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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II (C. 1780-1939)

B.H.I.C.-114

B.A. History (Hons) - 6th Semester

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By: Anand Prakash Srivastava



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Content

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II (C. 1780-1939)

Question Paper—June-2023 (Solved).....	1
Sample Question Paper–1 (Solved)	1
Sample Question Paper–2 (Solved)	1
Sample Question Paper–3 (Solved)	1

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
1.	Liberal Democracy	1
2.	Early Socialist Thought and Marxian Socialism	11
3.	Counter Revolution-I: Fascism to Conservative Dictatorship.....	21
4.	Counter-Revolution-II: National Socialism in Germany	30
5.	The Socialist World-I.....	40
6.	The Socialist World-II.....	49
7.	Colonialism and Imperialism.....	59
8.	Patterns of Colonial Domination-I.....	68
9.	Patterns of Colonial Domination-II.....	77
10.	Cultural Dimensions of Imperialism.....	86

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
11.	Two World Wars.....	95
12.	The Crisis of Capitalism.....	103
13.	Glimpse of Post-War World-I.....	112
14.	Glimpse of Post-War World-II.....	119
15.	Cultural and Intellectual Developments Since 1850.....	128
16.	Creations of New Cultural Forms: From Romanticism to Abstract Art.....	138
17.	Culture and the Making of Ideologies: Constructions of Race, Class and Gender	148



**Sample Preview
of the
Solved
Sample Question
Papers**

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QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II (C. 1780-1939)

B.H.I.C.-114

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks : 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. All questions carry equal marks.

SECTION-I

Q. 1. Analyse the theory of Marxian Socialism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 12, 'Marxian Socialism'.

Q. 2. What led to the formation of Nazi Party? What was the essence of Nazism?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 31, 'Formation and Early Years of Nazi Party' and 'Political Consolidation of the Nazis and State and Society in the Third Reich'.

Q. 3. Give a brief account of collectivisation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 50, 'Collectivisation of Agriculture'.

Q. 4. Write short notes on the following:

(a) The Weimar Republic

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 2, 'The Weimar Republic and Liberal Democracy'.

(b) Fascism in Italy

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 25, Q. No. 3.

(c) Stages of Colonialism

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 61, 'Stages of Colonialism'.

(d) French Colonialism in Africa

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 71, 'French Colonialism in Africa'.

SECTION-II

Q. 5. Define semi-colonialism giving reference to China.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 77, 'Emergence of Semi-colonialism' and Page No. 78, 'China'.

Q. 6. Give a brief account of the division of Europe into two armed camps during the Second World War.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 96, 'The Warring Nations in the World Wars' and Page No. 97, 'Wars as the Wars of Ideologies'.

Q. 7. How did Romanticism influence literature and art?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 138, 'Romanticism'.

Q. 8. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Education as an instrument of imperial control

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-10, Page No. 87, 'Education and Language: Tools of Imperial Ideology'.

(b) Economic crisis following Second World War

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 119, 'Changes in Modern Class Societies'.

(c) Western philosophical thought

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-15, Page No. 128, 'Philosophical Thought'.

(d) Ideology of gender

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-17, Page No. 150, 'Ideology of Gender'.

■ ■

Sample

QUESTION PAPER - 1

(Solved)

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II (C. 1780-1939)

B.H.I.C.-114

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks : 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. All questions carry equal marks.

- Q. 1. Why did the Weimer Republic collapse?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 5, Q. No. 3.
- Q. 2. What ideological strands contributed to the growth of fascism in Italy?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 25, Q. No. 3.
- Q. 3. What were the circumstances under which the Nazi party captured power?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 35, Q. No. 3.
- Q. 4. In what ways was the New Economic Policy different from War Communism?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-5, Page No. 46, Q. No. 6.
- Q. 5. Write in brief on theories of imperialism.**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 62, Q. No. 2.
- Q. 6. What was the impact of colonial rule on Indian agriculture?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 72, Q. No. 2.
- Q. 7. Discuss in the main characteristics of semi-colonialism or the indirect rule.**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-9, Page No. 80, Q. No. 1.
- Q. 8. How did industrialization affect relations of powers?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 98, Q. No. 1.
- Q. 9. What do you mean by the Cold War? What were its consequences?**
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 115, Q. No. 3.
- Q. 10. Write a short note on the following:**
- (a) Comintern
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-5, Page No. 46, Q. No. 7.
- (b) Colonial State
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-7, Page No. 61, 'Colonial State'.
- (c) Ideology of Class
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-17, Page No. 149, 'Ideology of Class'.
- (d) Cities
Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 121, 'Cities'.

