainly daunted democrats and liberals. However, it was not reactionary, nor was it punitive as far as France was concerned. Overall, the treaty strove to reestablish a balance of power in Europe and to emphasize a conservative political order tempered by concessions to new realities. The former was remarkably successful, preserving the peace for more than half a century, the latter effort less so.

UNIT II

CONGRESS OF VIENNA

As agreed at the first Treaty of Paris in 1814, a congress of the Great Powers of Europe met at Vienna to settle the future boundaries of the continent. Almost every state in Europe was represented. The emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Württemberg and many German princes including the Elector of Hesse, the Grand Duke of Baden and the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick and Coburg, attended in person.

The Congress

Adopted a fair policy of no great rewards and no great punishments gave a balanced settlement which ensured no major conflict for forty years (the Crimean War, 1854-6) and then until 1914 included France, as represented by Talleyrand was still generous to the defeated France, so as not to give rise to French feelings of revenge adopted a policy to restore the *status quo ante bellum* [the situation as it was before the war— a return to 1793 as far as possible. This was perhaps rather short-sighted and regressive although the policy-makers were working within their knowledge and did not have second sight to foretell the future. The French Revolution had liberated new forces of democracy and patriotic nationalism throughout Europe. The diplomats represented the crowned heads of Europe and paid little heed to either of these forces restored monarchies across Europe ignored demands for greater democracy and nationalism; this led to the majority of conflicts in the Nineteenth Century, between and within countries Lord Liverpool's government (1812-27) was determined not to allow reform in Britain 1848 Liberal Nationalist revolutions throughout Europe Sarajevo in June 1914 the restored monarchies were troubled by nationalist reformers wanting democracy

The principal negotiators were:

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Austria | Metternich |
| Prussia | Hardenberg and von Humboldt |
| Russia | Nesselrode and Rasoumoffski |
| Great Britain | Castlereagh, and later, Wellington |
| France | Talleyrand and Dalberg |

Although interrupted by the 'Hundred Days' and troubled by rivalries, the Congress achieved a settlement which remained in force in much of central and eastern Europe until the First World War. This link will take you to a map of Europe in 1815. The main provisions of the Congress were:

Great Britain retained Malta Heligoland the protectorate of the Ionian Isles (the latter by a treaty signed 5 November 1815) Mauritius, Tobago and Santa Lucia from France Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from Holland Trinidad from Spain.

Prussia

In Germany, Prussia received half of Saxony, the Grand Duchy of Berg, part of the Duchy of Westphalia, and territory on the left bank of the Rhine between Elken and Coblenz, including Cologne, Trèves, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Prussia also received Swedish Pomerania and the King of Prussia was recognised as Prince of Neuchatel In Poland, Prussia retained the territory gained in the previous partitions, the province of Posen, and the cities of Danzig and Thorn

Austria

In Italy, Austria received Venetia, Lombardy and Milan, the Illyrian provinces (Carinthia, Carniola and Trieste), Dalmatia, and the seaport of Cattaro (now the kingdoms Illyria and Dalmatia) In Poland, Austria kept eastern Galicia, with Krakow made a free city In Germany, Austria received the Tyrol and Salzburg

The German states

By the act of Confederation, signed 8 June 1815, and supplemented by the final act of Vienna, 15 May 1820, a German Confederacy was set up to replace the old Holy Roman Empire. The number of German states was reduced from over 300 to 39. A Diet was established under the Presidency of Austria, to which states were to send delegates. The Diet consisted of the Ordinary Assembly sitting permanently at Frankfurt and a General Assembly. Each state was to be independent in internal affairs, but war between the individual states was forbidden and the consent of the Confederacy was necessary for foreign war Bavaria received Rhenish Bavaria, extending from the Prussian territory on the Rhine to Alsace, including the city of Mainz Hanover became a kingdom and received East Frisia and Hildesheim.

Russia

In Poland, Russia received the greater part of the grand duchy of Warsaw which was to be made into a separate kingdom of Poland. Krakow became a free city state under the protection of Russia, Austria and Prussia Russia retained Finland, conquered from Sweden in 1808

Russia retained Bessarabia, taken from Turkey in 1812

Italy

Ferdinand IV was recognised as King of the Two Sicilies

The Pope received the Legation of Bologna and most of Ferrara, but was refused the restoration of Avignon. Tuscany was assigned to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, uncle of the Emperor Francis; Modena to the Archduke Francois d'Este, another Habsburg prince Parma, Piacenza and

Guastella were granted to the Empress Marie Louise for life Genoa was given to the Kingdom of Sardinia

Low Countries

The formation of the kingdom of the Netherlands was ratified, comprising the former republic of Holland and Austrian Belgium, under the former hereditary Stadtholder as King William I. The sovereignty of the Netherlands was given to the House of Orange, and the King of the Netherlands was made Grand Duke of Luxembourg, making him a member of the German Confederation

Switzerland

The 19 existing cantons were increased to 22 by the addition of Geneva, Wallis, and Neuchatel. Switzerland became a confederation of independent cantons with its neutrality guaranteed by the Great Powers

Sweden and Denmark

Sweden retained Norway which had been ceded to her by Denmark at the Peace of Kiel (14 January 1814). The Norwegians were guaranteed the possession of their Liberties and rights. Denmark was indemnified with Lauenburg

Spain and Portugal

Spain lost Trinidad

Portugal lost Guiana to France

France

Apart from the provisions of the second Treaty of Paris, France received French Guiana from Portugal, Guadeloupe from Sweden, and Martinique and the Isle of Bourbon from Great Britain

The slave trade

In February 1815, the Congress condemned the slave trade as inconsistent with civilisation and human rights.

Comment

The confederation of German states and the redivision of Italy led to Nineteenth Century unification activity — Italy under Garibaldi and Cavour, Prussia under Bismarck the buffer state of the Netherlands did not last long. The Belgians removed Dutch control over their country in 1830.

Britain appeared to acquire minimal advantages in the settlement, given that she had spent £600 million on the wars. She got no land in Europe, but Britain did gain colonial strength which helped her trade and commerce. Britain became THE European colonial power liberalism and nationalism in Europe was halted, temporarily. It was not crushed

Russia entered Western Europe as a major power and from 1815 onwards played a regular and important part in European diplomacy. Russia had gained the Duchy of Warsaw and Finland at Vienna - hence the unification of Norway and Sweden under Bernadotte, as Charles XIV. This union was terminated only in 1905

The Congress of Vienna was seen as the first of a series of Congresses which have been labeled as the "Congress System" although it was never a system. Diplomats felt that they should 'stick together' in peacetime to preserve the peace. It was a "gentlemen's agreement" - verbal, and there was no constitution; it was decided that when and where conflict could lead to international war, a congress would meet to talk it out first.

1815 Congress of Vienna

1818 Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle

1820 Congress of Troppau

1821 Congress of Laibach

1822 Congress of Verona

These were the early origins of international co-operation

B) The Concert of Europe was a group of countries in Europe who worked together and agreed on things (also known as an "alliance") between 1814 and 1914.

The member countries were the United Kingdom, Austria, Russia and Prussia (no longer a country). After Napoleon, ruler of France, was no longer in power, France joined the Concert of Europe.

Leaders

The leaders of this concert include:

British Foreign Secretary - Lord Castlereagh

Austrian Chancellor - Prince Klemenz von Metternich

Russian Czar - Alexander I

The Concert was also known as the Congress System, where leaders would meet and reach decisions by mutual agreement. It eventually would change names and more countries joined to form *The League of Nations*.

Goals

Important goals of the Concert:

Control France after many years of war develop a "balance of power" among the nations of Europe uphold the agreements set by the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) prevent another dictator from gaining too much power (like Napoleon)

Benefits:

Helped Greece and Belgium gain independence helped end the eight-year Egyptian control of Syria

Decline:

Fell apart after years of disagreement between the countries

Mainly between Great Britain (England) and the other conservative countries in the Concert

Finally fell after the following wars: Crimean War, Italy

The Concert of Europe (also Vienna system of international relations, Russian:

Also known as the Congress System after the Congress of Vienna, was the balance of power that existed in Europe from the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) to the outbreak of World War

I (1914), albeit with major alterations after the revolutions of 1848. Its founding powers were Austria, Prussia, the Russian Empire and the United Kingdom, the members of the Quadruple Alliance responsible for the downfall of the First French Empire. In time France was established as a fifth member of the concert. At first, the leading personalities of the system were British foreign secretary Lord Castlereagh, Austrian chancellor Klemens von Metternich and Russian czar Alexander I.

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Period of France was largely responsible for quickly returning that country to its place alongside the other major powers in international diplomacy.

The age of the Concert is sometimes known as the Age of Metternich, due to the influence of the Austrian chancellor's conservatism and the dominance of Austria within the German Confederation, or as the European Restoration, because of the reactionary efforts of the Congress of Vienna to restore Europe to its state before the French Revolution. The rise of nationalism, the unification of Germany and the *Risorgimento* in Italy, and the Eastern Question were among the factors which brought an end to the Concert's effectiveness. Among the meetings of the Great Powers during this period were:

Aix-la

Chappelle (1818), Carlsbad (1819), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), Verona (1822), London (1832), Berlin (1878). The Concert of Europe had no written rules or permanent institutions but at times of crisis any of them could propose a conference.

Origins

The idea of a European federation had been previously raised by figures such as Gottfried Leibniz and the 1st Baron Grenville. The Concert of Europe, as developed by Metternich, drew upon their ideas and the notion of a balance of power in international relations; that the ambitions of each Power were curbed by the others:

The Concert of Europe, as it began to be called at the time, had ... a reality in international law, which derived from the final Act of the Vienna Congress, which stipulated that the boundaries established in 1815 could not be altered without the consent of its eight signatories.

It also hoped to curb the radical ideas of the French Revolution and Enlightenment.

From the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1792 to the exile of Napoleon to Saint Helena in 1815, Europe had been almost constantly at war. During this time, the military

conquests of France had resulted in the spread of liberalism throughout much of the continent, resulting in many states adopting the Napoleonic code. Largely as a reaction to the radicalism of the French Revolution, the victorious powers of the Napoleonic Wars resolved to suppress liberalism and nationalism, and revert largely to the *status quo* of Europe prior to 1789. The Kingdom of Prussia, Austrian Empire and Russian Empire formed the Holy Alliance with the expressed intent of preserving Christian social values and traditional monarchism. Every member of the coalition promptly joined the Alliance, save for the United Kingdom.

Results



National boundaries in mainland Europe as set by the Congress of Vienna, 1814

The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) resolved the issues of Allied occupation of France and restored that country to equal status with Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia.

In 1822, the Congress of Verona met to decide the issue if France could intervene on the side of the Spanish royalists in the *Trienio Liberal*. After receiving permission, Louis XVIII dispatched five army corps to restore Ferdinand VII of Spain.

In 1830, the Belgian Revolution against the Kingdom of the Netherlands began. French ambassador Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord presented a partition plan for the Southern Provinces to the Concert, which was not adopted. Nevertheless, the Great Powers unanimously recognized Belgian independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the Treaty of London

(1839). The treaty also established Belgian neutrality, which would last until the German invasion of Belgium in 1914.

Demise

Already by 1818 the British decided not to become involved in continental issues that did not directly affect it. They rejected the plan of Czar Alexander to suppress future revolutions.

The Concert began to weaken as the common goals of the Great Powers were gradually replaced by growing political and economic rivalries. Further eroded by the European revolutionary upheavals of 1848 with their demands for revision of the Congress of Vienna's frontiers along national lines, the Concert unraveled in the latter half of the 19th century amid successive wars between its participants - the Crimean War (1854–56), the Italian War of Independence (1859), the Austro-Prussian War (1866) and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). While the Congress System had a further significant achievement in the form of the Congress of Berlin (1878) which redrew the political map of the Balkans, the old balance of power had been irrevocably altered, and was replaced by a series of fluctuating alliances.

