

# ■ ▼ Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of maps</i>	xiv
<i>List of tables</i>	xvi
<i>List of illustrations</i>	xvii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xx
<i>Preface to the Fourth Edition</i>	xxi

## **PART I WAR AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

<b>1 The world in 1914: outbreak of the First World War</b>	<b>3</b>
1.1 Prologue	3
1.2 The world in 1914	3
1.3 Events leading up to the outbreak of war	7
1.4 What caused the war, and who was to blame?	12
Questions	16
<b>2 The First World War and its aftermath</b>	<b>19</b>
Summary of events	19
2.1 1914	20
2.2 1915	22
2.3 1916	25
2.4 The war at sea	26
2.5 1917	28
2.6 The Central Powers defeated	29
2.7 The problems of making a peace settlement	32
2.8 The Treaty of Versailles with Germany	34
2.9 The peace treaties with Austria–Hungary	38
2.10 The settlement with Turkey and Bulgaria	39
2.11 Verdict on the peace settlement	41
Questions	41
<b>3 The League of Nations</b>	<b>43</b>
Summary of events	43
3.1 What were the origins of the League?	43
3.2 How was the League organized?	44
3.3 Successes of the League	45
3.4 Why did the League fail to preserve peace?	46
Questions	49
<b>4 International relations, 1919–33</b>	<b>50</b>
Summary of events	50
4.1 What attempts were made to improve international relations, and how successful were they?	51

4.2	How did France try to deal with the problem of Germany between 1919 and 1933?	54
4.3	How did relations between the USSR and Britain, Germany and France develop between 1919 and 1933?	57
4.4	The 'successor' states	59
4.5	United States foreign policy, 1919–33	66
	Questions	67
<b>5</b>	<b>International relations, 1933–9</b>	<b>69</b>
	Summary of events	69
5.1	Relations between Japan and China	70
5.2	Mussolini's foreign policy	72
5.3	What were Hitler's aims in foreign policy, and how successful had he been by the end of 1938?	75
5.4	Appeasement	78
5.5	Munich to the outbreak of war: September 1938 to September 1939	81
5.6	Why did war break out? Who or what was responsible?	84
	Questions	87
<b>6</b>	<b>The Second World War, 1939–45</b>	<b>89</b>
	Summary of events	89
6.1	Opening moves: September 1939 to December 1940	90
6.2	The Axis offensive widens: 1941 to the summer of 1942	94
6.3	The offensives held in check: summer 1942 to summer 1943	99
6.4	What part was played by Allied naval forces?	101
6.5	What contribution did air power make to the defeat of the Axis?	102
6.6	The Axis powers defeated: July 1943 to August 1945	104
6.7	Why did the Axis powers lose the war?	110
6.8	The Holocaust	111
6.9	What were the effects of the war?	117
	Questions	120
<b>7</b>	<b>The Cold War: problems of international relations after the Second World War</b>	<b>122</b>
	Summary of events	122
7.1	What caused the Cold War?	122
7.2	How did the Cold War develop between 1945 and 1953?	124
7.3	To what extent was there a thaw after 1953?	132
7.4	The nuclear arms race and the Cuban missiles crisis (1962)	134
	Questions	140
<b>8</b>	<b>The spread of communism outside Europe and its effects on international relations</b>	<b>142</b>
	Summary of events	142
8.1	War in Korea and its effects on international relations	143
8.2	Cuba	147
8.3	The wars in Vietnam, 1946–54 and 1961–75	149
8.4	Chile under Salvador Allende, 1970–3	155
8.5	More United States interventions	157
8.6	Détente: international relations from the 1970s to the 1990s	162
8.7	The collapse of communism in eastern Europe: international relations transformed	166
	Questions	168