■ ■

Sample Preview of The Chapter

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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II

(C. 1780-1939)

Liberal Democracy

1

INTRODUCTION

Studying and contrasting the Europe of the 19th century with that of the 1820s would reveal significant differences between the two eras. This was the case because the First World War and the ensuing changes in the economy and diplomatic ties completely altered Europe in the 20th century. The nature of the changes that took place in Europe in the 1920s and their effects on the history of the decades that followed are covered in this unit. In particular it focuses on the nature of the liberal democratic regimes which functioned in Britain, France and Germany. Also, it provides information on the political and economic crises that significantly impacted how events unfolded in Europe.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

BACKGROUND

The historian and critic Eric Hobsbawm once referred to the period 1914-1945 as the Thirty Years War. Hobsbawm was referring to the unresolved European issue following the First World War, which led to the devastation of fascism and World War Two. The interwar period can be viewed as an effort by different regimes to resolve the dilemma, with many solutions being put out, including radical revolutions on the Left and fascism on the Right.

How does liberal democracy fare? Liberal Democracy likewise came out of World War One feeling in crisis. This was influenced by a number of things. The war's brutality and savagery, as well as its mobilization, hunger, and dislocation across Europe, had significantly radicalized the continent's inhabitants, resulting in revolutions in Russia and failed uprisings in Germany and Hungary. In England and France, the key liberal democracies, the traditional elite model of liberal democratic politics was met with movements of workers alienated from the social order, and of women wanting the vote. The 1929 stock market crash triggered an economic catastrophe that put liberal democracy under even more strain.

The Weimar Republic in Germany was a significant liberal democratic experiment. The Weimar Republic, which emerged from Germany's loss in World War I, was the country's first effort at liberal democracy with widespread adult suffrage. Even though it was plagued by crises from the start, Germany's Weimar Republic produced some of the ground-breaking philosophical and political discussions as well as great cultural experiments that helped Berlin become Europe's cultural center in the 1920s.

VERSAILLES AND AFTER

Debates on the Treaty of Versailles give us an interesting glimpse into the liberal democratic experience in the inter-war period. The Versailles conference was held by the victorious Allied nations to wrest the terms of defeat from Germany, as we have learned from prior conversations. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Lloyd George of Great Britain dominated the conference. The real conflict was between Clemenceau's nationalist insistence on demanding harsh terms from Germany and Wilson's liberal vision for the postwar settlement. Given that France had suffered the most from the war as a mainland power, Clemenceau was preoccupied with what he believed to be the security requirements of France. Therefore, it is necessary to permanently weaken Germany's power.

Wilson had a broader view. His Fourteen Points Liberal Democracy promoted self-determination, sovereignty, and justice. Wilson proposed program stability for the modern state system (which had been put into place by the Treat of Westphalia in the 17th century).

The 19th century intra-European rivalry and World War I broke this stability. According to American historian Charles Maier, Wilson and Lenin (who was definitely not at Versailles) present different, but fresh ways of seeing the modern state system. Hence, while Wilson advocated a liberal international order and universal governance (the League of Nations), Lenin advocated world revolution to overthrow the old state structure. Lenin's call for non-European self-

determination expanded his internationalist platform and challenged the Westphalia system that had prioritized Europe over others. Yet, Wilson and Lenin's internationalisms surrounding Versailles were the first big global pronouncements of the 20th century.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

The German political structure that was in place following World War I and persisted until the rise of the Nazis in 1933 is referred to as the Weimar Republic.

The name is derived from the German town of Weimar, where the Republic's founding document was published.

In the context of defeat and socialist revolutionaries' attempts to follow the lead of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Republic was founded.

Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht were brutally murdered by militia men in Berlin during the early years of the Weimar Republic. Up until the rise of the Nazis, the Communist Party, a form of revolutionary socialism, posed a persistent danger to the Weimar Republic.