By the early 20th century, the Great Powers were organized into two opposing coalitions (the Triple Alliance and the Entente Powers). The last conference was the London Conference of 1912-1913 convened to discuss the Balkan Wars.^[1] In the 1914 July crisis, Britain proposed a conference but Austria-Hungary and Germany both refused to attend.^[8] World War I would break out in the following month.

b) EUROPE AFTER NAPOLEAN

After Napoleon's domination of Europe from around 1800 to 1814, the rulers of Europe wanted to insure that no one would ever be able to come so close to taking over all of Europe again. To this end, the diplomats from all of the Great Powers met at the Congress of Vienna to negotiate from 1814 to 1815. There they reorganized European boundaries in hopes of creating a stable Europe where coalitions of nations could always ally to defeat one nation that got out of hand.

The rulers after Napoleon were dedicated to stopping revolution (like the French Revolution in their own countries. Louis XVIII, whose brother Louis XVI had been executed during the French

Revolution, certainly didn't want another revolution in France. The Tory government in Great Britain was archconservative and greatly opposed social upheaval. Metternich, the foreign minister in Austria, was willing to do anything to stabilize Europe and preserve Hapsburg power.

France

In France, Louis XVIII did his best to balance the tense situation following Napoleon's defeat. On both sides, Louis granted amnesties, hoping to "start over" in France. The wealthy, however, remembering the leveling effects of the Revolution, became passionately anti-revolutionary, or reactionary. The reactionary element only increased after the King's nephew, the Duke of Berry, was assassinated in 1820. In 1824, Louis XVIII died, and was replaced by the assassinated Duke's father, Charles X. Unlike the moderate Louis, Charles was a hard-core reactionary, and hated all the changes taking place in France, even the ones Louis had initiated. Charles believed himself to be a monarch appointed by God, and he started trampling on basic elements of liberalism like the French constitution.

Poland

Poland was a state recreated by the Congress of Vienna and ruled by Czar Alexander I. Initially, its government was quite liberal; though ruled by Alexander, Poland had a constitution. Alexander considered himself an "enlightened despot" and spoke often of granting freedom to the people, but he soon found that when he did give the people some self-government, they didn't always agree with what he wanted them to do. Liking liberal reforms in theory more than practice, Alexander increasingly curtailed Poland's right of self-government. As a result of its frustrated desire for self-rule, Polish Nationalism began to rise. Secret societies developed, and a university movement (which Alexander put down in the 1820s) got underway.

Germany

In Germany, nationalists motivated by Romantic ideas such as the belief in a special German Volksgeist hated the results of the Congress of Vienna, since the Congress split up into a loose federation called the Bund. Dissatisfaction centered among students and intellectuals, who began to form highly nationalist clubs called Burschen schaft. In 1817, the Burschenschaft held a national meeting at Wartburg, convincing Metternich that German nationalism was a force to be reckoned with. When the German nationalists began assassinating reactionary leaders, Metternich intervened by pushing the Carlsbad Decrees through the Bund in 1819. The decrees outlawed the Burschenschaft and pushed them underground. Secondly, the decrees increased government regulation of the universities, limiting what was taught, and made way for

government censorship of German newspapers. The Carlsbad Decrees quieted the German nationalist movement for about a decade.

Great Britain

In Great Britain, in 1815, the aristocrat-dominated Parliament passed the Corn Law, which raised tariffs on grain to make imports impossible. The high tariffs also raised prices beyond the reach of the working class. In December 1816, starving workers rioted in London. Meanwhile, in Manchester, the ascendant industrialists who dominated the city had been hoping to get Parliamentary representation for some time. Realizing how discontented the workers were, the industrialists helped organize 80,000 workers to demonstrate at St. Peter's Field against the Corn Law and for universal male suffrage. The protest was peaceful, but British soldiers nonetheless fired into the crowd, killing several. The event became a national scandal, called the Peterloo Massacre. The Tory Parliament, frightened of the potential for worker revolts, passed acts in 1819 aimed at stopping mass political organization. Not appeased, a group of workers decided to try and assassinate the Tory cabinet. This group, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, was discovered in 1820. Several members were executed.

Conclusion:

After Napoleon, a period of Reactionary governments swept Europe. Having swung so far one way during the French Revolution and Napoleon's rule, the historical pendulum now swung back the other way, as rulers tried to prevent the "excesses" of the French Revolution from happening again. Fear among the traditional rulers was not without basis, either. Revolution *was* brewing throughout Europe.

Among the reactionary rulers and leaders of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era, only the liberal, progressive, and fervently Christian Alexander I, Czar of Russia, seemed a wild card when it came to change. He certainly wanted to rule, but he also wanted to change the world for the better. Highly educated, he saw himself as an "enlightened despot" or a "philosopher-king" able to foresee reforms that were in the best interest of all. In 1815, the rulers of Europe were all worried about what Czar Alexander might do. However, once Alexander found out that granting constitutions and self-government to people led to them doing things that he sometimes disagreed with, his interest in liberal reforms began to sour, and he fell further into the reactionary fold over time.

Why was Metternich so upset about possible German unification? He was afraid that a powerful and unified Germany might upset the balance of power, not to mention pose a threat to

neighboring Austria. Although Austria did not have a tremendous amount of formal influence in the German *Bund*, it could put informal pressure on the German states, and Metternich did this heavily in the period to get the Carlsbad decrees passed.

British Parliament designed the Corn Law (1815) to protect the profits of landed aristocrats in Britain. But the action demonstrates the degree to which Parliament was out of touch with the social and political situation. The tariffs raised food prices, naturally affecting the poor. The raise in prices also affected the industrialist manufacturers, who had to pay their workers more to insure that they had people physically able to man the industrial factories. Whereas the poor had no political power, and little tendency to political action, the wealthy manufacturers had both. The teaming up of the manufacturers and poor demonstrated a changing reality in British social and political life. Parliament's eventual recognition of this change can be seen in the Tory government's subsequent passage of a high tax on newspapers as an attempt to limit the spread of ideas among workers. The Tory government even went so far as to restrict the right of public assembly.

d) WORKING CLASS MOMENT SOCIALISM AND MARX

The working class has a special significance for capitalism as well as for its overcoming. Workers are free in a double sense, they are free from pre-capitalist forces and obligations, free to present themselves on the capitalist labour market, but also free from the possibility of independent production. Hence, they are forced to sell their labour power. They have to obey the command of the capitalists respectively their lieutenants. This is true for workers active in the production sphere as well as for those employed in the sphere of circulation. Only by using the combined labor power of the different parts of the working class, capital can realize its profit and keep its system running.

Due to its position within the process of production, the working class has - potentially - much more power than any other oppressed layer within capitalism, e.g. peasants or urban poor in semi-colonial countries. The - internationally increasing - working class is subject to continuous transformations, as the capitalist mode of production itself. But this permanent restructuring does not change its basic position in the mode of production and reproduction.

This position does not only provide the working class with the possibility to halt the capitalist production and circulation - as well as profiteering and accumulation of capital - but allows the working class to be the only possible social base of an anti-capitalist revolution and a socialist society. Only the working class can end the „natural" mechanism of capitalism and, at the same, time take over and reorganize production and circulation in a new way. By coming into power

only the working class can end the class rule of the bourgeois and start the withering away of any kind of class rule and the various forms of social oppression.

However, the working class does not seize this function automatically - in the sense that it would be sufficient to wait until the „objective historical process" carries out this development on its own. First, it is necessary that the individuals holding a specific position in the production process become a collective that is conscious of its situation. The working class in itself has to develop into a working class for itself. This is a process full of contradictions, depending on many factors: on the possibilities of the ruling system in a specific period and country to make concessions towards the working class in order to feed their hopes for an individual career; on the social structures and cultural traditions; on the extent to which much bourgeois ideologies and tendencies are rooted or discredited in the working class; on class struggle experiences through which the participants (can) become conscious about their own interests in contrast to the interests of others; and, finally, on the strength of and intervention by a revolutionary working class movement which can give social conflicts a farther-reaching political perspective.

On the one hand, the revolutionary working class movement, and its theory, Marxism, express the social and political contradictions of capitalism, in particular the class interest of the working class. On the other hand, the revolutionary working class movement and Marxism are subjects with the scope to influence historic developments decisively, i.e. the most resolute part of the working class which has the advantage of having insights into social relations, historic experiences and a more comprehensive perspective of class struggle.

The need of a separate revolutionary organization, the goal to build a revolutionary working class party, results from the character of the socialist revolution itself, which is partly founded on the experience of former struggles and their generalization. Through organizing the most conscious parts of the working class, supported by revolutionaries from other classes, it is possible to create a political force which is not only capable of drawing conclusions from former class struggles and act accordingly, but also to analyze the relations between the classes, i.e. the actual balance of power in society and its dynamism, and to use the analysis to draw specific conclusions for its policy.

Moreover, the revolutionary party has to take into account that the working class is not a homogenous class, whose consciousness is equally spread and will develop in a linear way. The social and political layers within the working class rather show a periodically different development of class consciousness and, therefore, a distinguished readiness to fight the capital and its society. Only a political force, that is able to analyze all tendencies within the class and consider them politically, but that also has used its theoretical understanding to gain relative independence from the consciousness of the more backward layers, from illusions and rapid

demoralization, can represent the interest of the whole class and eventually - mediated through the most conscious parts - lead it. Hence neither the political commanding of the working class, nor the sheer collection nor focusing of its immediate interests and single fights are the revolutionary party's function and *raison-d'être*. Its necessity rather derives immediately from the historic interest of the working class (and mankind) to put an end to exploitation and to the murderous dynamic of capitalism. In this context the revolutionary forces have a fundamental interest to force back all forms of social oppression, to integrate the fight for women's liberation, against racism, etc. into the class struggle and, hence, to widen the front against the capitalist system.

The organization of the working class and the oppressed layers has to be international and internationalist for of two reasons: Firstly, socialism, the class-free society - as shown by the experience of the Stalinist countries - is only possibly on an international or even global scale. Secondly, a proletarian practice which breaks up the national boundaries is the consequence of from the internationalization of the capital. The revolutionary International does not constitute an abstract ideal but is a political consequence from the development of capital itself. It should be the political instrument which allows the working class to lead the class struggle on an international scale and to confront the international operations of capital with an internationally organized proletariat. In this context anti-imperialist struggles are an important element in international class struggle to overcome the capitalist system. The working class in the imperialist centers will not be able to free itself as long as it accepts the imperialist oppression (and, with it, the rule of its own exploiters). In this respect, the active support of anti-imperialist struggles is a relevant barometer for the class consciousness in imperialist countries.

Of course, the building of a revolutionary International and the striving for internationally united operations of the working class do not imply the negation of nationally different conditions and tasks of the class struggle. The construction of the national and the international organisation is interrelated. Moreover this constitutes a process: a new revolutionary International cannot just be proclaimed. In the same way that a proletarian revolution should not be misjudged as a single act of will of the working class, the revolutionary party and the International will not automatically and linearly be created as the result of class struggles. The development of class struggles and class consciousness makes it quite unavoidable that revolutionary forces are formed relatively independently (in a theoretical and practical way) from the working class. A revolutionary working class party embedded in the masses will be the outcome of a lengthy and combined process of discussion, rising of consciousness and militant mass actions. But even in countries and periods in which the formation of Marxist organizations takes place in the form of small groups, mostly isolated from the proletariat, Marxists will always orientate their activities towards the goal of a revolutionary party.

The combination of revolutionary theory and activity, the melting of the revolutionary organization with the mass of the workers and thus the shift from the revolutionary program to a decisive factor in society, are the aims of revolutionary policy. On the way to achieve this goal, there are different periods, characterized by different tasks. They result from the general situation of class struggle and the scale of development of revolutionary organizations. As long as Marxists are forced to exist relatively separated from the mainstream of the working class, there will necessarily be tensions between opportunistic adjustment to reactionary tendencies in the consciousness of the working class on the one hand, and sectarian discussion on the other hand. In order to prevent both tendencies as effectively as possible, it is not only necessary to be aware of this fact and to have a clear political-theoretical understanding but also to have a realistic estimation of the situation in society and, in particular, of the political tendencies and organizations within the working class and the working class movement.

