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INVESTMENTS IN EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

Course: SELECTED CHAPTERS OF CZECH AND WORLD HISTORY

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# Contents

1 French Revolution and Revolutionary Wars 1789 to 1815 .....	8
1.1 Ancien régime.....	8
1.2 Estates-General 1789 .....	8
1.3 Revolutionary France 1789 to 1793 .....	10
1.4 Revolutionary Terror 1793 and 1794 .....	12
1.5 First Coalition 1794 to 1797 .....	14
1.6 Revolutionary France 1794 to 1799 .....	14
1.7 Bonaparte's Coup D'état 1799 .....	15
1.8 Napoleon Bonaparte .....	16
1.9 Napoleonic France 1799 to 1814/1815 .....	16
1.10 Third Coalition 1803 to 1805 .....	17
1.11 Battle of Austerlitz 1805 .....	17
1.12 Fourth Coalition 1806 and 1807 .....	18
1.13 Austrian Campaign 1809 .....	19
1.14 Russian Campaign 1812 .....	20
1.15 Fifth Coalition 1812 to 1815 .....	20
1.16 Congress of Vienna 1814 and 1815 .....	21
1.17 Hundred Days of 1815 .....	21
1.18 Summary of Chapter .....	23
1.19 Recommended sources .....	24
2 Nationalism 1815 to 1848 and Revolutions of 1848–1849 .....	25
2.1 Congress System .....	25
2.2 Sources of Nationalism .....	26
2.3 Nationalism in Germany .....	27
2.4 Nationalism in Italy .....	28
2.5 Young Europe .....	29
2.6 Liberalism .....	30
2.7 Revolutions of 1830 .....	31
2.8 Nationalism in Poland and November Revolution .....	32
2.9 Revolution of 1848 and 1849 .....	33
2.10 Revolution of 1848 and 1849 in Italy .....	33
2.11 Revolution of 1848 and 1849 in France .....	34

2.12	Revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in Central Europe.....	35
2.13	Excursus: Revolution of 1848 and 1849 and the Czech Lands .....	36
2.14	Summary of Chapter .....	37
2.15	Recommended Sources.....	38
3	The Rise of National States and Establishing of Antagonist Blocs from 1848 to 1914 .....	39
3.1	Unification of Italy 1859 to 1870.....	39
3.2	January Uprising 1863 .....	41
3.3	Wars for Unification of Germany .....	41
3.4	Emancipation of Hungarians .....	44
3.5	Balkan and Ottoman Issue.....	45
3.6	Bismarck's System .....	46
3.7	Socialism .....	47
3.8	Integral Nationalism .....	48
3.9	Representative Democracy .....	49
3.10	Excursus: Suffrage in Czech Lands.....	49
3.11	Colonialism .....	50
3.12	Forming of the Triple Alliance .....	50
3.13	Forming of Entente.....	51
3.14	Military Conflicts in the Beginning of 20th Century .....	51
3.15	Balkan Wars 1912 to 1913.....	52
3.16	Summary of Chapter .....	53
3.17	Recommended Sources.....	54
4	First World War 1914 to 1918.....	55
4.1	Roots of First World War .....	55
4.2	Declaration of War .....	56
4.3	Periodization and Characteristics of First World War .....	57
4.4	Manoeuvring War 1914.....	58
4.5	Trench Warfare 1914.....	59
4.6	Trench Warfare 1915.....	59
4.7	Trench Warfare 1916.....	60
4.8	Trench Warfare 1917.....	62
4.9	Final Stage of War 1918.....	62
4.10	Armistice and Peace 1918 to 1920.....	64
4.11	Overall Results of First World War .....	64

4.12 Summary of Chapter .....	66
4.13 Recommended Sources .....	67
5 Interwar Period 1918 to 1939 .....	68
5.1 Paris Peace Conference .....	68
5.2 Peace Treaty .....	69
5.3 Changes of Borders in Europe .....	70
5.4 Versailles-Washington System .....	71
5.5 League of Nations .....	71
5.6 Spread of Communism .....	72
5.7 Spread of Fascism and Nazism .....	73
5.8 Great Depression .....	74
5.9 Crisis of Democracy in Europe .....	75
5.10 Crisis of Versailles-Washington System .....	75
5.11 Establishing of Totalitarian Regimes .....	76
5.12 Soviet Russia and Soviet Union .....	77
5.13 Weimar Republic and National Socialist Germany .....	77
5.14 Occupation of Czechoslovakia .....	78
5.15 Summary of Chapter .....	80
5.16 Recommended Sources .....	81
6 Second World War 1939 to 1945 .....	82
6.1 The Origins of Second World War .....	82
6.2 On the Way towards Second World War .....	82
6.3 Characteristics of Second World War .....	83
6.4 Periodization of Second World War .....	83
6.5 Comparison of Belligerents .....	85
6.6 Polish Campaign 1939 .....	85
6.7 Battle of Atlantic 1939 to 1945 .....	87
6.8 Northern Campaign 1940 .....	88
6.9 Western Campaign 1940 .....	88
6.10 Battle of Britain 1940 .....	89
6.11 Italian Parallel War 1940 and 1941 .....	90
6.12 Balkan Campaign 1941 .....	91
6.13 Campaign in Northern Africa 1941 to 1943 .....	91
6.14 Soviet Aggressions 1939 and 1940 .....	92

6.15 Barbarossa Operation 1941.....	94
6.16 Battle of Moscow 1941.....	95
6.17 Entry of United States into War and Pacific Theatre .....	96
6.18 Fall Blau and the Battle of Stalingrad 1942 and 1943 .....	96
6.19 Italian Campaign 1943 to 1945.....	98
6.20 Battle of Kursk 1943 .....	99
6.21 Invasion of Normandy 1944 .....	100
6.22 Battle in Ardennes 1944 .....	102
6.23 Berlin Operation and German Capitulation 1945.....	103
6.24 War in Pacific 1941 to 1945.....	104
6.25 Summary of Chapter .....	105
6.26 Recommended Sources.....	106
7 Post-war World: Consequences of Second World War 1945 to 1947 .....	107
7.1 Overall Results of Second World War .....	107
7.2 Criminal Aspect of Second World War .....	110
7.3 Territorial Changes after Second World War .....	111
7.4 War Criminal Punishment .....	112
7.5 Post-war Recovery.....	113
7.6 Post-War World Order.....	114
7.7 United Nations.....	114
7.8 Nuclear Weapon.....	116
7.9 Peace Treaties .....	117
7.10 German Issue.....	118
7.11 Summary of Chapter .....	119
7.12 Recommended Sources.....	120
8 Cold War 1947 to 1989.....	121
8.1 Cold War .....	121
8.2 Origin of Cold War .....	122
8.3 Periodization of Cold War .....	123
8.4 Superpowers.....	124
8.5 Containment.....	125
8.6 Sovietisation of Central and Eastern Europe 1944 to 1948 .....	125
8.7 First Berlin Crisis 1948 to 1949 .....	127
8.8 NATO.....	127

8.9 Spread of Communism in Asia.....	128
8.10 Korean War 1950 to 1953 .....	129
8.11 Warsaw Pact.....	130
8.12 Second Berlin Crisis 1961 .....	131
8.13 Cuban Missile Crisis 1962 .....	132
8.14 War in Indochina and in Vietnam 1945 to 1975 .....	133
8.15 Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan 1979 to 1989.....	134
8.16 Summary of Chapter .....	135
8.17 Recommended Sources.....	136
9 Regional Conflicts 1945 to 1989.....	137
9.1 Characteristics of Period.....	137
9.2 Decolonization.....	137
9.3 First Stage of Decolonization 1941 to 1950.....	138
9.4 Second Stage of Decolonization 1950 to 1970.....	139
9.5 Final Stage of Decolonization 1970 to 1990.....	139
9.6 Post-Colonial World.....	140
9.7 Arab-Israeli Conflict .....	141
9.8 Palestinian War 1948 and 1949.....	142
9.9 Suez Crisis 1956 .....	142
9.10 Six Days War 1967 .....	143
9.11 Yom Kippur War 1973 .....	144
9.12 Civil War in Lebanon.....	144
9.13 Falkland's War 1982 .....	145
9.14 Islamic Revolution in Iran 1979 .....	145
9.15 Iran-Iraq War 1980 to 1989.....	146
9.16 Summary of Chapter .....	148
9.17 Recommended Sources.....	149
10 Multipolar World and Conflicts since 1990.....	150
10.1 Disintegration of Soviet Union 1991 .....	150
10.2 Transformation of Post-Soviet Territory .....	151
10.3 Transformation of Political Systems of Countries of Central and Eastern Europe.....	151
10.4 Territorial Changes in Europe in 1990 to 2008.....	152
10.5 European Integration .....	153
10.6 Dissemination of NATO .....	155

10.7 U.N. in Conflicts .....	155
10.8 First Gulf War 1991.....	155
10.9 Genocide in Rwanda 1994.....	156
10.10 Disintegration of Yugoslavia 1991 to 1992.....	157
10.11 Civil War in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993 to 1995.....	157
10.12 Kosovo War 1999 .....	158
10.13 Terrorism .....	158
10.14 War against Terrorism 2001 to 2011.....	159
10.15 Provisional Summary of Chapter .....	161
10.16 Recommended Sources.....	162

# 1 FRENCH REVOLUTION AND REVOLUTIONARY WARS 1789 TO 1815

The one of the most important event in the history of mankind with the impact until present days was the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. French Revolution stands at the beginning of **modern society** of citizens who **participates in political power of state**. Before that this participation was privilege of closed group of the elite (royalty, nobility, clergy, and the wealthiest townsmen).

## 1.1 Ancien régime

French political system before 1789 is being called as Ancien régime, literally “**Old Regime**“. It is a period of French absolute monarchy that last from the end of 15th century to the outbreak of revolution in 1789. Despite the fact the French king declares to be absolute ruler, his power was limited. For example he **could not tax the privileged estates**.

**Political structure** of French Old Regime was as follows:

- Privileged estates were (1th) **nobility** and (2nd) **clergy** that did not pay the taxes. But in fact those were the richest people in France.
- Not privileged estates were the rest of the population, some 95 per cent of all inhabitants of France, so called 3rd estate, i.e. **countrymen** and **townsmen** who were the only to pay the taxes.

In the second half of the 18th century the deep economic decay started. Decay in economy was connected with fall of French superiority among European powers. King Louis XVI wanted to change this situation and dragged the France into the war of independence of the USA. When the war was over in 1783 **French government was indebted**. Situation deteriorated badly for the next years of 1780's due to economic crisis.

The only solution for the king was to **call upon for Estates-General** (parliament), representative body of all three estates.

## 1.2 Estates-General 1789

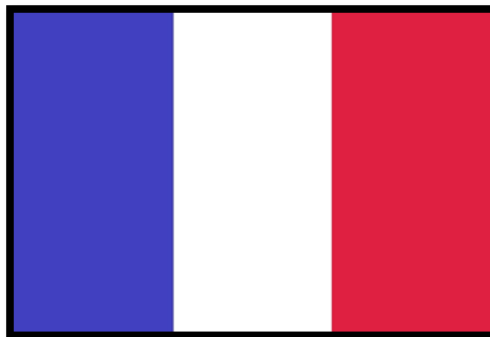
According to the result of elections the Estates-General gathered in May 1789 in Paris. Suffrage to this parliament was limited only for men of 1st and 2nd estate and for the members of 3rd estate who were older than 25 years and were paying certain amount of taxes.



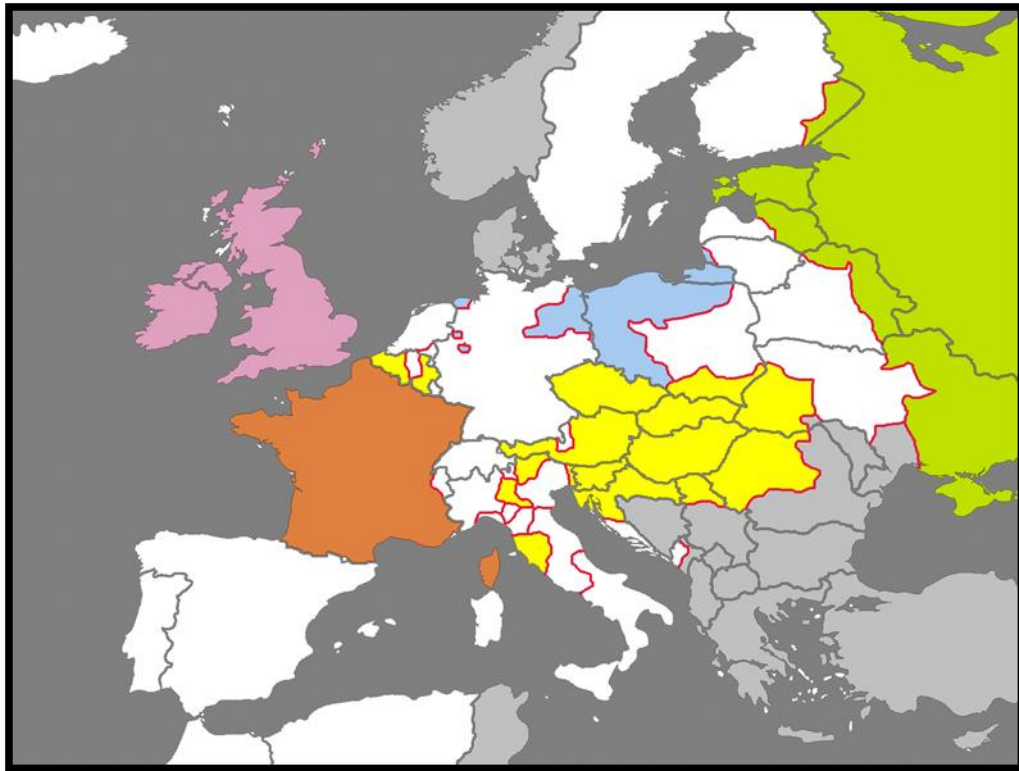
From its beginning the clash between the privileged and non-privileged groups was imminent. On 10 June 1789 representatives of 3rd estate (and partly of clergy) declared themselves to be the only representative body of all French people and established **National Assembly**; other representatives of nobility and clergy joined later.

National Assembly demanded participation in political power. It was casus bellum for King Louis XVI who commenced campaign against National Assembly. But Frenchmen opposed and created so called National Guards and prepared to defence Paris. To avoid possible attack in the back of defence, decision to defeat the Bastille, stronghold in the middle of the city, was made. **The storming of Bastille**, symbol of royal despotism, on 14 July 1789 is supposed to be the last step in the way to **outbreak of revolution**. Parliamentary opposition switched into defiance against king's power.

King Louis XIV beat a retreat the demands of French revolutionaries. The symbol of compromise was the new state flag that was combination of colours of Old Regime, i.e. white colour of Bourbon Dynasty, and Revolution that was represented by the blue and red colours of Paris.



Following map depicts the political situation in Europe in 1789 to 1792.



Red colour is for French territory, yellow is for territory of Austria, violin for territory of Great Britain, blue for territory of Prussia, and green for territory of Russia. As it is seen France could lead military operation against Austria because both countries had common borderlines in today's Belgium.

### 1.3 Revolutionary France 1789 to 1793

After king's defeat National Assembly passed important legislation:

#### 1. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (26 August 1789)

established principle of sovereignty of nation declared that people are born equal and free:

- I. Men are born and remain **free and equal in rights**. [...]
- II. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the **natural and imprescriptible rights** of man. These rights are **liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression**.
- III. The principle of all sovereignty resides **essentially in the nation**. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.
- IV. Liberty consists in the freedom to do **everything which injures no one else**; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except

those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

- X. **No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions**, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

**August Decrees** abolished feudal system i.e. that emancipated peasants from personal dependence of nobility and allowed expropriation of lands of landlords.

On 3 September 1791 **Constitution** was declared, suffrage was admitted to 4 of 26 million inhabitants of France. France becomes **constitutional monarchy**: supreme state power of king and elected parliament

Outbreak of revolution was able due to blending of interests of different interest of different social groups. During the years 1789 to 1791 four major political streams were established:

- **Royalists** and **Constitutional Monarchists**, who wanted re-establish the Old Regime or constitutional monarchy with dominant position of king,
- **Liberals**, so called **Feuillants**, for those the revolution was completed and closed when constitution was declared, and
- **Radicals** that were represented by two political groups, **Jacobins** and **Girondists**, which demanded to following-up in revolution and who declared new demands (regulation of economy etc.).

Until the unsuccessful attempt of King Louis XVI to flee from France the balance of power of those political groups was equal. But his attempt discredited the Royalists as well as Monarchists. In 1792 grows power of Liberals and Radicals.

During 1792 French Revolution became an international issue. On 20 April 1792 **France declared war to Austrian monarchy**, or, to be exact, to the “Czech and Hungarian king” Franz II. Motivation was different:

- Louis XVI as well as some groups of Royalists expected defeat of France and restitution of Ancien Régime, i.e. his personal monopole of power, while
- Radicals expected “export of revolution” to the other countries and radicalization of revolution.

But in fact the intent of any of these groups was not realized. During 1792 to 1793 France was dragged **into war with majority of European countries**. Those

countries were not able to defeat the France, but France alone was not able to export the revolution and its ideas. Threat of military defeat of France led in 1792 and 1793 to internal crisis. Political system became labile and both National Assembly and the inhabitants of Paris (so called “Street” of Paris) radicalized its demand.

In October 1792 **uprising against king** dethroned King Louis XVI and at the same time new and very important representative body was established. It was **Paris Commune**, self-government institutions of Paris which affected politics not only in the Capital city but in whole France.

According to demands of October uprising new Parliament, now in form of **National Convention** that was elected on basis of universal and equal suffrage, declared France to be republic. The most powerful political groups were derived from the rows of Radical. There were **Girondists**, so called right wing, and **Jacobins**, left wing. Especially the second mentioned group affected the course of events because Jacobins had its leaders also in Paris Commune.

After declaration of republic National Convention decided to execute the **King Louis XVI**. On 21 January 1793 Louis XVI **was beheaded**.

During 1792 to 1803 France led wars against two coalitions of European countries. So called **First Coalition** comprised of Austria, Prussia, Spain, United Kingdom, and other countries. The war has two stages. In first stage 1792 and 1793 France was forced to conduct more defensive then offensive campaigns.

- Deflection of Austrian and Prussian offensive in battle of **Valmy** (20 September 1792) and of **Jemappes** (6 November 1792).
- Then France began offensive in Belgium, Rhineland, and Savoy that was linked with territorial expansion of France: annexation of **Belgium**, **Savoy**, **Nizza**, and **Bishopric of Basel** etc.

During 1793 Austria and Prussia deployed next large offensive. Despite the resumption of offensive in battle of **Neerwinden** (18 March 1793) Austrian and Prussian army were closing to Paris and threatened to defeat of France. Situation was serious because at the same time in the region Vandée the **Royalist uprising** broke out.

## 1.4 Revolutionary Terror 1793 and 1794

Possibility of military defeat went to the next political radicalization of inner situation of France which was in fact favour for Jacobins Group. For coordination of

measures to prevent military defeat National Convention established two committees and gave them a large amount of competency. Both committees were controlled by Jacobins:

- **Committee for Defence of State** (est. on 1 January 1793)
- **Committee of Public Safety** (est. on 6 April 1793)

Soon after that another uprising broke out. During 31 May to 2 June 1793 Jacobins gained the supreme power. Their era is called as Terror. **Committee of Public Safety** (est. on 6 April 1793) gained total power in political system. The leader of Jacobins was **Maximilien de Robespierre**, former Parisian lawyer. His reign became known as stage of revolution when previous leaders of revolution and allies of Robespierre were executed. In France so called “purifying” committees in total number of some 20 000 and supreme Revolutionary Tribunal were formed. There were only two verdicts – guilty, i.e. death penalty, and not guilty, i.e. release from custody. Technical innovation and symbol of Terror became **guillotine**. Some 50 000 people were killed, among them Marie Antoinette, former Queen of France.

Maximilien de Robespierre tried to create so called “Revolutionary” Society. New religion, **Cult of Supreme Being**, was presented with the aim to replace Christianity and Catholic Church. The most apparent innovation was creation of **Revolutionary Calendar** in October 1793:

**French Revolutionary Calendar** with its first day of counting set on 22 September 1792 was in charge until 1805. The year was divided into twelve months with brand new names and each of 30 days with no exceptions. The last five days were so called the Sansculotides. Those months were as follows:

**Vendémiaire**, whose name derives from French term for “vintage”, lasted from 22 September to 21 October,

**Brumaire**, “fog”, 22 October to 20 November,

**Frimaire**, “soft rim”, 21 November to 20 December,

**Nivôse**, “rich of snow”, 21 December to 19 January,

**Pluviôse**, “rain”, 20 January to 18 February,

**Ventôse**, “windy”, 19 February to 20 March,

**Germinal**, “germination”, 21 March to 19 April,

**Floréal**, “flower”, 20 April to 19 May,

**Prairial**, “haymaking”, 20 May to 10 June,

**Massidor**, whose name derives from French term for “harvest” and Greece term of “giving”, 20 June to 18 July,

**Thermidor**, whose names derives from Greece term of “warm”, 19 July to 17 August, and

**Fructidor**, “fruit” and “giving”, 18 August to 16 September.

## 1.5 First Coalition 1794 to 1797

In 1794 situation in battlefields had changed. French army became victorious. The great victory was reached in the battle of **Fleurus** (26 May 1794). After that former French state borders were achieved and general offensive had started. This was aimed by effort to gain “natural state borders“, i.e. borders defined by mountains and rivers. Soon in 1794 the Rhineland, territory in western Germany, was occupied.

Other territories were connected indirectly with France as so called Sister republics; republics that accepted French supremacy and interferes into inner politics. Those first republics were:

- **Batavian Republic**, former Netherland, named after long-time-ago distinguished Germanic tribe from Roman times, Batavians, and
- **Helvetian Republic**, former Switzerland, named after other Germanic tribe, Helvetians.
- Number of Sister Republics was established in Italy (Cisalpine Republic, Ligurian Republic etc.).

Members of anti-France coalition now were afraid of their own defeat. The first country to conclude armistice and then a peace treaty was Prussia in April 1795. After that other countries followed, among others Netherland in May 1795 and Spain in August 1796. During 1797 French army conquered Italy and reshape its political structure. After that also Austria was forced to conclude armistice. In war against France remained only **Great Britain**.

## 1.6 Revolutionary France 1794 to 1799

Because of these victories there was no need for huge mobilization of human resources due to Terror. That is why during May and June 1794 opposition against Jacobin dictatorship was formed. The other reason was the fear of another persecution. And this fear has its reason. Maximilien de Robespierre had a speech in which he said that there is need to continue in Terror, especially among members of National Convention. That is why that soon after that, on 27 July 1794, on 9 Thermidor of Revolutionary Calendar, M. de Robespierre was accused of tyranny, arrested and executed. The Jacobin Group was disbanded too.

On 26 October 1795 whole Convention was disbanded and **new constitution** was declared:

- Legislative power consisted of two bodies, **Council of Ancients** and **Council of Five Hundred**, while
- executive power took **Directory** that had five members.

Against new political situation opposition was formed. Radicals opposed so called “termination” of revolution. In 1796 **Conspiracy of Equals** led by Gracchus Babeuf was revealed. On the other hand royalists demanded restoration of pre-revolution situation, especially another outbreak of Royalists uprising in Vandée.

Inner situation of France in 1795 to 1799 were far to be stable.

In 1798 formation of next anti-France coalition started. So called **Second Coalition** was initiated by United Kingdom. In autumn 1798 Ottoman Empire, Kingdom of Naples, Austria, and Russia declared war to France. Russian army under commander general Alexander Suvorov crossed the Alps and invaded Italy; France lost control of Italian Peninsula.

At the same time France attempted to restore its colonial dominion. In 1798 squadron of 55 ships and 40 000 men under command of **Napoleon Bonaparte** was departed. Aim of expedition was to conquest Egypt, part of Ottoman Empire. During journey expedition conquered Malta, Egyptian cities of Alexandria and Cairo and fought in battle of the Nile.

In the end of 1799 France was in disastrous military situation. Its army had to withdraw in all fronts and in southern France broke out Royalist uprising. Situation was “ripe” to another coup d’état.

### 1.7 Bonaparte’s Coup D’état 1799

During October 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte returned from Egypt and joined the group of conspirators (Emmanuel Sieyès, Charles de Talleyrand, and Joseph Fouché). On 9 November 1799 Directory resigned and next day Napoleon accused unsuccessfully **Council of Five Hundred**. Despite this failure he managed to disperse the Council by army. Remaining deputies were forced to nominate three consuls:

- Napoleon **Bonaparte**, Emmanuel Joseph **Sieyès** and Pierre Roger **Ducos**.

At the end of 1799 **new constitution was** declared. According to this constitution authority of first consul (i.e. Napoleon) was strengthened and vice versa position of parliament was weakened. Napoleon continued in process of gaining power. He was nominated as life-long consul in referendum in May 1802 and in 1804

he declared himself to be **emperor**. At this time France entered new historical era, so called **First French Empire** that lasted from 1804 to 1814/1815.

### 1.8 Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on 15 August 1769 in **Corsica**. As a young man he enlisted French army and as artillery officer excelled during conquest of Toulon fortress in 1793 for which he was promoted to the general rank. In 1796 he suppressed Royalist uprising in Paris and this year he commanded French forces in Italian campaign. In Italian peninsula he defeated Austria in 1796.

Despite his failure in Egypt expedition he led coup d'état in 1799 and became a supreme leader of French executive power. In 1802 and 1803 ended war with Second Coalition. In 1805 to 1807 he made France the most powerful country in Europe and put his relatives on European thrones: **Jérôme Bonaparte**, his youngest brother, became King of Westphalia (Northern Germany), **Joseph Bonaparte**, his elder brother, became King of Spain, **Louis Bonaparte**, his brother became King of Holland etc.

In 1815 Napoleon Bonaparte was eventually defeated in battle in Waterloo and imprisoned in island St Helena where he died on 5 May 1821.

### 1.9 Napoleonic France 1799 to 1814/1815

Napoleonic Regime was created as a compromise between Old Regime and results of Revolution. Napoleon Bonaparte allowed the return of nobility and clergy that left France when Revolution became, but preserved number of results of revolution, especially citizen rights. In this respect he published so called **Code Civil** (Code Napoleon) in 1804, civil code that is with some modifications valid till present-day. The main principles are:

- demands of motto **Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité** (i.e. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity) and
- freedom for everybody, equality in rights, protection of private possession, separation of church and state, freedom of occupation and choice of profession etc.

After gaining power Napoleon continued in war against Second Coalition. In 1800 Napoleon commenced Italian campaign, during which on 14 June 1800 in battle of **Marengo** defeated Austrian forces. His successful campaign was accompanied by



restoration of so called “sister” republics. He also could use the disagreement between Tsar Paul I and Emperor Franz II which meant that Russia left the coalition and its armies returned back to Russia.

At the same time French army invade Danube Region and threatened Vienna, Austrian Capital city. That is why Austrian monarchy pleaded for armistice in December 1800 that led to **Peace Treaty of Lunéville** which was closed in February 1801. Next year, in March 1802, Great Britain ratified **Peace Treaty of Amiens**. These Peace Treaties ended the existence of Second Coalition and Revolutionary Wars in Europe.

### 1.10 Third Coalition 1803 to 1805

Tension between United Kingdom and France continued even after conclusion of Peace Treaty. In 1803 United Kingdom **terminated** Treaty of Amiens and France occupied Hanoverian Kingdom, which was in union with United Kingdom; in both countries ruled the King George III of House of Hanover.

But Napoleon was not satisfied with occupation of minor European territory and prepared invasion in British Islands. He gathered army in northern France near Boulogne-sur-Mer.

To avoid the possibility of invasion in Isles the United Kingdom initiated formation of another **Anti-France Coalition**. Russia and Austria joined in 1805 while Prussia was involved indirectly. Threat of invasion was deflected during naval battle of **Trafalgar** near Spanish coast on 21 October 1805, in which Royal Navy under command of **Admiral Lord Nelson** defeated combined fleets of French and Spanish Navies.

Napoleon hurried up to achieve decisive battle with members of coalition. He called up his army to invade Austria. Then Napoleon prevailed in **battles of Ulm** on 16 to 19 October 1805 (Ulm Campaign) and especially in **battle of Austerlitz** on 2 December 1805.

### 1.11 Battle of Austerlitz 1805

Battle of Austerlitz (Slavkov in Czech), also known as the **Battle of Three Emperors** was the key battle in campaign in which Napoleon Bonaparte crushed the armies of the Third Coalition.

Those Three Emperors were **Napoleon I**, in 1804 to 1815 French emperor, **Franz II**, in 1804 to 1835 emperor of Austria, and Tsar **Alexander I**, while Russian term “Tsar” refers to western “emperor”.

Napoleon Bonaparte invaded southern Moravia in order to compel Austrian and Russian forces to encounter in the battle. Because opponents did not want to and waited for reinforcement Napoleon made on of his fabled manoeuvre. He deliberately rendered favourable position in the top of hills to Russian army and strengthen his centre of his lines. Russian troops took the hills, but lengthen their own lines. And when their power was exhausted by attack Napoleon commenced his own counter-attack to the middle of the battle lines and divided Austro-Russian armies into parts.

In the battle Napoleon deployed some 70 000 soldiers and 157 guns, Austrians and Russian had about 85 000 soldiers and 318 guns. Despite this superiority Napoleon could prevail and bring about harsh losses; while French army lost only 9000 men (1500 casualties), their opponent noticed loss of 27 000 men and 180 guns.

To commemorate his victory Napoleon commissioned in manners of Roman emperors to build a monument, **Arc de Triomphe** (Triumphal Arch) in August 1806, present day on of the most famous Parisian sight.

Consequence of victory in battle of Austerlitz was fact that France concluded **Peace Treaty of Bratislava**; according this treaty Austria left coalition and lost part of its territory.

### 1.12 Fourth Coalition 1806 and 1807

After the battle of Austerlitz Napoleon attacked Prussia and prevailed in “double battle” of **Jena-Auerstedt** on 14 October 1806. This victory eliminated Prussia and Napoleon concentrated to the last continental enemy – Russia. Napoleon once again prevailed in two battles, in battle of **Eylau** on 8 February 1807 and of **Friedland** 14 June 1807. Tsar Alexander I realized that Russia could not resist to France and agreed with the meeting with Napoleon I. According to their negotiation **Peace Treaties of Tilsit with Russia** were concluded.

After defeat of Third and Fourth Coalition Napoleon reached the peak of his power and gained the hegemony for France upon Europe. There were states depending on France:

- **Confederation of the Rhine** (Germany), **Kingdom of Italy**, **Helvetian Republic** (Switzerland), and **Duchy of Warsaw** (Poland);
- and states united with France:
  - **Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Prussia, Russia**, and **Spain** (after 1808, but formally).