An major milestone in European history was reached when the Republic was founded on the tenets of universal suffrage, formal political independence, and a democratic parliament. The former electoral restriction that restricted the reformist Social Democrats' ability to grow was finally lifted, giving the group a significant voice. Weimar's new legislation on civil liberties and social policies were heavily influenced by the Social Democrats.

But they were never powerful enough to form a government on their own, the German social democrats. In that case, a coalitional culture developed, giving Center-Right parties much greater importance than their actual power.

The People's Party and its leader Gustav Stresemann benefited most from the particular circumstances. The short time after he was elected Chancellor in 1924 was known in German political circles as the Stresemann era. His influence was so great.

Stresemann undertook the following actions in an effort to restore the honor that Germany had lost at the Treaty of Versailles:

- He vehemently opposed French control of Germany's Ruhr valley.
- He achieved German admission to the League of Nations in 1926.
- He also encouraged and helped stimulate German economic recovery by rationalizing German industry through a series of cartels and an aggressive export drive to overcome the balance of payments crisis.
- The Dawes plan of 1924 for the economic reconstruction of Germany was ratified in the Reichstag of Parliament.

Stresemann aimed to uphold the cause of old-style conservative nationalism, now grafted onto the liberal Weimar Constitution, by delicately balancing the

frequently at odds interests of various factions of the German elite.

SOCIAL STRUGGLE AND SEARCH FOR STABILITY: BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Other democratic regimes were France and Britain. Both regimes had similarities and differences. During the early 20th century, Britain had lost its economic dominance. Yet, post-war France maintained economic success. Discuss economic and political trends in the two countries.

Britain

The post-war position of Britain provided conclusive evidence of the long-term erosion of British economic hegemony. By the final decade of the 19th century, British domination, founded on the free-trade imperialism of that era, was already in trouble. Britain gradually ceded economic dominance to the United States in the 1920s. In any case, the UK's reliance on the US during the war had increased since it was unable to lead the war effort on its own. But by 1924, Britain had experienced a modest rebound, partly as a result of government financial assistance. As a result of the resurgence of industries like the automobile and shipbuilding, Winston Churchill was able to place Britain back on the gold standard and return the pound to its pre-war parity with the dollar by 1925. Even yet, the rebound was uneven. The economy never recovered to pre-war levels, and the US, Germany, and Japan became increasingly competitive with Britain on the global market.

This long-term declining process has to have an impact on the political environment. The Liberals, whose ideology was based on the free-trade principles of the 19th century, started to make way for the Labour. The new tasks were designed to take into account the working class's expanding demands for social responsibility. The socio-economic system of the 19th century had to be somewhat reorganized as a result. The main winner from this new circumstance was the Labour party, which serves as the primary voice of the working-class movement. Liberal and Labour formed coalitions in 1924 and 1929, with the Labour party holding a lopsided advantage.

France

After World War I, France experienced a more significant economic rebound than the UK. In terms of the global economy, pre-war France was never as advanced in industrial terms. Regarding its percentage of the country's GNP, French foreign trade was modest. In the late 19th century, industrialization and agricultural modernization in France had been advancing quickly, but because of the steady pace of this development, there were no notable parallels to the Industrial Revolution in England and the Reconstruction in the United States.

Yet, in order to satisfy the needs of the war effort, World War I did result in a significant rationalization of French industry. This rationalization persisted after the war, and France's industrial potential was increased by the reunification of Lorraine and Alsace. In order

to compensate for the loss of the coal regions, it was decided to build hydroelectric power during the war. This in turn sparked an increase in industry in previously rural areas. The output capacity increased steadily starting in 1932. The index of industrial production had doubled by 1925 compared to 1919, and the state of the balance of payments appeared to be favorable.

Yet, issues persisted. High food prices and a protective agricultural policy towards the post-revolutionary peasantry were two long-lasting effects of the Revolution. French exports were not always competitive due to the rise in industrial production and the high costs of French labor (caused by high food prices).