E) WOMEN MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE

As the women's movement developed in the 19th Century, the early feminists were initially concerned with achieving improvements in civil rights and to eliminate their legal minority (divorce, custody, repeal of guardianship for the man in marriage etc.). Electoral law had a subordinate meaning in their demands at first. However they soon suffered bitter experiences. Without rights and a voice in the public political debate they were nothing more than petitioners - dependent on male allies and the political atmosphere. Partners and established parties or organizations only supported the women so long as it lay in their own interests. As soon as the aim was reached the women were abandoned. As a consequence the women's movement concentrated more and more on achieving the right to vote. Women's rights activists organised themselves into their own autonomous or partially autonomous organisations. The women who took to the public stage can be generally split up into three groups:

"The Moderates": This concerns a heterogeneous group of women's associations, whose members wanted a small amount of change or on a step by step basis and within the bounds of the existing civil structure. It was emphasised that women are different and have other tasks in society than men. This group included, for instance, Christian welfare organisations who cared for the poorest of women, and liberal women's educational societies and conservative women. The demand for the right to vote was not made mainly by associations and societies, but was either rejected with the explanation that women were not mature enough or one did not want to snub those in government, or a right to vote for classes was demanded which included women. The right to vote was not meant to be given to everyone, simply those women with property. Following the process of militarisation and nationalism that took place shortly before the

breakout of the First World War, many women gave support to this voice and called upon their supporters to help in "defending" the fatherland.

"The Radicals": This is a small group of women who are fighting for the radical reform of society. They were the driving force behind the voting rights campaigns. These women emphasised the equality of men and women, who also have a right to the same rights therefore. The Radicals comprised a minor movement and did not feel it belonged to any party. Some did however try to make contact with socialist women. Some campaigns were carried out together such as the women's voting rights campaign. The radical feminists also fought for the rights of socially deprived women, women workers and prostitutes. Representatives of this group founded the "International Woman's League for Peace and Freedom" during the First World War, which women from all warring nations at this time belonged to.

"The Socialists": Relatively autonomously organised women within the socialist and later the communist movement are concerned here. The basic demands of the socialist women were the general socialist demands for the abolition of class rules and private property as a medium of production. Heralds in thought of the socialist women's movement such as Clara Zetkin demanded women's economic independence as a basic requirement for their equality and the abolition of the hierarchisation of the sexes analogue to the abolition of the classes. The central issue in the demands of socialist women initially was to balance out the economic situation of women workers to that of male workers (the same wages for the same work, opening up the unions to women etc.) The right to vote was added to this later. The institution of the International Women's Day on 8th March has its origins in the socialist women's movement:

"In consent with the class-conscious proletariat political and union organisations in each of their own countries, the socialist women of all countries are staging a woman's day this year which is to serve to agitate for the women's right to vote." [Resolution of the II international Socialist Party Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1910]

The Development in Selected Countries

USA: The women's movement had its source in the anti-slavery movement (abolition), in which an unusually high number of women were organised. They particularly had to defend their demands against the church, and also against the prejudice from the rows of the male abolitionists. Typical for the US American women's movement is the sisterhood of white and coloured women. It came to a break with the abolitionists at the time when the right to vote for blacks was recognised for the first time in the constitution. The word "male" was added to the corresponding change in the constitution, making the exclusion of women from the right to vote

all too clear. Prior to this, the right to vote existed for women with limitations in individual federal states. Surprisingly the men of the republican party ordered this, with whom the feminists had fought together at first for the rights of the blacks. The women's right to vote movement formed its own organisations following this: the "National Woman Suffrage Association" (NWSA) and the "American Woman Suffrage Association" (AWSA) which merged at a later date. Women received the right to vote in the USA in 1920 - around 50 years after their disenfranchisement by the constitutional reform mentioned.

England: The women's movement began with the first voting rights reform of 1832. This was meant to be democratised by the English parliament, but excluded women from the municipal and parliamentary right to vote (by extending the word "person" around the attribute "male".) A more comprehensive political fight began in the 1860's. The influential right to vote movement of the Suffragettes came into being. They wanted to achieve the right to vote for women via public relations work and petitions. The English philosopher and member of Commons, John Stuart Mill, was an important supporter of the Suffragettes. Their first success was achieving the active and passive right to vote in municipalities at lower administrative level (from 1869). The "Morality Movement" under Josephine Butler turned against the reglementation of prostitution by the police. This was the first time that women in civil life had stood up for the rights of prostitutes. The reglementation was abolished a short time later. The proletarian women organised themselves into the "Women's Trade Union Provident League". They also joined the fight for the right to vote later. This turned the Suffragette movement into one of the largest political movements in England prior to the First World War. Since the government failed to react to written petitions, the women did not shy away from spectacular actions and damaging property. The popularity of the women's rights activists rose due to the arrests made following, and the brutal treatment of the Suffragettes in prison. The First World War brought the fight for the women's right to vote to an end.

Germany: The women's right movement had initial links with the revolution of 1848. During the subsequent period of restoration, women were denied their basic rights, such as the right to being a member of an association or society, or editorial work on newspapers or any form of political task. This brought the women's movement to a standstill. The political liberalisation of the 1860's led to the foundation of the first German women's association the "Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins" (ADF) by Louise Otto-Peters in 1865. The early German social democrats went hand in hand with the strong proletarian women's movement, whose organiser was Clara Zetkin. The social democrats included the right to vote for women in their programme due to their influence. The right to vote for women was introduced by the Social Democrat Party in Germany in 1918 following the war which they had lost.

France: The limited successes of women in the areas of education and women's rights was fought against by the Jacobites from 1793 onwards and women's societies were prohibited and women tied to the home by law. These restrictive politics were continued under the leadership of Napoleon I. and were laid down in the "Code Napoléon" (1804), the legal code which he created, so that it was first possible to speak of a women's movement after the revolution of 1848. The women's societies now created criticised the marriage laws more than anything else and pressurised for the right to vote by way of petition. In addition a strong proletarian women's movement was created under the influence of the early socialist Charles Fourier and Flora Tristan. The restoration introduced after the revolution was not so strong as to succeed in totally suppressing the increasing organisation of women. They were able to slowly achieve results however. The French women's fight was one of the most arduous. Although France was the first country in Europe to introduce a general and equal right to vote for men, it first recognised the full right of women to vote in 1944. The last discriminations in civil rights were finally eliminated in the 1980s.

UNIT III

a. Crimean War (1853-56)

b. Russia

c. The Unification of Italy

d. The Unification of Germany

e. Near Eastern Question

EUROPE FROM 1850-1871
CRIMEAN WAR: (1853-56)

Here are some facts about the Crimean War. Hopefully you'll find them useful.

The Crimean War took place between October 1853 and February 1856.

The war was between Russia on one side and Britain, France, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and the Kingdom of Sardinia on the other.

The causes of the war and the reasons for conflict are really complex, but in general terms, it was about who would control the territories of the Ottoman Empire. The British and Russians were disputing who would control the Dardanelles (a channel of water in Turkey connecting the Aegean Sea with the Sea of Marmara). Russia and France were in conflict over the guardianship of Palestinian holy sites, and Turkey was objecting to the demands made on it by Russia.

Much of the fighting took place on the Crimean Peninsula (located in modern-day Ukraine, on the northern coast of the Black Sea.

Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole nursed and cared for the wounded soldiers of the Crimean War. (Click on their names to find out more about them)

The Battle of Balaclava (1854) is a particularly famous battle of the Crimean War because it featured the Charge of the Light Brigade in which the Light Cavalry Brigade, commanded by the Earl of Cardigan, charged a heavily defended part of the battlefield. The assault was very brave, but was unsuccessful and resulted in over 70% of the men losing their lives.

Peace talks began in 1856 and the war came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The Black Sea was named a neutral territory -no warships were allowed on it and no-one could build defences around the coast.

It is estimated that more than 300,000 soldiers were killed during the war.

The last survivor of the Crimean War was Timothy the Tortoise. Timothy was actually a female tortoise and she died in 2004 (aged about 165). She was ship's mascot on the HMS Queen which took part in the bombardment of Sevastopol.

For centuries, one central goal of Russian foreign policy was to obtain a warm water port in the south--namely, at the Bosphorus Straits and the Strait of the Dardanelles, the small waterways connecting the Black Sea to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. In 1854, the decaying Ottoman Empire controlled that essential waterway and Russia sought increased power in this region.

In 1853, St. Petersburg demanded that the Ottoman Empire recognize Russia's right to protect Eastern Orthodox believers in Turkey. When Turkey refused, Russia sent troops into Ottoman territory. Fearing increased Russian power and an upset to the balance of power on the Continent, Great Britain and France declared war on Russia on March 28, 1854. Russia fared well against its weaker neighbor to the south, destroying the Turkish fleet off the coast of Sinope, a port city in north-central Asia Minor. However, in September 1854, the British and French laid siege to Sevastopol, Russia's heavily fortified chief naval base in the Black Sea, lying on the

Crimean peninsula. After just under one year of constant battle, the Russian abandoned the fortress, blowing up their fortifications and sinking their own ships. Meanwhile, at nearby Balaklava, British troops charged down a narrow valley that was flanked by Russian guns on both sides. Nearly every British soldier fell dead in what came to be called the Valley of Death. The name of the British group was the Light Brigade, giving rise to the famous Alfred, Lord Tennyson poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

Russia's new tsar, Alexander II, sued for peace in 1856. In the resulting Peace of Paris, Russia relinquished its claim as Christian protector in Turkey, the Black Sea was neutralized, and the balance of power was maintained.

Conclusion

The Crimean War had the highest casualty rate of any conflict in Europe between 1815 and 1914, the century-long peace maintained by the balance of power. Disease killed many, but poor leadership killed thousands more. It was the final war in which the Ottoman Empire had any victorious role, though even in the Crimea, Russia fared quite well against the Turks. The greater importance of the Crimean War is embodied in one international and one national element.

In terms of European international relations, the Crimean War marked the end of the veritable charade of Russian military dominance on the Continent. Granted, the Russian army was the largest force due to its sheer numbers; however, it was soundly defeated by smaller British and French forces, and its navy proved utterly useless and backward by the middle of the nineteenth century. It was Russia who guaranteed to maintain order and balance after the defeat of the Napoleon--it did so with Austria, Prussia, and France since then. Now, that power was effectively eliminated; therefore, the demise of the balance of power could not be far behind.

On the national scale, the Crimean War, some historians have argued, marked the beginning of the road to the Russian Revolution .

Summary

The Russian defeat in the Crimean War was a wake-up call to the autocracy. While St. Petersburg could boast that it commanded the largest army in Europe (in numbers), poor roads, antiquated weapons, and low morale prohibited the effective use of that awesome potential power. The defeat proved to the autocracy in charge that Russia had fallen dangerously behind its Western neighbors, making it vulnerable to future attack and invasion.

Why had Russia lost?

Looking to Western models and contrasting Russian society to, say, French or Prussian society, one element remained outstanding: the continued existence in Russia of serfdom. Whether out of genuine progressive beliefs or merely a need for an effective conscript army when the next war developed, Alexander II initiated a period of reform in Russia with the February 19, 1861 Emancipation of the serfs.

This "emancipation", however, was barely related to what the peasants themselves were expecting. While the 360-page statute did give them "the status of free rural inhabitants," peasants were still subject to considerable taxes and a passport system to restrict movement throughout the country. In addition, the land settlement was equally as unfulfilling. Not only did freedom from land obligations only come up for termination in 1863, but also those so-called "temporary obligations" could continue until both the peasants and their local landlords came to a mutually agreeable settlement. When and if that moment ever came, the peasants would receive a small portion of the land through government- financed redemption payments to the landlord-- a sum the former serfs would have to repay over a forty-nine year period.