<b>9</b>	<b>The United Nations Organization</b>	<b>170</b>
	Summary of events	170
9.1	The structure of the United Nations Organization	170
9.2	How different is the United Nations from the League of Nations?	174
9.3	How successful has the UN been as a peacekeeping organization?	175
9.4	UN peacekeeping since the end of the Cold War	179
9.5	What other work is the UN responsible for?	181
9.6	Verdict on the United Nations Organization	186
9.7	What about the future of the UN?	188
	Questions	190
<b>10</b>	<b>The two Europes, East and West since 1945</b>	<b>191</b>
	Summary of events	191
10.1	The states of western Europe	192
10.2	The growth of unity in western Europe	195
10.3	The early days of the European Community	197
10.4	The European Community from 1973 to Maastricht (1991)	203
10.5	Communist unity in eastern Europe	208
10.6	Why and how did communism collapse in eastern Europe?	215
10.7	Civil war in Yugoslavia	220
10.8	Europe since Maastricht	225
	Questions	229
<b>11</b>	<b>Conflict in the Middle East</b>	<b>231</b>
	Summary of events	231
11.1	Arab unity and interference from the outside world	233
11.2	The creation of Israel and the Arab–Israeli war, 1948–9	236
11.3	The Suez War of 1956	238
11.4	The Six-Day War of 1967	241
11.5	The Yom Kippur War of 1973	242
11.6	Camp David and the Egyptian–Israeli peace, 1978–9	244
11.7	Peace between Israel and the PLO	246
11.8	Conflict in the Lebanon	247
11.9	The Iran–Iraq War, 1980–8	251
11.10	The Gulf War, 1990–1	253
11.11	Israelis and Palestinians fight again	254
	Questions	260
<b>12</b>	<b>The new world order and the war against global terrorism</b>	<b>262</b>
	Summary of events	262
12.1	The new world order	264
12.2	The rise of global terrorism	266
12.3	11 September and the ‘war on terrorism’	270
12.4	The downfall of Saddam Hussein	276
12.5	The international scene in 2005	282
	Questions	283

## **PART II THE RISE OF FASCISM AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE RIGHT**

<b>13</b>	<b>Italy, 1918–45: the first appearance of Fascism</b>	<b>287</b>
	Summary of events	287
13.1	Why was Mussolini able to come to power?	287

13.2	What did the term ‘fascism’ stand for?	291
13.3	Mussolini introduces the fascist state	292
13.4	What benefits did fascism bring for the Italian people?	294
13.5	Opposition and downfall	296
	Questions	298
<b>14</b>	<b>Germany, 1918–45: the Weimar Republic and Hitler</b>	<b>300</b>
	Summary of events	300
14.1	Why did the Weimar Republic fail?	301
14.2	What did National Socialism stand for?	309
14.3	Hitler consolidates his power	310
14.4	How was Hitler able to stay in power?	311
14.5	Nazism and fascism	318
14.6	How successful was Hitler in domestic affairs?	319
	Questions	322
<b>15</b>	<b>Japan and Spain</b>	<b>324</b>
	Summary of events	324
15.1	Japan between the wars	325
15.2	Japan recovers	327
15.3	Spain	331
	Questions	335
<b>PART III COMMUNISM – RISE AND DECLINE</b>		
<b>16</b>	<b>Russia and the revolutions, 1900–24</b>	<b>339</b>
	Summary of events	339
16.1	After 1905: were the revolutions of 1917 inevitable?	339
16.2	The two revolutions: February/March and October/November 1917	343
16.3	How successfully did Lenin and the Bolsheviks deal with their problems?	349
16.4	Lenin – evil genius?	358
	Questions	360
<b>17</b>	<b>The USSR and Stalin, 1924–53</b>	<b>361</b>
	Summary of events	361
17.1	How did Stalin get to supreme power?	361
17.2	How successful was Stalin in solving the USSR’s economic problems?	364
17.3	Politics and the Purges	369
17.4	Everyday life and culture under Stalin	373
17.5	Stalin’s final years, 1945–53	378
	Questions	382
<b>18</b>	<b>Continuing communism, collapse and aftermath, 1953–2005</b>	<b>384</b>
	Summary of events	384
18.1	The Khrushchev era, 1953–64	385
18.2	The USSR stagnates, 1964–85	388
18.3	Gorbachev and the end of communist rule	391
18.4	Russia in the aftermath of communism: Yeltsin and Putin	398
	Questions	404