THE CRISIS OF DIPLOMACY

Wilson's most important internationalist endeavor for the modern period was the League of Nations. The League was created to restore the international state structure that had been repeatedly threatened by conflicts between European countries and lay the groundwork for peace in the post-war world. The basic goal of the League was 'collective security', although in the context of Europe, this idea underwent a number of changes. Different European nations had various perspectives on their security requirements. For instance, whereas France considered the neighbouring Germany as the greatest threat, Britain saw Soviet Russia as the principal opponent.

The 'problem' of Germany, the unsolved Versailles agreement legacy, the French demand for security in Europe, and the prospect of a Russian revolution all complicated the European scenario.

Since French intransigence frequently caused problems in the reparations sought from Germany, the French obsession with security and the German issue were linked. In addition to attempting to advance their agenda within the League and forging a number of standalone pacts with countries bordering Germany, the French sought security. The British expressed their frustration at what they seen as French intransigence on disarmament-related problems, which frequently resulted in the French agenda in the League coming to naught. The French adopted a bilateralist foreign policy as a result of this.

The Locarno treaties of 1925 were the main effects of this change. A prior German suggestion that France and Germany sign a pact promising not to go to war with one another—a pact that would also encompass Britain and Belgium—led to the founding of Locarno. By 1925, the British had consented to support such a convention, which would also include the border between Germany and Belgium.

The Locarno treaties consisted of the following in total: On the west, France would do the same—protecting Poland and Czechoslovakia—while Britain would secure Belgium's border against any (German) aggression. Germany would become a member of the League of Nations. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, commonly referred to as the Pact of Paris, was signed in 1928 as a follow-up to the Locarno Treaties. The signatories

rejected using war as a tool in international negotiations, and the agreement had an international reach. In the end, 65 States ratified the agreement.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The immediate post-war period saw the rationalisation of European industry on the lines of American experiments. Productivity in the United States has significantly increased thanks to Ford's assembly line and horizontal integration methods, as well as a new set of labour laws. The triumph of the United States (which by the end of World War I had become the world's foremost industrial nation) was held forth as a model for emulation by Europe. Leaders as diverse as Lenin and Mussolini praised American labour laws and factory reforms as admirable and deserving of imitation.

In reality, from Germany to Russia, and France to Italy, variations of American-style changes took occurred. All of this was frequently supported by inexpensive American capital goods, machinery, and credits. In fact it must be underlined that the post-war revival of world trade was largely due to the huge volumes of credit pumped into the world-economy by US lenders.

In a sense, US loans served as the foundation for the 'recovery' that Europe experienced in the years following World War I. The process also ensured a constant supply of liquidity back to US lenders. As an illustration, in the 1920s, the US lent money to Germany to aid in her recovery. In turn Germany passed on money to the French and the British as part of reparation payments. The French and the British for their part re-routed money back to the US as part of repayment for war loans. The world economy was replete with money supply, much of it US-dominated. The atmosphere was ripe for speculation: a host of new fly-by-night players entered the scene. The time was in reality replete of financial scandals and mismanagement, all of which would come to a crescendo at the end of the decade.

The crisis actually began over the rapid drop in agricultural prices in North America. The world's agricultural surplus started to build as Europe began to recover, and North American producers—who had greatly boosted production during the war—were shocked by a sharp decline in prices. US agriculture was the first sector to experience bankruptcy, and expenditure fell sharply. It was only a matter of time before the stock market would be damaged.

The actual events began to unravel in October 1929. Thirteen and sixteen and a half million shares sold on October 24th and 29th, 1929. American investors lost \$10 billion that month. Melt-down began. The slump was followed by the world-wide fall in agricultural prices.

Millions of primary producers were affected due to agricultural product globalization. All monetised export-related regions suffered as sugar, cotton, tobacco, wheat, rice, and other prices fell. Plantations and farms closed down, and millions were pushed out from work. Demand for other commodities fell as millions of

4 / NEERAJ : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE-II (C. 1780-1939)

workers worldwide lost purchasing power. International trade dropped. Workers were unemployed, factories closed, and earnings remained low. US economic dominance was felt worldwide.

Once American banks stopped lending money (they were the only ones who risked long-term loans) the credit squeeze was felt on a world scale.