Nevertheless, for autocratic Russia under the Romanov dynasty, this was unprecedented reform. Even more striking were the additional reforms that continued until Alexander's death--the so-called Great Reforms. They can be divided into the following categories:

1. Local government reform: Since vast numbers of new citizens, i.e. former serfs, now populated the countryside, a system of elected local governments, or zemstvos, arose to replace the old institutions of landlord rule. These assemblies, with separate seats for peasants, townspeople, and private landowners, were responsible for maintaining the local infrastructure and industrial development. Through taxation of all classes, the zemstvo built bridges, roads, hospitals, and prisons and provided essential services such as healthcare and poverty relief.
2. Education reform: At the call of the Elementary School Statute of 1864, a litany of elementary schools sprang up across the country, though funding was remanded to the local government, to overcome the massive illiteracy that plagued the former serfs. The 1863 University Statute reorganized colleges and universities into effective self-governing corporations, with considerable freedom for both faculty and students.
3. Judicial reform: The Judiciary Statute of 1864 overhauled the Russian court system based on these liberal principles--equality of all before the law, an independent judiciary, jury trial by propertied peers, public legal proceedings, and the establishment of an educated legal profession.

4. Military reform: The Universal Military Training Act of 1874 established all-class conscription and called for technological improvement, elite reorganization, and new military schools.
5. Expression reform: Alexander's Temporary Regulations of 1865 abandoned pre- censorship, or censorship of journals or groups before publication, in favor of punitive measures after the *fact*.

Teased by these halfhearted reforms from above, dissatisfied peasants, intellectuals, professionals, and even some liberal gentry sought greater freedom through recourse to violent revolutionary movements to overthrow the Tsarist government. Widely labeled as populist movements whose aims focused on giving all Russian land back to the peasants, these groups used clandestine terrorism in the late 1870s to kill Alexander II, finally succeeding on March 1, 1881. An era of modest reform in Russia was over.

Commentary

Regardless of Alexander II's true feelings, he set out to reform Russian society along moderately liberal (for Russia) lines. Still the most conservative country in Europe, Europe at the end of Alexander's reign was slightly different than before, if we only point to the emancipation of the serfs. However, even a cursory examination of these reforms makes it apparent that these changes were too little, too late. Worse yet, the reforms stimulated liberal reformers--mostly professionals, intellectuals, and students--who urged greater reforms and faster reforms, something the regime refused to give. Ironically, by introducing some reforms, the very limited nature of them ignited radical opposition within the Russian population that would boil over into outright revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is with this argument that some historians point to the Crimean War as the beginning of the road to the Russian Revolution.

d) UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Italy (1859-1870)

Between 1820 and 1849, thousands of Italians had died trying to liberate their country from foreign control or to unite the separate states. All these attempts had failed. Heroism was not enough. During the decade of the 1850's other, and much more effective methods were tried by Count Cavour a chief minister of Piedmont-Sardinia. This was the only Italian kingdom with a native Italian ruler. Cavour cleverly managed to persuade Emperor Napoleon III of France to

intervene. With French aid, the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia expanded to include most of northern Italy.



Cavour had paved the way for the creation of a united Italy. However, in the decade of the 1860's, his place was taken by one of the truly heroic figures of history, Giuseppe Garibaldi. Garibaldi, was born in Nice, which only became French in 1859.

In 1848 he had organised groups of Italian partisans to fight the Austrians and, in 1859, he did so again. In May 1859, he landed in Sicily with 1000 red-shirted volunteers. The exploits of Garibaldi and his "Thousand" were reported in newspapers and spread throughout Europe. Against incredible odds he defeated every army sent against him. In every region of southern Italy that he occupied he declared himself to represent the authority of King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont-Sardinia.

The battles Magenta and Solferino in 1859 were French victories over the Austrians. These battles were won at such a cost that not only did Napoleon III make peace with Austria, but also the first battle gave its name to a shade of red. The second battle led to the foundation of the Red Cross by a Swiss, Henri Dunant. In honour of Dunant, the Swiss Confederation adopted the flag of the Red Cross as its national flag (with the colours reversed). The Geneva Convention of 1863, concerning the ways to conduct "civilised warfare" was another consequence.

By March 1861 so much of the Italian peninsula had declared its loyalty to Victor Emmanuel, that the " Kingdom of Italy " was proclaimed, even though Rome, the natural and obvious capital for all Italian patriots, was still under the control of the Pope. Finally, in 1870, an Italian army entered Rome and the Pope relinquished his authority over the city in exchange for the Vatican, which became an independent state. Italy was a united country at last.

The movement to unite Italy into one cultural and political entity was known as the Risorgimento (literally, "resurgence"). Giuseppe Mazzini and his leading pupil, Giuseppe Garibaldi, failed in their attempt to create an Italy united by democracy. Garibaldi, supported by his legion of Red Shirts-- mostly young Italian democrats who used the 1848 revolutions as a opportunity for democratic uprising--failed in the face of the resurgence of conservative power in Europe. However, it was the aristocratic politician named Camillo di Cavour who finally, using the tools of realpolitik, united Italy under the crown of Sardinia.

"Realpolitik" is the notion that politics must be conducted in terms of the realistic assessment of power and the self-interest of individual nation-states (and the pursuit of those interests by any means, often ruthless and violent ones) and Cavour used it superbly. In 1855, as prime minister of Sardinia, he involved the kingdom on the British and French side of the Crimean War, using the peace conference to give international publicity to the cause of Italian unification. In 1858, he formed an alliance with France, one that included a pledge of military support if necessary, against Austria, Italy's major obstacle to unification. After a planned provocation of Vienna, Austria declared war against Sardinia in 1859 and was easily defeated by the French army. The peace, signed in November 1859 in Zurich, Switzerland, joined Lombardy, a formerly Austrian province, with Sardinia. In return, France received Savoy and Nice from Italy--a small price to pay for paving the way to unification.

Inspired by Cavour's success against Austria, revolutionary assemblies in the central Italian provinces of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna voted in favor of unification with Sardinia in the summer of 1859. In the spring of 1860, Garibaldi came out of his self-imposed exile to lead a latter day Red Shirt army, known as the Thousand, in southern Italy. By the end of the year, Garibaldi had liberated Sicily and Naples, which together made up the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Cavour, however, worried that Garibaldi, a democrat, was replacing Sardinia, a constitutional monarchy, as the unifier of Italy. To put an end to Garibaldi's offensive, Cavour ordered Sardinian troops into the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples. After securing important victories in these regions, Cavour organized plebiscites, or popular votes, to annex Naples to Sardinia. Garibaldi, outmaneuvered by the experienced realist Cavour, yielded his

territories to Cavour in the name of Italian unification. In 1861, Italy was declared a united nation-state under the Sardinian king Victor Immanuel II.

Reapolitik continued to work for the new Italian nation. When Prussia defeated Austria in a war in 1866, Italy struck a deal with Berlin, forcing Vienna to turn over Venetia. In addition, when France lost a war to Prussia in 1870, Victor Immanuel II took over Rome when French troops left. The entire boot of Italy was united under one crown.

Conclusion:

Why did Cavour succeed and Garibaldi fail? Was it really only a matter of speed? If Garibaldi had started his crusade earlier and had time to conquer the Papal State before Cavour sent his troops to do so, would Cavour have been forced to give up his territory in the name of a united Italy? Doubtful. But is speed really the only issue? That, too, is doubtful. It seems that of the two, Cavour alone understood the relationship between national and international events, and was thus able to manipulate foreign policy for his own ends. Garibaldi, a democrat, a warrior, and an anti-Catholic, was without question on the road to conflict with the monarchies of Europe. Cavour, with the added credibility of representing a monarch, blended perfectly with the political situation in Europe at the time.

Cavour was a realist who practice realistic politics. He allied with France when necessary and with France's key enemy, Prussia, was necessary. By keeping the goal in mind, Cavour used international power to achieve his domestic goals. Garibaldi was forced to use his own grassroots strength, empowered by young Italian democrats interested in an idealistic future for their nation. In that manner, it is quite doubtful that Garibaldi would have ever been able to gain the upper hand in Italy, relative to Cavour.

Another important element of unification, especially in Italy's case, was how to deal with various cultural differences. Cavour, despite his leadership in introducing constitutional and liberal reforms in Sardinia, had no patience for such regionalism when his goal was Italian unification. He crushed regional and cultural differences with moderately conservative policies on social and political matters. In doing so, he began to alienate southern peasants and nobles, creating a regional gulf that would come back to haunt Italy in future years.

Summary

Whereas Camillo di Cavour directed Italian unification, a Junker (the Prussian name for an aristocratic landowner from old Prussia in the east) named Otto von Bismarck pushed German

unification through "blood and iron" and skillful understanding of realpolitik. As the map of central Europe stood in 1850, Prussia competed with Austria for dominance over a series of small principalities fiercely keen on maintaining their independence and distinctive characteristics. Prussia proper stretched from modern-day Lithuania to central Germany. Prussia also controlled the German lands around the Rhine River in the west. In between, from Denmark to Switzerland, lay small provinces that Bismarck needed to incorporate under the Prussian crown to create a viable German Empire.

In 1862, Bismarck reorganized the Prussian army and improved training in preparation for war. In 1864, he constructed an alliance with Austria to fight Denmark over Denmark's southern provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. Prussia received Schleswig while Austria administered Holstein. That situation, however, could not stand for long, as Austrian Holstein was now surrounded by Prussian lands. Bismarck provoked a conflict with Austria over an unrelated border dispute and in the subsequent Seven Weeks' War--named for its brevity--Prussia crushed the collapsing Austrian army. The peace settlement transferred Holstein to Prussia and forced Austria to officially remove itself from all German affairs.

With Austria out of Bismarck's way, his next obstacle was the skepticism of the southern provinces. Overwhelmingly Catholic and anti-militaristic, the southern provinces doubted Prussia's commitment to a united Germany of all provinces. Prussia's Protestantism and historic militarism made the gulf between north and south quite serious. Therefore, Bismarck turned to realpolitik to unite the Germanic provinces by constructing a war against a common enemy. In 1870, Bismarck forged a note from the French ambassador, implying that the ambassador had insulted the Prussian king. After he leaked this letter to both populations, the people of France and Prussia, roused by nationalist sentiment, rose up in favor of war. As Bismarck hoped, the southern provinces rallied to Prussia's side without any hesitation. In July 1870, France declared war on Prussia. Within a matter of weeks of fighting in Alsace-Lorraine, France lost this Franco-Prussian War. Alsace-Lorraine was transferred to Germany in the peace settlement, allowing Prussia to declare the German Empire, or Second Reich, on January 21, 1871.

Conclusion:

Like Italy, Germany had quite a few serious issues to resolve once unification took place. Regional differences, developing since the first settlement of the Germanic tribes during the Roman Empire, were distinct, and local princes refused to give up substantial power to the central government. The Berlin assembly, therefore, was kept weak. Germany, like the United States under the Articles of the Confederation, seemed merely a loose confederation of autonomous states. In Germany's case, one state, Prussia, was absolutely dominant due to its

size, power, and military strength. This, combined with Bismarck's skillful conduct in international and national affairs as chancellor, kept the empire together until 1914.

However, the creation of a unified Germany in central Europe marked one of the greatest revolutions in the history of international relations. Since the establishment of nation-states in Europe, France, under the Valois-Bourbon royal line, dedicated its foreign policy to the weakening of Habsburg (Austrian and Spanish royal families) and the continued disunity of the Germanic provinces. Now that central Europe was united into two major powers--Germany and Italy--Europe was quite a different place. What would now become of the traditional balance of power in place since the defeat of Napoleon? The whole point had been that no one nation should gain excessive power and strength on the Continent. With the unification of Germany in central Europe--an essential economic and strategic region--was the balance of power doomed

e) EASTERN QUESTION

THE SYRIAN QUESTION OF 1831-1841.