<b>19</b>	<b>China, 1900–49</b>	<b>405</b>
	Summary of events	405
	19.1 Revolution and the warlord era	405
	19.2 The Kuomintang, Dr Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek	407
	19.3 Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party	409
	19.4 The communist victory, 1949	412
	Questions	412
<b>20</b>	<b>China since 1949: the communists in control</b>	<b>415</b>
	Summary of events	415
	20.1 How successful was Mao Zedong in dealing with China’s problems?	415
	20.2 Life after Mao	420
	20.3 Tiananmen Square, 1989, and the crisis of communism	424
	Questions	428
<b>21</b>	<b>Communism in Korea and south-east Asia</b>	<b>430</b>
	Summary of events	430
	21.1 North Korea	431
	21.2 Vietnam	435
	21.3 Cambodia/Kampuchea	439
	21.4 Laos	444
	Questions	446
 <b>PART IV THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA</b>		
<b>22</b>	<b>The USA before the Second World War</b>	<b>449</b>
	Summary of events	449
	22.1 The American system of government	450
	22.2 Into the melting-pot: the era of immigration	454
	22.3 The USA becomes economic leader of the world	458
	22.4 Socialists, trades unions, and the impact of war and the Russian revolutions	461
	22.5 Racial discrimination and the Civil Rights Movement	467
	22.6 The Great Depression arrives, October 1929	470
	22.7 Roosevelt and the New Deal	475
	Questions	480
<b>23</b>	<b>The USA since 1945</b>	<b>482</b>
	Summary of events	482
	23.1 Poverty and social policies	483
	23.2 Racial problems and the Civil Rights Movement	487
	23.3 Anti-communism and Senator McCarthy	492
	23.4 Nixon and Watergate	496
	23.5 The Carter–Reagan–Bush era, 1977–93	497
	23.6 Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, 1993–2005	501
	Questions	504
 <b>PART V DECOLONIZATION AND AFTER</b>		
<b>24</b>	<b>The end of the European empires</b>	<b>509</b>
	Summary of events	509
	24.1 Why did the European powers give up their empires?	511

24.2	Indian independence and partition	512
24.3	The West Indies, Malaya and Cyprus	516
24.4	The British leave Africa	520
24.5	The end of the French Empire	529
24.6	The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy	534
24.7	Verdict on decolonization	539
	Questions	540
<b>25</b>	<b>Problems in Africa</b>	<b>542</b>
	Summary of events	542
25.1	Problems common to the African states	542
25.2	Democracy, dictatorship and military government in Ghana	544
25.3	Civil wars and corruption in Nigeria	547
25.4	Poverty in Tanzania	552
25.5	The Congo/Zaire	554
25.6	Angola: a Cold War tragedy	557
25.7	Genocide in Burundi and Rwanda	559
25.8	Apartheid and black majority rule in South Africa	561
25.9	Socialism and civil war in Ethiopia	571
25.10	Liberia – a unique experiment	572
25.11	Stability and chaos in Sierra Leone	573
25.12	Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe	575
25.13	Africa and its problems in the twenty-first century	578
	Questions	579
<b>PART VI GLOBAL PROBLEMS</b>		
<b>26</b>	<b>The changing world economy since 1900</b>	<b>583</b>
	Summary of events	583
26.1	Changes in the world economy since 1900	583
26.2	The Third World and the North–South divide	586
26.3	The split in the Third World economy	591
26.4	The world economy and its effects on the environment	592
26.5	Global warming	597
26.6	The world economy at the turn of the millennium	599
	Questions	602
<b>27</b>	<b>The world's population</b>	<b>604</b>
	Summary of events	604
27.1	The increasing world population since 1900	604
27.2	Consequences of the population explosion	607
27.3	Attempts at population control	608
27.4	The HIV/AIDS epidemic	611
	Questions	614
	<i>Further Reading</i>	615
	<i>Index</i>	627

# 1 The world in 1914: outbreak of the First World War

## 1.1 PROLOGUE

Under cover of darkness late on the night of 5 August 1914, five columns of German assault troops, which had entered Belgium two days earlier, were converging on the town of Liège, expecting little resistance. To their surprise they were halted by determined fire from the town's outlying forts. This was a setback for the Germans: control of Liège was essential before they could proceed with their main operation against France. They were forced to resort to siege tactics, using heavy howitzers. These fired shells up into the air and they plunged from a height of 12 000 feet to shatter the armour-plating of the forts. Strong though they were, these Belgian forts were not equipped to withstand such a battering for long; on 13 August the first one surrendered and three days later Liège was under German control. This was the first major engagement of the First World War, that horrifying conflict of monumental proportions which was to mark the beginning of a new era in European and world history.

## 1.2 THE WORLD IN 1914

### (a) Europe still dominated the rest of the world in 1914

Most of the decisions which shaped the fate of the world were taken in the capitals of Europe. Germany was the leading power in Europe both militarily and economically. She had overtaken Britain in the production of pig-iron and steel, though not quite in coal, while France, Belgium, Italy and Austria–Hungary (known as the Habsburg Empire) were well behind. Russian industry was expanding rapidly but had been so backward to begin with that she could not seriously challenge Germany and Britain. But it was outside Europe that the most spectacular industrial progress had been made during the previous 40 years. In 1914 the USA produced more coal, pig-iron and steel than either Germany or Britain and now ranked as a world power. Japan too had modernized rapidly and was a power to be reckoned with after her defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.