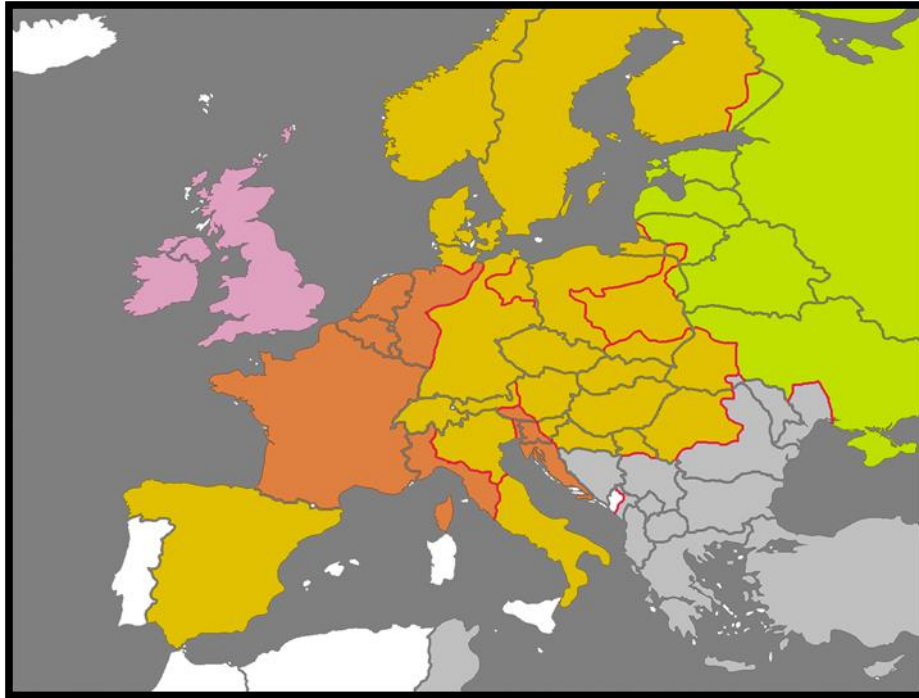
### 1.13 Austrian Campaign 1809

In 1809 **Austria declared war to France**, whose situation deteriorated because of rebellion in Spain. French army swiftly occupied Austrian capital city Vienna but could not immediately defeat Franz I. French army attempted to cross Danube River and defeat the Austrian resistance but their attack was driven back in the battle of **Aspern-Essling** (21 and 22 May 1809). Archduke Charles, the commander of Austrian army, was able to give a bloody nose to Napoleon, who lost some 40 000 men, but did not avert supply of new French forces. Few weeks later, on 5 and 6 July 1809, Napoleon conducted a new attempt to cross the River and in battle of **Wagram** breached Austrian defence. He deployed new tactics. Under the command of general Jacques MacDonald created formation of so called column and attack in the middle of Austrian lines. This manoeuvre was decisive action in the battle and in the French-Austrian war. Few days later Austria concluded an armistice in Znojmo. That meant that Austria was forced to become French ally, to join Continental Blockade, and once again to undergo territorial losses.

In 1807 to 1812 Napoleon Bonaparte world order was in the peak of power. Except **United Kingdom** and **Russia** all European countries were occupied by French army or allied with France.

In 1807 Napoleon declared so called Continental System, i.e. prohibition of import of British goods. This decision was aimed by effort to defeat Great Britain in economic field. But Blockade in fact harmed economic interests of majority of European countries. That is why Alexander I refused to continue in Continental System in 1810. In Napoleon this represents casus belli.

Political situation in Europe after Austrian campaign in 1809 to 1812 is shown in following map:



Red colour stands for French territory, i.e. territory of France and territories directly joined with France, orange colour is for allies of France, while other colour are for rivals of France (yellow for United Kingdom and green for Russia) and neutral states (white).

### 1.14 Russian Campaign 1812

On 24 June 1812 Napoleon commenced **Russian campaign**. His Great Army (La Grand Armée in French) had approximately 550 000 soldiers; among them there were Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Poles, Italians, Germans from Austria, Prussia, Rhineland, Austria, and others.

Soon after **battle of Borodino** on 7 September 1812 Napoleon reached Moscow. But Tsar Alexander I despite his catastrophic military situation refused Napoleon's peace offer. This fact meant failure of Russian campaign.

Napoleon decided to leave Moscow but in **battles of Tarutino** on 18 October 1812 and of **Maloyaroslavets** on 24 October 1812 his army was forced to retreat in regions devastated by previous fights. This prevailed possibility of refilling of food for Grand Army and led to disintegration of French forces in Russia.

### 1.15 Fifth Coalition 1812 to 1815

After military defeat in Russia, especially in battle of Berezina on 26 to 29 November 1812 when French army suffered heavy losses, conditions enabled to create next

Anti-French coalition that consisted of **United Kingdom, Russia, Prussia** and **Sweden**.

Warlike encounter during 1813 reached a deadlock in battles of **Lützen** and of **Bautzen** that were followed by peace treaty talks in Prague, which did not bring a result. On the other hand **Austria** joined the coalition and in summer 1813 campaign of Anti-French Coalition culminated in battle of **Battle of Leipzig** on 16 to 18 October 1813, known also as Battle of Nations. After that Napoleon was forced to conduct **retreat fights**: battle of Brienne, of Champaubert, of Montereau, of Reims etc.

On 30 March 1814 armies of coalition captured **Paris** and soon after that **Napoleon resigned** on 6 April 1814.

### **1.16 Congress of Vienna 1814 and 1815**

After defeat of Napoleon Congress of representatives of victorious states met in Vienna and negotiated about new order in Europe. Talks lasted from 18 September 1814 to June 1815. Strongest position among countries had Austria, Prussia, Russia, and United Kingdom, but in congress was also invited representative of France. They decided to restore overthrown dynasties in France, Spain, in Italian as well as in German states. Victorious countries ensure themselves territorial profits:

**Austria** gained territory in northern Italy,

**Prussia** in western Germany,

**Russia** in Finland and in Poland,

and it was decided that states neighbouring with France (**Netherland, Prussia, Kingdom of Sardinia**) should be strengthen in order to prevent French expansion. But territorial changes did not take into consideration the spread of nationalism; this soon became precondition for spread of national revolutions. Decisions of congress were in force until 1848.

### **1.17 Hundred Days of 1815**

According to the Vienna Congress decision Napoleon gained a little Elba Island near shores of Italy. But on 26 February 1815 he escaped, on 1 March 1815 disembarked his 1000 men and on 30 March 1815 entered Paris. His ally became Kingdom of Naples where ruled Napoleon's general and Marshal of France, King Joachim Murat.

Newly restored coalition of **United Kingdom, Netherland, Prussia, Austria,** and **Russia** immediately commenced military campaign against France. Napoleon hurried up to lead battle separate with British and Prussian army before Austrian and Russian corps could unite them. At first Napoleon defeated Prussian army of Marshal Blücher in battle of Ligny on 16 June 1815 and then attacked position of British army under command of Duke Wellington. At the same time he deployed one corps of Marshal Grouchy in order to pursue retreating Prussian army. Wellington's strategy was simple. He fortified his unit in village of Waterloo in Belgium and waited for arrival of reinforcement. Napoleon could not play this waiting game and on 18 June 1815 stroke against British positions. Two main assaults, first of cavalry, second of Old Guard, led only to bloodshed. Battle was decided by arrival of Blücher's army which immediately stroke to the flank of Napoleon's position. French army was completely destroyed. During night hours Napoleon was forced to lead battlefield.

After his arrival in Paris he resigned on 22 June 1815 and passed the throne to his son Aiglon. Even this act did not save throne for Bonaparte's dynasty. On 7 July 1815 Paris was captured for second time and Bourbon Dynasty became the ruler of France.

### 1.18 Summary of Chapter

French Revolution and its ideas represent decisive moment for formation of present day **modern society** and idea of **representative democracy**. Demand of general suffrage and following wars spread **nationalism** all over Europe. Nation became new and vital identity. Since 1808 when Napoleon invaded Spain those were not only kings and rules fighting against Napoleon's rule but also nations. Voluntary units were formed in Spain, Russia and in Germany.

The way of conducting the wars as well as strategy had changed due to acceptation idea that all men capable of military service. For the first time this was realized in France in 1793 in notice called Levée en masse (Mass Mobilization). Mass mobilization ended period of professional armies. Modern army used its numerical superiority because technological innovations enable mass production of weaponry and to equip all soldiers with rifles, sabres, bayonets, etc.

### 1.19 Recommended sources

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## 2 NATIONALISM 1815 TO 1848 AND REVOLUTIONS OF 1848–1849

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 the European powers tried to restore the regime that existed before the outbreak of French Revolution. In Congress of Vienna the principles of international relations were settled. Among them there were measurements to enable to suppress the revolutions whenever it takes place in Europe. But the effort to stop spreading ideas of French revolution (democracy, nationalism) was in vain in 1848 and 1849 when the wave of revolutions broke up in majority of European countries at the time.

### 2.1 Congress System

The system of **balance of power** based of idea that all European issues should be solved in international congresses (summits) was accepted by all Europeans powers. The system is also called as **Concert of Europe** or **Metternich's System**, according to Clemens von Metternich, Austrian foreign minister of Czech Origin.

But since its beginnings there were serious problems of Congress System.

According to the decision of Congress of Vienna new state borders in Europe were established. But new state borders did not accept existence of nations. That is why there were huge **discrepancies between state and national borders**. Whereas Austria, for example, was state that comprised members of Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Polish, Italians, and others, Germany and Italy, territory inhabited only by Germans and Italians, respectively, were both divided into number of independent states. This in fact became the reason of quick spread of nationalism. Members of each nation were aware of the situation and demanded its own “national state”.

Except this there were important **discrepancies between economic and political power**. So called Middle Class, i.e. townsmen, businessmen, and merchants who disposed the large amount of wealth and who paid the large number of taxes. It is only logical that they demanded participation in political power and civil freedom, especially the implementation of suffrage, but not general suffrage. Members of Middle Class favoured limited suffrage based on high of taxes (Liberalism).

Third important discrepancy appeared between **social groups**. Due to industrialization new social identity had spread all over large cities. Those were

workmen who demanded improvement of their social situation and gradually also participation in political power, i.e. general suffrage.

In Europe an alliance to suppress this antagonism was established. **Holly Alliance** was association of three absolute monarchies, of Russia (Tsar Alexander I), Austria (Emperor Franz I), and Prussia (King Friedrich Wilhelm III).

- Holly Alliance was established on declaration of 26 September 1815 and later other countries, among other United Kingdom, joined.
- The aim of this alliance was preservation of traditional beliefs, but in fact it meant suppression of nationalism and demands for civil freedoms.

The Alliance did not have any permanent institution and all issues should be dealt on **congresses**. That is why the period is called Congress System Europe that in fact secured superiority of powers (United Kingdom, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France) over minor European countries.

- 1818: **Aachen Congress** dealt with admission of France among world powers.
- 1820: In **Opava** (Troppau) **Congress** talks about joint intervention against revolutions in Spain and Italy took place.
- 1821: **Ljubljana** (Laibach) **Congress** followed on Opava Congress and discussed Spanish and Italian issue.
- 1822: **Verona Congress** dealt with situation in Spain and in Moldova, but led into dissension of powers. Important disagreement raised between United Kingdom and other powers.

Since 1822 when on Verona congress European powers did not reach agreement Congress System the idea of Holly Alliance failed. The world order switched into so called **Concert of Powers System**.

## 2.2 Sources of Nationalism

Nationalism, decisive movement and political ideology of 19th and first half of 20th century, has its roots in enlightenment and its philosophy:

- **Patriotism**. Patriotism could be described as attachment or devotion to country (in latin patria), especially in cultural way of meaning. This attitude became very common during the Enlightenment in 17th and especially in 18th century among educated social strata. But patriotism differs from nationalism

in way that it is **feeling towards country** (land, region, city), not towards collective identity (nation).

- **Johann Gottfried von Herder.** J. G. von Herder was German philosopher of the Enlightenment who written his books Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity (1784 to 1791). In this book he revealed his ideas of equality of cultures of each nation and claimed that each nation is defined by language (language or ethnic nationalism). Ideas of Herder became very popular among Czechs, because he foretold great future of Slavic nations.
- **Revolutionary Wars.** War between France and Anti-France coalitions in 1792 to 1815 became the reason of formation of national identity. The clashes between states developed from the war of rulers (kings) to the war of nations. For example Battle of Leipzig was called Battle of Nations not because of particularly high number of involved members of different nations, but because of facts that those were the nationalisms that collided in battlefields (not Napoleon vs. Franz I, but French vs. Germans etc.).

Definition of nationalism is complicated due to fact that this term describes on one side identity of individual and of group of men, on the next side it also marks political ideology with complex of demands. Among these demands the decisive one is **request for independent stat for each nation** (one nation, one state).

According to ideas of J. G. von Herder nations became defined according to language. This “language” definition of nation had spread over Europe. **Majority of nations established its identity on language** (e.g. Germans, Italians, Poles, and Czechs). There were only few exceptions, Belgians who established their identity on country and partly on religion, and Swiss for which the fact of common history and political system was more important than language.

## 2.3 Nationalism in Germany

According to conclusion of Congress of Vienna Germany was divided into 40 independent states that joined into **German Confederation**. During the time the number of states decreased. This confederation was location in Middle Europe in present-day territory of: Germany, Austria, Czechia, Poland, Slovenia, and many others.

Though confederation had supreme common bodies their authority was very low. There was Counsel of Confederation (Bundesrat) in Frankfurt am Main, but neither Austria and Prussia, nor other German states obeyed its decisions.

The discrepancy between nation and states borders (see above) were the reason the demands for national unification of Germans into one state persist and spread.

- **Burschenschaft**, German students' fraternity, abbreviated as "B!" were in huge number established in German universities. The larger one was founded in City Jena in Thuringia.
- The fraternities were organizations that spread demand of unification of Germany. To commemorate anniversary of Battle of Leipzig and 300 years of German reformations Jena student fraternity arranged so called **Wartburg Festival** on 18 October 1817. That was in fact regional celebration of historical events, but frightened the German rulers who afraid of unification of Germany and loss of their thrones, respectively.

During 1819 huge summit of German states took place in Carlsbad in Bohemia and decided to ban these nationalist fraternities and to control universities. Decision of summit, so called **Carlsbad Decrees**, was then sanctioned by Counsel of Confederation and entered in force. This cancellation was repealed in 1848, but illegally the fraternities were created during whole period.

Despite the fact that demands of political unification of Germany were not carried through, more successful was gradual economic integration of Germany that started in 1834. That year **German Custom Association** was established and comprised majority of German states but Austria.

Compare. There is close link to development in Europe since 1952 that led to establishing of Europe Union.

## 2.4 Nationalism in Italy

The similar situation like in Germany was in Italian Peninsula. After 1815 Italy was divided into many independent states. North of Italy under Austrian hegemony, in the Tuscany Duchy ruled Habsburg Dynasty, and in the middle of Peninsula there was Papal State under French influence. Only Kingdom of Naples in the south and Piedmont in the North were independent Italian states, but only small Piedmont support unification of Italy.

- Among Italian populations there were strong demand for unification of Italy; that attitude is called **Risorgimento** in Italian (Resurgence).
- Adherents of Italian Risorgimento formed secret societies called **Carbonari**, i.e. Charcoal Burners that inspired themselves of Freemasonry movement.
- In 1820 outbreak of revolution took place in Naples, in 1821 in Piedmont. Both movements claimed unification of Italy. But Austrian forces intervened in Kingdom of Naples in March 1821 and revolution was defeated.
- Number of insurgents departed into exile, especially into France and Switzerland.

As same as in Germany despite the fact that unification of Italy did not occurred and demands of Carbonari were not fulfilled, the idea of unification of Italy had spread gradually all over population of Apennine Peninsula and due to Italian exile also over whole Europe.

## 2.5 Young Europe

Guiseppe Mazzini established in his exile in Bern in Switzerland international association of nationalistic organizations known as **Young Europe** in 1834. The programme was expressed by slogan was “Each nation its own state” and “one state for each nation”.

Young Europe consisted of four nationalist organizations:

- **Young Italy** (La Giovine Italia) became basis for Young Europe and was established by G. Mazzini in Marseille in 1831. In 1848 Young Italy was dissolved. The other members were
- **Young Germany** (Junges Deutschland) and
- **Young Poland** (Młoda Polska).
- In Ireland there was by William O'Brian established nationalist organization **Young Ireland** or Young Ireland Party. The inspiration was Young Europe, but Irish did not become members. The organization was dissolved after unsuccessful uprising in 1848.

The organization Young Europe fulfilled only propagandistic task, contributed to spread of nationalism, but out of dissolved during 1840s without any real success.

## 2.6 Liberalism

The Liberalism was key ideology and movement of 19th century. According to leading ideas Liberalism posed demands for civil freedom, i.e. participation in state power according to the slogan “free citizen in free state”. The sources of liberal ideology were:

- **Enlightenment**, especially the philosophy of John Locke and Charles L. de Montesquieu that formed the concept of separation of state powers, i.e. of separation **executive** (government, king or president), **legislative** (Parliament), and **judicative** power (courts and constitutional court).
- **French Revolution** and especially of **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** from 26 August 1789 (see text of T1); according to the declaration men are born and remain free and equal in rights.
- **Political economy**, political liberalism, of Adam Smith formulated in the book “The Wealth of Nations” on 1776. Smith postulated demands for removing economic barriers and state regulation (**laissez faire**), justifying the fact that rational self-interest and competition can be a base for achievement of collective prosperity.

The majority of demands of Liberalism were present in nationalism movement, but in **Russia, United Kingdom**, and **France**, where was not reason for spread of nationalism among Russians, Englishmen, and Frenchmen the decisive were the ideas of Liberalism. In Russia

- **Decembrist Revolt** took place in 1825. In Russia the ideas were formulated into revolutionary movement that had spread among officers. They demanded abolishment of serfdom, i.e. unfree status of peasants, and establishing of constitutional monarchy (throw down the tsarist autocracy).
- Officers made use of the dead of Alexander I and attempted to conduct the coup d'état during oath ceremony to new Tsar Nicholas I. But revolt was suppressed in its very beginnings on 26 December 1825 and was followed by persecution of involved members.

In United Kingdom **Suffrage Reform Movement** spread over the country. Due to industrial revolution and demographic grow newly emerged cities and their inhabitants requested reform of suffrage (demand to reform “rotten boroughs”). Complementary Middle Class demanded to broaden of existed suffrage.

The movement was successful in 1832 when according to the Reform Act suffrage was awarded for some 5 % (!) of British population.

At the same time **Chartist Movement** demanded suffrage for all men above 21 years. But that request was fulfilled after the First World War.

## 2.7 Revolutions of 1830

Before 1848 Revolution first wave of revolutions spread all over Europe in 1830. The insurgents posed liberal demands (in **France** and Belgium) and national demands (also in **Belgium, Poland, Germany**, and Northern **Italy**).

The Revolution started in **France** on 26 July 1830. That is why the revolution is called **July Revolution**. The day the revolution broke out King Charles X of House of Bourbon issued so called **five ordonnances**, i.e. legislative statutes according them among other the press rights and suffrage were suppressed. During so called three Glorious Days from 27 to 29 July 1830 the King's army was defeated and insurgents, members of both intelligentsia and labourers, prevailed.

The king was overthrown and that moment Bourbon dynasty was removed from the throne of France. Members of House of Orleans conducted coup d'état, took power in France and established of so called **July Monarchy**. New King Louis Philippe restored civil rights based on liberal principle "who pays taxes, votes".

The July revolution aroused immediate interest in European countries and strong response.

- In **Germany** series of local uprising took place that expressed solidarity with Polish and French revolution. In number of cities so called City Guards were formed.
- In **Italy** period of civil disorder began in Austrian part of Northern Italy grew over to local uprisings in Modena, Parma, and Romagna. Insurgents awaited invasion of French troops and liberalization from Austrian dominance, but nothing like that had happened.
- **Belgium** became a Southern part of Netherland in 1814 and Belgian nationalists awaited opportunity to reach independence. Under influence of French July Revolution revolt in Brussels took place on 26 August 1830. National Guards defeated Dutch army and in short time controlled territory of Belgium. On 10 November 1830 **National Congress** was established and in December European powers recognized Belgium as sovereign state. After

unsuccessful invasion of Dutch army the recognition of Netherland followed in 1833.

## 2.8 Nationalism in Poland and November Revolution

After 1814 Poland was divided among **Russia**, **Austria**, and **Prussia**, and small independent state **Free City of Cracow**. Its largest part, so called **Congress Kingdom/Poland** was united with Russia as personal union. Poles did not agree with loss of independence ("Partitions of Poland") and revolted. The first extensive revolution took place in 1830 and 1831.

So called **November Uprising** started as resistance to recruitment to Russian army for campaign against France and Belgium on 29 November 1830 in Warsaw. The revolt of military academy was led by Piotr Wysocki. The insurrection spread over Congress Poland. Autonomous Polish government resigned and new body of Provisional Government with Józef Chłopicki as Dictator of the Uprising was appointed on 5 December 1830. Situation led into Russo-Polish war:

- In first battle Russians were defeated, especially in the Battle of Stoczek when Polish cavalry successfully assaulted Russian positions. After few inconclusive battles Poles gathered their troops to defend Warsaw.
- The largest fight took place on 26 May 1831. This Battle of **Ostrołęka** was not conclusive battle, but led to high losses of Polish troops (8000 dead) that were not replaceable. That is why the battle is supposed to be Russian victory. The last defensive fight in Warsaw ended in September and the remainder of Polish army left for Prussia on 5 October 1831. That was the end of uprising.

Russian Tsar Nicholas I made use of uprising to be pretext for limitation of autonomy of Congress Kingdom of Poland.

The next, smaller uprising is known as **Cracow Uprising** that took place in 1846. In Cracow group of revolutionaries Jan Tyssowski and Edward Dembowski prepared Polish uprising that was aimed to strike all three parts of Poland. But the uprising broke out premature in January 1846 and only in Cracow. Provisional government was proclaimed. Austria was afraid of spread of revolutions and sent its army that immediately suppressed the uprising. This act also became reason for connection the city with Austria.



## 2.9 Revolution of 1848 and 1849

Influx of revolutions struck Europe in 1848. In majority of European countries broke out the revolution. It was in Italy, in France, in Germany, in Habsburg monarchy, and in Ireland.

Revolution of 1848 and 1849 is also called

- **Spring of Nations**

because the main demand was to established **national state**, but at the same time **liberal** and also **social** demands were posted. That is why the Revolution of 1848 and 1849 could be interpreted as **triple revolution**.

Inhabitants of 1848 Europe responded to **economic problems**. After 1844 economic crisis took place and standard of living had dropped.

The revolutions had two stages, one in 1848 and second during 1849.

Prologue to European revolutions was civil war in Switzerland where the struggle between **Catholic** cantons (e.g. Uri, Schwyz) and **Protestant** cantons was commenced. In 1845 **Sonderbund** of Catholic cantons was established, but Protestants preserved their superiority. During December 1847 Sonderbund was defeated and dissolved. After that in Switzerland was, democratic **constitution** was declared and Switzerland became federation.

## 2.10 Revolution of 1848 and 1849 in Italy

Origin of actual revolution became Italy.

- On 12 January 1848 uprising in **Palermo** against rule of Ferdinand II took place and insurgents demanded constitutionality.
- At the same time revolts in Austrian parts of Northern Italy happened.
- During February and March uprising spread in whole Italy. The Italians requested unification of Italy.

Kingdom of Sardinia made use of the revolution and declared war to Austria on 23 March 1848. During campaign of Sardinian troops revolution in Italy reached its climax. But

- on 25 July 1848 Italians were defeated in **Battle of Custoza** by Field Marshal Joseph Radetzky von Radetz who was of Czech origin.
- Kingdom of Sardinia surrendered and Austrian victory forced the Piedmonts to sign a six-month armistice.

During November 1848 Giuseppe Mazzini together with Giuseppe Garibaldi declared **Rome** Republic, while pope Pius IX was forced to leave. The revolutionaries declared constitution and also religious freedom. This moment began the second rising stage of revolution in Italy.

Kingdom of Sardinia once again declared war to Austria on 12 March 1849. But the same like in 1848

- Italians were for the second time defeated in **Battle of Novara** by Field Marshal Radetzky on 23 March 1849.

After the victory of Austrian forces the pre-revolutionary order was restored, at first in northern and central Italy, in May 1849 in Southern Italy in Kingdom of Naples and in July 1849 in Rome when after the military intervention pope Pius IX was re-appointed.

## 2.11 Revolution of 1848 and 1849 in France

France was after 1830 Revolution de facto national state and constitutional monarchy. That is why especially liberal and social demands were posted during 1848 Revolution.

As usual meeting of defenders of reform was assembled but meeting on 22 February 1848 was banned. This ban became impulse for general uprising on 24 February 1848. Insurgents occupied strategic places in Paris and **King Louis Philippe abdicated**.

So called **Second French Republic** was declared, new constitution proclaimed a democratic republic and executive power was delegated from the king to the president. Also

- **general suffrage** and **civil freedoms** were issued and in April 1848 parliamentary elections took place.

The elections marked the end of liberal revolution, i.e. of revolutions of townspeople, especially of bourgeoisie. Labours was not satisfied with social legislation and induce

- **uprising of workmen** in June 1848. During the uprising social demands were posted, but during four days of fights uprising was defeated.

New republican constitution was declared on 12 November 1848 in which power of French President was strengthen. Soon after that **Louis Napoleon**, later on Emperor Napoleon III, was elected to be president and his election marked the historical way of France towards emperorship.

## 2.12 Revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in Central Europe

In Central Europe parallel revolutions among members of five nations took place. Those nations were Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Czechs.

- **Germany**

- German states were under the influence of information about French Revolution, constitutions and civil freedoms
- Numbers of revolutionary performances in Germany states
- All-Germany elections = establishing of **National Assembly** in Frankfurt am Main (among others deputies of Czech Lands) on 18 May 1848; Frankfurt Constitution proclaimed parliamentary democracy – fulfilled the main demands of previous liberal and national movements
- March 1849 constitution of Germany declared: so called **Little-Germany Concept** of unifications, i.e. without Austria, head of state = King of Prussia
- Prussian King refused the crown, in June 1848 parliament forced to dissolve by army = **end of revolution in Germany**

- **Austria**

- National demands of Czechs, Hungarians, and Italians (see above), and liberal demands of Germans = ethnic rifts, esp. in Hungary
- March uprising in **Vienna**, Metternich resigned, April uprising forced to appeal proposal of constitution (disagreement)
- In **Budapest** Hungarian government established, among others **Lajos Kossuth**, in **Prague** National Committee and preparations for Slavic Congress, among other **František Palacký**
- July 1848 meeting of **Imperial Assembly** in Vienna = preparation of Austrian constitution, cancellation statute labour
- Suppression of revolts in Cracow (April) and in Prague (July, so called June Uprising)
- September 1848 campaign against Hungarians = new revolutionary influx in Vienna, Imperial Assembly transferred in Kroměříž
- October 1848 defeat of Vienna revolution, Prime Minister **Felix Schwarzenberg** and **Franz Joseph I** as an Emperor, in March 1849

forced dissolution of Assembly, declaration of so called Imposed Constitution

- **Hungary**

- From spring 1849 the only one revolutionary government, overthrown of House of Habsburg, defiance, but in June 1849 invasion of Russian army = Hungarian capitulation by **Villagos** ended the Hungarian Revolution

## 2.13 Excursus: Revolution of 1848 and 1849 and the Czech Lands

- 1 March 1848, Prague = establishing of **National Committee**, representative body of Czech nations
  - Two petition to emperor: demand of Czech State Law, promised by emperor in 8 April 1848 (so called **Cabinet Certificate**)
- **Peasant disorder 1848**
  - Series of local uprisings and collective refuse of statute labour
- **June Uprising of 1848**
  - 2 to 12 June 1848 **Slavic Congress**, at the same time conflict with Austrian army on 12 June = beginning of uprising in Prague (barricades); 17 June military defeat = end of revolution in Czech Lands
- **May Conspiracy of 1848**
  - Attempt of Czech radicals (influence of anarchism), e.g. Josef Frič, to break up Austria in general uprising, but 10 May 1849 revealed

## 2.14 Summary of Chapter

First half of 19th century was as a struggle between political demands that appeared during French Revolution (**liberal** and **national principles**) and interests of European dynasties (**dynastic principle**).

The events of 1830 and especially of 1848 proved the significance of liberal and national legitimization principle. These principles are valid until present day. That is why the first half of 19th century is also beginning of modern society in Europe, especially in Western Europe.

On the other hand revolution of 1848 that struck majority of European countries set the limits of co-operation of nations and marked the turn point of converting **nationalism** into **chauvinism**. Co-operation of nations ended when representatives of nationalist movement reached their demands and hence the interest of nations mutually clashed.

## **2.15 Recommended Sources**

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KOHN, Hans: *American Nationalism. An Interpretative Essay*. New York: Collier Books 1961. (available in Moravská zemská knihovna)

### 3 THE RISE OF NATIONAL STATES AND ESTABLISHING OF ANTAGONIST BLOCS FROM 1848 TO 1914

The development in Europe since 1848 was aiming at establishing of national states. In this respect the decisive period was an era from 1859 to 1871. During this time there were unified two large states, Germany and Italy, and Hungarians gained independent state that was united with Austria only by person of Emperor and three ministries.

In the years that preceded the outbreak of First World War the core of creation of national states shifted into Balkan Peninsula. The complicated situation in this area bounded attention of European powers and became key element in development in 1914 to 1918.

#### 3.1 Unification of Italy 1859 to 1870

Before its unification Italy was divided into **six major independent states**, the largest one was Kingdom of Naples, but other states were in comparison with other European countries small:

Kingdom of Naples	144 426 km <sup>2</sup>
Sardinia	64 094 km <sup>2</sup>
Papal State	52 922 km <sup>2</sup>
Tuscany	24 104 km <sup>2</sup>
Parma	3 206 km <sup>2</sup>
Modena	2 590 km <sup>2</sup>

Except these there were territories under Austrian (Milan and Venice) and French superiority (Corse) and few very small states (Republic of San Marino, Benevento, and Monaco).

The leading figure in movement called Risorgimento, i.e. Italian unification, was Prime Minister of Kingdom of Sardinia **Camillo Cavour**, founder of Liberal Party. He commenced aggressive foreign policy in order to improve the position towards Austria. He tied the Sardinian Kingdom with close relation to France and especially to Emperor Napoleon III. Cavour initiated conclusion of **Plombières Agreement**. In this act Napoleon III agreed to help the Kingdom of Sardinia in case the war with Austria.

Sardinian troops advanced into Austrian Northern Italy and together with French enforcement prevailed in **Battle of Magenta** on 4 June 1859 and later on in **Battle of Solferino** on 24 June 1859. Sardinian troops were supported by one of the

most famous persons and hero of 1848, Giuseppe Garibaldi and his units of **Red-Shirts**.

But Napoleon III was considered of development in Italy and forced the Sardinia to close peace treaty with Austria. According to the Plombières Agreement French gained territory of Savoy, while according to peace treaty Kingdom of Sardinia gained Duchy of Milan.

The development of war induced revolts in other Italian states: In

- **Modena, Parma, and Tuscany** nationalists seized the power and these countries were unified with Kingdom of Sardinia.

But Italy was not still unified. That is why Garibaldi initiated invasion of his Thousand Man on Sicily on 6 May 1860. Soon after revolts began in Sicily and Garibaldi could formed whole army and defeat the troops of King of Naples Kingdom. During October 1860 the South of Italy joined to Kingdom of Italy.