Hardly had the Greek war of independence ended, than another problem cropped up in the Turkish Empire. This was one of the events in the Balkans that severely affected international relations in Europe. It originated from the Greek war of independence of 1821 to 1833 when the Sultan of Turkey requested for support from Mehmed Ali of Egypt against the Greeks. Before Mehmed Ali could accept to help the Sultan of Turkey, an agreement was reached in which Egypt was promised the whole of Morea, Damascus, and Syria in return for her assistance from the Sultan. After the war, Turkey refused to honour her promise to Egypt and in 1831, Mehmed Ali through his war-like son Ibrahim Pasha forcefully conquered Syria. This left the Sultan desperate for help and approached European powers for assistance against Egypt. The reaction of the great powers to the Syrian question was different. Britain and France were busy settling the Belgian Revolution and could not offer any assistance that left Russia as the only country to assist. The Czar Nicholas I of Russia had realized that Russian influence could be better served by maintaining weak Turkey than setting up a strong independent Balkan state and the Czar wanted to maintain friendly relations with Turkey thus he sent troops to assist

Turkey but Britain supported by France and Turkey herself distrusted the Czar's assistance.

“a drowning man will clutch at a serpent”.

In 1833, the Sultan handed over Syria, Damascus and Palestine to Mehemet Ali as the Czar was forced by Britain and France and had no alternative thus peace was made with Mehemet Ali. Therefore, Russia was forced to withdraw from Turkey since her presence was no longer justified which severely affected international relations between Russia and the major powers. It is important to note that in return for Russian assistance to Turkey against Mehemet Ali, Czar Nicholas I of Russia got some concessions with the Sultan of Turkey i.e. the famous treaty of Unkiarskelessi.

The treaty of Unkiarskelessi of 1833.

In return for the Czar's (Russian) assistance

To Turkey against Mehemet Ali, Czar Nicholas I signed the treaty of Unkiarskelessi of 1833 with the Sultan of Turkey to foster new friendship. The treaty was officially a treaty of friendship between Russia and Turkey in which the two countries promised mutual assistance whenever peace and security was threatened as agreed in the secret clause and the Sultan agreed to close the entrance to the Black Sea to the warships of all nations except Russia whenever Russia needed. This provision might have enabled Russia to carry out an aggressive Mediterranean policy and if need be the entire security in the Black Sea. The implication was that Britain's policy of keeping out Russia's influence in the Mediterranean Sea was defeated. Britain got to know of the secret clause and she protested it bitterly. It looked as if Russia had outmatched Britain, which did not want to see Russia gaining influence in the region thus Britain was determined to have the treaty of Unkiarskelessi cancelled which boiled the relations between Russia and Britain. However, the treaty of Unkiarskelessi remained in force until 1839 when new developments occurred that enabled Britain to change the whole arrangement of the treaty of Unkiarskelessi to her advantage during the Turkish invasion of Syria, which led to the London Convention of 1840.

The London Treaty of 1840.

This was another event in the Balkans that bitterly affected international relations. After the Turkish invasion of Syria, the British Prime Minister Palmerston intervened to check on the intervention of Russia and prevent France from assisting Mehemet Ali of Egypt because it was a threat to Britain's naval and trading power in the Eastern Mediterranean. Palmerston called the London convention that was reached and signed between Britain, Russia, and Austria. They allowed Mehemet Ali to retain the southern half of Syria and surrender all other conquests and France was left out because she was in support of Mehemet Ali. Mehemet Ali opposed the terms of the first London convention and France supported him. A naval force was set which defeated Mehemet Ali and the London convention was signed in 1840. Overall, the London

convention of 1840 soured the relationship between France and other European powers i. e Britain, Russia and Austria whose relations were strengthened.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYRIAN QUESTION.

It involved an element of war leading to loss of lives and property.

It accelerated the unpopularity of Louis Philippe in France.

It accelerated the decline of the Ottoman Empire.

It strengthened the relationship between Russia and Turkey as seen in the signing of the treaty of unkierskellessi of 1833 where Turkey gave Russia the control of the waters of the black sea and Mediterranean Sea.5.

It soured the relationship between Russia and Britain on the other hand because of the treaty of unkierskellessi of 1833, which gave Russia greater influence in the Balkan region, which threatened the economic interests of Britain that worked hard to nullify the treaty of unkierskellessi.6.

It led to the signing of the London convention of 1840 that nullified the treaty of unkierskellessi and affected international relations severely between France on one hand and Britain, Russia and Austria on the other hand.7.

The naval force that was sent against him when he opposed the terms of the first London conference of 1840 defeated Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Therefore, he was forced out of Syria by Britain, Austria, and Russia that were signatories to the first London Convention.8.

It contributed to the signing of the straits convention of 1841 that saved Turkey from humiliation by defeating France and Mehemet Ali of Egypt.

THE STRAITS CONVENTION OF 1841.

After Syria had been completely restored to Turkey and Mehemet Ali confirmed in his position of Pasha in Egypt by the London Convention of 1840, a new treaty was signed by the great powers including France. All these were the efforts of Lord Palmerstone the British prime minister who wanted to bring an end to the treaty of unkierskellessi completely so as to stop Russian influence in the Balkans. The treaty was known as the Straits convention of 1841, which had a lot of causes or aims and left various consequences on the Balkan region as well as international relations in Europe.

UNIT IV

A. FRANCE AFTER 1870: THIRD REPUBLIC AND ITS CONSTITUTION

B. GERMAN EMPIRE

C. PARTITION OF AFRICA, MILITANT NATIONALISM AND THE ARMAMENT RACE

D. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EVENT LEADING TO FIRST WORLD WAR: LEAGUE OF NATIONS

E. INTERWAR YEARS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

F. HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS AND UNITED NATIONS

FRANCE AFTER 1870:

The French Third Republic, (in French, Troisième Republique, sometimes written as IIIème Republique) (1870/75-1940/46), was the governing body of France between the Second Empire and the Fourth Republic. It was a republican parliamentary democracy that was created on September 4, 1870 following the collapse of the Empire of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War. It survived until the invasion of France by the German Third Reich in 1940.

In many ways it was an accidental and unloved republic, that stumbled from crisis to crisis before its final collapse. It was never intended to be a long-term republic at all.

Napoleon III had become the second Emperor of France in 1852, following in the footsteps of his uncle Napoleon I. However, the French Second Empire lasted only eighteen years because of the emergence of another world power, one that was to profoundly transform the balance of power in Europe - the German Empire.

Chancellor Bismarck of Prussia, who sought to bring his state to ascendancy in Germany, realized that if a German Empire was to be created, the French Empire, which would never tolerate a powerful neighbor at its borders, must fall. Through clever manipulation of the Ems Dispatch, Bismarck goaded France into the Franco-Prussian War, which led to the French emperor's defeat and overthrow.

After Napoleon's capture by the Prussians at Sedan, France became a de facto conservative republic, although the revolutionary Paris Commune held out until its bloody suppression in May 1871.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the regime of Napoleon III, the clear majority of French people and the overwhelming majority of the French National Assembly wished to return to a constitutional monarchy. In 1871, the throne was offered to the Comte de Chambord, alias Henry V, the Legitimist pretender to the French throne since the abdication of Charles X, who had abdicated in favour of him, in 1830. Chambord, then a child, had had the throne snatched from his grasp in 1830.

In 1871 Chambord had no wish to be a constitutional monarch but a semi-absolutist one like his grandfather Charles X. Moreover - and this became the ultimate reason the restoration never occurred - he refused to reign over a state that used the Tricolore that was associated with the Revolution of 1789 and the July Monarchy of the man who seized the throne from him in 1830, the citizen-king, Louis Philippe, King of the French. However much France wanted a restored monarchy, it was unwilling to surrender its popular tricolour.

Instead a "temporary" republic was established, pending the death of the elderly childless Chambord and the succession of his more liberal heir, the Comte de Paris.

In February 1875, a series of parliamentary Acts established the organic or constitutional laws of the new republic. At its apex was a President of the Republic. A two-chamber parliament was created, along with a ministry under a prime minister (named "President of the Council") who was nominally answerable to both the President of the Republic and parliament. Throughout the 1870s, the issue of monarchy versus republic dominated public debate.

On May 16, 1877, with public opinion swinging heavily in favour of a republic, the President of the Republic, Patrice MacMahon, duc de Magenta, himself a monarchist, made one last desperate attempt to salvage the monarchical cause by dismissing the republic-minded prime

minister and appointing a monarchist duke to office. He then dissolved parliament and called a general election (October 1877).

If his hope had been to halt the move towards republicanism, it backfired spectacularly, with the President being accused of having staged a constitutional coup d'etat, known as le seize Mai after the date on which it happened.

Republicans returned triumphant, finally killing off the prospect of a restored French monarchy. MacMahon himself resigned on January 28, 1879, leaving a seriously weakened presidency, so weakened indeed that not until Charles de Gaulle eighty years later did another President of France unilaterally dissolve parliament. To mark the final end of French monarchism as a serious political force, in 1885 the French Crown Jewels were broken up and sold. Only a few crowns, their precious gems replaced by coloured glass, were kept.

Though France was clearly republican, it was not in love with its Third Republic. Governments collapsed with regularity, rarely lasting more than a couple of months, as radicals, socialists, liberals, conservatives, republicans and monarchists all fought for control. The Republic was also rocked by a series of crises, none more notorious than the Dreyfus Affair in 1894, when a Jewish officer in the French Army was wrongly jailed on charges of spying for Germany.

This claim played on all the fears and perspectives of all sides. Monarchists and right-wing Roman Catholics, many of whom were anti-semitic, and in some cases blaming a "Jewish plot" for the triumph of republicanism, immediately attacked Dreyfus and refused to consider the possibility that he was innocent.

Others on the left, still fighting the 'monarchy versus republic' battle, championed his cause, irrespective of his guilt or innocence. When it became clear that he was indeed totally innocent and the victim of a conspiracy, the state itself failed to accept his innocence straight away, and even when he was released from his exile, whispering campaigns still suggested he was actually guilty.

In the aftermath of the affair, when the truth finally did come out, the reputations of monarchists and conservative Catholics, who had expressed unbridled anti-semitism were severely damaged. So too was the state by its unwillingness to right what had clearly been a major wrong visited on an innocent and loyal officer.

Despite this turmoil, the midpoint of the Third Republic was known as the belle époque in France, a golden time of beauty, innovation, and peace with its European neighbors. New inventions made life easier at all social levels, the cultural scene thrived, cabaret, cancan, and the cinema were born, and art took new forms with Impressionism and Art Nouveau. But the glory of this turn-of-the-century time period came to an end with the outbreak of World War One.

Throughout its seventy-year history, the Third Republic stumbled from crisis to crisis, from collapsing governments to the appointment of a mentally ill president. It struggled through the German invasion of World War One and the inter-war years.

When the Nazi invasion occurred in 1940, the Republic was so disliked by enemies on the right - who sought a powerful bulwark against Communism - and on the far left - where Communists initially followed their movement's international line of refusing to defend "bourgeois" regimes - that few had the stomach to fight for its survival, even if they disapproved of German occupation of northern France and the collaborationist Vichy regime established in the south.

When France was finally liberated, few called for the restoration of the Third Republic, and a Constituent Assembly was established in 1946 to draft a constitution for a successor, established as the Fourth Republic that December.

Adolphe Thiers, the first president of the Third Republic, called republicanism in the 1870s "the form of government that divides France least." France might have agreed about being a republic, but it never fully agreed with the Third Republic. France's longest lasting régime since before the 1789 revolution, the Third Republic was consigned to the history books, as unloved at the end as it had been when first created seventy years earlier. But its longevity showed that it was capable of weathering many a storm.