UNDERSTANDING THE 1920S

As mentioned, Karl Polanyi believed the First World War devastated nineteenth-century Europe. The economic crisis finished it. The crisis killed 19th-century British economic liberalism predicated on a self-regulating international market and free trade. After the crisis the role of the state began to stake on a new prominence. Reading John Maynard Keynes's major books would spark economic resurgence in Europe and the US. To boost commodity demand, Keynes advocated state action. Hence the state would now intervene to initiate public works, takeover ill enterprises and pay an unemployment stipend to individuals without work. The state, not free trade or private capital, would stimulate demand. The Labour Party in Britain and Roosevelt's New Deal in the US incorporated Keynesianism into their left-wing politics.

Crisis criticism came from the Right. Most originated from Germany. In 1918, Oswald Spengler published *Decline of the West*, which was popular in the 1920s. In the 20th century, industrialism-based Western civilization had declined, Spengler claimed. Spengler's *lebensphilosophie* (philosophy of life) alter-native attacked classical modernity's rationality and offered 'life' as an alternative. Carl Schmitt's 1920s critiques of parliamentary democracy advocated for plebiscitary dictatorship. The philosopher Martin Heidegger penned his important attacks on Western modernity which he characterized as corrupted by technological violence and contempt for existence. In the 1930s, right-wing ideas justified Nazism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1. How was Lenin's vision of the modern state system different from Wilson?

Ans. The victorious Allied nations met at Versailles to negotiate Germany's conditions of surrender after World War I. This conference was known as the Terms of Surrender Conference. The United States President Woodrow Wilson, the French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, and the British Prime Minister Lloyd George were the three most influential people at the summit. The real disagreement was between Wilson's liberal vision for the postwar settlement and Clemenceau's nationalist determination on extracting harsh conditions from Germany. Wilson's vision was more on the liberal side. Clemenceau was more on the nationalist side. Given that France as a mainland power had suffered the most from the war, Clemenceau was obsessed with what he viewed as France's security needs. In other words, he was a security nut. Because of this, it is imperative to undermine Germany's power once and for all.

On the other hand, Wilson had a more comprehensive view of the world. The principles of self-determination, sovereignty, and justice were emphasized throughout His Fourteen Points. The concept behind Wilson's plan was to establish a new program that would guarantee stability for the modern state structure (which had been put into place by the Treaty of Westphalia in the 17th century).

This equilibrium had been shattered beginning with the intra-European competition in the 19th century and culminated in the First World War. According to the remarks of the American historian Charles Maier, the goals of Woodrow Wilson and those of Vladimir Lenin, the revolutionary leader of Russia (who was certainly not there at Versailles), offer distinct and novel methods of understanding the contemporary state-system. In light of this, Wilson's agenda was a liberal one that spoke of a new international order and universal governance (the League of Nations), but Lenin's platform was a radical call to overturn the existing state system through world revolution. In addition, Lenin's call for the self-determination of non-European peoples expanded his internationalist program and called into question the foundations of the Westphalia system, which had prioritized the power of Europe over that of other regions. In any case, the internationalisms of Wilson and Lenin, which were articulated around the time of Versailles, were noteworthy as the first big global declarations made in the 20th century. This makes them relevant.

Q. 2. Write in brief about the main features of the treaty of Versailles.

Ans. At the summit in Versailles itself, it was Clemenceau's hard-nosed measures that were successful. Germany was forced to pay significant amounts of money as war reparations. The military might of Germany was severely hampered. Her army was reduced to 100,000 men who served on a voluntary basis, the previous General Staff was wiped out, and she was unable to build any tanks or heavy armament at the time. Her naval forces were drastically cut down, and the submarine program was cancelled. In terms of geography, Germany lost all of her colonial lands, which totalled one million square miles, and so did France, losing the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in the process (which had been taken from France in 1871). The coal mines of the Saar were handed over to France by Germany for a period of 15 years while the territory itself was under the administration of the League of Nations.

The harshness with which the victors treated Germany, as the terms of the treaty show, and the unwillingness to give freedom to the colonies gave considerable weight to Lenin and the Bolsheviks' assertion that World War I was essentially a war between imperial powers to re-divide the world among themselves. This assertion was supported by the Bolsheviks and Lenin. In this respect, in spite of the prominence that was given to the Wilsonian agenda of liberal internationalism, the Treaty of Versailles led