In the middle of Apennine Peninsula there was Papal State. In the beginning of 1861 majority of its territory (Umbria) were occupied by Sardinian armies and

- **unified Italy** was declared on 4 March 1861.

Declaration of sovereign Italy ended first stage of Risorgimento. But according to Italian nationalists outside of Italy there were still important territories of the rest of Papal State (11 770 km<sup>2</sup>) with Rome, Savoy (handed over to France), Corse (French territory), Venetia (Austria), and claimed lands in Alps (Tirol) and in Adriatic shores (Dalmatia).

The un-complete unification was reason why Garibaldi attempted to conquer the Rome in 1863. But he was not successful, even Italian state did not support his activity.

The second stage of unification of Italy took place together with Prussian efforts to unify Germany:

- In **1866** Italy was ally of Prussia in Austro-Prussian war in 1866. After defeat of Austria Italy annexed Venetian territory.
- In **1870** Italy was ally of Prussia in war with France, former Italian ally (!). Because of defeat of French troops Italy finally annexed the Papal State and declared Rome to be the Italian Capital.

Despite the fact that whole Apennine Peninsula was under Italian rule, Italian nationalists were not satisfied with territorial gain. Demands for following territorial



expansion was one of the reasons Italy betrayed their allies in 1914 and then the Fascist gained the supreme political power.

### 3.2 January Uprising 1863

The defeat of Polish uprising in 1830 and in 1846 did not solve the demands of Poles for their own sovereign state. The next attempt to proclaim independent Poland took place in 1863. So called

- **January Uprising 1863** began to be prepared since October 1861 when Central National Committee was established. Its members attempted to make use the fact that Russia was weakened during and after Crimean War (1856 to 1863).

On 22 January 1863 Committee declared itself to be **Provisional National Government** and issued the act of mobilization for Polish army. Except regular Polish army guerrilla troops in vast territory of Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine were formed.

But as same as in 1830 the uprising was defeated by numerically superior Russian army and Poles remained under Russian rule until 1916.

### 3.3 Wars for Unification of Germany

Despite the fact that Germany was divided into 30 independent states, in comparison with Italy there were two major state that play the decisive role in European diplomacy and struggle to unify Germany. Those were Austria and Prussia. In its beginning there were three main concepts of German unification. First of them was so called **Small Germany Solution** that meant that all German states except Austria should unify into one state. The next was Large Germany Solution that meant unification of all German states in territory of German Confederation. But there was also concept of Third Germany. Its representatives demanded to unify all German states except the largest two, Austria and Prussia.

Prussia	347 509 km <sup>2</sup>
Bayern	75 863 km <sup>2</sup>
Württemberg	19 507 km <sup>2</sup>
Baden	15 070 km <sup>2</sup>
Saxony	14 993 km <sup>2</sup>
Meklenburg-Schwerin	13 304 km <sup>2</sup>
Oldenburg	6 414 km <sup>2</sup>
Braunschweig	3 690 km <sup>2</sup>
Meklenburg-Neustrelitz	2 930 km <sup>2</sup>

Hamburg	410 km <sup>2</sup>
Lübeck	298 km <sup>2</sup>
Bremen	256 km <sup>2</sup>
Helgoland	0.5 km <sup>2</sup>

The Prussia under rule of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck led series of war in order to unify Germany under Prussian influence. These wars for unification of Germany took place between 1864 and 1871.

First of them there was **Second Schleswig War in 1864**. Union of Prussia and Austria made use the fact that Kingdom of Denmark breached the norms of Constitution of German Confederation and annex territory of two German lands, Schleswig and Holstein directly to Denmark. Danish forces were defeated. Schleswig was according to **Gastein Convention** occupied by Prussia and Holstein by Austria.

But soon after this victory disagreements between Prussia and Austria headed into next clash between these former allies.

That is why Second Schleswig War became prelude to **Austro-Prussian War in 1866** or **Seven Week's War**. Otto von Bismarck and Camillo Cavour concluded ally agreement between Prussia and Italy on 8 April 1866. Otto von Bismarck also dealt with Napoleon III in order to gain French neutrality in conflict.

Situation before the war was as follows. On one side there was Prussia and Italy and few small German states, e.g. Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin or Free City of Hamburg. On the next side there was Austria and majority of German states, among them kingdoms of Bavaria, of Saxony, of Württemberg, of Hannover and others.

Then on 14 June 1866 Prussian army invaded into Austria and Bohemia, respectively. In Northern Bohemia Czech theatre became decisive battlefield in the war. During June fights near **Trautenau** (on 27 June 1866) and near **Nachod** (on the same day) ended up without clear victory.

In the beginning of July both sides decided to undertake decisive battle. The Battle of **Königgrätz/Sadowa** took place on 3 July 1866. The Prussian army under commandment of Chief of Staff General Helmuth von Moltke that was before the battle divided into three marching formations had joined. While Prussian 1st Army attacked directly to the position of Austrian North Army from West, Prussian 2nd Army assaulted in the right flank from North.

That is why Prussian could prevail in the battle despite Austrian numerical superiority.

Austrian commandant General Ludwig von Benedek decided to retreat into Southern Moravia. There in city Mikulov armistice treaty was signed on 26 July 1866. This armistice in fact ended the war in German theatre in the middle of German Confederation in favour of Prussia.

Contrary to the situation in Bohemia in Italian or German battlefield Austrian forces reached victory in **Battle of Custozza** on 24 June 1866. But this Austrian victory was without impact on course of the war.

According to the peace treaties with Austria and its allies territorial changes and in power occurred. Austria had to surrender the province Venetia to Italy and Holstein to Prussia. Some of Austrian allies, especially Hanover, became Prussian provinces. The Northern part of dissolved German Confederation was transformed into **North German Federation**. Federation comprised of

- 22 independent states of northern Germany, while
- out of its borders there were except Austria two German states, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden.
- Federation has its parliament and own constitution and became basis for German Empire.

Otto von Bismarck was able to gain French neutrality in 1866 but Napoleon III did not agreed with the fact that western of French borders new power was created. That is why after 1866 mutual relations deteriorated badly. The crisis broke out in late 1860s when talks about successorship in Spain took place. Hohenzollern Dynasty, ruler in Prussia and in North German Federation, attempted to gain Spanish crown. That could lead in situation when France could be surrounded by Spanish-German alliance. The concerns of French diplomacy went into intervention into Spanish-German relations. Despite the fact that France push through German claims for Spanish throne, Otto von Bismarck faked so called Ems Telegram with note of French-Prussian negotiations and insulted Napoleon III. Trap of Otto von Bismarck was successful. Napoleon III declared war to Prussia and commenced **Franco-Prussian War** that lasted in 1870 and 1871.

The war was declared on 19 July 1870, but Frenchmen, in fact they were the aggressors, did not mobilize its army. Contrary to this Chief of Staff General Helmut von Moltke commenced rapid mobilization and gathered nearly 500 000 men. That is why that since the beginning of the war Prussian army took over the initiative and invaded France.

The decisive battle took place in Metz when the **siege of Metz** lasted from 19 August to 27 October 1870. In this battle French 2nd Army had numerical superiority, but Marshal François Bazain could not make use of it. Some 180 000 men were surrounded by 130 000 men of German army and at the end of October majority of them enlisted into captivity.

In order to help to surrounded army Napoleon III commenced military campaign of 1st Army under General Marie Mac-Mahon. After **Battle of Beaumont** on 30 August 1870 decisive **Battle of Sedan** took place on 1 September 1870. In the battle Prussian army had distinctive numerical superiority. Against 200 000 Germans there were only 120 000 soldiers of French troops. The result was the catastrophic defeat of French army. Emperor Napoleon III was captured and all army surrender to Germans.

These two large and decisive battles sealed the fate of France.

French government that meantime left Paris pleaded for armistice. The **Frankfurt Peace Treaty** was finally signed on 10 April 1871 when whole Northern France was occupied by German troops. According to the agreement France had to hand over territory of Alsace-Lorraine and to pay reparations in height of 5 million Francs.

During the war three remaining German states joined North German Confederation and German Empire was declared in Versailles on 18 January 1871. This was meant that Germany was unified according to Small German Concept under superiority of Prussia.

Establishing of united Germany led not only to shift in power among German states (Austria lost its influence in Germany once for all), but also among European powers. In European continent the most powerful country had emerged.

### **3.4 Emancipation of Hungarians**

After defeat of in Austro-Prussian war Austria get into internal crisis. Representatives of Czechs and Hungarians demanded constitutional changes in favour of their nations. But only Hungarians were successful and Austrian government commenced talks with representatives of Hungary who requested dividing monarchy into two autonomous parts.

- In 1867 Hungarian government under Gyula Andrássy was appointed and legislative body passed Hungarian constitution.

- In December 1867 new constitution was declared. It was beginning of so called **dualism of Austria-Hungary**. Austria was then comprised of two states, **Cisleithania** that was made of Austrian countries and **Transleithania** that was made of Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, i.e. Hungary.

Development in both parts of Austria-Hungary was different. While in Hungary strict “Hungarization” became the key political program (national law passed on 29 November 1868, in Austria development of political system aimed at representative democracy with possibilities of development of each nation, especially of Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Slovenians.

Creation of Austria-Hungary and declaration of German Empire ended the first stage of creation of national states in Middle Europe.

### 3.5 Balkan and Ottoman Issue

Since beginning of 19th century emancipation of Balkan nations from domination of Ottoman Empire took place and three sovereign states was declared in former territory of Ottoman Empire; those states were

- **Greece** in 1832,
- **Romania** in 1858, and
- **Serbia** in 1867.

At that time Ottoman Empire got into long-term internal crisis and became object of expansion of Russia that demanded control of Bosphorus and Dardanelles and United Kingdom that gradually become under control of United Kingdom.

These two countries clashed in **Crimean War** that lasted from 1853 to 1856. In the war the Russian armies were defeated by coalition of:

- **Ottoman Empire**,
- **United Kingdom**,
- **France**, and
- **Kingdom of Sardinia**.

But Russians did not give up their attempts to control the Straits and Black Sea and Tsar Alexander II made use of uprising that broke out in Bulgaria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina and also of war of Ottoman Empire with Serbia and Montenegro (1876 to 1878) and commenced **Russo-Turkish War in 1877 and 1878**.

Despite the fact that Russians defeated Turks the so called **Balkan Crisis of 1876 to 1878** the conflict was decided in Congress of Berlin.

Before the congress took place Russia and Ottoman Empire signed **Treaty of San Stefano** in 1878. According to this treaty Great Bulgaria as an independent state was established in former territory of Ottoman Empire in South-Eastern Balkan, but this state was in strong influence of Russian diplomacy.

Otto von Bismarck who tracked the development in Balkan Peninsula with concerns of German superiority in European Continent summoned Congress of Berlin. In this congress the representatives of European powers met and passed the decision over Balkan Peninsula in which Great Bulgaria became only an autonomous part of Ottoman Empire and Balkan states, i.e. Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece extended their territory.

This congress once again pulled over Russian expansion in Balkan and in Straits.

### 3.6 Bismarck's System

In 1871 when Germany was unified the new most powerful country in Europe had emerged. This fact led to changes in balance of power in Europe.

Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of Germany, immediately after defeat of France commenced policy of isolation of France. During 1871 and 1887 number of ally agreements between Germany and European power were closed:

- **League of the Three Emperors** (Germany, **Austria-Hungary**, **Russia**): 1871-1887
- **Society of Three** (Germany, Austria-Hungary, **Italy**): 1882-1914
- **Mediterranean Agreements** (Society of Three and **United Kingdom**): 1887 to half of 1890s

This world order reached its peak during Congress of Berlin in 1878 when Germany could determine international relations.

But situation had changed in 1888. After death of short-time period of rule of Friedrich III (99 days in 1888) his son William was promoted to Emperor of Germany as **William II** (Wilhelm II). Soon after his ascension to the throne William II commenced policy of so called **New Course**, i.e. alliance with United Kingdom to the detriment of relations with other countries. The reason was fact that William II was grand-son of English Queen Victoria. But this alliance was not fulfilled and Germany lost its important ally, Russia, and later on also Italy and finally United Kingdom.

### 3.7 Socialism

While in first half of 19th century the key political ideology was Nationalism and Liberalism, in its second half ideas of **Socialism** spread among members of intelligentsia and of labourers. Socialism is both political ideology and movement that was formed after beginning of 19th century. The main demands were to conduct political changes in interest of labourers, i.e. demands for adjustment of work conditions, social system etc.

Karl Marx together with Friedrich Engels are named to be two decisive representatives of Socialism while the ideas of Karl Marx became branch of socialism, so called Marxism.

- But in its beginnings socialist parties were barely legal. They were without parliamentary representation due the fact that electors of socialist party – solely labourers – did not dispose with suffrage.

Marxism in praxis was realized by **social democratic movement**. This movement was established in Germany, birthplace of Karl Marx. The first Social Democratic Party was established in Germany in 1869 and 1875, respectively. This party exists up this days and German SPD, Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.

Social democratic movement created new model of political party based not on the favour of voter, but on the number of sympathisers or members, that later on became also voters.

This type of party spread especially in Middle and Eastern Europe, to Austria in 1888 and also into Czech Lands and to Russia and Poland (1898).

The representative of social democratic movement established

- **International Workingmen's Associations.** This was association of socialist and workers' parties and societies with its aim to coordination of politics in each state. During its history there were established few of these associations.
- **So called First International** was founded in 1864 and lasted till 1876. This organization united both Socialist and Anarchist organizations.
- **So called Second International** was found in 1889 and exists until present day.

Despite the fact that social democratic parties could not gain a representation in legislative bodies of European countries before the end of 19th century, their

demands affected social situation due to issued state control of employees' conditions and social conditions of citizens. Those were, e.g.:

- **Factory law (Labourers' legislation)** = in majority of industrial countries of Europe, esp. limitation of work hours.
- In United Kingdom after 1802 (limitation of children work hours), German countries after 1830s, later esp. Scandinavian countries.
- **Anti-Socialist Laws** = Germany 1878 to 1890 (**O. von Bismarck**): on one hand ban of socialist parties, on second hand improvement of living conditions of labourers, social insurance, right on state support/pension etc. = beginning of **social state**.

The result of above mentioned was existence of so called **welfare state**, i.e. state that was fully developed after 1918 and 1945 respectively.

### 3.8 Integral Nationalism

After 1848 inside nationalist movement great changes occurred. The revolution of 1848 and 1849 ended the phase of cooperation of representatives of nations; hence the nations became the enemy to each other.

The complementary connected phenomenon was radicalization of Nationalism.

- **Chauvinism (Jingoism)** is term that involved idea that own nation is superior to each other. This term originated during French Revolution and came out of name of Bonapartist soldier Nicolas Chauvin who considered the French to be superior to each nation and who looked down on all other nations.
- **Pan-movements** were ideologies and also stage in development of Nationalism in which each nation is supposed to be part of broader collective ideology. Those Pan-movements were especially **Pan-Slavism** and **Pan-Turkism**, ideas that all Slavs and Turks, respectively forms large collective identity (of all Slavs or all Turkic nations). The pan-movement could also be demand for unification of nation into state that did not united all members of nations, e.g. **Pan-Germanism**, i.e. request of unification of all Germans (not Germanic people).
- **Anti-Semitism** emerged during second half of 19th century. Despite the fact that in Europe there was long-term Christian tradition of Anti-Judaism, after 1848 new concept was formed. Anti-Semitism became protest against integration of Jews into society that affected all nations, e.g. Czechs (Jan



Neruda, Czech writer). Because Anti-Semitism did not respect religious aspects soon was contaminated with **racism**.

- **The reaction to Anti-Semitism was formulation of Zionism**, i.e. ideology of Jewish nationalism that demanded immigration of Jews into Palestine and creation of Jewish national state. The main representative was Theodor Herzl, Viennese journalist.

### 3.9 Representative Democracy

Due to demands of Liberalism, of Nationalism, and of Socialism, representative, or indirect democracy was implemented in majority of European countries.

- Legitimization of state power in elections by citizens. This idea was formulated in 17th century by John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau (volonté général) and was incorporated into Bill of Rights. In praxis was incorporated in Constitution of United States.
- Struggle for universal suffrage (general, equal, direct, and secret right to vote) took place. The general suffrage was implemented in **New Zealand** in 1893 and in **Finland** in 1906.

Until 1914 universal suffrage (without limitations) was restricted to men, e.g. in **Germany** in **1867**, in **France** in **1875**, and in **Austria** in **1907**. In **United Kingdom** unequal suffrage from 1884 comprised ca. 40 % of adult man population, in **United States** was restricted to literates.

### 3.10 Excursus: Suffrage in Czech Lands

- **First elections in 1848**
  - Of parliament of Frankfurt (Germany) and of Vienna parliament (Austria)
- **Constitution of 1861**
  - Suffrage restricted with height of taxes (census) and social affiliation („Kurie“)
- **„April“ Constitution 1873**
  - Direct elections of Vienna parliament
- **Lowering of census in 1882**
  - „Five-Gulden“ Voters
- **Reform of Voters Groups („Kurie“) of 1896**

- New Group of Voters: „Universal Kurie“
- **Universal suffrage 1905-1907**
  - Right to vote for all man over 24 years

### 3.11 Colonialism

Colonialism is term for political, economic, and military expansion of European countries to the detriment of other countries of America, Africa, Asia, Australia, and Pacific from 15th to 20th century.

After the decay of Spain and Portugal around 1800 new phase of colonialism started in second half of 19th century.

- Until 1870 colonial powers:
  - **United Kingdom** (India, Canada, Australia), **France** (after 1815 rebuild of colonial empire, Algeria), **Netherland** (Indonesia), **Portugal**, and **Spain**.
- After 1870 the colonialism reached its peak stage („Imperialism“ according to Lenin or Arendt):
  - **Germany** (Africa, Pacific), **Italy** (Africa), **Belgium** (Africa); **Japan** (east Asia, Pacific), **USA** (Caribbean, Pacific).

The result of colonialism was the fact that in the beginning of 20th century the whole world was divided into colonies and spheres of influence and relations of powers became more explosive.

### 3.12 Forming of the Triple Alliance

At the end of 19th century decay of Bismarck System led to fact that Germany gradually lost its ally:

- 1879 **German-Austrian-Hungarian** agreement concluded (Two-Alliance) was Defensive coalition against Russia.
- 1882 tripartite agreement of **Germany**, **Austria-Hungary**, and **Italy** (Triple Alliance) was defensive coalition against Russia and France (!) in which each member promised mutual support in the event of an attack. The peak of tripartite agreement lasted from 1882 to end of 19th century. It was also period of close cooperation and unsuccessful attempt to conclude alliance with **United Kingdom**.

- **Franco-Italian agreements** that were concluded in 1898 to 1902 were settlement of disagreement, guarantee of mutual neutrality between France and Italy. It meant weakening of integrity of the Society of Three + acceleration of rivalry between Italy and Austria-Hungary.

Triple Alliance that was formed around Germany was result of the fact of weakening position of Germany and **could not remain the outbreak of First World War**.

### 3.13 Forming of Entente

Contrary to development of Germany brand new coalition of states was formed around France:

- **Franco-Russian alliance** was Military alliance created by agreements of 1891 to 1894. These agreements ended political isolation of France (after 1871) and was aimed against the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria – Hungary, Italy).
- **Entente cordiale 1904** was next agreement that was concluded between United Kingdom and France, settlement of disputes, did not aim against the Triple Alliance.
- **British-Russian agreement 1907** was concluded after defeat of Russia in Russo-Japanese War. Russia ceased to be opponent for United Kingdom in Far East, but did not solve all issue of mutual relations.

Formation of Entente, or Triple-Entente, became final **separation of Europe into two political blocs**. This fact eliminated possibilities of diplomatic solution of international crisis and was responsible for **increase of number of military conflicts** since the end of 19th and beginning of 20th century.

### 3.14 Military Conflicts in the Beginning of 20th Century

Since the end of 19th century number of wars took place:

- **Second Boer War 1898-1902**
  - War between Boer states Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State with United Kingdom
  - Victory for Britain and the annexation of both republics
  - Incorporation of African states into South African Union (1910), escalation of relations between United Kingdom and Germany
- **Spanish-American War 1898**

- American support of Cuban and Philippine independence
- The result (Treaty of Paris) allowed temporary American control of Cuba and ceded indefinite colonial authority over Philippine islands etc.
- Collapse of the Spanish Empire
- Fundaments for American colonial dominion (the Philippines, Pacific, Cuba)
- **Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905**
  - Conflict about hegemony in Far East (Manchuria), battle of Mukden and of Tsushima
  - Japanese victory
- **Italo-Turkish War 1911-1912**
  - Dispute over north African territory, Italy occupies Dodecanese and Libya (Treaty of Lausanne)

### **3.15 Balkan Wars 1912 to 1913**

Defeat and weakening of Ottoman Empire in Italo-Turkish War of 1911 and 1912 was used by Balkans countries. At the same time Young Turk Revolution took place and Austria-Hungary annexed the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- **First Balkan War 1912-1913**
  - Origin of **Balkan League** (**Bulgaria**, **Montenegro**, **Greece**, and **Serbia**) against **Turkey**; aim to territorial expansion
  - London Peace Treaty: division of the Balkans, Turkey keeps only perimeter near Istanbul
- **Second Balkan War 1913**
  - Disputes among Balkan countries over acquired territory, esp. Macedonia; **Serbo-Greek** alliance against **Bulgaria**; Romania and **Turkey** also against **Bulgaria**
  - Bucharest and Istanbul Peace Treaty, territorial losses of Bulgaria

### 3.16 Summary of Chapter

Period of 1848 to 1914 was era of transformation of dynastic states into **national states** in Central Europe and in Italy. These states were established as **democratic states** in Western and Central Europe and partly also into **social states**, especially Germany.

These states in fact were in all respects modern civil states.

After so called “Thirty Years’ War of 19th Century” that lasted from 1848 to 1878 new international system was formed. But this system under German supremacy gradually transformed into world order of **two stable and antagonist power’s blocs** that became precondition of outbreak of First World War.

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## 4 FIRST WORLD WAR 1914 TO 1918

First World War was one of the most decisive military conflicts in 20th century that lasted from 28 July 1914 to 11 November 1918. During that time 29 states entered the war, while six of them suffered defeat. Despite the fact that it is more than hundred years since the war begin, two important results still affect present-day world; those are creation of new states in Europe, among them Czech Republic, and spread of Communism.

### 4.1 Roots of First World War

There are many reasons for outbreak of First World War, both internal and international. The most important are **diplomatic antagonisms** of world powers:

- Antagonism of two most powerful blocs in World:
  - The **Triple Entente** was diplomatic bloc that was established in 1891 to 1907 and allied **United Kingdom, France, and Russia**.
  - The **Triple Alliance** was diplomatic bloc that was established in 1882 and allied **Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy**. But due to fact that Italy entered the war on the side of Entente, the rest of allied countries, Germany and Austria-Hungary are called as Central Powers.
- Antagonism of great powers:
  - **Germany and France** had each mutual territorial claim to their territory; while France demanded return of Alsace-Lorraine (joined to Germany in 1871) Germany demanded gaining other territory in Eastern France.
  - Between **Germany and United Kingdom** there were prestigious dispute over supremacy on the seas. Both countries undertook so called armament race (to build as much battle ships and cruiser as possible).
  - Harsh antagonism appeared also between **Italy and Austria-Hungary** that both belonged to one diplomatic bloc. Italian claimed Austrian-Hungarian territory in Adriatic sea; this fact became cause of disintegration of Society of the Three in 1914.
  - Also between **United Kingdom and Russia** that belong to the same bloc too were different were serious disputes about in East Asia, but majority of them were settled after defeat of Russia by Japan.

- Relations between **Italy** and **France** suffered because of Italian claims for French territory (among others for Corse)

## 4.2 Declaration of War

On 28 June 1914 throne successor in Austria-Hungary **Franz Ferdinand** was **assassinated** by member of nationalist movement in Sarajevo. That assassinator was **Gavrilo Princip**, Serbian nationalist from Bosnia and Herzegovina who belonged to the organization **Young Bosnia** that demanded unification of Serbs in one state. For his deed he chose the symbolic day. The 28 June 1389 is important day of Serbian statehood because commemorates battle of Kosovo.

- Talks of powers after assassination and crisis in international relations is called as **July Crisis**.

Soon after that Austria-Hungary passed ultimatum to Serbia in which demanded among others investigation of circumstances of assassination in such way that was in fact a violation of principles of state sovereignty. Moreover Serbia was not interest to allow investigation due to connections between government and circles of radical nationalists.

That is why Serbian government refused Austrian-Hungarian ultimatum and Austria-Hungary declared war on 28 July 1918:

- Moment of declaring of war to Serbia is supposed to be the **beginning of First World War**.

But Serbia was allied with **Russia** that on 29 July 1914 mobilize its army. Germany, ally of Austria-Hungary, passed ultimatum to Russia to cease the mobilization. Russia refused to this demand and on 1 August 1914 **Germany declares war to Russia**. After this moment international crisis became war between world powers.

Russia's ally was France. That is why German government was afraid of fight on two fronts, western and eastern. According to so called Schlieffen Plan there was need at first to defeat France, than Russia. Due to this prepositions Germany declared war to **France** and occupies **Belgium** on 3 August 1914.

Violation of neutrality of Belgium became casus belli for **United Kingdom** that was guarantee of this neutrality and declared war to Germany on 3 August 1914. Until the end of 1914 in conflict were engaged also **Montenegro**, **Japan**, and **Ottoman Empire**.



During 1914 to 1918 two groups of states fight over dominance. On the one side there were:

**Central Powers**, i.e. **Germany** and **Austria-Hungary**, and their allies, i.e. **Ottoman Empire** (Turkey) and **Bulgaria**. On the other side there were:

(Triple) **Entente**, i.e. **United Kingdom**, **France**, and **Russia**, and later on **U.S.A.**, **Italy**, and **Japan**, and their allies, i.e. 23 states, among others **Serbia**, **Belgium**, **Montenegro**, **Romania**, **Greece**, and later on also **Czechoslovakia** and **Poland**.

#### 4.3 Periodization and Characteristics of First World War

According to military approach there could be two main types of periodization of First World War:

- According to the **way of conducting the war** there could be realized three main stages. Those stages are 1) **period of manoeuvring war** that lasted from the beginning of the war until September/October 1914 in Western Front, or until the end of 1914 in the Eastern Front, 2) **period of trench warfare** that lasted until the beginning of 1918 in Western Front (and until autumn 1917 in the Eastern Front), and 3) final stage renewal of **manoeuvring war** that comprises last year of the war; there were two main tactics to restore manoeuvring war, i.e. using tactic of assault groups and tank warfare.
- According to the **superiority of belligerents** there are also three stages but with different periodization. Those stages are 1) period of **mutual stalemate** that lasted from the beginning of war until the revolution in Russia broke up in 1917, 2) period of **superiority of Central Powers** that were able to defeat Russia and Romania and to occupy their territory, and 3) stage of **superiority of Entente** and its allies that lasted shortly in second half of 1918, but that led to the conclusion of the conflict.

During First World War fights took in different fronts all over the world, especially in Europe and in Middle East. The decisive theatre became **Western Front** in Northern France where the most powerful armies were deployed. In Europe were then established **Eastern Front** in East Europe in territory of Russia and Austria-Hungary and partly of Romania, **Italian**, or South **Front** that spread around borders between Italy and Austria-Hungary, and **Balkan Front** that comprises

territory of Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria. In Middle East there four fronts were opened, in **Caucasus**, in **Mesopotamia**, in **Palestine**, and in **Straits**.

First World War is said to be **total war** because of huge mobilization of human resources. In fact all men were obliged to serve in army and the rest of population was involved into military economy (women replacing men, restriction in markets etc.).

#### 4.4 Manoeuvring War 1914

All engaged countries had their offensive plans but only Germany was able to carry out its plan at least partly. At the end of 19th century Chief of Imperial German General Staff General **Alfred von Schlieffen** developed offensive plan that took into account threat of fights in both western and eastern front. That is why he decided to attack first at France and defeat French army before its ally, Russia, would be able to mobilize its powers and commence its own military actions. The core was to lead campaign over territory of (neutral) Belgium while main attack of right wing of German armies should aim at the **side** and the **rear** of French army in the **Western Front**. The idea was that within six weeks French army would be surrounded and Germany could pay attention only to Russia.

- Schlieffen Plan was realized only partly. Chief of Imperial German Staff General Helmut von Moltke decided to **weaken the right wing** in favour of left wing and to aim into region eastern of Paris instead of western of Paris as it was intended. This decision meant strategic weakening of whole offensive.
- German offensive was stopped during **First Battle of the Marne** on 5 to 12 September 1914 that took place near Paris. Attack of French 6th Army under command of General Michel-Joseph Manoury deflected advancement of German 1st Army of General Alexander von Kluck and 2nd Army of Marshal Karl von Bülow; Frenchmen made use of the fact that during German advancement gap between both armies enabled to conduct successful counter-offensive.

After deflection of German offensive both sides were forced to dig themselves in order to protect against gun and machinegun fire and led to four years of trench warfare in the Western Front.

Different situation was in the **Eastern Front**. Despite German expectations Russia immediately after its entry into war commenced offensive. On 17 August 1914

Russian troops invaded East Prussia (Germany) and on 18 August 1914 invaded Galicia (Austria-Hungary) and sieged important Austrian stronghold Przemyśl. But German 10th Army under command of General Paul Hindenburg made use of fact that Russian could not co-ordinate their effort and almost destroyed Russian 2nd Army in Battle of **Tannenberg** on 23 to 31 August 1914 and then prevailed over 1st Russian Army in Battle of **Masurian Lakes** on 5 to 15 September 1914. After this battles also in Eastern Front war end up in trench warfare.

In **Balkan Front** Austria-Hungarian offensive that was commenced on 12 August 1914 aimed at Belgrade. During December 1914 Belgrade was captured by Austria-Hungarian army, but soon after that they were pushed back again. At the end of 1914 fights was limited into trench skirmishes.

#### 4.5 Trench Warfare 1914

In **Western Front** both sides tried to circumvent each other positions and begin so called **Run to the Shores** in mid-September 1914. During few weeks continuous front line from the sea shores in the north of France to borders of Switzerland was created due to:

- **Dominance of defensive weaponry** (machine guns, artillery, barbed wire) over **offensive weaponry** (infantry, partly also artillery).

Both sides undertook number of attempts to breach trench lines. The one of the largest was so called **First Battle of Ypres** that lasted from 30 October to 11 November 1914 and ended by German failure to breach front line.

In **Eastern Front** Russian army failed to continue in its offensive (**Battle of Łódź, of Cracow, and of Limanowa**).

#### 4.6 Trench Warfare 1915

General Erich von Falkenhayn who succeeded after General Moltke changed priority in German strategy. He decided that in **Western Front** Germany stayed in defensive and all military effort focused on Eastern Front. On the other hand British and French commenced series of offensive, two offensives in Champagne and in Artois etc. but failed to breach the German trench lines. During **Second Battle of Ypres** in May 1915 Germans for the first time deployed poison gas that brought about large losses among French army; some 5000 men of 10 000 intoxicated had died.