GERMAN EMPIRE:

The German Empire (German: *Deutsches Reich* or *Deutsches Kaiserreich*) is the common name given to the state officially named **German Reich** (literally: "German Realm"), designating Germany from the unification of Germany and proclamation of Wilhelm I as German Emperor on 18 January 1871, to 1918, when it became a federal republic after defeat in World War I and the abdication of the Emperor, Wilhelm II.

The German Empire consisted of 27 constituent territories (most of them ruled by royal families). While the Kingdom of Prussia contained most of the population and most of the territory of the Reich, the Prussian leadership became supplanted by German leaders and Prussia itself played a lesser role. As Dwyer (2005) points out, Prussia's "political and cultural influence had diminished considerably" by the 1890s. Its three largest neighbours were rivals Imperial Russia to the east, France to the west and ally Austria-Hungary to the south.

Germany industrialized rapidly after 1850, with a foundation in coal, iron (and later steel), chemicals and railways. From a population of 41 million people in 1871, it grew to 68 million in 1913. From a heavily rural nation in 1815, it was now predominantly urban.^[9] During its 47 years of existence, the German Empire operated as an industrial, technological and scientific giant, receiving more Nobel Prizes in science than Britain, France, Russia and the United States combined.

It became a great power, boasting a rapidly growing economy and the world's strongest army and its navy went from being negligible to second only behind the Royal Navy in less than a decade. After the removal of the powerful Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1890 following the death of Emperor Wilhelm I, the young Emperor Wilhelm II engaged in increasingly reckless foreign policies that left the Empire isolated. Its network of small colonies in Africa and the Pacific paled in comparison to the British and French empires. When the great crisis of 1914 arrived, it had only two weak allies (the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires) left. In World War I its plans to quickly capture Paris in 1914 failed and the Western Front (against Britain and France) became a stalemate. The Allied naval blockade made for increasing shortages of food. However, Germany, as a result of the Communists' determination to end Russian involvement in World War I, carved large Eastern territories following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. German declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare in early 1917 was designed to strangle the British; it failed because of the use of a trans-Atlantic convoy system. But the declaration - along with the Zimmermann Telegram - did bring the United States into the war, with its large reserves of money, food, and soldiers. Meanwhile German troops had become radicalised by the Russian Revolution. The high command under Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff increasingly controlled the Reich as they gambled on one last offensive in spring 1918 (before the Americans could arrive in force). It failed and by October the armies were in retreat, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had collapsed, and the German people had lost faith in the political system. The Empire collapsed overnight in the November 1918 Revolution as all the royals abdicated and a republic took over.

BACKGROUND OF EMPIRE:

The German Confederation was created by an act of the Congress of Vienna on 8 June 1815 as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, after being alluded to in Article 6 of the 1814 Treaty of Paris.

German nationalism rapidly shifted from its liberal and democratic character in 1848, called *Pan-Germanism*, to Prussian prime minister Otto von Bismarck's pragmatic *Realpolitik*. Bismarck sought to extend Hohenzollern hegemony throughout the German states; to do so meant unification of the German states and the elimination of Prussia's rival, Austria, from the subsequent empire. He envisioned a conservative, Prussian-dominated Germany. Three wars led to military successes and helped to persuade German people to do this: the Second war of Schleswig against Denmark in 1864, the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War against France in 1870–71.

The German Confederation ended as a result of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 between the constituent Confederation entities of the Austrian Empire and its allies on one side and the Kingdom of Prussia and its allies on the other. The war resulted in the Confederation being partially replaced by a North German Confederation in 1867 which included Prussia but excluded Austria and the South German states. During November 1870 the four southern states joined the North German Confederation by treaty.

On 10 December 1870 the North German Confederation Reichstag renamed the Confederation as the German Empire and gave the title of German Emperor to the King of Prussia as President of the Confederation. During the Siege of Paris on 18 January 1871, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles.



Die Proklamation des Deutschen Kaiserreiches by Anton von Werner (1877), depicting the proclamation of the foundation of the German Reich (18 January 1871, Palace of Versailles). Left, on the podium (in black): Crown Prince Frederick (later Frederick III), his father Emperor Wilhelm I, and Frederick I of Baden, proposing a toast to the new emperor.

Centre (in white): Otto von Bismarck, first Chancellor of Germany, Helmuth von Moltke the Elder, Prussian Chief of Staff.

The 1871 German Constitution was adopted by the Reichstag on 14 April 1871 and proclaimed by the Emperor on 16 April,^[15] which was substantially based upon Bismarck's North German Constitution. The new empire had a parliament called the *Reichstag*, which was elected by universal male suffrage. However, the original constituencies drawn in 1871 were never redrawn to reflect the growth of urban areas. As a result, by the time of the great expansion of German cities in the 1890s and first decade of the 20th century, rural areas were grossly overrepresented.

Legislation also required the consent of the *Bundesrat*, the federal council of deputies from the states. Executive power was vested in the emperor, or *Kaiser*, who was assisted by a chancellor responsible only to him. The emperor was given extensive powers by the constitution. He alone appointed and dismissed the chancellor, was supreme commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and final arbiter of all foreign affairs. Officially, the chancellor was a one-man cabinet and was responsible for the conduct of all state affairs; in practice, the State Secretaries (bureaucratic top officials in charge of such fields as finance, war, foreign affairs, etc.) acted as unofficial portfolio ministers. The *Reichstag* had the power to pass, amend or reject bills and to initiate legislation. However, in practice the real power was vested in the emperor and chancellor.

Although nominally a league of equals, in practice the empire was dominated by the largest and most powerful state, Prussia. It stretched across the northern two thirds of the new *Reich*, and contained three fifths of its population. The imperial crown was hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern, the ruling house of Prussia. With the exception of the years 1872–1873 and 1892–1894, the chancellor was always simultaneously the prime minister of Prussia. With 17 out of 58 votes in the *Bundesrat*, Berlin needed only a few votes from the small states to exercise effective control.

The other states retained their own governments, but had only limited aspects of sovereignty. For example, both postage stamps and currency were issued for the empire as a whole. Coins through one mark was also minted in the name of the empire, while higher valued pieces were issued by the states. But these larger gold and silver issues were virtually commemorative coins and had limited circulation.

While the states issued their own decorations, and some had their own armies, the military forces of the smaller ones were put under Prussian control. Those of the larger states, such as the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony, were coordinated along Prussian principles and would in wartime be controlled by the federal government.

FOUNDATION OF EMPIRE:

The evolution of the German Empire is somewhat in line with parallel developments in Italy which became a united nation state shortly before the German Empire. Some key elements of the German Empire's authoritarian political structure were also the basis for conservative modernization in Imperial Japan under Meiji and the preservation of an authoritarian political structure under the Tsars in the Russian Empire.

One factor in the social anatomy of these governments had been the retention of a very substantial share in political power by the landed elite, the Junkers, resulting from the absence of a revolutionary breakthrough by the peasants in combination with urban areas.

Although authoritarian in many respects, the empire had some democratic features. Besides universal suffrage, it permitted the development of political parties. Bismarck's intention was to create a constitutional façade which would mask the continuation of authoritarian policies. In the process, he created a system with a serious flaw. There was a significant disparity between the Prussian and German electoral systems. Prussia used a highly restrictive three-class voting system in which the richest third of the population could choose 85% of the legislature, all but assuring a conservative majority. As mentioned above, the king and (with two exceptions) the prime minister of Prussia were also the emperor and chancellor of the empire – meaning that the same rulers had to seek majorities from legislatures elected from completely different franchises. As mentioned above, rural areas were grossly overrepresented from the 1890s onward.

STATES IN GERMAN EMPIRE:

Before unification, German territory was made up of 27 constituent states. These states consisted of kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, principalities, free Hanseatic cities and one imperial territory. The Kingdom of Prussia was the largest of the constituent states, covering some 60% of the territory of the German Empire.

Several of these states had gained sovereignty following the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. Others were created as sovereign states after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Territories

were not necessarily contiguous – many existed in several parts, as a result of historical acquisition, or, in several cases, divisions of the ruling family trees. Some of the existing states, in particular Hanover, were abolished and annexed by Prussia as a result of the war of 1866.

Each component of the German Empire sent representatives to the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) and, via single member districts, the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). Relations between the Imperial centre and the Empire's components were somewhat fluid, and were developed on an ongoing basis. The extent to which the Emperor could, for example, intervene on occasions of disputed or unclear succession was much debated on occasion – for example with the Lippe-Detmold inheritance crisis.

c) PARTITION OF AFRICA:

Historians generally agree that the Scramble for Africa, the rushed imperial conquest of the Africa by the major powers of Europe, began with King Leopold II of Belgium. After reading a report in early 1876 that the rich mineral resources of the Congo Basin (the modern-day Republic of the Congo) could return an entrepreneurial capitalist a substantial profit, the Belgian king ordered the creation of the International African Association, under his personal direction, to assume control over the Congo Basin region. When Leopold asked for international recognition of his personal property in the Congo, Europe gathered at the Berlin Conference, called to create policy on imperial claims. The conference, after much political wrangling, gave the territory to Leopold as the Congo Free State. The conference further decreed that for future imperialist claims to garner international recognition, "effective occupation" would be required. In other words, no longer did plunging a flag into the ground mean that land was occupied. The conference also created some definition for "effective occupation," noting that significant "economic development" was required.

Given notice by King Leopold, the major European powers sprung into action. Within forty years, by 1914 and the end of the scramble for Africa, Great Britain dominated the breadth of the African continent from Egypt to South Africa, as well as Nigeria and the Gold Coast; the French occupied vast expanses of west Africa; the Germans boasted control over modern-day Tanzania and Namibia; the Portuguese exerted full control over Angola and Mozambique. Only Ethiopia and the African-American state of Liberia remained independent. Conquest was relatively easy for the European states: because of previous agreements not to sell modern weapons to Africans in potential colonial areas, Europe easily held the technological and armament advantage. Bands of just a few hundred men and barely a handful of machine guns could obliterate thousands of Africans in mere hours.

The only notable exception to this was Ethiopia, a strategically (especially after the opening of the Suez Canal) placed state at the horn of Africa. By the early 1870s, Ethiopia was in danger of invasion from the British, French, and Italians. With Britain occupying Egypt in 1882, France taking Djibouti in 1884, and Italy dominating Eritrea in 1885, Ethiopia's Emperor Menelik II hatched a daring plan: he would exploit European rivalries and competing interests for the benefit of his country by playing one European power against the other to obtain the modern weapons he needed to protect the boundaries of his state. After Menelik II gave minor concessions to France in return for weapons, Italy grew nervous of the growing French interest in the country and offered Menelik Italian weapons, as well. Soon, Britain and even Russia joined in the game. Throughout the 1880s, Ethiopia grew stronger and stronger as the scramble for Africa went on around it. However, by the early 1890s, Menelik's plans began to unravel as war seemed imminent. In 1889, Italy claimed Ethiopia as an Italian protectorate. When Menelik objected, Italy moved against the emperor all of Europe had armed for over a decade. Italy, longing for a glorious victory to enhance its prestige, ordered its troops into battle. Outnumbered and outequipped, the Italians lost over eight thousand men in the Battle of Adowa on 1 March 1896. Ethiopia remained independent.

Commentary

Why empire? What were the motives for empire in general, and in Africa specifically? We can speak of this in general and specific terms. When one asks, say, "Why did Great Britain decide to take Kenya?", we may answer that it was a necessary stop in London's goal to control a north-south corridor in Africa. Others claimed lands so their enemies would not. Still others dominated certain areas to please missionaries already in place. Various specific reasons dominate any discussion of the specifics of the scramble for Africa; however, what were the motives for empire in general? Let us take a few possibilities in turn.