### (b) The political systems of these world powers varied widely

The USA, Britain and France had *democratic forms of government*. This means that they each had a parliament consisting of representatives elected by the people; these parliaments had an important say in running the country. Some systems were not as democratic as they seemed: Germany had an elected lower house of parliament (Reichstag), but real

power lay with the Chancellor (a sort of Prime Minister) and the Kaiser (emperor). Italy was a monarchy with an elected parliament, but the franchise (right to vote) was limited to wealthy people. Japan had an elected lower house, but here too the franchise was restricted, and the emperor and the privy council held most of the power. The governments in Russia and Austria–Hungary were very different from the democracy of the West. The Tsar (emperor) of Russia and the Emperor of Austria (who was also King of Hungary) were *autocratic* or *absolute rulers*. This means that although parliaments existed, they could only advise the rulers; if they felt like it, the rulers could ignore the parliaments and do exactly as they wished.

### (c) Imperial expansion after 1880

The European powers had taken part in a great burst of imperialist expansion in the years after 1880. *Imperialism* is the building up of an empire by seizing territory overseas. Most of Africa was taken over by the European states in what became known as the ‘the Scramble for Africa’; the idea behind it was mainly to get control of new markets and new sources of raw materials. There was also intervention in the crumbling Chinese empire; the European powers, the USA and Japan all, at different times, forced the helpless Chinese to grant trading concessions. Exasperation with the incompetence of their government caused the Chinese to overthrow the ancient Manchu dynasty and set up a republic (1911).

### (d) Europe had divided itself into two alliance systems

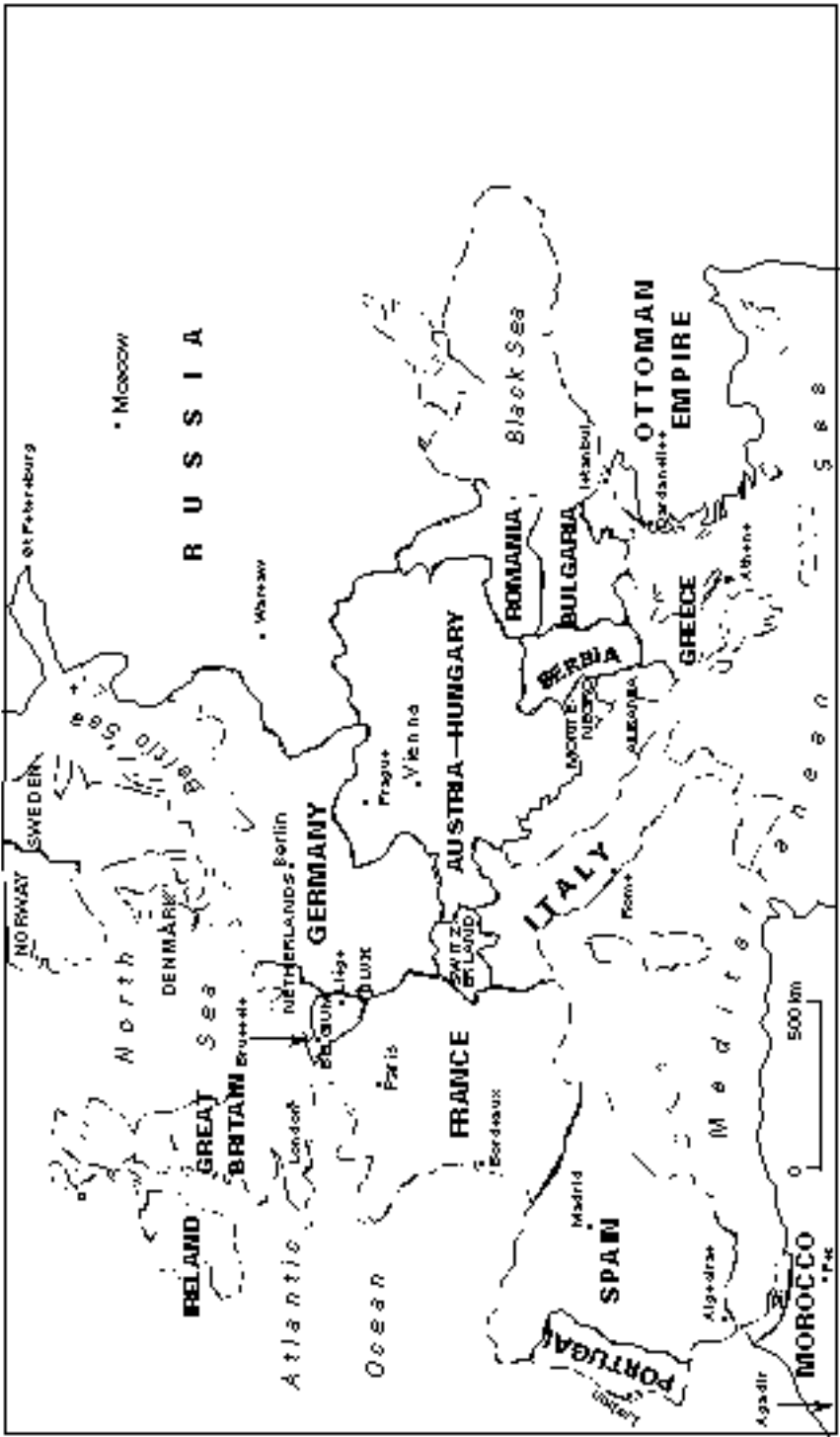
<i>The Triple Alliance:</i>	Germany Austria–Hungary Italy
<i>The Triple Entente:</i>	Britain France Russia