According to Falkenhayn decision Germany focused its effort in the Eastern Front and together with Austria-Hungary commenced series of offensive:

- **Gorlice-Tarnów Offensive** took place from 1 to 3 May 1915 and brought about large advancement of Austria-Hungarian army to Lviv. This offensive became turning point in the course of war in the Eastern Front; after that Russian were forced to lead defensive fights.
- At the same time German forces advanced in Poland and in Baltic Region (capturing of Warsaw and Vilnius), but after short period of manoeuvring fights trench warfare was restored in September 1915.

On 23 May 1915 Italy entered the war on the side of Entente, i.e. against agreement with Germany and Austria-Hungary, and opened another front. During 1915 Italian forces commenced four unsuccessful attempts to breach through Austria-Hungarian defensive line, so called **First to Fourth Battle of Isonzo River**. The fights in front bogged down into trench warfare since its very beginnings.

Key turnaround occurred in **Balkan Front** in 1915. In October 1915 Bulgaria entered the war on the side of Central Powers. German High Commanded together with Austria-Hungarian and Bulgarian forces prepared decisive campaign with the aim to finally defeat Serbia. The campaign was commenced on 7 October 1915 and since its beginning Serbian army was forced to retreat. Serbians withdraw through Albanian mountains and the rest of them were evacuated by British vessels into Greece. But Serbian government did not capitulate. During October 1915 Entente opened another front in Balkan, **Thessaloniki Front**, but with limited extend of fights.

Representatives of Entente, especially First Lord of Admiralty sir Winston Churchill, attempted to defeat Turkey and to gain a direct contact with Russian territory via disembarking in Dardanelles and Bosphorus and occupying the Straits. So called **Gallipoli Campaign** was commenced on 18 March 1915 when British battleships attacked Turkish position in Gallipoli Peninsula. On 25 April 1915 British troops were disembarked on the shores but were not able to breach defence lines. Months of fights brought nothing but bloodshed among British and Australian forces. That is why in turn of 1915 and 1916 the British were forced to retreat.

## 4.7 Trench Warfare 1916

During 1916 both belligerents were hopelessly stuck in trench warfare. That year both sides reach a decision that war could not be win by breaching the trench lines

but by exhaustion of the enemy. New strategy became so called **exhaustive warfare**, i.e. effort to make use of battles as means that lead to military and economic collapse of rival. In this strategy was not important the height of own losses if those were higher than enemy's.

On 21 January 1916 German High Command commenced attack on French position near fortification Verdun and started the **Battle of Verdun** that lasted nearly the whole and was ended on 21 December 1916. Germans hoped that Frenchmen will defend this strategically and historically important fortification by any means necessary and undertook huge losses. But battle of Verdun became prestigious clash and Germans were caught into their own trap even when French forces under General Philippe Petain switched into counter-attack in October 1916. Terms like Cote 304 called Hommes Mort (Dead Man) or Fort Douamont became synonyms for nothing but bloodshed. During Battle of Verdun both sides lost more than one million man including ca. 330 000 German casualties and ca. 380 000 French casualties.

The representatives of Entente reached in conference in Chantilly in February 1916 similar idea. They decided for **joint offensive on all three main fronts**, i.e. in Western (British and French), Eastern (Russians), and Southern (Italians).

In **Western front** the **Battle of Somma** lasted from 24 June to 19 November 1916. The only reason the territory in Somma River was chosen to be place of decisive offensive was the fact that there were borders between British and French positions. Nothing more. But Somma River was also part of front with strong German fortification with minimal strategic importance. That is why that during first day of attack British counted more than 50 000 losses! Together Entente lost in Battle of Somma 625 000 men, Germany approximately 450 000.

Few days later Russian army commenced so called **Brusilov Offensive** in the **Eastern Front** on 4 July 1916. Russian South Western Army Group attacked on two main directions and advanced more than 100 km into Austria-Hungarian positions. Their success was paid off by very high price.

In Southern Front Italian forces commenced Sixth Battle of Isonzo. The Battle lasted from 6 to 17 August 1917 and ended the same way as the five previous clashes, i.e. without any results.

Strategy of exhaustive warfare did not bring any result and neither side could exhaust its enemy. But two world powers, France and Russia, got in stage of **economic and military crisis**. Revolts and revolutions among both military men and

civilians took place. Despite the fact that Entente had higher losses than Central Powers, Entente disposed with much larger human and economic sources, especially in colonies.

At that time **Central Powers** made **peace offer** in December 1916, but this offer was refused. The war should continue also in 1917.

#### **4.8 Trench Warfare 1917**

In 1917 Entente attempted to repeat co-ordinated offensive and commenced three offensives, but this effort lacked of success since its beginning. In Western Front it was **Nivell Offensive** that lasted from 9 April to 5 May 1917, in Eastern Front it was **Kerenski's Offensive** that lasted from 1 to 16 July 1917 and in Southern Front **Tenth Battle of Isonzo** that took place from 12 May to 8 June 1917. While in Western Front offensive had to be ceased due to wave of revolt in French divisions, in Eastern Front the Russia got in catastrophe. Russian offensive was deflected and Germans and Austria-Hungarians switched into counter-offensive and advanced hundreds of kilometres into Russian territory. Whole Russian army dissolved and soldiers left their positions in millions.

The Central Powers made use of this development. In November 1917 Bolsheviks gained the power in Russia and in December 1917 signed armistice with Central Powers and war in Eastern Front in fact ended. But representatives of Germany and Austria-Hungary and Russia did not agreed on term of peace treaty. That is why Central Powers commenced large offensive in the whole Eastern Front. Russia lost the rest its advantages and was forced to sign **Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** on 3 March 1918 according which lost vast territory of Finland, Baltic Region, Belarus, Ukraine, and Caucasus. Soon after that Romania signed **Bucharest Peace Treaty** and left the Entente.

In Southern Front German forces enforced positions of Austria-Hungary in Southern front and commenced large offensive that led to so called **Breach of Caporetto** (Kobarid) on 24 October 1917. Italians with the help of French and British troops could not stop advancing troops until Piava River on 18 November 1917.

#### **4.9 Final Stage of War 1918**

In the beginning of 1918 military situation become favourable for Central Powers, because of four key reasons:

- Due to defeat of Russia and Romania Eastern Front ceased to exist and released number of divisions of Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- Due to course of war in Eastern and Southern Front Central Powers gained vast territory with number of resources.
- According to Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty German and Austria-Hungarian prisoners of war were released and once again enlisted into active service.
- German High Command develop new tactics to breach over trench lines

Germany made use of this favourable situation and on 21 March 1918 commenced **Ludendorff Offensive**, also called Kaiserschlacht (Emperor's Battle) or Spring Offensive. Germany had to hurry up because on 6 April 1917 United States entered the war on the side of Entente and formed its forces to assault in Western Front. The aim of the Ludendorff Offensive was to defeat France before the Americans arrives.

German High Command under Generals Paul Hindenburg and Erich von Ludendorff implement new tactic of **strike groups** (Sturmtruppen). The core of the tactic was to outflank the enemy's strongholds and to strike into its rear or flank. Strike groups also attacked not in lines as usual but consists of small number of men equipped with the finest guns, especially newly developed machine-guns. Germans also deployed so called moving gunfire, i.e. gunfire that was pointed and adjusted according to advance of striking units. At the end of March German forces once again reached Marna River (Operation Blücher). But the last attempt to breach the front lines was deflected. The Ludendorff Offensive was defeated. This last attempt is called:

- **Second Battle of Marna.** On 15 March 1918 German commenced deceptive attack near Reims while 7th Army crossed Marna River and attempted to divide French armies. But assault was deflected and on 18 July 1918 French and American forces (French 10th Army of General Charles Mangin) commenced counter-offensive. After week of fight General Ludendorff ordered to retreat on 6 September 1918.

The Entente could make use of its superiority in resources, especially after entry of United States into war, but British and French army developed new device to breach the trench lines – the **tank**.

Tank weapon was for the first time used during Battle of Somma on 15 September 1916. That day more than 50 tanks were deployed, but did not gain victory; in fact their use became only premature revelation of new weapon.

First successful attack of tanks took place in **battle of Cambrai** on 20 November 1917. That day over 400 tanks were placed in front of wide of only 10 km. Tanks breached some 15 km into German territory, but British could not make use of their achievement.

After June 1918 Entente commenced **General Offensive** in the whole front and step by step forced German forces to retreat. During advancement of Entente forces more than 500 tanks in front of 20 km width breached the line into depth of 10 km during the **Battle of Amiens** on 18 August 1918. That day was called “Black Day of German Army”. Since this moment Germany switched into defensive and after loss of all its allies (Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary) pledged for armistice.

#### 4.10 Armistice and Peace 1918 to 1920

First World War ended in **double defeat**. It meant that at first two Entente countries, Russia and Romania were defeated by Central Powers, than Entente defeated Central Powers and their allies. This fact became key moment for development in territory of Eastern and Central Europe. The vast territory western of Rhine belonged to the country that was defeated.

During autumn allies of Germany pledged for peace:

- On 30 September 1918 **Bulgaria** asked for armistice,
- on 30 October 1918 **Turkey**, and
- on 27 October 1918 **Austria-Hungary** and armistice was declared on 3 November 1918.

On 11 November 1918 representatives of **Germany** signed armistice treaty in **Compiègne**. Cease of fire got in force exactly at 11.00 a.m. This moment is supposed to be the **end of First World War**. Final peace treaties were then signed in 1919 and 1920.

#### 4.11 Overall Results of First World War

Until the break of the Second World War in 1939 the First World War was the **largest conflict in history of mankind**. Over 70 million men were mobilize of whom some nine million fallen and other approximately seven million civilians had died; majority of



them by indirect causes of death, e.g. by malnutrition and illness. Other sources estimate the total number of casualties even to 30 million of military men and civilians.

According to overall results the Central Power and their allies led more effective war than Entente but suffered lack of resources that was the ground of their defeat. Victory of Entente in First World War was not due to superiority in strategy but due to superiority in numbers and in resources!

• <b>State</b>	<b>Mobilized</b>	<b>Fallen</b>
• Germany	13 000 000	1 800 000
• Austria-Hungary	9 000 000	1 200 000
• <b>Central Powers</b>	<b>21 000 000</b>	<b>3 000 000</b>
• Russia	12 000 000	1 700 000
• France	8 600 000	1 600 000
• United Kingdom	8 500 000	1 300 000
• <b>Entente</b>	<b>29 100 000</b>	<b>4 600 000</b>

#### 4.12 Summary of Chapter

First World War was in many ways the most decisive moment in history of 20th century. First of all World War was **modern war**. During course of war new weapons were invented and deployed, i.e. gas, air and tank warfare etc. Also new strategy to overcome trench warfare that was later on used during Second World War (tank warfare and flank tactics) was developed during the war.

First World War is also supposed to be so called **total war** due to high mobilization of all human resources. There was a tight link between front and rear. All available population was involved in work for military purpose, especially in industry.

Despite the fact, or vice versa because of the fact that war became economic, social, and political catastrophe the clash of 1914 to 1918 was the **end of historic epoch**. First World War is milestones for the end of economic hegemony of European countries, for the spread of Communism and Fascism, but on the other side also of the political emancipations (of nations, women, social groups etc.). The result of the war was among others establishing of new states, e.g. of Czechoslovakia.

### 4.13 Recommended Sources

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## 5 INTERWAR PERIOD 1918 TO 1939

The years that followed after First World War are called Interwar Period. Those are 21 years that are “stuck” between two world cataclysms. Despite the fact that politician in 1919 tried to receive measurements to prevent outbreak of war (League of Nations, disarmament conferences etc.) the opposite had happened. It was due to fact that world order in 1918 and 1939 suffered of lack of instruments to punish the aggressor. Moreover relations between powers were influenced by tendency to separate victorious from defeated countries. But among defeated countries were in fact not only former allies of Germany, but also vast territory of Soviet Union. The unspoken tendency of some politician in both sides to re-arrange so called Versailles System ended up in outbreak of Second World War.

### 5.1 Paris Peace Conference

On 18 January 1919 talks of representatives of victorious states on **Paris Peace Conference** took place. Together there were 27 independent states and five British dominions, i.e.

- powers, **United Kingdom, France, United States, Italy**, and **Japan**;
- **Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania**, and others, and for dominions:
- **Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Newfoundland**, and **Union of South Africa**.
- Soviet Russia, as in fact victorious state since Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty was repealed, was not invited.

To co-ordinate talks **Highest Council** (Council of ten, i.e. two representatives for all powers including Japan), but in following weeks key position of four victorious powers (Council of Four, Great Four); those were the most distinguished representatives:

- **United Kingdom** represented by Prime Minister Lloyd George,
- **France** by Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau,
- **United States** by president Woodrow Wilson and
- **Italy** by Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando.
- **Czechoslovakia** was represented by Karel Kramář and Edvard Beneš.

Soon disputes over text of treaty appeared. France demanded to weaken the Germany as much as possible while United Kingdom and United States claimed to

preserve Germany because of necessity for stabilization of Europe as kind of “counterweight” against Soviet Union.

## 5.2 Peace Treaty

Despite huge disputed in 1919 to 1920 all five peace treaties were signed with defeated countries. Each treaty was signed in different chateaux around Paris.

- With **Germany** the Peace Treaty of **Versailles** was signed on 28 July 1919.
  - Germany lost part of its territory (see below), including colonies, i.e. Togo, Cameroon, Namibia (German Western Africa), Tanzania (German Eastern Africa) etc.,
  - its army was forced to be reduced both in number, among others maximal number of active men in service was set on 100 000 men, and in quality, i.e. a lot of types of weaponry were forbidden,
  - Germany was than blamed for triggering the war, and
  - forced to agree with payment of reparations whose height was not settled (!).
- With **Austria** the Peace Treaty of **Saint-Germain-en-Ley** was signed on 10 September 1919.
  - Austria lost majority of its territory, among others Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia on behalf of Czechoslovakia,
  - its army was reduced to maximum of 30 000 men, and
  - Austria was forbid to join with Germany (Anschluss).
- With **Bulgaria** the Peace Treaty of **Neilly** was signed on 27 November 1919.
  - Bulgaria lost part of its territory on behalf of Serbia and Greece and also its army was reduced.
- With **Hungary** the Peace Treaty of **(Great) Trianon** was signed on 4 June 1920.
  - Hungary suffered hugged territorial losses, among other there was Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia that was joined to Czechoslovakia, and its army was reduced on 35 000 men. Unintended but very problematic was the fact that due to territorial losses huge number of Hungarians became minorities in neighbouring states (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania).
- With **Turkey** the Peace Treaty was signed in **Sévres** on 10 August 1920.

- The enclosing the peace treaty was the most complicated case due to fact that in Turkey Young-Turkish movement win the revolutions and Greece-Turkey war began.

### 5.3 Changes of Borders in Europe

The end of First World War and wave of revolution that spread through the Europe had significant impact on forming new states and new-states borders. Three European powers were disintegrated, **Germany**, **Austria-Hungary**, and **Russia**, and on their territory new states originated:

- **Czechoslovakia**, state of Czechs and Slovaks with number of minorities and together with ca. 13 million inhabitants was established in former Austrian, Hungarian, and partly of Germany territory.
- **Poland**, state of Poles and Ukrainians, Belarusians, and of Germans, and together with ca. 27 million inhabitants was created in territory of four empires, of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.
- **Yugoslavia**, that represents mixture of number of ethnicities, among them of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, was established in territory of former Austria-Hungary.
- In the western territory of Tsar's Russia **Finland**, **Lithuania**, **Latvia**, and **Estonia** with together some 10 million inhabitants were established, and in south-western Russia short-existing independent **Ukraine** (till 1920) was declared.

Also territory of existing states had changed.

- **France** gained Germany territory of Alsace and Lorraine,
- **Italy** gained Tirol and coast of Adriatic Sea that belonged to Austria,
- **Belgium** gained small territory around towns Eupen and Malmedy,
- **Denmark**, neutral state, gained on ground of referendum part of Schleswig,
- **Romania** gain vast territory of Transylvania, of Pannonia, and Bukovina, former Austria-Hungarian lands, and Bessarabia (present day Moldova) and Dobrudja from Russia and Bulgaria, respectively, and
- **Greece** gained of part of Aegean shores, while Bulgaria lost direct connection with Aegean Sea.

## 5.4 Versailles-Washington System

According to peace treaties new world order was created. Its fundamentals were:

- **Versailles Peace Treaty** (see above) and results of
- **Washington Conference.**

During Washington Conference talks about situation in Pacific and China took place from 12 November 1921 to 6 February 1922. In conference there were representatives of:

- **United States,**
- **United Kingdom,**
- **France,**
- **Japan,** and others.

According to the agreements status quo of number of ship tonnages of powers was settled. Also **sovereignty and integrity of China** was declared, including of principle of opened door. But results of conference were for the first time revised by:

- **London Open Sea Conference** of 1930.

In Pacific, the same as in Europe, the settlement of Washington Conference were broken in 1930s (see below).

## 5.5 League of Nations

According to the Versailles Peace Treaty the League of Nations, predecessor of present day United Nations, was established on 18 June 1919. Originally organisation comprised 26 states, later on its number increased to 54 states.

Establishing of League of Nation was one of the most significant results of the Paris Peace Conference. Its aim was to grant international co-operation of its members in way preserve to peace by principle of collective security. But in fact this ambition to prevent war was limited by fact that League of Nation did not have any disposable armed forced and the only instrument was to induce economic sanction towards aggressor.

The Pact of League of Nations was signed in 1920. Its main bodies were:

- **Assembly of Members** where representatives of all members of the League had their chairs,
- **Council of League of Nations,** and
- **Permanent Secretary,** that was established in Geneva and which was responsible for preparing the agenda for the Council and the Assembly.

But out of League of Nations there were still number of powers. That fact meant that after its beginning the organisation had lack of authority. The members were not:

- **United States**, despite the fact that U.S. president Woodrow Wilson initiated its formation, because Senate of U.S.A. refused to ratify Treaty of Versailles,
- **Germany** became member only shortly from 1926 to 1933,
- **Russia/U.S.S.R.** was member after the Germany left in 1934, but were expelled due to aggression towards Finland in 1939,
- **Japan** (till 1933), and
- **Italy** (till 1937)

League could not enforce of observance of principles of international law during Italo-Abyssinian War, since 1939 did not made any real activity, and formally was dissolved in 1946 when lost its raison d'être because of United Nations were established.

## 5.6 Spread of Communism

Communism is **political ideology and political movement** that originated in radicalization of political thoughts of Karl Marx by Russian professional revolutionist Vladimir Lenin. That is why ideology of Communism is called Marxism and Marxism-Leninism, respectively.

- Thesis of general crisis of capitalism and international workmen revolution.
- The goal is the development of a state into a socialist republic and full realization of communist.
- Single-party state.
- Worldview promotes atheism as a fundamental tenet.
- Organizational basis = radical wings of social democratic parties, first established in Social Democratic Party of Russia (as wing disposing of majority, i.e. **Bolsheviks**). For the first time Bolsheviks became active during Russian revolution from 1905 to 1907, but their time came after February Revolution of 1917.

**Great October Revolution** broke up and overthrown of Russian Provisional Government on 7. November 1917. Soon after that system of one political party was established and Lenin, head of Soviet Russia, tried to "export the revolution".



- **Polish-Soviet War** (1919 to 1921) = soviet army near Warsaw, so called Miracle on Vistula on 13 to 15 August 1920, Polish army stops Soviet advancement into Central Europe, Peace of Riga – dividing the disputed territories between Poland and Soviet Russia
- **Comintern** = union of all Communist parties, est. in March 1919, in fact Soviet control member parties; seven World Congresses between 1919 and 1935; officially dissolved during 1943

Reception in Europe:

- Creation of left-wing (bolshivist) in social democratic parties and attempts of revolution
- November Revolution in Germany, declaration of Communist Republic of **Alsace** (November 1919), of **Bremen** (January 1919), of **Bayern** (Spring 1919)
- **Hungarian** and **Slovakian** Soviet Republic (from March to June 1919)
- Baltic lands: declaration of Soviet republic in **Finland**, **Lithuania**, **Latvia**, and **Estonia** (1918 to 1920)

Reception in World:

- Origin of Communist parties in Asia: China (1921)
- **Iranian** Soviet Socialist Republic (1920)

During 1920 wave of Communist revolts and revolutions in world had stopped. Despite the fact that majority of attempts to establish Communist regime failed, Communism became integral part of political system of all countries and became one of the highest danger for democracy.

## 5.7 Spread of Fascism and Nazism

Fascism and Nazism are both political ideologies and movements that were formulated after First World War in reaction of spread of Communism. Both ideologies are very different, but their common feature is fact that those are ideology of radical nationalism, or more correctly of chauvinism.

Beginnings of Fascism were set in 1919 in Italy during period of so called **Biennio Rosso**, i.e. Two Red Years. That was period of civil disorder, revolts and spread of Communism.

- **Fasci di combattimento**, Fight Units, were established in March 1919 as the first Fascist organizations. The term “Fascism” derives both from the facts that

began in those “Fasci” and from the Romanic symbol of rule, i.e. bundle of twigs (fasces).

- **Partito Nazionale Fascista**, Fascist National Party, was created in 1921 with its “leader” (duce) Benito Mussolini.
- The Fascist undertook so called March on Rome on 28 October 1922 that ended in successful coup d’état. In power in Italy became Fascist party and as reaction the Fascism had spread over Europe. But except intelligentsia Fascism had only small impact in political system. Due to economic conjuncture that started in 1924 in Europe there was no ground for demanding radical postulates.

At the same time and independently (!) on Fascism **National Socialist Movement** was established in Germany 1919. The core of its movement was rigid racism and anti-Semitism. Its spread stopped in 1923 when unsuccessful coup d’état took place and National Socialist Party, i.e.

- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) was dissolved.

After this attempt of Putsch (see below) economic in Germany began to grow and Nazism lost its support.

## 5.8 Great Depression

The economic situation in Europe had deteriorated badly after so called **Black Thursday** on New York burse (Wall Street) that occurred on 24 October 1929. During that day assets of companies lost its value and economic suffered shortage of finance. The bank segment and international businesses collapsed. Contrary to other crisis and depression, Great Depression of 1930s was:

- **general crisis** that affected all economic branches; the same as finance sector sectors of industry, business, or services were affected.
- Parallel to **agrarian crisis** broke out.
- Great Depression was **long-lasting depression** and did not (!) changed for conjuncture before Second World War; in 1937 new crisis started.

The Great Depression achieved **its peak in 1932**. That year:

- all-over world production decreased about 38 % of 1929 production and world business about 34 %.
- The height of unemployment reached to 25 %. For example Germany that had some 60 million inhabitants had 6 million of unemployed man.

The depression was the most disastrous in **United States** (nearly 20 million of unemployed) and in countries financially depending on American capital. Those countries were **Germany** (repayments of the war reparations were suspended in 1932) and **Austria**. Both countries got under Nazi rule in 1933 and 1938, respectively.

- After 1930 once again began period of social and political disorder that led to spread of radical political ideology, i.e. especially of Communism and Fascism.

Attempts to cope with depression had started. In United States president Franklin Delano Roosevelt declared the programme **New Deal**. This response to the Great Depression was series of programmes (laws and presidential executive orders) to recovery of economy and to reform financial system lasted in 1933 to 1938. But New Deal ended in new economic depression of 1937.

## 5.9 Crisis of Democracy in Europe

Economic and social disorder in Europe brought political disorders. Crisis of democracy was long-term process that had two main waves.

**First wave of crisis of democracy** took place in early 1920s due to post-war economic and social crisis:

- In 1917 to 1921 civil war in **Russia** ended up in victory of Communists (Bolsheviks) led by Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin and of proclamation of Soviet Union in 1922.
- In 1922 Fascists took over rule in **Italy**.

**Second wave of crisis of democracy** took place in 1930 due to Great Depression:

- After election victory of Nazi Party in 1929 to 1932 representatives of Nazis made use of fact that became members of government and Parliament and overtook the supreme power in **Germany**.
- Situation in post-revolutionary **Spain** led at first in victory of Communist and then in civil war in 1936 to 1939 in victory of conservative movement (Caudillo General Franco).

## 5.10 Crisis of Versailles-Washington System

The same as crisis of democracy dissolution of Versailles-Washington system had occurred before 1939. Its dissolution enabled absence of enforce mechanism and

disputes among powers. The only Western power interested in preservation of existing world order is France that suffered of but political turmoil and of economic and demographic fall. Despite the fact that crisis of world order is from its definition gradual process two main waves could be defined:

In the first half of 1920s important changes in system were implemented:

- **Greco-Turkish War**, 1920 to 1923, first revision of system, i.e. of peace treaty with Turkey: Treaty of Lausanne (1923) = Turkey gave back part of its territory.
- **Ruhr Crisis**, failure of the German Weimar Republic to pay reparations, occupation of Ruhr between 1923–1925 by troops from France and Belgium, passive resistance, hyperinflation, Germans won the world's sympathy, Dawes plan of April 1924 which lowered German reparations payments.

Another wave of crisis in world order started in the middle of 1930s and ended-up in outbreak of Second World War.

- **Italo-Abyssinian War**, 1935 to 1936 conflict between the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Ethiopia, undermine the credibility of the League of Nations.
- **Appeasement**: policy of concession towards German revisionism in order to avoid conflict, the term is often applied to the foreign policy of the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.
- **Munich Agreement**, September 1938, annexation of portions of Czechoslovakia,
- **Occupation of rest of Czechoslovakia**, 1939 = final decline of system.

### 5.11 Establishing of Totalitarian Regimes

In 1930s in Soviet Union and in National Socialist Germany totalitarian regimes were established. The term totalitarian derives from the word "total"; it means that main effort of these regimes is total (complete) control of the whole society. There are five main characteristics of totalitarian regime:

- **political party as the power centre of state;**
- **existence of ideology and subordination of politics to ideology;**
- **terror, especially preventive terror, as the mean of control;**
- **control of armed forces;**
- **control of all media.**

## 5.12 Soviet Russia and Soviet Union

In 1922 Soviet Union as federative country of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus was formed. Later on the other countries joined Soviet Union, Transcaucasian, Kazakhstan and others. Bolshevik Party disposed all political power. During 1920s important changed in supreme leadership had occurred. First leader of Communists, Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin, died in 1924 and fight over his successorship started. The winner was **Joseph Stalin** who made use of its position of General Secretary of the Communist Party to gain control over all party and state.

The ideology shifted from Marxism-Leninism to **Leninism-Stalinism**. The grounds were:

- **Centrally planned economy**, i.e. situation when all economy including private life is under control of central institution. Economic development is according to
- **Five Year Plan**. The first such plan entered into force in 1928, but during its existence was changed. Accompanying phenomenon became
- **collectivization**, i.e. liquidation of all autonomous land properties (farms).

In Soviet Union the level of terror reached its peak in 1930s. The pretext for the terror became the assassination of high functionary Sergey Kirov on 1 December 1934. Despite the fact he was killed by solitary shooter Joseph Stalin accused the opposition and started the wave of judicial murders whose victims were both previous opposition and members of Communist Party.

During so called **Great Terror** (Great Purge) there were arrested more than 1.5 million people, nearly 700 000 out of them were sentenced to death and executed.

## 5.13 Weimar Republic and National Socialist Germany

In Germany the revolution had begun on 9 November 1918. The Emperor William II was forced to resigned and left for exile in Netherland. Germany became republic, but its official name was still Germany Empire (Deutsches Reich). From 1919, when new constitution was declared, until the Nazis took the supreme power in 1933, the period of German history is called Weimar Republic due to fact that legislative body and constitutional assembly that prepared constitution moved from German Capital, Berlin, to Weimar.

The Weimar Republic was far to be stable democracy. German government was under attack of radical parties in whole period of 1919 to 1933.

- **Communist revolts** broke out in January 1919,
- **Bavarian Soviet Republic** was declared in May 1919,
- so called **Kapp-Lutwitz Putsch** of right-wing radicals took place in March 1920, and finally
- so called **Bier Putsch** of Adolf Hitler took place in Munich in 9 to 10 November 1923.

Except these complications Germany was in international isolation. That is why that Germany signed **Treaty of Rapallo in 1922**.

After the Great Depression struck Germany ideas of Nazis start to spread rapidly over all country. In 1932 in parliamentary elections Nazi Party became the victorious party and in January 1933 President Paul Hindenburg **appointed Adolf Hitler**, fuehrer of Nazis, to be **Chancellor** (Prime Minister) of Germany. Soon after that Nazi Party began to eliminate political opposition.

- National referendum in August 1934 confirmed Hitler as leader (Führer) of Germany,
- Nazis restored economic stability using heavy military spending, while
- Anti-Semitism and
- Territorial demands (Austria, Czechoslovakia) misled attention out of the true nature of Nazi-Regime.

### 5.14 Occupation of Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 and in 1919 became member of League of Nations. Czechoslovak state was after its beginnings key element of Versailles-Washington System and of so called **Sanitary Cordon**, i.e. system of countries of Eastern and Central Europe against **Germany** and **Russia/USSR**. That is why that state very sensitively reacted on changes in world orders. During 1918 to 1935 Edvard Beneš, Minister of Foreign Affairs, closed number of ally-treaties:

- With **Yugoslavia** and **Romani** in 1920 and set the ground for so called **Little Entente**,
- With **France** in 1924

- With **Soviet Union** in 1935. But the last treaty with Soviet Union had strongly negative reception in whole world Czechoslovakia was supposed to be subsidiary of Communist power.

Despite the fact Czechoslovakia had ally treaty with four countries the decisive moment was fact that with no of its allies had Czechoslovakia common borders. On the contrary. Czechoslovakia **had frontiers with countries that were supposed to be its enemies**. With Poland and Hungary Czechoslovakia led a war in 1919 and after 1933 the new enemy emerged – Nazi Germany. Adolf Hitler gradually destroyed Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939:

- **May mobilization 1938**
  - Fear of German attack, but negative reception in world: Czechoslovakia blamed to be aggressor (!), because Germany did not marched its army to Czechoslovakia borders.
- **Czechoslovak crisis (November 1937 to October 1938)**
  - Czechoslovakia without international support
- **Munich Agreement, 30 September 1938**, the agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy; the military alliance Czechoslovakia with France proved useless
- **Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 15 March 1939**, on 16 March 1939 Hitler proclaimed the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

### 5.15 Summary of Chapter

Interwar Europe was era in European history that was strongly affected by results and aftermath of First World War. In fact newly restored world order, so called Versailles-Washington System could not cope with two complementary connected problems:

- **Economic crisis** and
- **political radicalisation.**

Despite the world order was set on international cooperation under norms of League of Nations, there was absence of enforcement mechanism. And, moreover, out of the Versailles-Washington System were two most powerful European countries, Germany and Soviet Union, and also United States.

As a result of this situation, democratic regimes failed and at the end of 1930s the only democracy existed in countries of Western and Northern Europe and in limited form also in Czechoslovakia.



### **5.16 Recommended Sources**

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## 6 SECOND WORLD WAR 1939 TO 1945

The Second World War (or World War II) was the **largest military conflict in history of mankind**. Despite the fact that the war ended seventy years ago, still affects present-day world order. Possession of nuclear weapon, membership in Security Council and its privileges in United Nation organization, course of border-line, especially in middle Europe, are all the results of this world clash.