Economics: The economic potential of empire, as Britain and Spain had been proving for centuries, was unquestionable. Empire could insulate the mother country from dangerous booms and busts in the economic cycle by keeping markets open and exclusive. Mercantile policies could increase revenues and natural resources could shore up the treasury.

Geopolitics: Some of these areas were strategically important for maintaining trade routes to Asia or maintaining refueling station for a world- wide navy. The Horn of Africa, the southern tip of the continent, and the west- African coast were all strategic locations for world control. Inside the continent, territory was important for its location. Great Britain, hoping to link Cairo in the north with Cape Town in the south, wanted north-south dominion; therefore, all the territory between those two points gained strategic value.

Nationalism: To report back home and throughout Europe that one nation acquired thousands of square miles of territory and millions of captive populations enhanced the prestige of that state throughout the world and for its own people. To be a victor in the imperial game meant great national pride and, thus, the improvement of the ruling party back at home.

Liberalism: Many students tend to overlook or not understand this element, and its counterintuitive nature forces it out of many history textbooks. The liberal tradition of Europe emphasized not equality, as we do today, but self-improvement and the perfectibility of man. This belief, combined with Charles Darwin's New Science and the warping of the statement "survival of the fittest" by social Darwinism, encouraged the view that Europe was going down into the so-called Dark Continent to raise up and civilize the savage natives. Nothing could be more paternalistic or racist in outlook; however, as odd as it may seem, imperialism is thus associated with the liberal view of the perfectibility of man.

While much of Europe enthusiastically participated in and looked upon the colonization of Africa, it would be simplistic to claim that imperialist policies were everywhere admired. In terms of its depiction of the negative affects of African imperialism on both Africa and Europe, and its depiction of the processes of Imperialism itself, perhaps no account is quite so powerful as Joseph Conrad's 1905 Heart of Darkness. Conrad's personal distaste for colonialism should not be taken as a compendium of all the criticisms of the imperial game, but in addition to the themes and issues it does deal with, it can be seen as an indication that a lively debate did exist as to the motives and affects of imperial actions.

d) INTERNATIONAL RELATION AND EVENTS LEADING TO WORLD WAR

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this historical overview is to trace important trends over time—the emergence of the state and the notion of sovereignty, the development of the international state system, and the changes in the distribution of power among states

Contemporary international relations, in both theory and practice, is rooted in the European experience, for better or worse.

Many international relations theorists date the contemporary system from 1648, the year of the Treaty of Westphalia, ending the Thirty Years War. This treaty marks the end of rule by religious authority in Europe. The Greek city-state system, the Roman Empire, and the Middle Ages are each key developments leading to the Westphalian order

The Middle Ages: Centralization and Decentralization

When the Roman empire disintegrated in the fifth century A.D., power and authority became decentralized in Europe.

By 1000 A.D. three civilizations had emerged from the rubble of Rome:

Arabic civilization: under the religious and political domination of the Islamic caliphate, advanced mathematical and technical accomplishments made it a potent force.

Byzantine Empire: located near the core of the old Roman Empire in Constantinople and united by Christianity.

The rest of Europe, where languages and cultures proliferated, and the networks of communication developed by the Romans were beginning to disintegrate.

Much of Western Europe reverted to feudal principalities, controlled by lords and tied to fiefdoms that had the authority to raise taxes and exert legal authority. Feudalism was the response to the prevailing disorder

The preeminent institution in the medieval period was the church; virtually all other institutions were local in origin and practice.

Carolus Magnus, or Charlemagne, the leader of the Franks (in what is today France), challenged the church's monopoly on power in the late eighth century.

Similar trends of centralization and decentralization, political integration and disintegration, were also occurring in Ghana, Mali, Latin America, and Japan.

The Late Middle Ages: Developing Transnational Networks in Europe and Beyond

After 1000 A.D. secular trends began to undermine both the decentralization of feudalism and the universalization of Christianity in Europe. Commercial activity expanded into larger geographic areas. All forms of communication improved and new technologies made daily life easier.

Economic and technological changes led to fundamental changes in social relations.

A transnational business community emerged, whose interests and livelihoods extended beyond its immediate locale

Writers and other individuals rediscovered classical literature and history, finding intellectual sustenance in Greek and Roman thought

Niccolò Machiavelli, in *The Prince*, elucidated the qualities that a leader needs to maintain the strength and security of the state. Realizing that the dream of unity in Christianity was unattainable, Machiavelli called on leaders to articulate their own political interests. Leaders must act in the state's interest, answerable to no moral rules.

In the 1500s and 1600s, as European explorers and even settlers moved into the New World, the old Europe remained in flux. Feudalism was being replaced by an increasingly centralized monarchy.

The masses, angered by taxes imposed by the newly emerging states, rebelled and rioted.

EUROPE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY:

The American Revolution (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) were the products of Enlightenment thinking as well as social contract theorists.

The Aftermath of Revolution: Core Principles

Legitimacy: absolutist rule is subject to limits and imposed by man. In *Two Treatises on Government*, John Locke attacked absolute power and the divine right of kings. Locke's main argument is that political power ultimately rests with the people rather than with the leader or the monarch.

Nationalism: the masses identify with their common past, their language, customs, and practices. Individuals who share such characteristics are motivated to participate actively in the political process as a group.

The Napoleonic Wars

The political impact of these twin principles was far from benign in Europe. The nineteenth century opened with war in Europe on an unprecedented scale.

Technological change allowed larger armies.

French weakness and its status as a revolutionary power made it ripe for intervention and the stamping out of the idea of popular consent

The same nationalist fervor that brought about the success of Napoleon Bonaparte also led to his downfall.

In Spain and Russia, nationalist guerillas fought against French invaders.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia ended in disaster, leading to French defeat at Waterloo three years later.

Peace at the Core of the European System

Following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 and the establishment of peace by the Congress of Vienna, the Concert of Europe—Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia—ushered in a period of relative peace.

The fact that general peace prevailed during this time is surprising, since major economic, technological, and political changes were radically altering the landscape.

At least three factors explain the peace:

European elites were united in their fear of revolution from the masses. Elites envisioned grand alliances that would bring European leaders together to fight revolution from below. Leaders ensured that mass revolutions did not love from state to state.

Two of the major issues confronting the core European states were internal ones: the unifications of Germany and Italy. Although the unification of both was finally solidified, through small local wars, a general war was averted since Germany and Italy were preoccupied with territorial unification.

Imperialism and colonialism

Imperialism and Colonialism in the European System before 1870

The discovery of the “New” World by Europeans in 1492 led to rapidly expanding communication between the Americas and Europe.

Explorers sought discovery, riches, and personal glory.

Clerics sought to convert the “savages” to Christianity

European powers sought to annex distant territories. The term imperialism came to mean the annexation of distant territory, usually by force, and its inhabitants into an empire.

Colonialism, which often followed imperialism, refers to the settling for people from the home country among indigenous peoples whose territories have been annexed.

This process also led to the establishment of a “European” identity.

European, Christian, civilized, and white were contrasted with the “other” peoples of the world.

The industrial revolution provided the European states with the military and economic capacity to engage in territorial expansion.

During the Congress of Berlin (1885), the major powers divided up Africa.

Only Japan and Siam were not under European control in Asia.

The struggle for economic power led to the heedless exploitation of the colonial areas, particularly Africa and Asia.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close the control of the colonial system was being challenged with increasing frequency.

During this period, much of the competition, rivalry, and tension traditionally marking relations among Europe's states could be acted out far beyond Europe.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the roll of political rivalry and economic competition had become destabilizing.

Balance of Power

The period of peace in Europe was managed and preserved for so long because of the concept of balance of power.

The *balance of power* emerged because the independent European states feared the emergence of any predominant state (hegemon) among them. Thus, they formed alliances to counteract any potentially more powerful faction

The Breakdown: Solidification of Alliances

The balance-of-power system weakened during the waning years of the nineteenth century. Whereas previous alliances had been fluid and flexible, now alliances had solidified.

Two camps emerged: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, and Italy) in 1882 and the Dual Alliance (France and Russia) in 1893.

In 1902 Britain broke from the “balancer” role by joining in a naval alliance with Japan to prevent a Russo-Japanese rapprochement in China. For the first time, a European state turned to an Asian one in order to thwart a European ally.

Russian defeat in the Russo-Japanese war in 1902 was a sign of the weakening of the balance-of-power system

The end of the balance-of-power system came with World War I.

Germany had not been satisfied with the solutions meted out at the Congress of Berlin. Being a “latecomer” to the core of European power, Germany did not receive the diplomatic recognition and status its leaders desired.

With the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, Germany encouraged Austria to crush Serbia. Under the system of alliances, states honored their commitments to their allies, sinking the whole continent in warfare.

Between 1914 and 1918, more than 8.5 million and 1.5 million civilians lost their lives.

E) THE INTERWAR YEARS AND WORLD WAR II

The end of World War I saw critical changes in international relations:

First, three European empires (Russia, Austro-Hungary, and the Ottoman) were strained and finally broke up during the war. With those empires went the conservative social order of Europe; in its place emerged a proliferation of nationalisms.

Second, Germany emerged out of World War I an even more dissatisfied power. The Treaty of Versailles, which formally ended the war, made Germany pay the cost of the war through reparations. This dissatisfaction provided the climate for the emergence of Adolf Hitler, who was dedicated to right the “wrongs” imposed by the treaty.

Third, enforcement of the Versailles Treaty was given to the ultimately unsuccessful League of Nations, the intergovernmental organization designed to prevent all future wars. The League did not have the political weight to carry out its task because the United States refused to join.

Fourth, a vision of the post-World War I order had clearly been expounded, but it was a vision stillborn from the start. The world economy was in collapse and German fascism wreaked havoc on the plan for post-war peace.

World War II

World War II was started by Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Japan had attacked China in a series of incidents beginning in 1931 eventually leading to war.

Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935, using yperite (a form of mustard gas banned by the Geneva Protocol).

Nazi Germany was the biggest challenge, as it set to right what Hitler saw as the wrongs of the Treaty of Versailles.

The power of fascism—German, Italian, and Japanese versions—led to the uneasy alliance between the communist Soviet Union and the liberal United States, Britain, and France. When World War II broke out, this alliance (the Allies) fought against the Axis powers in unison.

The Allies at the end of the war were successful. Both the German Reich and imperial Japan lay in ruins at the end of the war.

Two other features of World War II demand attention as well.

The German invasion of Poland, the Baltic States, and the Soviet Union was followed by the organized murder of human beings, including Jews, Gypsies, communists, and Germans who showed signs of genetic defects.

While Germany surrendered in May 1945, the war did not end until the surrender of Japan in August.

In order to avoid a costly invasion, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The new weapon, combined with the Soviet declaration of war against Japan led to the surrender of Japan to the Allies.

The end of World War II resulted in a major redistribution of power and changed political borders.

f) HUMANITARIAN CONCERN AND UNITED NATIONS:

Since it first coordinated humanitarian relief operations in Europe following the devastation and massive displacement of people in the Second World War, the United Nations has been relied on by the international community to respond to natural and man-made disasters that are beyond the capacity of national authorities alone. Today, the Organization is a major provider of emergency relief and longer-term assistance, a catalyst for action by governments and relief agencies, and an advocate on behalf of people struck by emergencies

In the last decade, civil wars have become a central cause of emergency situations. In 1999 alone, millions were uprooted from their homes by war - 1.2 million in Angola, 850,000 in Kosovo, 750,000 in Ethiopia and Eritrea, 550,000 in East Timor, 200,000 in Chechnya and countless more in other conflicts around the world.

Natural disasters - floods, droughts, storms and earthquakes - killed more than 50,000 people and caused economic losses exceeding \$90 billion in 1998, the latest year for which information is available. The figure for that year alone exceeds the disaster costs for the entire 1980s. More than 90 per cent of all disaster victims live in developing countries - a striking indicator of the degree to which poverty, population pressures and environmental degradation exacerbate suffering and destruction.