In addition, Japan and Britain had signed an alliance in 1902. Friction between the two main groups (sometimes called ‘the armed camps’) had brought Europe to the verge of war several times since 1900 (Map 1.1).

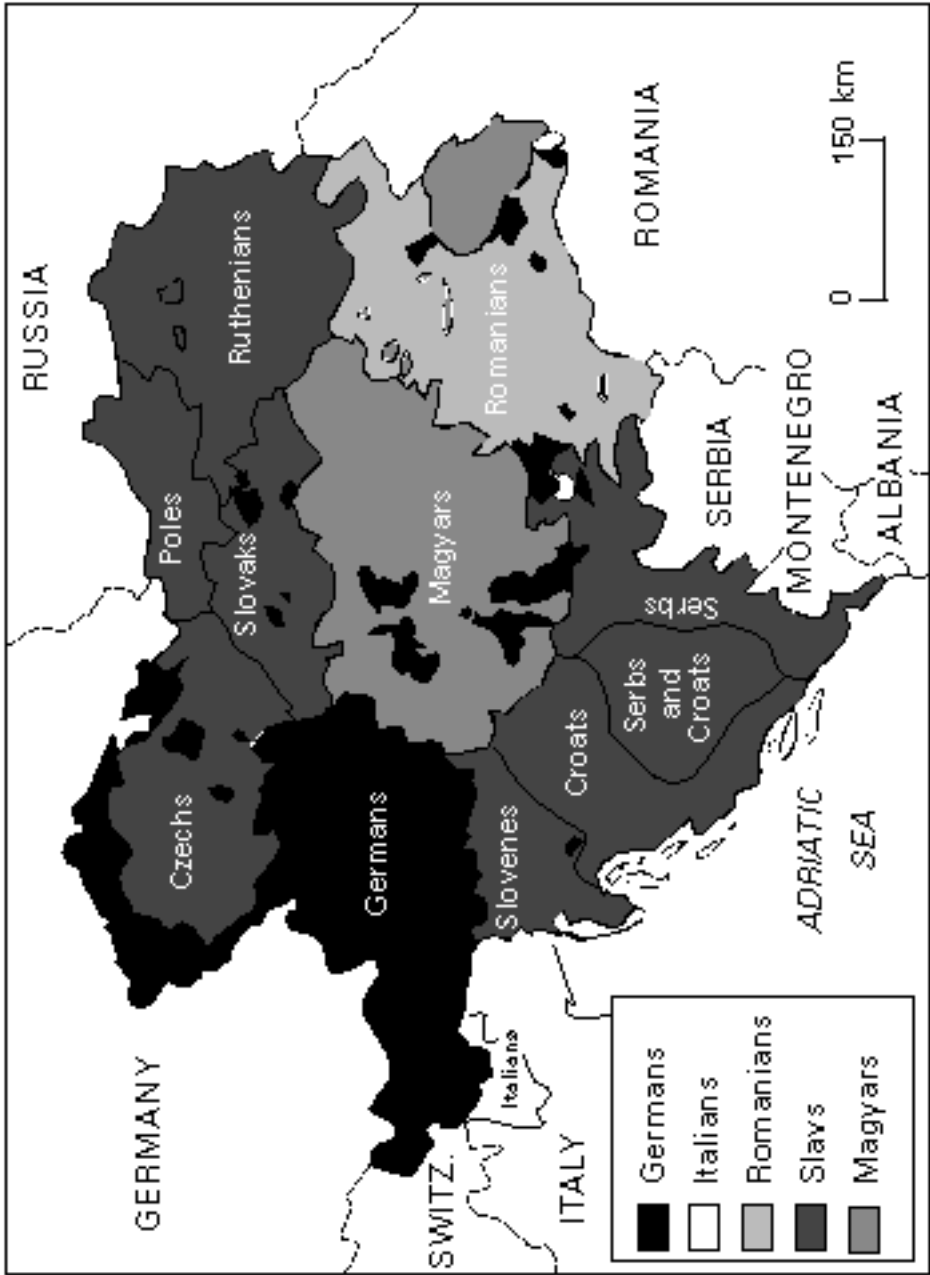
### (e) Causes of friction

There were many causes of friction which threatened to upset the peace of Europe:

- There was naval rivalry between Britain and Germany.
- The French resented the loss of Alsace–Lorraine to Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War (1871).
- The Germans accused Britain, Russia and France of trying to ‘encircle’ them; the Germans were also disappointed with the results of their expansionist policies (known as *Weltpolitik* – literally ‘world policy’). Although they had taken possession of some islands in the Pacific and some territory in Africa, their empire was small in comparison with those of the other European powers, and not very rewarding economically.



Map 1.1 Europe in 1914



Map 1.2 Peoples of the Habsburg Empire

- The Russians were suspicious of Austrian ambitions in the Balkans and worried about the growing military and economic strength of Germany.
- Serbian *nationalism* (the desire to free your nation from control by people of another nationality) was probably the most dangerous cause of friction. Since 1882 the Serbian government of King Milan had been pro-Austrian, and his son Alexander, who came of age in 1893, followed the same policy. However, the Serbian nationalists bitterly resented the fact that by the Treaty of Berlin signed in 1878, the Austrians had been allowed to occupy Bosnia, an area which the Serbs thought should be part of a Greater Serbia. The nationalists saw Alexander as a traitor; in 1903 he was murdered by a group of army officers, who put Peter Karageorgevicv on the throne. The change of regime caused a dramatic switch in Serbian policy: the Serbs now became pro-Russian and made no secret of their ambition to unite all Serbs and Croats into a large South Slav kingdom (Yugoslavia). Many of these Serbs and Croats lived inside