### 6.1 The Origins of Second World War

There are many roots and many theories on the origin of the Second World War. There is a list of key preconditions that frame the way towards the war:

- **Instability of Versailles System** and its failure due to
  - **disinterest** (United Kingdom) and **inadequateness of means** (France) for maintaining the Versailles System,
  - **non-functional** League of Nations, and
  - increase of **political extremism** (Communism, Fascism, and Nazism);
- **Revisionism** of Germany, Hungary, and Italy;
- **Aggressive politics** of Axis countries (Germany, Italy, and Japan) and U.S.S.R.;
- Policy of **appeasement** of Western powers (i.e. United Kingdom and France).

Particular cause of the outbreak of Second World War is claimed to be the Appeasement Policy of Western power. But after the occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 both United Kingdom and France change an attitude toward Germany. And after the attack to Poland these countries declared war to National Socialist Germany.

There are also disputes whether Adolf Hitler wanted to **unleash** the war or the outbreak of war of **unintended result** of his aggressive politics (A. J. P. Taylor). But there is wide consensus that **Second World War was triggered**, not burst out (compare with the opinion on beginnings of First World War).

### 6.2 On the Way towards Second World War

During the years that preceded the Second World War the number of crisis in international relations and intensity of military conflicts were seriously increasing:

- **Japan aggression in China**, March 1932 = occupation of Manchuria (northern part of China) by Japanese forces;

- **Abyssinian War**, 1935 to 1936 = conquer and occupation of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) by Italian forces;
- Outbreak of **Second Sino-Japan War**, July 1937 = Japan took advantage of Marco Polo Bridge incident and attacked China and occupied its eastern territory;
- **Occupation of Czech borderland**, October 1938 = National Socialist Germany increased pressure on Czechoslovakia and western powers in order to gain Czech borderland (Sudetenland), territory inhabited by Germans;
- **Occupation of rest of Czechoslovakia**, March 1939 = Germany induces proclamation of independent Slovakian Republic and occupied Czech Lands;
- **Jablunkov Incident**, 26 September 1939 = the original term of German attack to Poland was set on 26 September 1939. But order not to attack did not receive some units of Abwehr and attacked Polish territory in Teschen Silesia (present day part of Czech Republic).

### 6.3 Characteristics of Second World War

The Second World War was the largest war conflict in history. Fights took place in Europe, North Africa, Eastern and Southeast Asia, and in Pacific. Together approximately **110 million men** were mobilized and some 22 million of them fell during military service in 1939 to 1945. Total number of victims is estimated to be more than 50 million persons; in fact estimation of some historians could be higher, for example of 75 million men.

Together with First World War the Second World War is supposed to be **total conflict**. It means that due to **impact of ideologies**, especially in National Socialist Germany and in U.S.S.R., the war was conducted as clash of two systems that only one could survive. In order to reach victory the whole society and its resources were mobilized. All men capable of military service were enlisted in army, the rest of population, sometimes even children, were deployed in economy. Economy switched into **war economy**, e.g. compulsory work in producing sectors or ration stamp system for food etc. were implemented.

### 6.4 Periodization of Second World War

There are several ways to divide the war into time units. According to **political point of view** there are two stages.

- **First Stage** lasted from 1 September 1939 to 22 June 1941 and its feature was **loose four-alliance of totalitarian states**, i.e. of Germany, Italy, Japan, and Soviet Union, their common and parallel expansion based on:
  - Axis Pact (Germany, Italy, Japan);
  - Pact Against Comintern (Axis and their allies);
  - Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (Germany, U.S.S.R.).
- **Second Stage** lasted from 22 June 1941 to 2 September 1945 and its feature was **disintegration of four-alliance**:
  - on 22 June 1941 German attacked Soviet Union that switched to United Nations and became one of its most decisive members;
  - On 13 October 1943 Italy declared war to Germany;
  - On 8 August 1945 U.S.S.R. declared war to Japan.

According to development of **military superiority and strategic initiative** there are also two main stages.

- **First Stage** lasted from the beginning of war until the turn of 1942 and 1943; the strategic initiative bore four-alliance:
  - defeat and occupation of Poland; Denmark and Norway; Finland; Netherland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania; Yugoslavia and Greece by Italy, Germany and Soviet Union;
  - invasion into Soviet Union and occupation its western territory by Germany;
  - attack to U.S. position in Pacific and Asia and occupation territory in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia by Japan.
- **Second Stage** lasted from the turn of 1942 and 1943 to the end of war; the point of turnaround is supposed to be period when decisive battles in three theatres took places at the same time:
  - Battle of Stalingrad between Germany and Soviet Union in Eastern Front;
  - Battle of El-Alamein and Torch Operation in North Africa Theatre between Germany and Italy and U.S. and United Kingdom;
  - Battles of Guadalcanal between Japan and United States.

## 6.5 Comparison of Belligerents

The military power of belligerents changed in time; in first stage proportion of strength was in favour of four-alliance, while in second stage in favour of United Nations.

- **First Stage** (according to political criteria):
  - **economic and men-power superiority of four-alliance** and their allies (together more than 400 million inhabitants) over United Kingdom and France and their allies (without colonies ca. 170 million inhabitants); only China had more inhabitants (together some 530 million), but its territory was divided into competing movements;
  - military and economic supremacy, Germany and Soviet Union were after United States the two largest economics in world.
- **Second Stage** meant involvement of Soviet Union and United States on the side of United Nations and also more intensive involvement of British colonies, especially of India; United States were the most powerful economy in world
  - Axis countries and their allies had ca. 225 million inhabitants (without occupied countries), United Nations and their allies had one and half billion inhabitants (including colonies), i.e. prevalence was six times larger.

The following table shows the comparison of **military men power in millions** during the war. See raising superiority of coalition of United Nations, especially of Soviet Union and United States.

Year	Germany	United Kingdom	Soviet Union	United States
1939	1,4	0,7	N/A	0,3
1940	3,6	2,2	N/A	0,4
1941	7,2	3,3	4,2	0,9
1942	8,6	3,8	5,5	2,2
1943	9,6	4,3	6,4	7,0
1944	9,1	4,5	6,9	10,4
1945	N/A	4,7	11,3	11,9

## 6.6 Polish Campaign 1939

In early morning on 1 September 1939 shots of guns of Schleswig-Hollstein, German cruiser, on Polish position in Westerplatte near Danzig started the Second World War.

Since spring 1939 German increased diplomatic pressure to Poland in order to gain certain Polish territory, so called Danzig Corridor and regions in Uppers Silesia and in Posen Region where lived a lot of members of German minority. Official pretext to campaign was alleged assault of Polish troops on German radio station in city Gleiwitz. But in fact this assault was act of German intelligence service.

According **Fall Weiß** (Case White) that specified advancement in Polish Campaign German forces were divided into two army groups, **Army Group South** that attacked from Silesia and Slovakia, and **Army Group North** that attacked from Eastern Pomerania and Prussia. The core of the assault were six **tank divisions** (Panzerdivisionen) and four so called **light divisions** (Leichtdivisionen) that were organized into tank corps. The aim of the campaign was to destroy Polish armed forces near Vistula River, to reach Warsaw and to divide Poland into two parts. The allies of Germany in Polish campaign were Slovakia and Soviet Union.

On the other side, Polish armed forces were divided into **six army formations** that were concentrated **all over borders** with Germany. But Poland relied not on its own armed forces, but on counter-attack of western powers, i.e. of United Kingdom and France.

The decisive day of the campaign was 5 September 1939 when German forces breached Polish defence lines and continued to Warsaw. Their advancement was slowed down in **battle of Bzura** (Western of Warsaw) on 9 to 22 September 1939 which became the last attempt to advert surrounding of army formation "Poznań". Despite the fact that on 3 September 1939 France and United Kingdom **declared war to Germany** situation in Polish theatre did not change, in fact only deteriorated when Soviet Union start to **occupy Eastern territory of Poland** on 17 September 1939. Next day Polish government left for exile to Romania, few days later the Warsaw capitulated and the last Polish units surrendered on 5 October 1939 (army formation "Polesie").

During campaign Polish army lost 66 000 men, losses of Germany, Slovakia, and Soviet Union were ca. 20 000 men. Polish campaign was the triumph **Blitzkrieg tactic** that was based on **indirect assaults** of **tank and air craft weaponry**. For understanding of its quality could be said that Wehrmacht lost only 50 tanks.

According to German-Soviet agreement of 28 September 1939 territory of Poland was **divided** between **Germany** and **Soviet Union**. Part of Poland were merged with Germany, other part became so called General Government under

German rule, while eastern parts were joined to Soviet Union as integral parts of Belarussian and Ukrainian republics. On both sides of new borders **persecutions** of former Polish citizenship took place, in German part according to race criteria, in Soviet part according to social criteria.

## 6.7 Battle of Atlantic 1939 to 1945

Battle of Atlantic is term that names fights in area of Atlantic Ocean that took place **nearly for the whole time of war**. The aim of these fights was to control **marine lines of trade ships**; in the beginning to prevent supplying of United Kingdom, than of Germany.

- First clashed took place after September 1939:
  - From October to December 1939 battle ship Admiral Graf Spee were able to destroy number of trade ship and after pursuit of British battle ships were sank after battle of La Plata near South America shores.
- The most intensive fights were took place between summer 1940 and mid-1943 because:
  - Germany gained new harbours in Norway and in France and
  - at the same time build two powerful battle ships, Bismarck and Tirpitz.

Bismarck together with Tirpitz as its sister-ship became the most powerful battle ships of Atlantic theatre. Full displacement of Bismarck was 50 000 tons, her length was 251 meters and as her main weapons were eight 380 mm guns. Captain of this battle ship and of crew of two thousand men was Ernest Lindemann.

On 18 May 1941 **Bismarck** sailed out together with cruiser **Prinz Eugen** into Northern Atlantic in order to get into French harbours. From this new home Bismarck should sank trade ships sailing to the British Island. But both ships were recognized near Norway shores and British Home Fleet started to pursue them. On 24 May 1941 in **Battle in Danish Strait** German ships ruined H.M.S. Hood and damaged H.M.S. Prince of Wales, but could not get out of scope of British pursuing. On 27 May 1941 Bismarck was caught up by British fleet, damaged by airplane Swordfish and then ruined by gun shots of three ships, H.M.S. Rodney, H.M.S. King George V, and H.M.S. Ark Royal. This battle confirmed **supremacy of airplanes over battle ships** in open marine battle.

After destruction of Bismarck main weapon of Germany became U-boots. But since spring 1943 technological supremacy of Allies, new types of sonar, convoy

system, or aircraft reconnaissance forced German marine powers to reduce its fights on Norwegian Sea.

## 6.8 Northern Campaign 1940

On 9 April 1940 German commenced campaign against **Norway and Denmark** under code name “Weserübung” (Weser River Exercise). The cause campaign was to arrange favourable position for planned Western campaign and especially German concerns whether the Allies will accept neutrality of Norway and Denmark in conflict.

- **Denmark** capitulated without defiance the same day, **Norway** resisted, but possibility of defence was weakening by existence of pro-German movement with Vidkun Quisling in its head.
- Few days later expedition forces of France and United Kingdom disembarked in Norway. The toughest fights were on port Narvik (from 9 April to 8 June 1940).
- Because of Western campaign British and French forces had to evacuate Norway. Due to this fact Norwegian forces capitulated on 10 June 1940.

During Northern Campaign German forces lost one ship and 5000 men, allies together 6000 men. Norwegian king Haakon VII left for exile to London where Norwegian exile government was formed, but Norwegian territory was under German rule as empire-commissariat. Denmark, due to its conduct during campaign, gained limited autonomy with King Christian X in its head.

## 6.9 Western Campaign 1940

After 28 September 1939 German High Command prepared plan of invasion in western countries, so called Fall Gelb (i.e. Case Yellow). But realization of its plan was repeatedly postponed because of needs of consolidation of Wehrmacht after Polish campaign. During that time plan was changed according General Heinz Guderian; since then the aim effort was to attack by tanks in direction of English Channel and to divide French and British forces.

The attack was commenced on 10 May 1940 and ended the era of so called **Strange War** (also Sitzkrieg) when in fact war in western front was limited to skirmishes.

The first advanced German troops of **Army Group B** into territory of Belgium and Netherlands in 10 and 11 May 1940. The **battle of Eben-Emael** with Belgian units



took place. The attack in Belgium and Netherland was cause to commenced **Plan Dyle**. According this plan Franco-British troops moved to the North, to the Belgian territory, but **revealed its right wing**.

On 12 May 1940 **Army Group A** that were located southern of Army Group B, commenced its advancement. The core of attack became **thank units** of formation Kleist that dispose of 50 % of all German tanks and that advanced over poorly defended Ardennes. The goal of these units was to reach sea shores. On 13 and 14 May 1940 German units prevailed in **battle of Sedan** in order to cross Meuse River and week later, on 20 May 1940 XIXth Tank Corps under command of General Heinz Guderian reached sea shores. It meant that Germans managed to surround British, Belgian and Dutch forces. Despite German superiority Adolf Hitler issued so called Haltbefehl (Stop-Order) on 23 May 1940 and enabled the British to realize **Operation Dynamo**, i.e. evacuation of British Expedition Forces into England. It meant that the only enemy of Germans in European continent were France.

Soon after the reorganization of German units Fall Rot (Case Red) was commenced. Its goal was to defeat France. On 5 June 1940 when attack started began **Battle of France**. France could not resist German advancement that was after 10 June 1940 supported by Italian attack into southern France. On 14 June 1940 Paris capitulated and soon after that on 22 June 1940 French government signed the armistice. According the terms of armistice France was divided into Northern, by German troops occupied, and Southern territory under French government. This era of French history is called Vichy France because of residence of French government that was forced to be Germany ally.

Western campaign confirmed supremacy of tank warfare, especially they deployment in offensive wedge-like operation. German tank general Heinz Guderian said that “tank saves blood”. And he was right. While Allies lost over 150 000 men, Germany and Italy together noticed ca. 50 000 losses.

## 6.10 Battle of Britain 1940

After the end of Western campaign Germany began to prepare invasion to British Islands under code name **Unternehmen Seelöwe** (Operation Sea Lion). But before the operation was confirmed Battle of Britain already started. In fact battle lasted

- from the end of June 1940 to the end of May 1941 but

- according to intensity of fights **the most important** were events from 10 July to 31 October 1940.
- Condition of operation = air supremacy of Luftwaffe, liquidation of RAF

The aim of Battle of Britain was **to win air supremacy** as pre-condition of invasion into British Islands.

But during the battle German command four times **changed the tactics**. In first stage the aim of air attack were convoys in English Channel and harbours in southern England. On 8 August 1940 the new target became Royal Air Craft (operation Adlerangriff, i.e. Attack of Eagles). The largest assault of Luftwaffe was set on 13 August 1940 (operation Adlertag, i.e. Day of Eagles). But on 7 September 1940 Adolf Hitler decided to focus on dropping bombs on London (London Blitz) and after 1 October 1940 on largest cities. That in fact protected the Royal Air Craft from German attacks, restore its power and enable to preserve control of British airspace.

During Battle of Britain Royal Air Craft lost ca. 1000 airplanes and approximately 500 pilots while Luftwaffe lost ca. 1700 airplanes and almost 3000 pilots. Battle of Britain became the first **defeat of German forces** and once of all prevented possibility of disembarkation in England during the course of Second World War.

### 6.11 Italian Parallel War 1940 and 1941

Italian Parallel War is term for aggression of Italy that took place in 1940 and 1941 “parallel” and independent on course of German expansion:

- On 10 June 1940 Italy declared war to France and United Kingdom and engaged in Western Campaign.
- On 20 August 1940 Italy attacked British colonies in Africa (Somalia and Sudan) and on 13 September 1940 invaded Egypt, but soon after that its advancement stopped in Sidi Barrani.
- On 29 October 1940 Italian Air Force (Regia Aeronautica) engaged in Battle of Britain.
- On 28 October 1940 Italy crossed the Albanian-Greek borders and commenced **Greek campaign**.

But during November and December 1940 Italian forces suffered harsh losses and huge defeat in all fronts. While in Greece Italian offensive was deflected and in November the fights took place in Albania, in Libya were Italian forces defeated in

**battle of Sidi Barrani** and on 9 February 1941 capitulated. Moreover on 27 to 29 March 1941 in **battle of Cape Matapan** southern of Greece shores Italian Naval Force noticed harsh loss of three cruisers and one damaged battleship. After this defeats Italy was in disastrous military situation and plead Germany for help; **Italy became fully depended on Germany.**

### 6.12 Balkan Campaign 1941

Due to situation of Italy German forces prepared **Operation Marita** with its aim to help Italians and to seize control over Greece. Originally operation involved only Greece but on 27 March 1941 coup d'état took place in Yugoslavia and new government was formed of pro-British members. Yugoslavia became no longer ally of Germany. The next reason of operation was to secure Balkan for military campaign against Soviet Union. The Balkan Campaign became another example of so called Blitzkrieg:

- Fights in **Yugoslavia** lasted from 6 April to 17 April 1941.
- Fights in **Greece** lasted from 6 April to 27 April 1941.

During three week both country were occupied. Only **Crete Island** where British troops were dislocated resisted. That is why German command prepared another military operation under code name **Mercury**. Its aim was to drop military units both by sea and by air. Operation was commenced on 20 May 1941. 7th Airborne Division managed to take control over airports within one day but suffered harsh losses. After one week of fights in island British troops were forced to leave.

After Balkan Campaign the Yugoslavian territory was divided into Germany (ca 10 000 km<sup>2</sup>), Italy (4 595 km<sup>2</sup>), Hungary (11 198 km<sup>2</sup>), Bulgaria, and newly established Independent Croatian State (102 724 km<sup>2</sup>); territory of Serbia and was under direct German administration (51 100 km<sup>2</sup>). Territory of Greece became part of Italy and of Bulgaria.

### 6.13 Campaign in Northern Africa 1941 to 1943

During February and March 1941 German troops were transferred to Northern Africa in order to help maintain Italian position in this region. Originally two division, among them one tank division, formed so called **Deutsches Afrikakorps** (German African Corps). This term marked not only one military corps but also stands for all German forces in Africa formed into **Panzerarmee Afrika** (Tank Army Africa). At the end of

campaign Germany send in total 13 divisions. The commander of German corps and later on army was General **Erwin Rommel**, whose nick name “Desert Fox” entered into history.

Soon after his arrival General Erwin Rommel overtook initiative:

- On 31 March 1941 Afrikakorps commenced offensive under code name **Sonnenblume** (Sunflower). During German advancement Tobruk, important port in North African shores, was sieged.
- On 13 November 1941 British commenced counter-offensive (code name **Crusader**) breached the siege of Tobruk.

At the end of 1941 the Germans were back in their initial position. That is why General Rommel attacked once again:

- During January 1942 German unit advance towards Egyptian borders, captured **Tobruk** (June 1942) and reached **El Alamein**.

El Alamein was strategic place in Northern Africa because terrain shaped narrow space to advance. On one side there was Mediterranean Sea, on the other there was large and impassable Qattara Depression. General Rommel attacked on British position in June 1942, but did not succeed. On the other hand British 8th army under commander General Bernard Law Montgomery launch counter-offensive **Lightfoot**. British made use of huge number superiority in man and in tanks and forced German and Italian troops to retreat. On 8 November 1942 opened **Operation Torch** meant that other British and American troops were disembarked in African territory in Morocco and in Algeria. The rest of surrounded Axis units got to capitulate in Tunisia on 13 May 1943.

## 6.14 Soviet Aggressions 1939 and 1940

According to agreement between U.S.S.R. and Germany of 23 August 1939 and then on agreement of 28 September 1939 spheres of influence in Europe were marked out. Into Soviet sphere belonged four countries and partly other two. Those were **Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania**, Eastern part of **Poland** and of **Romania** (Moldavian territory). Within its sphere Soviet Union commenced aggressive expansion:

- On 17 September 1939 Soviet Ukrainian and Belorussian Fronts engaged in Polish Campaign and occupied Eastern territory of **Poland**; its Northern part

was integrated with Belorussian Soviet Republic and its Southern part with Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

- After Polish Campaign Soviet Union forced the Baltic States to conclude agreements allowing placing Red army in their territory.
- From 30 November 1939 to 13 March 1940 Soviet Union conducted war with **Finland** (so called **Winter War**). The reason was fact that Finland did not accept Soviet demands regarding placing Red army and territorial concessions (see below).
- During June 1940 Red army occupied **Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania** and include their territory as part of Soviet Union.
- On 28 June 1940 Soviet troops occupied **Romanian** territory, present-day Moldova.

The largest military conflict was so called **Winter War** between Soviet Union and Finland. Pre-text for Soviet attack was so called **Mainila incident**, i.e. alleged shooting on Soviet position on 26 November 1939. Despite huge superiority in men and equipment Red Army could not simply invade Finnish territory and destroy its armed forces. During first stage of war Soviet Union commenced three main offensives with the aim to breach Finnish defence position on Mannerheim Line in southern part of Finnish-Soviet front. Moreover Finnish prevailed in number of battles, in battle of Taipale, of Summa, and the most famous battle of Suomussalmi.

Even third Soviet offensive commenced on 1 February 1940 breached over Finnish defence position. Soon after that Finland pledged for peace treaty that was concluded on 13 March 1940. According to this treaty Finland lost its part of its territory. But Soviet victory was bought out by high price. While Finland suffered 71 000 casualties, including 23 000 dead, Soviet Union lost some 400 000 men, including 130 000 dead.

Because of all these aggression Soviet Union gained ca. 475 000 square km of territory with **22 million inhabitants** in its western borders. Despite this fact those aggression led to deterioration of international position of Soviet Union; Soviet Union was, for example, expelled from League of Nations. The Winter War was reason why Finland became important ally of National Socialist Germany in its Soviet Campaign.

## 6.15 Barbarossa Operation 1941

Relations between Soviet Union and National Socialist Germany deteriorated badly during 1940. Both countries prepared plans to invade each other (Barbarossa Operation vs. Zhukov Plan). After failure of Soviet-German talks in Berlin in November 1940 Adolf Hitler issued command no. 21 on 18 December 1940. Under code name **Fall Barbarossa** (Barbarossa Operation) German high command prepared attack to Soviet Union. The main goal was to reach and capture Moscow and build a defence line from Archangels in the North to Astrakhan on the Volga River in the South.

Barbarossa Operation was commenced on 22 June 1941 in 3:15 a.m. by attack on Soviet Air Force position. During first hours of war majority of airplanes in Baltic, Belorussian, and in Ukrainian regions were destroyed.

Ground Forces of Wehrmacht were divided into three main groups, while each group has its own goals:

- **Army Group North** (Heeresgruppe Nord) under command of General Wilhelm von Leeb attacked from Eastern Prussia into Baltic regions. This group disposed of 4th Tank Army (nominally Tank Group) under command of General Erich Höpner. Its goal was to reach Leningrad.
- **Army Group Centre** (Heeresgruppe Mitte) under command of General Fedor von Bock attacked from former Polish territory into Belarus. This group disposed of 3rd and 2nd Tank Armies under command of Generals Hermann Hoth and Heinz Guderian. It was the most powerful formation of Wehrmacht and its goal was to reach Moscow.
- **Army Group South** (Heeresgruppe Süd) under command of General Gerd von Rundstedt attacked from South of Third Reich and from Romania into Ukraine. This group disposed of 1st Tank Army under command of General Ewald von Kleist. Its goal was to reach Kiev.

In total National Socialist Germany and its allies (Finland, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, and Spain) deployed nearly 3 500 000 men, 3600 tanks and 3700 airplanes. But Red Army had approximately 5 000 000 men, 23 000 tanks and more than 20 000 airplanes. Despite this fact Soviet Union noticed number of harsh losses and lost battle in first weeks of Soviet Campaign. Joseph Stalin, Soviet dictator, need

to mobilize all human resources and German-Soviet war declared to be so called **Great Patriotic War**.

German troops promptly advanced into Soviet Union, for example Army Group North moved some 60 km forward. Wehrmacht deployed the same tactics as before. The core was to breach enemy defence by **using concentrated tank attacks on the flank** and to **surround defending units**. While infantry was authorized to liquidate the rest of defence, tank units continued in their advancement.

Until 21 August 1941 all three army groups advanced hundreds of kilometres and reached line Leningrad – Smolensk – Kiev – Odesa. But at that time Adolf Hitler **changed the course of attacks**. Instead of Moscow he commanded to assault to Ukraine. Within few weeks two tank armies (1st and 2nd) prevailed in number of battles and bring about other harsh losses for Red Army. At the end of September Wehrmacht was standing on front line from Leningrad to Zaporozhe.

But once again Adolf Hitler interfered into military command and ordered that all forces should advance to – Moscow.

### **6.16 Battle of Moscow 1941**

At the end of November 1941 the Third Reich was in its peak of power, controlled territory that was extending from Pyrenees in the west to the Moscow in the east. The only resisting powers were United Kingdom and Soviet Union.

Whereas in 1937 Germany had 66 million inhabitants and territory of 470 500 square km, in 1941 it was 117 million and 898 700 square km. It meant that with Germany merged, Austria (84 000 km<sup>2</sup>), Sudeten (28 680 km<sup>2</sup>), Protectorate of Czech and Moravia (49 362 km<sup>2</sup>), Lithuania (2000 km<sup>2</sup>), General Government (145 000 km<sup>2</sup>), Belgian region of Eupen and Malmedy (1 036 km<sup>2</sup>), French Alsace-Lorraine (14 522 km<sup>2</sup>), Yugoslavian Slovenia (more than 10 000 km<sup>2</sup>) and others.

At the end of September 1941 Adolf Hitler ordered to commence **Typhoon Operation**. The operation began on 2 October 1941 but Heinz Guderian and its 2nd Tank Army already advanced towards Moscow and reached Tula, 200 km south of Moscow. Once again Red Army suffered harsh losses. Hundreds of thousands of man were surrounded in Vyazma and Bryansk. During second half of November the advancement of German units got slow down due to weather conditions and on 5 December 1941 fully stopped only **25 km away from Kremlin**.

That day, on 5 December 1941, Red Army commenced large counter-offensive in order to defeat German troops in front of Moscow and to bring about change in course of Great Patriotic War. Soviet Union arranged strange reinforcement of Red Army but strategic mistake was made. Red Army attacked in whole broad of front. That is why Soviet Union could not make use of initial success and disperse its forces. Wehrmacht was force to retreat hundreds of kilometres; however Red Army became fully exhausted during March 1942 and due to high losses of manpower, weapons, and equipment needed to end up series of winter offensive.

### 6.17 Entry of United States into War and Pacific Theatre

The United States hold **position of neutrality** in course of Second World War, but talks between U.S. president Delano F. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill suggests the United States support the fight of United Kingdom against Germany and its allies. Moreover relations of United States to both Germany and Japan gradually deteriorated.

On 7 December 1941 Imperial Japanese Navy under command of Admiral Chuichi Nagumo attacked on American military base in **Pearl Harbour** in Hawaiian island Oahu. The aim of the assault was to paralyze American forces in Eastern Pacific and to conquer Southern, East-Southern Asia and Pacific islands without American interference. But Americans had **luck in misfortune**:

- During Japanese attack aircraft carriers (warships) were not harbouring in port and were not destructed; Japanese forces could only destroy and damage U.S. battle ships and airplanes.

At the same time Japanese army commenced attack in South-East Asia. Japanese forces occupied colonies of Western countries, i.e. **Malaysia** and **Singapore**, **Indochina**, **Indonesia**, the **Philippines** etc. British and Americans troops suffered defeat. Until mid-1942 all South Eastern Asia was under Japanese control.

### 6.18 Fall Blau and the Battle of Stalingrad 1942 and 1943

German highest command prepared new offensive in summer 1942. In comparison with Fall Barbarossa of 1941 the new plan, **Fall Blau** (Case Blue), involved only southern part of Eastern front. The aim of planned advancement was to **seize**



**Stalingrad** and to build defence in left wing of German armies that could enable to control of Southern Russia and **oil field in Baku**.

On 28 June 1942 so called Army Groups "A" and "B" commenced realization of Plan. In first stage German troops advanced and reached Don River. On 21 August 1942 units of 6th Army crossed the Don River and reached western bank of Volga River northern of Stalingrad. After reinforcement the attack to Stalingrad was commenced on 13 September 1942. The only armed force in the city was 62nd Army under command of General Vasily Chuikov. But against previous strategy Wehrmacht **did not commenced outflanking manoeuvre, but direct approach to the city**. This solution showed to be disadvantage for Germans, because they could not use aircraft or tank weapon in way of so called Blitzkrieg.

At the same time Adolf Hitler changed (again) aims of operation. He withdrew the 4th Tank Army from the direction of oil field in Baku and headed it towards Stalingrad. Despite this measure advancement in Stalingrad stopped some hundred meters from bank of Volga River during October 1942. Control of western bank in Stalingrad was key factor that enabled Red Army continuously reinforcement of defence of city. The battle of Stalingrad became one of the first examples of modern urban warfare. Harsh clashes for Pavlov House, Mamayev Kurgan etc. became milestones in development of new military tactics.

But battle of Stalingrad was decided in snowy fields kilometres out of the city. On 19 November 1942 Red Army commenced **Operation Uranus**. The aim of this operation was to seize the city by two parallel attacks, Northern by South-East and Don Fronts and Southern by Stalingrad Front. Three days after, on 22 November 1942, both wings joined near Kalach and surrounded the Stalingrad where 6th Army of General Friedrich von Paulus was left.

On 12 December 1942 German army formed into so called **Army Group South** under command of Field Marshal Erich von Manstein and commenced counter-attack in order to breach the siege. Rapid advancement gradually slowed down and then stopped only 40 km before Stalingrad. Field Marshal von Manstein was forced to retreat. The fate of 6th Army was sealed.

Germans tried to establish so called Air Bridge that could enable supply of 6th Army, but they were not successful. Surrounded units suffered from lack of ammunition and even of food. Commander of exhausted army was forced to capitulate on 31 January 1943. The rest of resisting men surrendered on 2 February

1943. Some 95 000 men were captured; these were the first German Prisoners of War in Soviet Union, but only 6000 of them returned back home after years of captivity.

Battle of Stalingrad was one of the **largest battles during Second World War**. Losses of both sides are estimate for one million of dead, captured, missing, and wounded. What makes the battle one of decisive moment in course of war is not only number of losses but also its strategic and operational value. Soviets learned the principles of German Blitzkrieg and successfully used it for their advantage.

### **6.19 Italian Campaign 1943 to 1945**

After the United States and United Kingdom gained the control over North African coast, both countries started to prepare invasion in Italy. Disembarking of British and American forces on Sicily on 10 July 1943 was prepared under code name **Operation Husky**. Because of the fact that armies of Allies reached Italian soil dictatorship of Benito Mussolini was overthrown and soon after that **Italy declared war to Germany**. Meanwhile rest of Italian territory was occupied by German troops.

At the same time, on 3 September 1943, British forces crossed over **Messina Strait** and reached Italian Peninsula and American and British forces disembarked near **Salerno** on 8 September 1943 and near **Taranto** on 9 September 1943. But advancement to the north was stopped on so called Gustav Line in December 1943.