Confronted with renewed conflict and the escalating human and financial costs of natural disasters, the United Nations has been engaged on two fronts. On one hand it has sought to bring immediate relief to the victims, primarily through its operational agencies; on the other hand, it has sought more effective strategies to prevent emergencies from arising in the first place.

When disaster strikes, the United Nations and its agencies rush to deliver humanitarian assistance. In 2000 alone, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs launched 16 inter-agency appeals that raised more than \$1.4 billion to assist 35 million people in 16 countries and regions. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has been providing international protection and assistance to over 22 million people annually - refugees as well as a growing number of internally displaced persons. The World Food Programme has regularly delivered one third of the world's emergency food assistance, saving millions of lives.

Disaster prevention seeks to reduce the vulnerability of societies to disaster, and to address their

man-made causes. Early warning is especially important for short-term prevention, and United Nations agencies are increasing their capacity in this area: the Food and Agriculture Organization monitors impending famines, while the World Meteorological Organization carries out tropical cyclone forecasting and drought monitoring. Preparedness is equally vital, and the United Nations Development Programme assists disaster-prone countries in developing contingency planning and other preparedness measures.

Coordinating humanitarian action

The past decade has seen an upsurge in the number and intensity of civil wars. These have caused large-scale humanitarian crises- with extensive loss of life, massive displacements of people, and widespread damage to societies- in complicated political and military environments. To address these "complex emergencies", the United Nations has upgraded its capacity to respond quickly and effectively. The General Assembly in 1991 established the Inter-Agency Standing Committee to coordinate the international response to humanitarian crises. The United Nations Emergency Relief Coordinator is the Organization's focal point for this endeavour, acting as the system's principal policy adviser, coordinator and advocate on issues pertaining to humanitarian emergencies. The Emergency Relief Coordinator heads the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), which coordinates United Nations assistance in humanitarian crises that go beyond the capacity and mandate of any single agency.

Many actors - governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), United Nations agencies - seek to respond simultaneously to complex emergencies. OCHA works with them to ensure that there is a coherent framework within which everyone can contribute promptly and effectively to the overall effort.

When an emergency strikes, OCHA coordinates the international response. It consults with the United Nations Country Team in the country concerned and undertakes inter-agency consultations at Headquarters to reach agreement on the priorities for action. OCHA then provides support for the coordination of activities in the affected country.

The Office coordinates field missions by United Nations agencies to assess needs; helps to mobilize resources by launching consolidated inter-agency appeals; organizes donor meetings and follow-up arrangements; monitors the status of contributions in response to the appeals; and issues situation reports to keep donors and others updated on developments. On average, 27 inter-agency appeals are launched each year: they have raised over \$12 billion for emergencies since 1992.

OCHA works with its partners in the humanitarian community to build a consensus around policies and to identify specific humanitarian issues arising from operational experience in the field. It tries to ensure that major humanitarian issues are addressed, including those that fall between the mandates of humanitarian organizations - such as the plight of internally displaced persons. By advocating on humanitarian issues, OCHA gives voice to the silent victims of crises and ensures that the views and concerns of the humanitarian community are reflected in overall efforts towards recovery and peace-building. OCHA promotes greater respect for humanitarian norms and principles, and draws attention to specific issues, such as the access to affected populations, the humanitarian impact of sanctions, anti-personnel landmines and the unchecked proliferation of small arms.

OCHA's Central Emergency Revolving Fund is a cash-flow mechanism facilitating an immediate response to an emergency. It is used to help humanitarian agencies with cash-flow problems before donor contributions are available. The borrowing agency must reimburse the amount loaned within one year. Since 1992, the Fund has been used more than 50 times, with a total of over \$127 million disbursed. OCHA manages Relief Web, the world's foremost humanitarian web site, which provides the latest information on emergencies around the world (see www.reliefweb.int).

Providing assistance and protection

Four United Nations entities -- UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF and UNDP -- have primary roles in protection and providing assistance in humanitarian crises.

Children and women constitute the majority of refugees and displaced persons. In acute emergencies, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) works alongside other relief agencies to help re-establish basic services such as water and sanitation, set up schools, and provide immunization services, medicines and other supplies to uprooted populations.

UNICEF also consistently urges governments and warring parties to act more effectively to protect children. Its programmes in conflict zones have included the negotiation of ceasefires to facilitate the provision of services such as child immunization. To this end, UNICEF has pioneered the concept of "children as zones of peace" and created "days of tranquillity" and "corridors of peace" in war-affected regions. Special programmes assist traumatized children and help to reunite unaccompanied children with parents or extended families. In 1999, UNICEF provided humanitarian assistance in 39 countries.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the agency responsible for coordinating activities for natural disaster mitigation, prevention and preparedness. When

emergencies occur, UNDP Resident Coordinators coordinate relief and rehabilitation efforts at the national level. Often governments call on UNDP to help design rehabilitation programmes and to direct donor aid.

To ensure that relief programmes pave the way for development, UNDP and humanitarian agencies work together to integrate a concern for long-term development in their relief operations. UNDP supports programmes for the demobilization of former combatants, comprehensive mine action, the return and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons, and the restoration of the institutions of governance.

To ensure that the resources provided will have the greatest possible impact, each project is carried out in consultation with local and national government officials. This community-based approach has helped provide urgent but lasting relief for hundreds of thousands of victims of war or civil upheaval. Today, many conflict-scarred communities have improved their living standards thanks to training programmes, credit schemes and infrastructure projects.

On the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), see *Protection and assistance to refugees*, below.

In emergencies, the World Food Programme (WFP) provides fast, efficient, self-sustaining relief to millions of people who are victims of natural or man-made disasters, including refugees and the internally displaced. Such crises consume most of WFP's resources. A decade ago, two out of three tons of the food aid provided by WFP was used to help people become self-reliant. Today, the picture is reversed, with 80 per cent of WFP resources going to victims of man-made disaster.

In 1999, WFP assisted 29 million internally displaced people, refugees and returnees, and 41 million victims of natural disaster. The agency is responsible for mobilizing food and funds for transport for all large-scale refugee-feeding operations managed by UNHCR. WFP is increasingly involved in projects using food aid to support demobilization of ex-combatants and demining of war zones. After war or disaster strikes, WFP moves in with reconstruction and rehabilitation projects aimed at repairing the damaged infrastructure.

The majority of those affected by disasters live in rural areas. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) is the lead agency in providing early warning of impending food crises and assessing food supply problems throughout the world. FAO's Global Information and Early Warning System provides regular and updated information on the global food situation. It also carries out assessments of the food situation in food-insecure countries due to man-made or natural disasters.

Based on assessments made in collaboration with WFP, emergency operations for food aid are prepared and jointly approved by FAO and WFP. FAO provides agricultural inputs for rehabilitating food production and gives technical advice in agricultural emergencies. Its Special Relief Operations Service provides considerable support to disaster-stricken farmers.

The assistance programmes of the World Health Organization (WHO) focus on assessing the health needs of those affected by emergencies and disaster, providing health information and assisting in coordination and planning. WHO carries out emergency programmes in areas such as nutritional and epidemiological surveillance, control of epidemics (including HIV/AIDS), immunizations, management of essential drugs and medical supplies, reproductive health and mental health. WHO makes special efforts to eradicate polio and to control malaria in countries affected by emergencies.

International protection and assistance to refugees

Throughout 1999, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provided international protection and assistance to some 22 million people who had fled war or persecution. Of these, some 17 million were refugees and returnees, and some 4.6 million were internally displaced persons. Internal conflicts have become the main cause of refugee crises.

UNHCR has been the lead humanitarian agency during the conflicts in the Balkans, which produced the largest refugee flows in Europe since the Second World War. It was the lead agency in addressing the massive exodus out of Kosovo and East Timor in 1999. It has also been assisting refugees, displaced people and returnees in Africa's Great Lakes region and other parts of the continent, and in south-west Asia.

Refugees are defined as those who have fled their countries because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, and who cannot or do not want to return.

The legal status of refugees is defined in two international treaties, the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which spell out their rights and obligations. As of December 2000, 137 states were parties to one or both treaties. UNHCR's most important function is international protection - trying to ensure respect for refugees' basic human rights, including their ability to seek asylum, and ensure that no one is returned involuntarily to a country where he or she has reason to fear persecution. Other types of assistance include:

- help during major emergencies involving the movement of large numbers of refugees;
- regular programmes in such fields as education, health and shelter;

- assistance to promote the self-sufficiency of refugees and their integration in host countries;
- voluntary repatriation;
- Resettlement in third countries for refugees who cannot return to their homes and who face protection problems in the country where they first sought asylum.

Although UNHCR's mandate is to protect and assist refugees, it has been called upon more and more to come to the aid of a wider range of people living in refugee-like situations. They include people displaced within their own countries; former refugees who may need UNHCR monitoring and assistance once they have returned home; stateless people; and people who receive temporary protection outside their home countries, but who do not receive the full legal status of refugees. Today, refugees comprise just over half of the people of concern to UNHCR.

Asylum seekers are persons who have left their countries of origin and have applied for recognition as refugees in other countries, and whose applications are still pending. UNHCR is currently assisting 1.2 million people in this category. The largest groups of asylum seekers are living in industrialized countries. Most refugees want to return home as soon as circumstances permit, and UNHCR is currently assisting 2.6 million returnees. One of the most successful repatriation operations was the return of over 1.7 million refugees to Mozambique following a peaceful settlement of the civil war in 1993. In 1999, the largest repatriation movements assisted by UNHCR were to Kosovo (751,400), Afghanistan (252,700), East Timor (127,500) and Liberia (94,900).

However, the sudden return of large numbers of people can quickly overwhelm fragile economic and social infrastructures. To ensure that returnees can rebuild their lives after they go back home, UNHCR works with a range of organizations to facilitate reintegration. This requires emergency assistance for those in need, development programmes for the areas that have been devastated and job-creation schemes.

The links between peace, stability, security, respect for human rights and sustainable development are increasingly seen as crucial in the search for durable solutions to the refugee problem.

Palestine refugees: The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has been providing education, health, relief and social services to Palestine refugees since 1950. The General Assembly created UNRWA to provide emergency relief to some 750,000 Palestine refugees who had lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of

the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict (see Chapter 2, page 95). By 2000, UNRWA was providing essential services to more than 3.7 million registered Palestine refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. UNRWA's humanitarian role has been reinforced by recurrent conflicts in the Middle East, such as the civil war in Lebanon and the Palestinian uprising (intifada).

Education is UNRWA's largest area of activity, accounting for half of its regular budget and two-thirds of its staff. Its 647 elementary and junior secondary schools accommodated more than 468,000 pupils in the 1999/2000 school year, while the eight UNRWA vocational training centres had over 4,600 trainees.

The Agency's network of 122 health centres handled 7.1 million patient visits in 1999. Environmental health services were provided to the 1.2 million refugees living in 59 refugee camps.

Some 205,000 people received special hardship assistance in 1999, which sought to ensure minimum standards of nutrition and shelter and to promote self-reliance through poverty-alleviation programmes. The income-generation programme in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has provided more than 27,000 loans worth \$41 million to small businesses and micro-enterprises, achieving a repayment rate approaching 100 per cent in the Gaza Strip.

UNRWA cooperates closely with the Palestinian Authority. After the 1993 accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (see Chapter 2, page 98), UNRWA started its Peace Implementation Programme to ensure that the benefits of the peace process were realized at the local level. The Programme has helped to upgrade infrastructure, create employment and improve socio-economic conditions in refugee communities throughout its area of operations. By the end of 1999, the Programme had received more than \$181 million in contributions and pledges. The European Gaza Hospital, an initiative of the European Union and UNRWA, opened in 2000.

The international community considers UNRWA a stabilizing factor in the Middle East. The refugees themselves look upon UNRWA's programmes as a symbol of the international community's commitment to a solution of the Palestine refugee issue