The key position in German defence line occupied large monastic complex on the top of the hill Monte Cassino, because under this hill there was only one passable way to the Rome. Tough fights over the hill took place from 17 February to 18 May 1944. American forces attempted to flank over German positions and disembarked in the rear of battle zone near Anzio on 22 January 1944 (Operation Shingle). But even this manoeuver could not breach defence of Wehrmacht.

Even the fall of Monte Cassino German troops were forced to retreat to the Northern Italy where another defence line, unofficially named as **Goths Line**, was built. The Northern Italy, meanwhile transformed into so called Salo Republic when Benito Mussolini restored his dictatorship, was not captured until the end of April 1945.

## 6.20 Battle of Kursk 1943

In early spring 1943 belligerents in Eastern front, i.e. Germany and Soviet Union **got exhausted of previous fights**. Soviet Union delivered harsh defeat to the Third Reich in battle of Stalingrad and Wehrmacht was forced to abandon large territory of Southern Russia and Caucasus Region. On the other hand Army Group South under command of Field Marshal Erich von Manstein brought about defeat of Red Army during the Third Battle of Kharkov. In March 1943 front line was stabilized around Kursk where made a **large bulge into German position**. Attention of both sides focused on this part of front. While Adolf Hitler prepared for offensive, Joseph Stalin decided to lead defence.

In March 1943 German High Command tried to defeat Red Army by flanking and surrounding their position according to the plan that was created under code name **Unternehmen Zitadelle** (Operation Citadel). Operation was commenced on 5 July 1943; two army formations were committed to lead the operation:

- The aim of **Army Group Centre** under commandment of General Günther von Kluge was to breach northern part of front and to advance to South towards city **Belgorod**.
- The aim of **Army Group South** under commandment of Field Marshal Erich von Manstein was to breach southern part of front and to advance to North towards city **Kursk**.

During the course of operation Wehrmacht did not reached any decisive victory. The first mistake was the fact that operation lacked factor of surprise. Red Army awaited German attack in Kursk bulge and later on was informed even about time and place of Operation Citadel. To avert German advancement three army formations, so called Fronts, were reinforced:

- In the northern part of Kursk Bulge there was located **Central Front** under command of General Konstantin K. Rokossovsky,
- in the southern part of Kursk Bulge there was located **Voronezh Front** under command of General Nikolai F. Vatutin, one of the most brilliant tactician of the Red Army, and
- **Steppe Front** under command of Ivan Konev was set aside as mobile reserve.

That is why Wehrmacht reached only local success. In southern direction its advancement was stopped in the first defence line. Although and in the northern direction advancement of Army Group South nearly breached third, and the last, defence line, was fully stopped in the **Battle of Prokhorovka** on 12 July 1943. The Battle of Prokhorovka became the largest tank battle in history.

Despite the fact that during Operation Citadel Red Army suffered higher losses, Soviet Union was, unlikely Germany, able to replace them. Operation Citadel represents turnaround point in the course of war in Eastern Front, because **Soviet Union definitely took over the strategic initiative**; soon after the Battle of Kursk two offensives were commenced:

- On 12 July 1943 it was **Operation Kutuzov** with the aim of capturing city Orel and to assault the rear of Army Group Centre and
- on 12 August 1943 it was **Operation Polkovodets Rumyantsev** that led to so called Fourth Battle of Kharkov (till 23 August 1943).

## 6.21 Invasion of Normandy 1944

While in Eastern Front Germany was since summer 1943 in defensive, beginning of Allied initiative in Western Front is so called **Operation Overlord**. Its aim was to disembark British and Americans unit in the northern France in Normandy and hence advanced into France and finally to defeat German armed forces.

According to the talks of Big Three in Teheran in November 1943 United States and United Kingdom pledged to open second front in Europe in spring 1944. The final term was set on 5 June 1944 but because of weather condition the assault was one day postponed.

Operation Overlord was open during the night from 5 to 6 June 1944 when Airborne Divisions (6th British and 82nd and 101st American) and 23 000 men were dropped on the both flank of invasion area, on the right wing near city Carentan and on the left wing near city Caen.

The Allies gathered more than 3 000 000 men to open Western Front which 150 000 of them were supposed to be delivered in first day. In the morning of the D-Day five division of 21th Army Group under command Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery were deployed to gain a control over five beaches and secure there a beachhead:

- **Utah Beach** on the Cotentin Peninsula was the first beach for Allied units to disembark. American 4th Infantry Division and 70th Tank Battalion were charged to breach German defence. The task was fulfilled despite the fact that due to mistake in navigation invasion boats landed in different beached than planned.
- **Omaha Beach** is supposed to be the most blooded sector. It was due to tough German defence and due the fact that prepared Duplex-Drive tanks, amphibious device, failed to reach the beach. During morning American 29th Infantry Division gained the control of the beach, but for the cost of 10 000 total losses.
- In **Gold Beach** landed British 50th Infantry Division and immediately secured a beachhead. Division noticed only small losses, some 350 men were killed.
- To gain a control over **Juno Beach** was the task of Canadian 3rd Infantry Division. Despite the fact that division suffered harsh losses, in total nearly half of men were killed or wounded, until the end of D-Day division advanced 15 km into inland.
- **Sword Beach** was the second British sector, whose capture was the task of 3rd Infantry Division. Soldiers of this division noticed only weak German resistance and in early afternoon they joined British paratroopers and gained control over bridges over Caen Channel and Orne River.

Operation Overlord became one of the decisive moments in course of Second World War and success of American and British forces. During one day they together managed to build a beachhead. Losses were higher than on the German side, some 10 000 against 8000, but in comparison of expected relatively low.

Normandy Landing was the first part of **Battle in Normandy** that lasted till 3 August 1944. In days and weeks Allies could not breach German defence. The turnaround brought the **battle of Avranches** during which American tanks invaded French inland.

On 15 August 1944 Americans and British commenced other disembarking operation in Southern France. The aim of **Operation Dragoon** (originally Anvil) was to support Normandy landing, but failed due to delays. Despite this lateness operation brought about the result in fact that soon after landing in Southern France German troops hastily abandoned France.

## 6.22 Battle in Ardennes 1944

During September 1944 Wehrmacht deflect the advancement of Allies in France and consolidated defence around Rhine River. At the end of 1944 Adolf Hitler reached a conviction that possibility of turnaround in course of Second World War is still imminent. That is why German High Command prepared three offensive operations in Western Front. The first one and the largest was the **Unternehmen Wacht am Rhein** (Operation Watch on the Rhine) that led to the Battle in Ardennes (Battle of the Bulge).

On 16 December 1944 German Group Army B under commandment of General Walther Model commenced advanced over poorly defended Ardennes. The aim of attack was to reach English Channel and capture Antwerp, to divide American and British troops, and bring about disagreement between allied powers.

The core of assault represented 6th Tank Army SS under General Sepp Dietrich and 5th Tank Army under General Hasso von Manteuffel. Germans also made use of unfavourable weather that protected Allies from using aircraft. Both tank armies were able to advance some 50 kilometres, but could not cross the Meuse River, precondition of further advancement. In **Bastogne**, important road cross, 101th Airborne Division managed to resist until the Allied switched into counter-offensive. On 26 December 1944 weather had changed, Americans and British could deploy their Air Forces, and stopped German advancement. In the beginning of January Allies switched into counter-offensive and on 28 January 1945 the German were cast back to their initial position.

During December 1944 and January 1945 Wehrmacht attempted to breach the front in other places. On 31 December 1944 Operation **Nordwind** (North Wind) was commenced and on 1 January 1945 Operation **Bodenplatte** (Baseplate), assault of Luftwaffe to the airports in Benelux and in Northern France in order to win air superiority.

All three operations, especially Battle of Bulge, bring about harsh losses both to Allies and to Germany. That is why that despite the fact that Wehrmacht reached noticeable successes from strategic point of view all three operations led only to more **exhaustion of yet insufficient power of the Third Reich**.

### 6.23 Berlin Operation and German Capitulation 1945

While Americans and British were hopelessly stopped in the western borders of Germany in the beginning of 1945 Red Army prepared large operation with the aim to cross Oder River and prepare final assault to Berlin. On 12 January 1945 so called **Vistula-Oder Operation** was commenced. During three weeks Red Army advanced from Warsaw to the Küstrin and on 2 February 1945 gained a bridgehead on the right bank of Oder River.

From then Red Army prepared the final operation with the only goal; that goal was to **capture Berlin and to defeat rest of German forces**. Operation was commenced on 16 April 1945. Two Soviet military formations were deployed to defeat Berlin:

- **1st Belarussian Front** under General Georgy Zhukov was charged to attack directly to the Berlin and
- **1st Ukrainian Front** under General Ivan Konev was charged to attack southern of Berlin and surround German forces in Berlin.

During first day of operation Red Army, despite superiority in number, was not able to breach German defence; especially in Seelow Heights tough fights took place. The **Battle of Seelow Heights** lasted from 16 to 19 April 1945 when finally 1st Belarussian Front breached over deep defence lines.

On 24 April 1945 Red Army reached suburb of Berlin and commenced encirclement manoeuvre. In the following days both fronts were forced to undertake tough fights in Berlin. In defence of German Capital were deployed units of Volkssturm, form of Home Guard, and of Hitlerjugend, Hitler's Youth Movement. Those units had in fact no military significance, but increase of casualties among civilians. On 30 April 1945 Adolf Hitler committed suicide in his bunker underneath Berlin and on 2 May 1945 garrison of Berlin surrender to Soviet.

The death of Adolf Hitler and loss of Berlin were the last causes that make German leaders, new Chancellor became Admiral Karl Dönitz, to conclude the peace. On 7 May 1945 representatives of Wehrmacht signed **unconditional capitulation** in Reims and once again on 8 May 1945 in Berlin. Not all units accepted the term of capitulations. Especially Waffen-SS refused to surrender. The last fight of war took place on 12 May 1945 near Milín in territory of restored Czechoslovakia.

## 6.24 War in Pacific 1941 to 1945

In European theatre war ended in May 1945 but fights in Pacific and in South-Eastern Asia continued. After the **Battle of Midway** on 4 to 7 June 1941 and especially the **Guadalcanal Campaign** that lasted from 7 August 1942 to 9 February 1943 Japan lost strategic initiative once for all. In 1944 suffered harsh losses of vessels, especially of aircraft carriers and battle ships, in **Battles of Philippine Sea** (19 to 20 June 1944) and of **Leyte Gulf** (23 to 26 October 1944) and from beginning of 1945 Americans prepared for invasion in Japanese Islands:

- From 16 February 1945 to 26 March 1945 battle of **Iwo Jima** took place. Americans captured airport from which Japanese islands could be reached.
- On 1 April 1945 Americans commenced Operation Iceberg, i.e. disembarking in **Okinawa**. Tough fight during which nearly all Japanese soldiers were killed in action and high losses of civilian inhabitants persuade American High Command to deploy new atomic weapon in order to avoid own losses.
- On 6 August 1945 atomic bomb “Little Boy” was dropped to the Hiroshima.
- On 8 August 1945 U.S.S.R. declared war to Japan and commenced Manchurian Campaign.
- On 9 August 1945 atomic bomb “Fat Man” was dropped to the Nagasaki.

Because of catastrophic deterioration of Japanese military situation new government of pledge for armistice and Emperor Hirohito issued an order to stop the fights in all fronts on 14 August 1945. The **unconditional capitulation of Japan** was signed on the deck of battle ship Missouri on 2 September 1945. That was the end of Second World War.



## 6.25 Summary of Chapter

Second World War was the **largest military conflict in history** according to the both number of combatants and of involved devices as well as number of victims. Because the impact of ideologies in war the majority of victims were civilians. War was conducted out of war conventions and out of respect of human right by all involved members.

End of war bring **new category of crimes**; those were crimes against peace, against humanity, war crimes, and their punishment that are observed until present days.

That is why the Second World War became largest example of **unconventional warfare**. Third Reich as well as Soviet Union implement so called force labour. According to the ideology of Nazism and Communism millions of men became victims because of their racial, religious, or social origin. Member of United Nations Coalition, especially Americans and British, deployed military strategy called Strategic Bombardment whose victims were primarily civilian inhabitants.

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## 7 POST-WAR WORLD: CONSEQUENCES OF SECOND WORLD WAR

### 1945 TO 1947

The Second World War was the largest military conflict in history of mankind. That is why the impact of war was also significant in all possible aspects. The result of war led to defeat of three world powers, of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The new powers, or superpowers, became United States and Soviet Union.

The victorious states attempted to, the same as after First World War, to accept such measures that will prevent the outbreak of war once for all. The result was foundation of organization United Nations.

The course of Second World War proved that waging of war is no more only category of diplomatic relations, but real crime. That is why the trial with persons blamed for triggering the war took place in 1945 and lasted all over second half of 20th century.

Second World War, as “total war” (see T6 Second World War) meant also total destruction of economy and infrastructure that could be fatal. The destructive power of war led to necessity of recovery. Billions of dollars were expend to restore pre-war conditions.

But all attempts to avoid the war were out of success. In 1947 and 1948 the world was confronted with possibility of next conflict – Cold War.

### 7.1 Overall Results of Second World War

The Second World War was the **largest war conflict in history** both according to extend of military operations and number of victims. In total number of dead reached at least 60 million, but it is only approximation, the real height was never exactly assessed.

Population casualties in war were unequally distributed. The most casualties were in countries of **Central and East Europe**, together ca. 44 million, i.e. 72 % of all losses! The next decisive moment is fact that more fallen men and more casualties were on side of anti-Hitler coalition than on Axis due to fact of repression against occupation regimes (guerrilla) and genocide of selected group of inhabitants.

- **During the war there was more civilian than military casualties.**

From total 60 million dead were approximately 20 million fallen men, i.e. one third.

**Population losses of anti-Hitler coalition** and their allies were in total ca. 50 million including 16 mil fallen men.

In each country the situation was as follows:

- **Soviet Union**

- Soviet Union suffered largest population losses, the total number is usually quantified to 28 million including 12 million fallen soldiers, i.e. each seventh inhabitant died (!), but the number could be higher. For example in 1941 Soviet Union has ca. 193 million inhabitants, while in 1945 it was 167 million inhabitants. It meant that only the decrease was 26 million without taking into consideration of population growth.

- **Poland**

- Extent of losses of Poland were also considerable. Together were killed some 6 million inhabitants that meant each sixth (!). The number is very high due to fact that half of them were Jewish inhabitants who died and were killed in ghettos extermination camps. Total number of fallen man was 300 000 men.

- **Yugoslavia**

- In total Yugoslavia suffered loss of 1.7 million inhabitants, each ninth (!). But majority of them became victim of ethnic and religious clashes among nations of Yugoslavia, especially of Croats and Serbs, and of guerrilla fight.

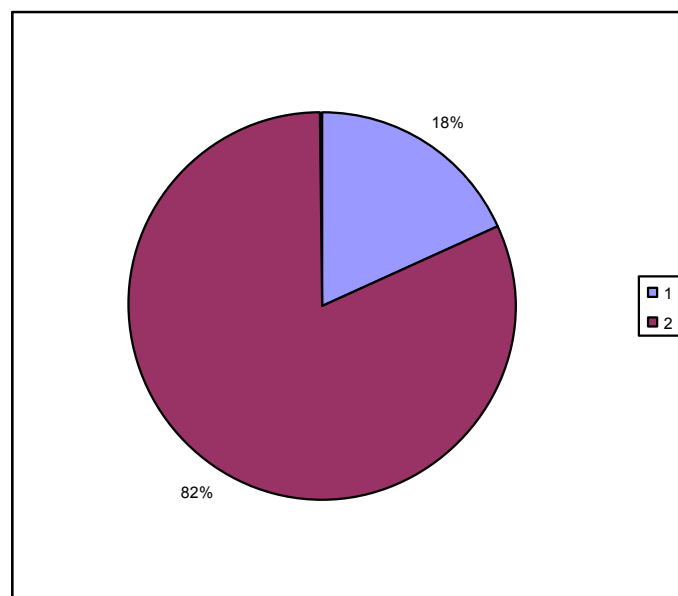
- **Other countries**

- In other countries of United Nations the number of dead was as follows:
- In **China** there was 10 million dead including 2,5 mil fallen men,
- in **France** 650 000 dead including 200 000 fallen men,
- in **Greece** 550 000 dead including 10 000 fallen men,
- in **U.S.A.** 405 000 dead in which majority of them, 399 000, were fallen men,
- in **United Kingdom** 375 000 dead including 300 000 fallen man, and
- in **Czechoslovakia** 265 000 dead including 3000. Taking into account also German population means that total losses overcome 500 000 dead.

**In Axis countries the majority of dead goes to the detriment of Germany:**

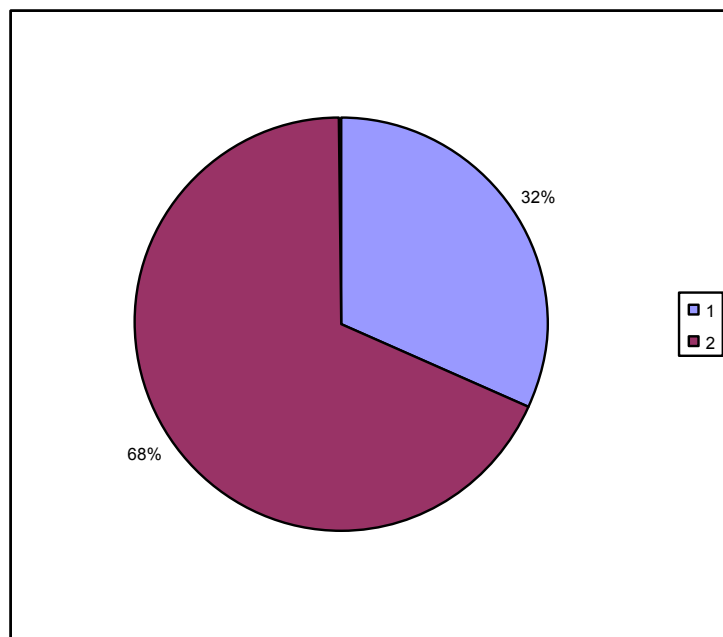
- **Germany**
  - Germany suffered the largest losses of Axis countries, especially during 1945. In total ca. 6.5 million people died each eleventh, but majority of them were military casualties, together 4 million.
- **Japan**
  - In Japan the total number reached 2.5 million, each twenty eighth, especially during 1945 and majority of them were military casualties, ca. 1.5 million.
- **Other countries**
  - During war allies of Germany and Japan switched to side of anti-Hitler coalition, part of losses comprises on fight against Axis, but situation was as follows:
  - In **Romania** total number of dead was 600 000 including 300 000 fallen men,
  - in **Italy** 500 000 dead including 200 000 fallen men,
  - in **Hungary** 385 000 dead including 25 000 fallen men
  - in **Finland** 50 000, while civilian losses were minimal, and
  - in **Bulgaria** 15 000 dead.

**Overall Results: Human Losses**



The blue colour is for number of human losses of Axis, the violin is for United Nations.

### Overall Results: Number of Fallen Men



The blue colour is for number of number of fallen soldiers of Axis, the violin is for United Nations.

## 7.2 Criminal Aspect of Second World War

- Aggression of Axis did not aim to reach hegemony, but to **physically liquidate enemy**: that is why majority of victims from civilians:
- **National Socialist Germany**
  - Nazi regime conducted genocide of non-Aryan population. In first place the victims were mentally disabled people, than Jewish in extermination camps.
- **Japan**
  - Japan did not found any extermination camps, but the high number of its victims was due to the way the Japanese conduct the war, typical example was Nanking massacre.
- **Anti-Hitler Coalition**
  - Also members of United Nations were blamed for criminal deeds.
  - **U.S.S.R.:** genocide of nations allied to Germany, physical liquidation of P.O.W.s.
  - **U.S.A. and United Kingdom:** strategic bombardment, victims ordinarily civilians.

### 7.3 Territorial Changes after Second World War

According to **Atlantic Charter** territorial changes could only happen in nation-wide consent. But this paragraph was not observed. Among victorious states the largest territorial gains had:

- **Soviet Union**
  - After 1945 recognition of war expansions, i.e. gain of part of Finland, Baltic lands, Eastern Poland, and Moldova (part of Romania), and post-war territorial gains, i.e. part of Prussia (Germany), Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (Czechoslovakia), Southern Sakhalin and Kuril Islands (Japan)
- **Poland**
  - The largest changes: loss of Eastern territories vs. gain of Eastern part of Germany
- **Yugoslavia**
  - Gain of Northern shores of Adriatic Sea (dispute with Italy)
- Defeated states: return of occupied territory and loss of their own territory
- **Germany**
  - The largest territorial losses = territory East of Odra and Nysa Rivers, i.e. Silesia, Pomerania, and Prussia; Saarland under administration of France
  - Own territory divided into occupation zones, i.e. Soviet, American, British (Bizonia), and French (Trizonia); also Berlin divided into three sectors
- **Austria**
  - Uncertain status: ally of victim of Nazi regime, until 1955 divided into four occupation zones
- **Italy**
  - Loss of all colonies (under administration of U.N.), Northern part of Adriatic shores, and the Dodecanese
- **European allies of Axis**
  - Finland, Romania; Hungary, Bulgaria

- **Japan**

- Loss of all territories that Japan gained after 1884, i.e. Manchuria, Korea, Pacific islands, Southern Sakhalin and Kuril Island

## **7.4 War Criminal Punishment**

According to the wide consensus triggering of war was since Second World War considered being crime. That is why punishment of war criminal took place. But all trials were conducted before the peace treaties were signed and also without any support in law. Since its beginnings these trials became controversial.

- **Nuremberg Trials** were processes before military tribunal that was held in German city Nuremberg, Bavaria from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946.
  - In total 13 trials against representatives of Nazi Germany before Nuremberg Court took place.
  - Nuremberg trials were not important only due the fact that the most important political and military leaders of Nazi regime were judged, but also due to fact that principles of prosecution constituted a definition of war crime and influenced the development of international criminal law.
  - According to decision of Nuremberg Court the defendants were blamed to be guilty of
    - 1) **participation in common plan or conspiracy in crime against peace,**
    - 2) **planning, initiating, and waging aggressive wars,**
    - 3) **war crimes,** and
    - 4) **crimes against humanity.**
  - Among dead penalties there were e.g.
  - **Herman Göring**, German minister and leader of air force,
  - **Joachim von Ribbentrop**, minister of foreign affairs, or
  - **Alfred Rosenberg**, chief ideologist of Nazi Party. Numbers of other representatives were sentenced to years of imprisonment.
- **Tokyo Trial** was military trial that was held before International Military Tribunal for the Far East from 29 April 1946 to 12 November 1948.
  - Tribunal was limited in fact that could not judge Emperor Hirohito and his family.



- Tribunal distinguished three types of war crimes, conspiracy to start war, crimes against humanity, and activity as planning or ordering of command structure.
- **Retribution in world**
  - Trial with war criminal and collaborators were held in all countries, but number of defendants differs in each country. Especially large retribution agenda was in France and in Bulgaria.

## **7.5 Post-war Recovery**

European countries were badly damaged as consequence of the war. That is why possibilities to help these countries were considered and realized as U.N.R.R.A. and later on European Recovery Programme.

**United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration**, or abbreviate as **U.N.R.R.A.**, was international institution founded on 9 November 1943 with goal to provide humanitarian help to countries seriously hurt by the war, especially to refugees.

The U.N.R.R.A. comprised 44 states, but majority of financial support came from the **United States**. Some two thirds of 11 billion dollars was of U.S. origin.

The help was aimed at all needed countries, but special support was given to countries of Balkan Peninsula, i.e. Albania, Greece, and Yugoslavia, than Italy, and Poland. U.N.N.R.A. also co-operated with volunteer charitable organizations

U.N.R.R.A. was dissolved in spring 1949 and partly replaced by Marshall Plan. But majority of its agenda were entrusted to organizations of United Nations, i.e. Food and Agriculture Organization, UNICEF, and World Health Organization.

American government was concerned about spread of Communism in Europe. American President Harry Truman was aware that economic and social instability is pre-condition that enabled rapid spread of this ideology, or political radicalism as such. That is why his State Secretary George Marshall declared in Harvard University so called **European Recovery Programme** on 5 June 1947. According to his author the Plan is named as **Marshall Plan**.

The core of plan was help for European countries, i.e. interest-free loan to needed countries. All countries were appealed to run for this help, but with condition to clearly prove, what their governments will do with the money.

The pre-condition was reason the Soviet Union rejected the plan in Moscow conference in June 1947 and soon was followed by Poland and Czechoslovakia. That in fact meant that European Recovery Programme became limited to 16 **countries of Western and Southern Europe**, i.e. United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Netherland, Greece, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, Luxemburg, and Turkey.

Until 1952 together 13 billion dollars were provided.

European Recovery Programme became the basis of **rapid economic renewal** of Europe that in 1952 reached its pre-war level. Contrary to this consequences of war in Eastern Europe were still visible long after the end of Second World War.

## 7.6 Post-War World Order

During Second World War negotiations about new world order to prevent another war conflict took place. The results were to major deeds regarding affecting world economy:

- **General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs** (GATT) was agreement signed on 30 October 1948 by 23 countries. According to the meaning of its articles signed countries agreed not to raise tariff barriers. Agreement should be only basis for formation of international organization, but this happened in 1990 when GATT was replaced by World Trade Organization.
- **International Monetary Fund and World Bank** was second post-war institution. Fund and bank was established in 1945 on basis of **Bretton Woods** negotiations. Its aim was is to support monetary stability and investment project (the International Monetary Fund – embedded liberalism).

Except these institutions after the end of Second World War several other institutions were founded, among them, e.g. **International Court of Justice in Haag**.

## 7.7 United Nations

One of the most permanent, but indirect result of the Second World War was the establishment of **United Nations** that in fact replaced League of Nations. The aim of this intergovernmental organization was to promote international co-operation, but especially to prevent another such conflict, i.e. to maintain peace and security. The term United Nations appeared on 1 January 1942 in the **Declaration of the United**

**Nations**, document completing Atlantic Charter that was agreed by members of anti-Hitler coalition.

First proposals outlining the purpose of world-wide organization were debated of **Dumbarton Oaks Conference**. On the ground of Yalta Conference establishing conference of United Nation took place from 25 April to 26 June 1945, where met the representatives of 50 countries. On 26 June 1945 **Charter of the United Nations** was ratified and on 24 October 1945 this charter entered into force and the United Nations start to exist.

The main bodies of United Nations are:

- **General Assembly**
  - “Parliament” of United Nations based on the principle that one state dispose by one vote.
- **Security Council**
  - Executive body of United Nations comprised of five permanent members if victorious powers, i.e. U.S.A., Soviet Union/Russia, China, France, and United Kingdom, and five changing members. The position of each member was not equal. Permanent members could exercise the power of veto.
- **General Secretary**
  - General Secretary is representative of U.N. and head of Secretary of U.N. who have Secretariat.

**The Charter of the United Nations** is the foundational text of the organization of the same name:

Preamble

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

I

To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

## II

Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

(source: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>)

## 7.8 Nuclear Weapon

In 1930s principle of fission was discovered and after outbreak of Second World War both sides of the conflict endeavour to build functional nuclear weapon. First attempt to build nuclear weapon dates back to experiments of British Ernest Rutherford and Italian Enrico Fermi. Nuclear weapon could be defined as weapon of mass destruction based on energy of nuclear fission.

- In **Germany** scientists were involved in Unsuccessful attempt to create nuclear weapon that was commenced in 1940.
- **U.S.A.** commenced so called **Project Manhattan**, original code name was Development of Substitute Materials. The aim of project was to create nuclear weapon according to wish of physicist Albert Einstein (Einstein's letter to American president in 1939). Project involved more than 20 000 scientists and technicians in 35 compounds all over U.S.A. and became one of the largest projects ever (4 billion dollars). The decisive compounds were in Hanford in Washington, in Oak Ridge in Tennessee, and in Los Alamos in New Mexico (Robert Oppenheimer).

- **First** successful nuclear blast was triggered in Nevada Desert (Alamogordo) on 17 July 1945. Later on, in September 1945, nuclear weapon was for the first time used for military purpose (see T6, Second World War) on 6 and 9 September 1945.
- **Soviet Union** commenced its nuclear programme in 1943 and its first successful nuclear test was triggered in August 1949. Soviet Union managed to spy out American laboratories and found out their secret.
- **Other powers** gradually cracked nuclear secret and formed so called Nuclear Club. Among countries disposing nuclear weapon there are **United Kingdom** (1952), **France** (1960), **China** (1964), **India** (1974), and **Pakistan** (1998), probably also **Israel**, **South African Republic**, **Iran**, and **North Korea**.

Nuclear weapons brought about huge turn in military strategy. The destructive energy of weapon could not be limited to military targets only and in fact makes even the difference between battlefield and the rear.

## 7.9 Peace Treaties

After the war peace treaties with defeated countries except Germany were signed.

- Paris peace treaties of 10 February 1947.
  - Treaties with **Italy**, **Bulgaria**, **Finland**, **Hungary**, and **Romania**; with **Slovakia** and **Croatia**, states that ceased to exist, no agreements.
  - Allowed to reassume their responsibilities as sovereign states in international affairs.
- **Austria**
  - In 1955 so called State Agreement.
- **German issue**
  - Due to Cold War no peace treaty, partly substituted by Two Plus Four Agreement of 12 September 1990.
- **Japan**
  - After 1945 Japan occupied entirely by U.S. forces, in September 1951 **San Francisco Conference**, on 8 September 1951 peace treaty signed.

## 7.10 German Issue

According to Yalta agreement German territory was divided into four occupation zones; the situation in 1946 was as it is presented below:

Zone	Area (in square km)	Population
Soviet	108 300	17 300 000
British	97 700	22 300 000
American	107 400	17 400 000
French	42 700	5 900 000
<b>Germany in total</b>	<b>356 100</b>	<b>62 900 000</b>

But Soviet and Americans had different ideas to solve German issue. While Soviet attempted to **preserve unified Germany** that should remain under Soviet influence, Americans and British endeavoured to **divide Germany into few smaller countries**.

In fact British and Americans had to give up their plans and finally in 1955 permitted to integrate Western Germany into structures of Western World (NATO and European Economic Community). On the other hand neither Soviet Union could fulfil their ideas.

The question how to solve position of Germany became important pretext for number of crisis in relations between United States and Soviet Union, especially so called **First and Second Berlin Crisis** (see T8. Cold War).

### 7.11 Summary of Chapter

Post-war period did **delimit itself toward events of Second World War**, new category of crimes and their punishment were formed. In effort to prevent to repeat conditions that led to Second World War international political and economic organizations were founded. But capabilities of these institutions to solve the international problems were limited by fact that war co-operation of United Nations ended in turn 1947 and 1948.

Despite number of failures new world order was established that partly affect present day situation in whole world.

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## 8 COLD WAR 1947 TO 1989

In 1947, when Soviet Union refused participation in European Recovery Programme, became real, that relations between both superpowers, United States and Soviet Union, once again switched into hostile.

But after the end of Second World War situation had changed. Both countries were not “outsiders” of international relations, but key stones of world order – or even the only powers in the world. From the awaited Great Four or Four Policemen of international affairs, that should comprises United States, Soviet Union, China, and United Kingdom, two of them were not able to fulfil this task. While United Kingdom forced post-war economic depression and decay of its colonial rule, China got into chaos of civil war between Nationalists and Communists.

Both superpowers established their own bloc of dominance. But struggle of these two countries were not only struggle of political dominance, but more than that struggle of ideological dominance. Soviet Union was based on Communist ideology, referred to Marxism-Leninism, or Stalinism-Leninism, and within its bloc it was the only possible political ideology. Kremlin also attempted to export this ideology, at first into Western and Southern Europe, then into Third World.

The Cold War is supposed to be the struggle of ideology, but in fact Western World did not have any precisely formulated ideology as such. Its policy was based on ideas of representative democracy, separation of supreme powers, and of rights of citizen and of human.

During 1947 to 1989 relations undertook number of changes, from hostile in the edge of war to more or less careful co-operation. While in 1950 to 1953 representatives of both superpowers awaited that soon the war breaks out, in 1987 to 1989, when in fact the Cold War ended, Reagan and Gorbachev were able to held friendly and useful discussion.

### 8.1 Cold War

As a struggle of ideologies, Cold War was non-military conflict, competition between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. over supremacy in world. While ideology of Soviet Union could be named as

- **Communism** the term
- **Liberalism** or Liberal Democracy comprises more praxis, than ideology.

Both United States and Soviet Union formed their own blocs. These blocs never got into direct military clash. The core of **Western Bloc** led by United States comprises of:

- **North American states**, i.e. United States and Canada, and
- **Western European countries**, i.e. Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

The core of **Eastern Bloc** led by Soviet Union comprises of:

- **Eastern European countries**, i.e. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Soviet Union, but not Yugoslavia where Communist regime were also established, and
- **East Asian countries**, i.e. China, Mongolia, and North Korea, but except Mongolia Asian Communist states became soon, at least at the end of 1950s, independent on Kremlin.

Because of non-military during Cold War there were developed means for conduction the struggle. The conflicts and fights were:

- **prestigious**. It means that in this type of struggle neither of one side could have territorial gains, but victory in such competition should prove superiority of own political system. Best example of this prestigious fight was Space Race that ended by American victory in 1969.
- But both sides than conducted **subversive operations** in neutral countries. The aim of CIA or KGB operations was to spread ideology and finally to conduct coup d'etat (e.g. Chile, Ethiopia etc.).
- Numbers of conflicts were conducted as **substitute conflicts** and those conflicts were also the largest one. Substitute conflict means that United States and Soviet Union do not clash directly, i.e. American vs. Soviet troops, but **indirectly** by supporting sides of conflict.

## 8.2 Origin of Cold War

**There are number of opinions** how to date the beginning of Cold War. Same of them dates the outbreak of Cold War back to 1917 when Communist regime in Russia was established and all over World Communism began to start. But decisive was the moment when Soviet Union transformed into superpower at the end of

Second World War and second wave (also more successful) of spread of Communism started.

As beginning of Cold War are supposed to be these key moments:

- **Speech of Joseph Stalin** of 9 February 1946 in which he talked about hostility between Communist Soviet Union and other countries.
- **Speech of Winston Churchill** of 5 March 1946 in Fulton, so called Fulton Speech or Iron Curtain Speech, in which he talked about sphere of Soviet influence behind the “iron curtain”. Sir Winston Churchill was at that moment private man (Prime Minister in 1940 to 1945 and 1950 to 1955), but presence of American President Harry Truman suggests that United States agreed with Churchill's ideas.
- **Declaration of Truman Doctrine** on 12 March 1947, i.e. of doctrine to help each country that is under threat of spread of Communism. Originally aimed at Greece when civil war of Communists took and Turkey that faced Soviet ambitious in Straits.
- **Declaration of Marshall Plan** on 5 June 1947, i.e. of programme of economic help indirectly aimed against spread of Communism.
- **Outbreak of First Berlin Crisis** on 23 and 24 June 1948 was the last moment in way to Cold War. In summer 1948 the Cold War became reality.

### 8.3 Periodization of Cold War

Cold War is political term that spread after Second World War but it was used also years before, even in the Middle Ages. That means that the terminological problems must be solved. Cold War could refer to any non-military conflict, but for purpose it calls relations between Soviet Union and United States

- In **thinner meaning**
  - means only periods of highest tension, i.e. in 1947 to 1956/1962 and in 1981 to 1986/1989 (Second Cold War), while
- in **broadier meaning** it is whole Period of competition of U.S.S.R and U.S.A. from 1947/1948 to 1989/1991. According to this broader meaning six decisive periods could be distinguished,
  - year 1947 to 1953, period of highest tension,
  - 1953 to 1956, period of releasing of tension,
  - 1956 to 1962, period of repeated tension,

- 1962 to 1981, stage of so called détente, i.e. release in mutual relations,
- 1981 to 1986, restoration of competition and of new armament, and
- 1986 to 1989/1991, final stage of ending Cold War and of disintegration of Soviet Bloc.

## 8.4 Superpowers

From Second World War the two powers emerged as superpowers with no measurable rivals, except to each other.

The first and in fact the most powerful country itself was **United States of America**.

- United States had ca. 130 million inhabitants,
- was most wealthy and most powerful economy, e.g. in 1945 U.S.A. represented 47 % of world industrial production, it meant that each second industrial product was made in United States (!),
- United States than had monopoly over nuclear weapon, and
- had occupation zones in Germany, Austria, Korea, and in Japan.

The second superpower was Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. **Soviet Union** was the most damaged country, but earned a respect because of its heroic struggle with Nazi Germany.

- Soviet Union had ca. 167 million inhabitants,
- was the largest country in the world, and
- second largest economy. But in comparison to monument economy of United Nation only 9 % of world industrial productions had brand “Made in U.S.S.R.”
- Soviet Union than disposed of occupation zones in Germany, Austria, China, and in Korea,
- but its most powerful “weapon” was ideology. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was also leader of all Communist parties in the world and nearly in every country existed one.

End of Second World War was the most favourable period for both powers due to fact that other powers decayed.

- **Italy, Germany, and Japan** were defeated,
- **France** got stuck in long-lasting political crisis,
- **United Kingdom** suffered of post-war recession, and in

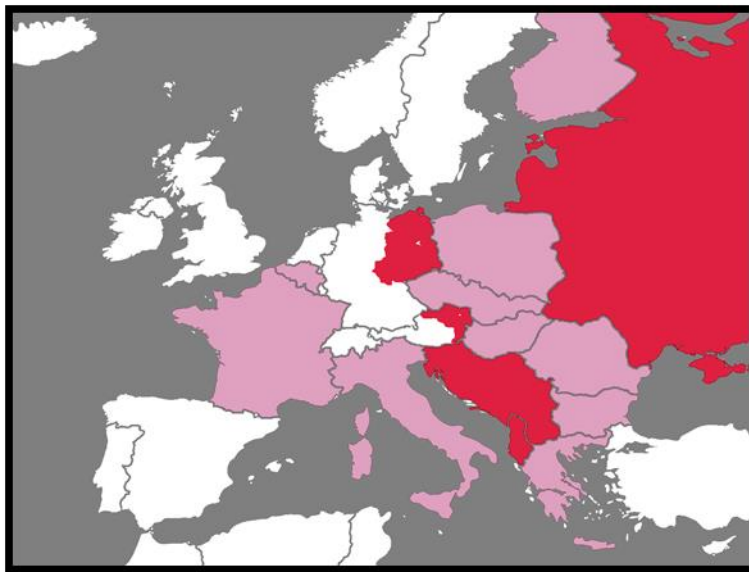
- **China** the civil war broke out.

## 8.5 Containment

In post-war years United States discussed how to react to spread of Communism. The result was formulation of “Containment”, political doctrine or policy of containment of expansion of Communism.

- Main task of this doctrine was to **end the spread of Communism**, not to push it from its position.
- Doctrine was formulated in 1946 and 1947 by George F. Kennan, charge d'affaires in Moscow Embassy of U.S.A. in **Long Telegram**, report on Soviet policy, and by American President Harry Truman. In 1947 he formulated so called **Truman Doctrine**, support all countries that cope with Communist threat (see above).

### Europe in 1945



Red colour is for political regimes of Communist Parties (Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Albania) and Soviet zones in Germany and Austria.  
 Pink colour is for countries where Communist Parties had its representatives in parliament and/or government that cope with Communist subversion (Greece).

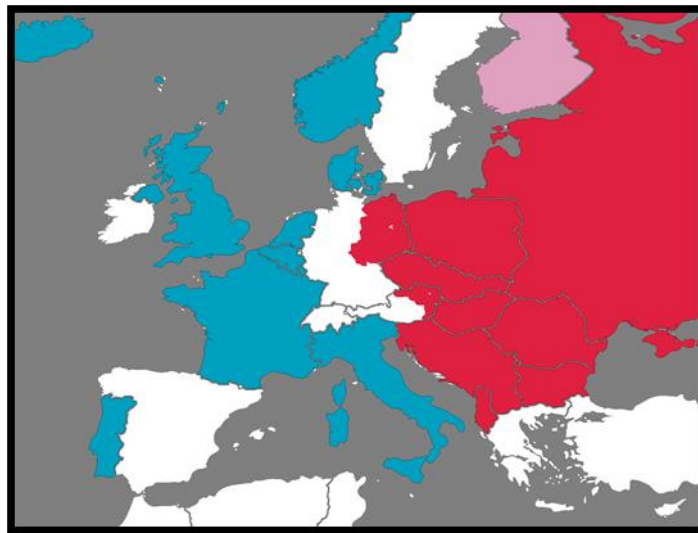
## 8.6 Sovietisation of Central and Eastern Europe 1944 to 1948

Sovietisation is term for process during which Soviet Union was gaining its hegemony over Central and Eastern Europe, or in other word consolidation of Soviet influence in **Central and Eastern Europe**.

This process lasted in two stages. In first stage from 1944 to beginning of 1947 Soviet Union attempted to get indirect dominance over region, i.e. that Joseph Stalin accepted partial independence of countries. The result was fact that enabled the Central and Eastern European countries to have its own political system. In second stage he decided to gain direct control over this region. The non-democratic systems of one political party that obeyed only decisions of Stalin were established. Soviet Union reacted on Marshall Plan and on loss of Communist representatives in French and Italian government. That is why process of sovietisation was accelerated and accomplished during 1947.

- In 1944 Communists took power in **Yugoslavia** and **Albania**,
- in 1945 occupation zones of Soviet Union were established in **Germany** and **Austria**,
- in 1946 Communist takeover took place in **Bulgaria**,
- in 1947 Communist takeovers took place in **Hungary**, **Poland**, and **Romania**.
- In 1948 Communist coup d'état took place in **Czechoslovakia** (Victory February).

#### Europe in 1949



Red colour is for Communist regimes including Soviet occupation zone in Austria,  
pink colour is for country with special relation to Soviet Union (Finland),  
and  
blue colour means founding members of N.A.T.O.

## 8.7 First Berlin Crisis 1948 to 1949

Soviet Union demanded **unification of Germany** and its control, because according to Lenin world revolution of Communism is without Germany left to fail.

The first to control Germany was according to Soviets taking control over Berlin.

Berlin was divided, as the whole Germany, into three occupation zone, of:

- **British,**
- **American,**
- **French,** and
- **Soviet.**

Soviet Union controlled only one zone and all area around Berlin, Soviet Occupation Zone. That is why Stalin attempted to destroy this only dependency of Western Bloc.

Joseph Stalin made use fact that in Western Zones new currency was issued and to avoid economic problems Soviet forces closed all land access to Berlin on 23 and 24 June 1948 in aim to force the Western countries to fulfil Stalin's requests for unified Germany, i.e. to leave Berlin. But representatives of Soviet army were concerned about possibilities of clashed in air corridor so that was why the air routes to Berlin were left to be opened. Stalingrad battle became example that air supplying is not enough and Stalin hoped that starving inhabitants of Berlin compel the Western country to withdraw his demands.

Despite this assumption Americans were able to successfully supply Berlin via air.

The blockade was unsuccessful because uncompleted. .S.R. could not control Berlin, and the blockade was recalled in February 1949.

The blockade of Berlin became one of the most decisive defeats because became persuaded Western countries to found independent German country out of influence of Soviet Union and especially to establish military organization. That organization was named NATO.

## 8.8 NATO

To prevent the war Western countries did not rely only on existence of United Nations, but also on their own powers and tendency of Western countries to create defence alliance were strong since 1946.

- In 1946 there was established alliance of **United Kingdom** and **France** and
- in 1948 **Brussels Pact** was signed. The pact was defence alliance that joined **Benelux** states with **France** and **United Kingdom**.

But the most important organization became North Atlantic Treaty Organizations. Its founding document **North Atlantic Treaty** was signed on 4 April 1949. According to this treaty alliance of 12 countries was formed:

- In Northern America there were United States and Canada and
- in Europe 10 countries, **Belgium, Netherland, Luxembourg, France, United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal**, and **Italy**, the only country without direct access to Atlantic Ocean.

The aim of the organization was “to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down”.

NATO was gradually broadened:

- In 1952 **Greece** and **Turkey** entered the organization and
- in 1982 **Spain**.
- The largest expansion of NATO took place after the end of Cold war, in
- 1990 former **Eastern Germany** and later on countries of Eastern Bloc.

## 8.9 Spread of Communism in Asia

In Asia Communism was closely **connected with nationalism** (!) and resistance against colonial powers often mean acceptance of Communist ideology. The better it call this phenomenon as Nationalist Communism, while in Europe or in Russia the Communists were the most furious enemies of nationalists. This difference led to fact that for Soviet Union it was very complicated to preserve the control over Communist regimes in Asia. China, North Korea, and Vietnam realized its policy often without respect to Soviet opinion.

- **Mongolia** became Soviet satellite in 1924.
- **Manchuria** and **North Korea** became after 1945 soviet occupation zones. While North Korea became independent state that lasts up present days, the Manchuria was returned back to China when Communists prevailed in civil war.
- In **Malaysia** the civil war led by Communists broke up in 1946, but Communists could not reach the victory.



- Contrary to that in **Indochina** the Communist Party under Ho Chi Minh was the most powerful part of emancipation movement and Communist regime was established in Northern Vietnam in 1954 and later on in other Indochina countries (Southern Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos).
- In **China** broke out the civil war between nationalists (Chang Kai-shek) and Communists (Mao Zedong) that lasted from 1945 to 1949. On 1 October 1949 **People's Republic of China** was declared.

### 8.10 Korean War 1950 to 1953

In 1945 Korean Peninsula was divided according to 38th parallel into two occupation zones:

- **Southern, American Zone** with authoritative regime of **Syngman Rhee** and
- **Northern, Soviet Zone**, where Communist dictatorship of **Kim Il-sung** was established.

In 1948 and 1949 in both zones independent states were declared. During 1949 Kim Il-sung persuaded Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong to carry out invasion into Southern Korea. Communist leaders counted on fact that unpopular regime of Syngman Rhee together with rapid advance of North Korean troop is soon overthrown and whole Peninsula got under Communist rule.

North Korea commenced attack to Southern Korea on 25 June 1950. Due to numerical and technical superiority in rapid advancement South-Korean Capital, Seoul, was captured on 28 June 1950 and then continued more in south. Advancement was finally stopped near Pusan Port in so called **Pusan Perimeter**.

But Communist leaders did not take into account readiness to action of Security Council of United Nation. Immediately after invasion Security Council held a meeting during which invasion was designated to be aggression and international forces were formed.

During summer 1950 American troops disembarked in Southern Korea. United States was able to realize rapid action due to fact that U.S. occupation forces were still in Japan.

In September 1950 American counter-offensive took place. On 15 and 16 June 1950 American forces disembarked near Incheon Harbour in **Operation**

**Chromite** and soon after that, on 28 September 1950 Americans captured **Seoul** and advanced toward Yalu River in China-Korean borders.

Mao Zedong was concerned about continuation of American advancement. That is why in conflict **Chinese Volunteers Army** intervened. During Chinese offensive Seoul was captured once again by Communist forces on 1 November 1950. The interference of China took Americans by surprise; U.S. forces lost number of men and weapons and had to withdraw into middle of Korean Peninsula. But in winter 1949 American commenced second offensive. The Seoul was captured for the fourth time, but meantime front line was stabilized near 38th parallel in March 1950. The war reminded trench warfare of First World War.

Due to military deadlock peace talks were commenced in 1951, but **armistice** was not signed until 27 July 1953. This Panmunjom armistice ended the conflict but war **was not confirmed by peace treaty**. It means that both Korean states are still in war!

### 8.11 Warsaw Pact

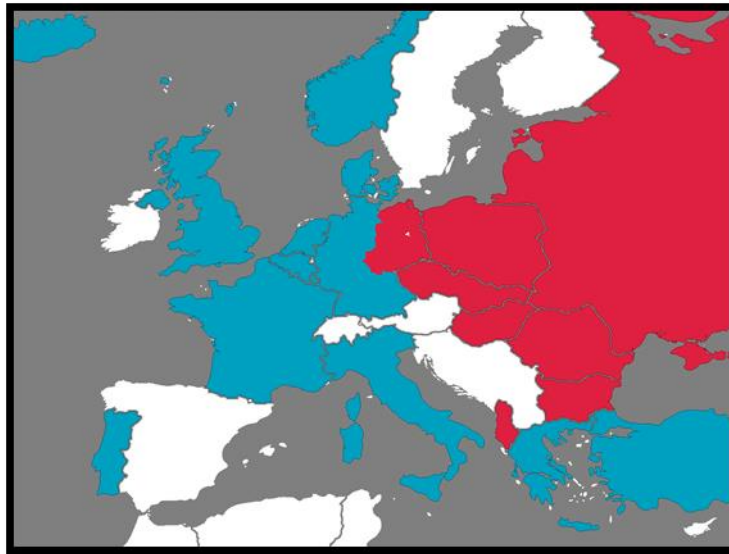
Warsaw Pact was military and political agreement and alliance of states of Soviet Blocs that existed during 1955 to 1991.

- **Reaction on Germany entry in NATO**
- Established on 14 May 1955 by signing the **Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance by:**
- **Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, (Eastern) Germany (1956), Poland, Romania, and Soviet Union**, but 1968 Albania left.

Purpose of establishing Warsaw Pact was more propagandistic. In fact establishing of Warsaw Pact was redundant, because Soviet Union **already controls its satellites**.

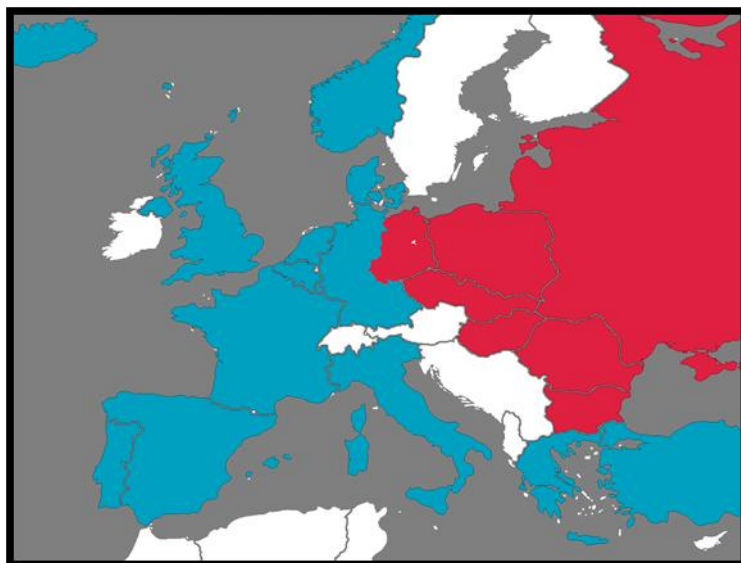
After 1989 the existence of Warsaw Pact lost its reason and on 1 June 1991 was dissolved.

### Europe in 1955



Red colour is for Communist regimes within Warsaw Pact and blue colour is for countries of NATO.

### Europe in 1989



Red colour is for Communist regimes within Warsaw Pact and blue colour is for countries of NATO.

### 8.12 Second Berlin Crisis 1961

Second Berlin Crisis was together with Cuban Missile Crisis (see below) the most serious crisis in Soviet-American relations.

- **Causes:** via Western Berlin emigrants left Eastern Germany for Western Germany (Brain drain).

- In November 1958 Soviets posed ultimatum. U.S.S.R. feared to close one-sided peace treaty with Eastern Germany in order to transfer Berlin issue in competence of Eastern Germany. This in fact should mean the possibility of occupation of Berlin.
- In June 1961 negotiations between Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy were held in Vienna.
- On 13 August 1961 all border crossing between Western and Eastern Berlin were closed and the building of **Berlin Wall** was commenced. Western Berlin became entirely separated from Eastern Germany.

### 8.13 Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Cuban Missile Crisis, or Caribbean Crisis, was one of the most dangerous crises in Soviet-American relations that nearly escalated into war.

In 1950s **civil war** took place in **Cuba**. Against authoritative regime of Fulgencio Batista **Movement of 26 July** was formed. After decade of fights Batista was finally overthrown in 1958 and Fidel Castro got in power.

Originally Communist were only part of Cuban Revolution, but soon they stronger their position. That is why United States declared embargo on business with Cuba. It in fact was in favour of Communists who stroke up co-operation with Soviet Union. U.S.S.R. supported Cuban economy, but Nikita Khrushchev decided to place missiles in the island to reach rapid and convincing victory over United States and opponent in leadership of Soviet Communist Party.

To cover this plan Soviet Army commenced operation **Anadyr** that was said to take place in Siberia. That is why members of team to build missile basis in Cuba was forced to wear winter clothes before the Soviet ships reached the Atlantic.

- On 17 April 1961 Cuban forces opposing Fidel Castro disembarked in **Bay of Pigs**, but soon were defeated.
- On 16 October 1962 U.S. air reconnaissance found out rocket compounds in Cuba. It represented threat to U.S. security, because the missiles were near American territory.
- On 22 October 1962 United States appeal U.S.S.R. to remove their rockets and
- on 28 October 1962 rockets removed. It meant the **end of crisis**.

Cuban Missile Crisis is supposed to be American conclusive victory. Despite the fact formally crisis ended in stalemate, because Soviets withdraw their rockets from Cuba and Americans from Turkey, American President John Fitzgerald Kennedy reached the fact that there was not any rocket near American territory.

### **8.14 War in Indochina and in Vietnam 1945 to 1975**

**Indochina** was French colony that comprised present day **Vietnam**, **Cambodia**, and **Laos**. From 1945 national emancipation movement spread all over country, including Communist Party. Finally French forces, Foreign Legion, was defeated in battle of

- **Dien Bien Phu** in November 1953 and French forces were compelled to leave.

According to Geneva Conference **Vietnam divided was** along 17th parallel:

- In **Southern Vietnam** authoritative regime was established, while
- in **Northern Vietnam** existed Communist regime.

From mid 1950s **Communist** started with policy of **subversion** in Southern Vietnam.

In 1963 Tonkin incident took place:

- In **Tonkin Bay** American ships bombarded by North Vietnam forces, U.S.A. forces support the Southern Vietnam.
- In reaction on U.S. involvement Northern Vietnam send its forces into Southern Vietnam.

The first large fight between Vietnamese and American forces was Battle of **la Drang Valley** in November 1965.

During second half of 1960s United States send gradually more and more soldiers, in 1968 there was some half million American soldiers in Southern Vietnam. Communist guerrilla fighters and North Vietnamese army was forced to withdraw.

- **Tet Offensive** took place in December 1968. Despite the fact that Tet Offensive became military catastrophe of Communist forces, conflict was decided by impact of media, especially of television.

In reaction to unpopular war Richard Nixon, American President in 1969 to 1974, commenced so called process of **Vietnamisation** of war. It meant to delegate responsibility for conflict to South Vietnam government.

In 1973 war ended by acceptance of status quo that was breached by occupation of Southern Vietnam by North Vietnam forces in 1975. Soon Vietnam became one of the most important states in region and independent on both largest

Communist powers, China and Soviet Union. Vietnam even attempted to create its own bloc of power.

Vietnamese War affected not only development in South Eastern Asia, but also American population. Vietnamese syndrome became symbol of incompetence of United States to conduct its own policy. Americans drew away from Third World which became domain of Soviet Union for one decade. But in Afghanistan Soviets met their own “Vietnamese syndrome”.

### **8.15 Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan 1979 to 1989**

Afghanistan, as a state in borders with Soviet Union, was country under special attention of Soviet authority. That is why pro-Communist regime was established in country in April 1978.

But the Communist leaders of Afghanistan were not popular in the country and the regime was **overthrown by fundamental Muslims** in 1979. This fact became reason for Soviet intervention. There was also possibility to creation of powerful Muslim state. Meantime Islamic revolution prevailed in Iran (see T9. Regional Conflicts 1945 to 1989).

Soviet Army commenced military intervention on 25 December 1979. Capital city, Kabul, was captured by air operation, while land forces controlled important communications from Soviet Union to Kabul. Intervention fulfilled its goal, i.e. restoration of pro-Soviet regime and government of Babrak Kamal was appointed.

But majority of country remained under rule of Islam fundamentalists. Moreover U.S. government support mujahedin movement.

The conflict lasted during whole 1980s. Despite the Soviet Army did not get any progress to defeat the mujahidin movement, it was after commencement of Gorbachev when Soviet Union, in assistance of United Nations, agreement with withdrawal of Soviet forces. The agreement was signed on 14 April 1988 and by 15 February 1989 the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan.

Internal turmoil or even chaos in Afghanistan remained and soon became the reason of next tension in international relations (see T10. Multipolar World and Conflicts since 1990).

### 8.16 Summary of Chapter

Never before the whole was affected by relations of only two states. After Second World War new type of state became reality, so called superpower, **United States** and **Soviet Union**. Both countries were dominant over other powers and countries in population, economy, and especially in military.

Cold War as period of immanent security threat meant that due to concerns of exaggeration of conflicts after 1953 **mechanism of losing security threats** was established. Cold War meant **stabilization** and **petrification** of results of **Second World War**. During this period there was not possible any change of post-war world order as it formed in 1948. That is why Germany was divided until 1990 and superiority of victorious country as permanent members of Security Council was preserved up present days.

Cold War also meant stabilization and **petrification** of **Communist expansion** and the same as in Europe two Asian countries, China and Korea, are divided until present day.

The superiority of both superpowers and their blocs affected the world order for nearly half of century. The international relations were after the end of Second World War known as **Bipolar World**.

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## 9 REGIONAL CONFLICTS 1945 TO 1989

After the end of Second World War number of new states in Asia and Africa were established. Decolonization began in fact in interwar period, but after 1945 the process were accelerated. For example fourteen sovereign states were founded only in 1960.

This meant that significance of relations between European countries decreased, particularly in respect to Cold War that in fact petrified (or sometimes made impossible) these relations. Civil wars, Arab-Israeli conflicts, or fundamental Islam became new phenomena.

### 9.1 Characteristics of Period

Because process of decolonization took place at the same time as Cold War did there were number of attempts of superpowers to make use of existence of newly founded states for their own purposes. On the other hand these new states tried to make profit of fact the Cold War. United States and Soviet Union both support their economic growth, building of infrastructure, helped with formation of their armed forces etc.

The newly founded states were unstable and that is why soon became epicentres of conflicts. With respect to Cold War these conflicts or wars were in **ambivalence position**:

- Conflicts that **were escalated** due to Cold War, especially Korean War, and partly Vietnam War;
- conflicts that **were moderated** due to Cold War and were regionalized, especially Arab-Israeli Conflict;
- and finally conflicts **without important relation** to Cold War, among them Indo-Pakistani and Falkland Islands War.

The change in waging the war signalized the fact that in all of these conflicts **civilian victims outnumbered military** (ethnic, ideological clashes).

### 9.2 Decolonization

After Second World War process of emancipation of colonies began. Precondition of decolonization was **Atlantic Charter**, document of members of allied countries (see T6. Second World War), in which the right of each nation to have its own government was declared.

After 1945 there were **six major colonial powers**:

- **United Kingdom** was the largest colonial empire that had its colonies in Southern and Eastern Africa and some countries in Guinea Bay, than in Palestine, India, Malaysia etc., and controlled number of island in Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Ocean.
- **France** was second largest colonial empire with dependencies in Northern and Western Africa, in Madagascar, in Indochina and island all over the world, especially in Atlantic and Pacific.
- **Netherland** disposed the territory of Indonesia and of islands in the Caribbean Sea.
- **United States** controlled the Philippines and some Pacific islands.
- **Portugal** had majority of its dependencies in Africa, i.e. Angola, Mozambique, and African islands in Atlantic, and harbours in Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, among other Timer in Indonesia and Macao in China.
- **Belgium** disposed of territory in Middle Africa, i.e. of Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi.

Except these colonies there were so called **mandatory areas**, former German, Italian, and Japan territories that were according to decision of League of Nation and later on of United Nations entrust to major powers to be administrated. But in fact in number of cases their situation was same as by colonies.

The process of decolonization lasted nearly 50 years from 1940s to 1980s and comprised of three stages (see chapters below).

### 9.3 First Stage of Decolonization 1941 to 1950

**First stage** of decolonization lasted from 1941 to 1950 and took place in Asian countries:

- 1) Countries of **Southern** and **Southeast** Asia:
  - Impact of Second World War was in fact that colonies were either on the side of anti-Japan coalition, for which they were promised independence, or were occupied by Japan, and their colonial administration was removed.
  - It lasted from 1945 to 1950 and independence gained **Vietnam, the Philippines, India and Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia.**
- 2) Countries of **Middle East**:

- Impact of Second World War was in fact that France was occupied by Germany, and Germans supported of national emancipations of Arabs.
- In 1941 to 1948 the independence gained **Syria, Lebanon, Jordan,** and **Israel**.

#### 9.4 Second Stage of Decolonization 1950 to 1970

**Second stage** of decolonization lasted from 1950 to 1970 and took place predominantly in Africa:

- 1) In **Africa**.
  - Till 1960 process of emancipation was slow and complicated, independence gained **Libya, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia,** and **Ghana**.
  - The year 1960 became “**Year of Africa**” due to fact that independence reached majority of African countries; those countries were **Chad, Benin, Gabon, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, Madagascar, Mali, Mauretania, Niger, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Somalia,** and **Central African Republic**.
  - Decolonization then continued to the end of 1960s, but pace of process gradually slowed down; the new sovereign states were **Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe,** and **Botswana**.
- 2) In **small countries** all over world.
  - Except of Africa small dependencies, especially islands, harbours, or small countries, got sovereignty; among those countries there were **Cyprus, Singapore, Malta** etc.; but also **Malaysia**, middle-class Asian state.

#### 9.5 Final Stage of Decolonization 1970 to 1990

After the end of 1960s colonial possession shrined only to overseas dependencies and colony of two countries, of Portugal and of South African Republic, both states with non-democratic regimes.

- In **Portugal** authoritative regime existed that suppressed emancipation movement, despite the fact that Angola and Mozambique civil resistance switched from revolt and manifestation into civil war. After overthrown the

regime independence got **Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe.**

- In **South African Republic** existed regime of so called Apartheid. The only colony of South African Republic was **Namibia** that was after fall of Apartheid pronounced as independent state.

When Namibia gained independence the process of decolonization became fulfilled and ended up. The only one state that was founded on the ground of former colony status was Palau in Pacific in 1994 (former U.S. mandatory territory).

## 9.6 Post-Colonial World

- New forms of relations between power and colonies
  - **United Kingdom:** est. **Commonwealth of Nations**, in fact in 1931 by Westminster Status, English monarch head of commonwealth; majority of colonies joined, exc. Ireland, South African Republic, and Pakistan
  - **France:** on basis 1958 **Communauté Française**, graduation of independence on France, but from 1960 gradual disintegration
  - **Spain and Portugal:** 1954 Latin Union
- Effort to gain full independence on colonial powers
  - **Pan-Africanism:** movement to unify all African countries, 1963 est. Organization of African Unity
  - **New International Economic Order:** opposed to the Bretton Woods system but not effective; for example developing countries must control the activities of multinational corporations, they are free to set up associations of primary commodities producers etc.
- New countries instable (tribal, economical etc. Issues), for example:
- **Civil war in Nigeria**
  - On 30 May 1967 southeastern provinces of Nigeria as self-proclaimed independent state **Biafra Republic**
  - British colonial policy divided Nigeria into three region: North, West and East, that exacerbated differences among ethnic groups
  - July 1967 Nigerian Federal troops advanced into Biafra
  - Nigerian federal forces launched their final offensive against the Biafrans started on December 1969

- After three years of fights on 12 January 1970 capitulation of Biafra forces
- **Civil war in Angola**
  - Soon after gaining independence on 11 November 1975 fight between **Marxists** and **Nationalists**; Cuba support Marxists movement
  - In the 1980s fighting spread outward from southeastern Angola; Cuba increased its troop force in Angola
  - Cuban intervention ended in 1990

## 9.7 Arab-Israeli Conflict

Arab-Israeli Conflict represents new phenomena that fully appeared after the end of Second World War. It is also one of the **key clashes** of period of Cold War, because **both blocs were interfered into conflict**. After beginning of the conflict important switch happened in relations to superpowers. While in 1948 one of the most important allies of Israel State was Soviet Union, Soviet dictator, Joseph Stalin, changed his view and start to support Arab states. The new and important supporter of Israel then up to present day became United States.

Four wars between Israel and Arabs states took place in 1948 to 1973; First Arab-Israeli War, or **Palestinian War** took place in 1948 and 1949, Second Arab-Israeli War or **Suez War** in 1956, third war of 1967 is called as **Six Days War**, and the last, fourth, war of 1973 then **Yom Kippur War**.

Arab-Israeli conflict originated as **ethnic or national conflict** between Jews and Palestinians and Arabs, respectively, but in its course **gradually switched into religious conflict** between Judaism and Islam.

The roots of conflict were set at the end of 19th century when **Zionism** movement spread among Jewish population (see T3. The Rise of National States). The main request of Zionism was creation of independent national state of Jews. This state should be located in Palestinian territory, once Biblical Promised Land.

But the Palestine was inhabited by Palestinians, members of one of the Arabs nations. The immigration of Jews to Palestine was connected with clashes with indigenous population.

## 9.8 Palestinian War 1948 and 1949

According to promises of British government the **independent Jewish state** with President David Ben Gurion was declared on 14 May 1948. Its act induced disagreement among Arab population. The coalition of Arabs states, i.e. of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, was created. United Nations negotiated armistice in June 1948, but after assassination of United Nations commissioner Bernadotte by Zionist radicals Israel breached the terms of armistice and attacked its opponents.

After August 1948 Israeli troops defeated armies of Arab states and occupied part their territory. From January 1949 to June 1949 Arabs states one by one signed a peace treaty with Israel.

The result of the First Arab-Israeli War was that Israel was not only **able to defend itself, but to occupy part of Palestine territory**. The Palestinian state that was declared at the same time as Israel was occupied by Israel and more than **one million refugee left Palestine**. The status of refugees and the fact that war did not settled the motive of mutual Arab-Israeli tension was precondition for continuation of the conflict.

## 9.9 Suez Crisis 1956

New epicentre of tension appeared to be in Egypt. In 1952 Egyptian officers conducted coup d'état. General **Gamal Abdel Nasser** became president (1952 to 1970) and tried to legitimize its power by improving Egyptian economy and infrastructure. One of his most ambitious projects was building of **Aswan Dam** and water power plant.

At that same time President Nasser orientated Egypt on Soviet Union. That meant weakening of influence of traditional powers in Middle East, of France and United Kingdom.

But Egypt did not dispose money to finish this project and Gamal Nasser decided to nationalize **Suez Canal Company**. This was huge company in Egyptian territory that operated the shipping through Suez Canal.

Share-holders of Suez Canal Company were citizens of France and United Kingdom. That is why both countries interfere on behalf of their inhabitants into conflict.

British and French Prime Ministers Anthony Eden and Guy Mollet met together with representative of Israel in **Sevres** on 23 October 1956. And they decided for military solution.

According to Sevres Agreement Israel attacked Egypt and occupied Sinai Peninsula on 29 October 1956. The Second Arab-Israeli War or Sinai War began.

But United Kingdom and France, all according agreement, appealed Israel and Egypt to stop the fights and to withdraw their armed forces from Sinai. As it was supposed, Egypt refused. This was casus belli for United Kingdom and France. Both countries attacked Egyptian territory and occupied Port Said. The aim of Western assault was not only to restore control of Suez Canal, but also to remove President Nasser from power.

But Western powers followed another goal. After the Second World War influence of France and United Kingdom in Arab world decayed; they lost Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Levant countries, and Iraq. Representatives hoped to restore their pre-war influence.

Despite military success of Western powers and Israel war ended as political fiasco. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev threatened United Kingdom and France and U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower refused to help its allies. United Nations appealed both sides to stop the fights. That is why Suez War ended on 6 November 1956. Year later Israeli forces left Sinai Peninsula.

Suez Crisis or Sinai War ended by defeat of Western powers and proved that both blocs, i.e. Soviet and Western, are not necessarily united. But war **did not change a thing in Arab-Israeli conflict**.

### 9.10 Six Days War 1967

Arab-Israeli relations were tensed since the end of war in 1956. Gamal Nasser, Egyptian president, attempted to solve this issue once for all and called upon to destroy Israeli state. Meantime Egyptian forces closed Strait of Tiran in 1967.

Israeli identified both deed as threat to existence of Jewish state and commenced **pre-emptive attack to Egyptian positions** on 5 June 1967.

At the same time Israeli was attacked by Jordan and Syria, but Israeli forces were able to reflected attack and occupied **Western Coast of Jordan** and **Golan Heights**.

Short, six day lasting war ended by **military catastrophe of Arab states**.

But after six days the peace was not restored and conflict continued in following years as **War of Attrition** (1967 to 1970). The fights were ended up after death of Nasser.

### 9.11 Yom Kippur War 1973

After Nasser's death new Egyptian president became **Anwar Sadat**. He commenced renewal of conflict.

Egyptian army attacked Israeli positions in Sinai Peninsula and Syrian forces invaded to Golan Heights on 6 October 1973.

The same as in 1967 Israel was able to reflect attack and switched to counter-offensive.

In assistance of U.S. president Jimi Carter peace talks in **Camp David** were commenced that ended by closing Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty in 1979 (Israel returns Sinai); peace treaty with Jordan was closed in 1993. But normalization of relation with Syria was complicated by issue of Golan Heights.

### 9.12 Civil War in Lebanon

The Lebanon, country northern of Israel, was stat of three main religious, **Sunni**, **Shia**, and **Christians**. But in Lebanon lived also number of **Palestinian** refugees.

- Since beginning of 1970s clashed between Palestinians and Christians took place.
  - In April 1975 clash between Christian Falange and Palestinians, Lebanon Muslims on side of Palestinians.
  - October 1976: the **Battle of Aishiya** (Maronite village), combined force of Palestine Liberalization Organization and Communist attacked, the Maronite population fled; Syria accepted the proposal of the Arab League – this gave Syria a mandate to keep 40 thousand troops in Lebanon.
  - After 1976 on side of Palestinians was also Syria. The result of Syrian interference led to fact that Lebanon was divided into Christian and Muslim part
  - In 1982 Israeli intervention against Muslims and new period of tension began.
  - In 1983 Israeli forces withdrew and country was occupied by Syria.



- Conflict ended by acceptance of **Charter of National Reconciliation** in October 1989, but religious tension remains up present days.

### 9.13 Falkland's War 1982

Since 1833 the **Falkand Islands** (Spanish Islas Malvinas), archipelago in Southern Atlantic Eastern of shores of Argentina, were occupied by United Kingdom. But Argentina did not recognize this situation that led in some crisis in British-Argentinian relations when negotiations about status of Falkand Islands did not come out with any result. In 1965 Junta of General Leopoldo Galtieri took over the power in Argentina and once again posed the claims for the islands.

United Kingdom did not allowed the loss of the Falklands Islands and Argentinian forces of 600 soldiers **disembarked in beaches of islands** on 2 April 1982 and next day Southern Georgia Island and South Sandwich Islands. Due to geographical distance United Kingdom could not take immediate action. On the other hand Argentinian Junta expected that British reconciles with the loss of small and distant territory. But contrary was true.

But government of **Margaret Thatcher** decided to take islands back and in the beginning of April 1982 operational formation (**Operation Corporate**) under Admiral John Fieldhouse dispatched the England for Falkand Islands. The military formation consists of nearly 100 ships and 3rd and 5th brigade of Commandos.

Meantime British ships and submarines controlled the seas around Falkland Islands that were in distance of 200 miles from the shores declared to be so called Forbidden Zone. That is why Argentinian naval forces had to withdraw into harbours.

The 3rd brigade of General Julian Thompson disembarked in San Carlos bay on 21 May 1982. The fights over control of Falkan Islands lasted until the Argentinian crew on islands capitulated on 13 June 1982.

During the war United Kingdom lost 250 men, while Argentinians lost ca. 650 men. The Falkand Islands War was **British victory**, but did not settle the Falkand Issue. Despite the fact that British-Argentinian relations were proclaimed to be normal in 1990, Argentina sill makes claims to Falkland Islands.

### 9.14 Islamic Revolution in Iran 1979

During the post war year of 1941 to 1979 **Muhammad Reza Pahlavi** as shah was head of Iran. During his long reign he implement liberal reforms, for example he gave

equal rights to women, and started modernization and secularization of country according to the Western countries (occidentalization).

During 1970s the resistance of fundamental Islam against shah's reform gradually grow.

At the end of 1970s economic situation deteriorated. In autumn 1977 student demonstrations spread over Iranian universities and cities. Students demanded resignation of shah and return of **ayatollah Khomeini**. In 1978 the revolts spread all over country and in January 1979 shah abdicated, left for exile and Iran became republic.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was religious leader who was for his ideas forced to leave Iran and lived in Paris. After his arrival the influence of so called **Revolutionary Guards**, of militant units of fundamental movements, rapidly grew.

In November 1979 important incident took place. Because United States were blamed for support of former Shah and of attempts to restore his power, group of Iranian students occupied American embassy in Teheran on 4 November 1979, when get 66 hostages. The students requested to hand over shah and commitments of United States not to interfere into Iranian matter. Hostages were released in January 1981, but the result of incident was deterioration of American-Iranian relations.

During 1980 Islamists get into dispute with new government. In June 1981 president Bani Sadr was overthrown and new president became **ayatollah Ali Khamenei**, Khomeini's follower, and Iran became **theocracy**.

Since establishing of theocracy Iran began to support the **terrorist organizations** of Shia Islam, especially Lebanon movement **Hezbollah**. But on the other hand formation of Shia theocracy led to deterioration of relations with neighbouring states in which Sunna Islam prevailed, and also with Western countries, especially with United States.

### 9.15 Iran-Iraq War 1980 to 1989

After Islamic revolution win in Iran, diplomatic relations between Iran and Iraq became tensor. There were several reasons why the war between those two countries broke out:

- Iran-Iraq War was **prestigious conflict**, because personal attitudes of two leaders, of Saddam Hussein and ayatollah Khomeini.

- The war was also **ideological clash**. While in Iraq there was national socialist and secular regime, in Iran there was installed theocracy.
- But war was waged because of **territorial dispute** in which Iraq claimed Southern part of Iran.

Iraqi headquarters awaited rapid victory in the war and commenced attack into Iranian position on 23 September 1980. But after rapid invasion their advancement stopped in May 1981 and later on the Iranians were able to switch into counter-offensive in September 1981. Iran then commenced number of offensives and penetrated in Iraq, but failed in attempt to defeat Iraqi forces. After 1984 the conflict stuck into **war of attrition**.

In 1986 new series of Iranian offensives were commenced, but did not gain any real success.

After two years, in 1988, United Nations mediated peace talks and finally the war was closed in August 1990.

The war brought nothing only **economic damage and number of deaths** and did not solve tensions in Iran-Iraq relations.

### 9.16 Summary of Chapter

In 1945 to 1989 the world order was affected by Cold War, i.e. by existence of two antagonist blocs. But despite this fact new sources of diplomatic tensions and new epicentres of conflicts appeared. Number of them remains in existence up present days.

Due to process of decolonization new type of states became reality. It was “emergence” of so called the **Third World** that comprised underprivileged countries of Asia and Africa. Development in these countries was predisposed to be unstable. Ethnic and fundamental conflicts were very often. But until 1989 the **divergence in their development** became important and led to fact that there was not any common interest of countries of Third World. That is why the intensity of conflicts was higher than in other part of world.

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## 10 MULTIPOLAR WORLD AND CONFLICTS SINCE 1990

The end of Cold War and disintegration of Eastern Block and later on disintegration of Soviet Union meant that the one superpower ceased to exist. The decay in post-Communist region was so deep that Russia left for one decade the position of World power. But United States, despite its huge economical potential, was not able to preserve position of superpower, especially after the beginning of 21st century. Meantime in so called Third World the rapid demographic and economic development meant that significance of African and Asian countries increased.

These are the most relevant preconditions that led that once **bilateral world** order switched into **multilateral world** order. In this situation the risk of breaking out of regional conflict is higher, possibilities of power to control these conflicts smaller. In one word the multilateral world means also instable world full of security risks.

### 10.1 Disintegration of Soviet Union 1991

When **Mikhail Gorbachev** acceded in function of General Secretary of Soviet Communist Party in March 1985, he attempted to **reform** Soviet political system. He was aware of internal problems of Soviet Union and of Soviet Block, especially the economic problems due to fact that Soviet Union had to have large army both to secure Soviet positions in Eastern and Central Europe and to wage the war in Afghanistan. That is why Gorbachev decided to cease the control of Soviet satellites and to focus on internal matters and relations with United States.

At the end of 1980s became obvious that Soviet regime is not possible to reform.

In Soviet Union **opposition** to Communist Party was formed and even in Russia Boris Yeltsin established Democratic Platform that opposed Communist Party.

Soviet Union was formally federation of 15 states and the differences between those countries were important. During 1990 and 1991 individual states declare their sovereignty, the first were Baltic countries of Latvia and Lithuania. On 12 June 1991 Russian parliament declared superiority of Russian laws over Soviet and

- on 8 December 1991

by **Agreement of Soviet Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian republics**, the originally establishing states of U.S.S.R., decided to **terminate** the existence of Soviet Union.

## 10.2 Transformation of Post-Soviet Territory

After the end of Cold War the territory of former Soviet Bloc went through large transformation. The most important fact was downfall of Soviet Union and transition of political systems.

Former states of Soviet Union founded **Commonwealth of Independent States**:

- **Commonwealth of Independent States**, known as Russian Commonwealth, is associations of states to support trade and security and was established on 8 December 1991 in meeting of representatives of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. The next eight countries joined on 21 December 1991; those countries were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Later on, in 1993, Georgia joined. It meant that except Baltic republics all former Soviet republics entered commonwealth. But in 2008 Georgia due to Russian aggression left the organization.

Commonwealth is more symbolic organization, because dispose of minimum competencies and serves only for loose coordination of economic and security issues

Efficacy of Commonwealth of Independent States is small due to problems of post-Soviet territory:

- Economic recession,
- Political instability, and
- Ethnic and religious conflicts.

But Soviet Union was once superpower and disposed of number of nuclear weapons. After the downfall of Soviet Union negotiations took place in which individual states of Soviet Union **gave up their nuclear weapons in favour of Russia**. That is why Russia is only post-Soviet country to have nuclear weapon.

## 10.3 Transformation of Political Systems of Countries of Central and Eastern Europe

In 1989 and 1990 all countries of Soviet Bloc undertook important transition of political system from post-totalitarian regimes into democratic regimes. But pace of process differed in each country:

As first there were transformed political systems in countries that gained autonomy on development in Soviet Union:

- **Poland:** after 1980 existence of independent trade union Solidarity, in 1988 demonstrations and Round Table Negotiations, first partly independent election in June 1989.
- **Hungary:** Round Table Negotiations after mid-1989, in March 1990 first independent elections.

The process continued more slowly in other countries of Soviet Block, i.e. of countries of Eastern and Central Europe:

- **Western Germany:** October 1989 demonstration in Leipzig and in Berlin, on 9 November allowed to citizens to move to Western Germany, fall of Berlin Wall, fall of political system.
- **Czechoslovakia:** After 17 November 1989 demonstration in Prague and then in whole country, during November and December personal changes in favour of so called Civic Forum in government and in Parliament.
- **Romania:** dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu, cult of personality, repression; in December demonstration of Hungarian minority, civil disorder vs. Securitate = in fact civil war, 25 December 1989 Ceaușescu executed.
- **Bulgaria:** dispute inside Communist Party in November 1989.

The most difficult was development in both Communist countries that were not part of Soviet Block:

- **Yugoslavia:** strikes from 1988, in January 1990 disintegration of Yugoslavian Communist Party (cession of Slovenian and Croatian delegation).
- **Albania:** demonstration during 1990, in July 1990 opposition allowed, but constitutional changes in 1991.

## 10.4 Territorial Changes in Europe in 1990 to 2008

The fall of Soviet Bloc was the last period of vast territorial changes in Europe; that is why shift of borders took place only in Central and Eastern Europe and concerned only four states:

- **Germany:** Unification of Germany means termination of Eastern Germany; the territory of former Eastern Germany joined German Federal Republic as individual lands.
- **Soviet Union:** During 1990 and 1991 effort of individual states to gain independence led to foundation of seven European states: **Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia; Russia, Belarus, Ukraine; Moldova;** while Baltic Republics and



Russia had tradition of state sovereignty, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine were “brand new states”.

- **Yugoslavia:** Gradual disintegration from 1991 to 2008, except defunct states in total seven new states: **Slovenia, Croatia; Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo.**
- **Czechoslovakia:** Division of Czechoslovak Federation in 1993 in Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, so called **Velvet Divorce**, i.e. no conflicts.

While territorial changes in Central Europe, i.e. of Germany and Czechoslovakia, occurred without any particular tensions, the fall of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia meant creation of new focuses of political crisis. In territory of former Yugoslavia the civil war broke out and territory of Soviet Union was ground for regional conflicts in Moldova (Transnistria) and Ukraine (Eastern Ukraine, Crimea) and in Caucasus region.

## 10.5 European Integration

After the end of Second World War the process of integration started. In its beginning it was integration of economy that led into integration of policy.

Predecessors of European Union were established in 1950s:

- **European Coal and Steel Community**, est. 1952,
- **European Atomic Energy Community**, est. 1958,
- **European Economic Community**, est. 1958.
- In 1967 all three organizations were united according to Merger Treaty into **European Societies.**

The European Societies had originally six members; since 1952 consisted of:

- **Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, and Netherland.**

The first dissemination took place in 1973 when three countries were admitted to enter the European Societies:

- **Denmark, Ireland, and United Kingdom.**

In 1981, 1986, and 1990 in European Societies entered:

- **Greece; Portugal, Spain;** (and **Western Germany**, but not as member state).

After the fall of Soviet Bloc the largest dissemination took place. In 1995 three countries were admitted (Northern Dissemination):

- **Austria, Finland, and Sweden.**

In 2004 for the first time the countries of former Soviet Bloc were admitted; the largest dissemination at once meant that nine countries entered European Union:

- **Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.**

In 2007 were admitted two states of Eastern Europe

- **Bulgaria and Romania.**

Finally in 2013 the last dissemination took place:

- **Croatia.**

At this time there is number of states endeavouring to be accepted in European Union. Among these candidate countries are Montenegro, Iceland, Macedonia, Serbia, and Turkey. The agreement on co-operation with European Union and its refusal by Ukrainian Parliament became pretext for so called Ukrainian crisis that lasts since end of 2013.

During its time integration was set not only in number of state, but also in level of connection of states into one organization.

- **Maastricht Agreement** was signed on 7 February 1992 and got in efficacy in 1 November 1998, also named as Agreement on **European Union**.
- The Maastricht criteria, i.e. criteria to be admit into European Union, were set: inflation rates, government finance, exchange rate, long-term interest rates
- **Lisbon Treaty** was signed on 13 December 2008 and in efficacy were since 1 December 2009; according to Lisbon Treaty European Union was finally set as the only economic organization of Europe due to dissolution of European Societies.

European Union has number of its organs; the highest are:

- **European Parliament**, legislative and budget authority, has its place in Brussels, Belgium, and in Strasbourg, France.
- **European Council** is representative body of member states; its chairman is elected for two and half years term of office.
- **Council of European Union**, Also Council of Ministers, is representative body of member states.
- **European Commission** disposes of exclusive right of legislative initiative and represents only interests of European Union; its sit is in Brussels.

## 10.6 Dissemination of NATO

After 1991 questioning reason of existence of NATO took place. It seemed that there is no reason for NATO to exist due to fact that Warsaw Pact was disintegrated. Finally NATO was not dissolved, but agreement on reduction of forces was admitted.

- After mid 1990s project **Partnership for Peace** comprised as first countries of Central Europe, Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, later other states, today majority of European countries.

After 1990 joining of new members joined NATO:

- 1990: (disseminated of territory of **Eastern Germany**),
- 1999: **Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland**,
- 2004: **Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**, and
- 2009: **Albania** and **Croatia**.

## 10.7 U.N. in Conflicts

After end of bilateral world order the role of U.N. increased. It was due to fact that for 1990s and beginning of 21st century there was not hostile relations between stable members of Security Council (United States vs. Soviet Union). United Nations and its forces were involved in operations to keep peace (**peacekeeping mission**); their number rapidly increased after 1988.

- In 1988 there were 9000 men of Blue Helmets in world,
- in 1993 it was 80 000 men.
- Enormous involvement of **U.S.A.** and **United Kingdom**.
- **UPROFOR**: from March 1992 to December 1995, in total 38 000 men.
- **UNAMIR**: from October 1993 to March 1996, in total 6000 men.

But the next reason was fact that in multilateral world there was inadequacy of control of escalation of tension from the side of powers (United States and Soviet Union).

## 10.8 First Gulf War 1991

The first major war after the end of Cold War was the Gulf War, or so called First Gulf War, that took place in 1991 (but in fact in 1980s the Iran-Iraq was called as Gulf War).

- **Causes of conflict** laid in economical (Iraqi financially exhausted) and political (territorial claims on Kuwait) situation of Iraqi regime under Saddam Hussain. The Iraqi armies occupied Kuwait on 2 August 1990.
- U.N. declare embargo on Iraq and under forces of United States military operation were commenced with aim to liberate territory of Kuwait.
- **Operation Desert Shield** was commenced with aim to protect against potential expansion of Iraqi aggression. Especially Saudi Arabia was afraid of being attacked by Iraqi forces.
- **Operation Desert Storm** was military operation with aim to liberate Kuwait. Operation was commenced on 17 January 1991; in its first stage was conducted as aircraft operation to paralyze ability to conduct armed forces; in its second stage as land operation with aim to destroy armed forces of Iraqi was commenced on 24 February 1991 (as **Desert Sabre**), during 100 hours Iraqi army defeated.

### 10.9 Genocide in Rwanda 1994

Rwanda was state of two nations, **Tutsi** that comprises ca. 20 % of population and **Hutu** that comprises ca. 80 %. While Tutsi were supposed to be higher and paler, Hutu were smaller and darker.

Since 1950s when Rwanda reached independence relations between these two nations deteriorated badly. Each citizen of Rwanda was compelled to be marked as Tutsi and Hutu; in their IDs was statement with nationality.

Since 1990 relations worsened into civil war.

- That is why U.N. Operation **Turquoise** with aim to separate both hostile sides were commenced.
- Assassination of presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994 became pretext for realisation of **genocide of Tutsi**: From April to July ca. 800 000 to one million Tutsi were killed by Interahamwe troops.
- **U.N. could not avert genocide** and Rwanda Genocide became remainder of U.N. failure.

## 10.10 Disintegration of Yugoslavia 1991 to 1992

During 1980s the relations between nations and of religious of Yugoslavia got into crisis. Yugoslavia was **federation of six states** and very sensitively reacted to change of situation. In Yugoslavia lived:

- Members of Slavs, i.e. **Slovenians, Croats, Bosnians, Serbs, Montenegrins**, and **Macedonians**, who speaks nearly the same language,
- but also members of other language groups, especially **Albanians**.

But Yugoslavia was also multi-religious country with members of:

- **Catholics** (in Northern; Slovenians, Croats, and Hungarians),
- **Orthodox** (in Southern and in the middle; Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians), and
- **Muslims** (in Southern; Bosnians and Albanians).

Except these differences there were huge economical difference between **rich North** (Slovenia and Croatia), and **poor South** (especially Macedonia and Kosov).

In June 1991 **Slovenia** and **Croatia** declared independence that caused clashes between Croatian and Yugoslavian forces. Yugoslavian forces left Croatia but Serbs in Croatia resisted and declared independent states; the war in Croatia became civil war between Serbs and Croats.

The dissolution of Yugoslavia continued. In November 1991 **Macedonia** declared independence and in March 1992 **Bosnia and Herzegovina**. Within Yugoslavian federation left only Serbia and Montenegro

## 10.11 Civil War in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993 to 1995

In **Bosnia and Herzegovina** the internal situation was most complicated; three **ethnic** and **religious** groups lived:

- **Serbs** (Orthodox), **Croats** (Catholics), and **Bosnians** (Muslims)

In January 1992 independent Serb republic was declared, later also independent Croatian republic. But their territories claimed Bosnians that declared independence on Yugoslavia in March 1992.

All three groups attempted to create its own homogeneous territory:

- Ethnic cleansing in which all fought against all started. The symbol of these cleansing became **Srebrenica Massacre** that occurred in July 1995. Despite the fact that near Srebrenica U.N. troops were located, U.N. soldiers did not intervene; the Srebrenica Massacre became another failure of United Nations.

In November 1992 tripartite negotiation ended up in **Dayton Peace Treat** that led to federalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina on ethnic principle.

### 10.12 Kosovo War 1999

In Yugoslavian Federation Kosovo was autonomous territory of Serbia. For long time **Albanians demanded independence** on Serbia and in order to reach state sovereignty established Kosovo independence army. This army was in fact terrorist organization that induced civil disorder in 1997. Kosovo army controls one third of Kosovo territory by mid-1998.

End of 1998 Yugoslavian army commenced counter-offensive, but also Albanians drove out. In 1999 NATO tried to mediate peace talks, but failure. That is why on:

- 24 March 1999 NATO commenced air assault to Yugoslavian positions.

On 10 June 1999 Yugoslavia capitulates and NATO troops were placed in Kosovo. But during comeback of **Albanians massacres of Serbs** took place.

Finally in 2008 Kosovo **unilaterally declares independence**. Some states did not accepted this independence, some did. Up this days question of Kosovo sovereignty represents one of the most controversial issue of Balkan Peninsula.

### 10.13 Terrorism

After 1990 the real threat to world democracy was no more Communism, but new war tactic and new type of organizations seeking for power – terrorism.

Terrorism could be defined as Form of struggle with its aim to **intimidate opponent** by performing terrorist acts; terrorism aims at civilian inhabitants. During history number of terrorist organization was founded:

- According to their affiliation the terrorist organizations could be:
- **Radical Left**, number of these organization that were founded in late 1960s and in 1970s; many of them exists up this days. The most famous became Rote Armee Fraction in Germany (Fraction of Red Army), while the most distinguished member of radical left terrorist movement is supposed to be Carlos the Jackal.
- During 1990s number of so called **Eco terrorist** organizations and movements were founded, while

- **Fundamentalist terrorism** represents the most dangerous type of terrorism since 1970s.

Since civil war in Lebanon (1975), Islamic revolution in Iran (1979), and invasion to Afghanistan (1979) expansion of fundamentalist terrorism took place: **Hezbollah, Hamas, al Qaeda** etc. During these day the most known is **Islamic State**, terrorist organization that in fact transformed into state form.

### 10.14 War against Terrorism 2001 to 2011

Impulse to commence the war against terrorism became terrorist assaults on 11 September 2001:

- Co-ordinated attack of **al Qaeda**: kidnaping of four airplanes and using them for suicidal assault.
- Two planes hit against W.T.C. in New York, next fall on Pentagon building, and third crashed in Pennsylvania

**Long-term strategy of U.S.A.** to eliminate terrorist threat (term used by George W. Bush on 20 September 2001) that comprised operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, Somalia, and the Philippines etc.

After 2001 controversial so called **U.S.A. Patriotic Act** was issued. It is statute that broadened competence of executive power regarding security issues.

The war against terrorism comprises also War in Afghanistan 2001:

**Operation Enduring Freedom** with aim to defeat Taliban and to capture Osama ben Laden was commenced on 7 October 2001. In the first stage aircraft assault to selected targets were involved, while in the second stage land operations took place. Among the decisive fights there was attack on **Mazare Sharif** on 9 November. Soon after that Taliban left Afghan Capital, Kabul. The harshest fights took place on **Tora Bora Complex** from 12 to 27 December 2001. During spring 2002 conventional phase of war ended and Taliban switches to **guerrilla warfare**.

The next largest war was **Second War in Gulf** that lasted from 2003 to 2011. Operation was led by United States and coalition of ca. 40 countries. In first stage of war coalition had some 300 000 soldiers. After beginning of 2003 diplomatic pressure to Iraq to end production of weapons of mass destruction took place, but without results. That is why military operation was commenced on 20 March 2003. Base of operation became Kuwait. In this operation the land assault began at the same time as aircraft assault. The last fight against Iraqi army was the Battle of Tikrit that was

finally captured on 14 April 2003. Then, on 13 December 2003, the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein **captured**. Despite the fact that Iraqi army was defeated resistance of fundamentalists continued as **guerrilla warfare**

The major problem during both wars, Afghan and Iraqi, was fact that modern army is able to effectively destroy enemy power, but have serious problems how to respond to civil resistance.



### **10.15 Provisional Summary of Chapter**

In 1989 and 1990 world entered the period that still forms our present day situation. To sum up the last quarter of century is difficult and that is why the last chapter of Selected Chapters of Czech and World History is only provisional.

Multilateral world order set situation of new sources of international tension; those sources are religious fundamentalism and nationalism. All of conflicts could be defined as asymmetrical. The only struggle, when encountered equal armies, was during Gulf War in 2003. Conflicts of 21st century, especially Ukrainian Crisis and Islamic State War, are also conflict with high level of involvement of media.

Despite some failures it seems that role United Nations in world increased. But there is a question whether its significance will still be increasing in the future.

In all world conflict there is high level of engagement of U.S.A. But since Barrack Obama commenced his office gradual decrease of significance of U.S.A. took place, especially after 2010 when so called Arab Spring struck Arabian states.

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