the borders of the Habsburg Empire; if they were to break away from Austria–Hungary to become part of a Greater Serbia, it would threaten to break up the entire ramshackle Habsburg Empire, which contained people of many different nationalities (Map 1.2). There were Germans, Hungarians, Magyars, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians and Slovenes, as well as Serbs and Croats. If the Serbs and Croats left the fold, many of the others would demand their independence as well, and the Hapsburg Empire would break up. Consequently some Austrians were keen for what they called a ‘preventive war’ to destroy Serbia before she became strong enough to provoke the breakup of their empire. The Austrians also resented Russian support for Serbia.

Arising from all these resentments and tensions came a series of events which culminated in the outbreak of war in late July 1914.

### 1.3 EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

#### Time chart of main events

Europe divides into two armed camps:

1882	Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria–Hungary and Italy
1894	France and Russia sign alliance
1904	Britain and France sign ‘Entente Cordiale’ (friendly ‘getting-together’)
1907	Britain and Russia sign agreement.

Other important events:

1897	Admiral Tirpitz’s Navy Law – Germany intends to build up fleet
1902	Britain and Japan sign alliance
1904–5	Russo-Japanese War, won by Japan
1905–6	Moroccan Crisis
1906	Britain builds first ‘Dreadnought’ battleship
1908	Bosnia Crisis
1911	Agadir Crisis
1912	First Balkan War
1913	Second Balkan War

1914	28 June	Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated in Sarajevo
	28 July	Austria–Hungary declares war on Serbia
	29 July	Russia orders general mobilization of troops
	1 August	Germany declares war on Russia
	3 August	Germany declares war on France
	4 August	Britain enters war
	6 August	Austria–Hungary declares war on Russia.

### (a) The Moroccan Crisis (1905–6)

This was an attempt by the Germans to expand their empire and to test the recently signed Anglo-French ‘Entente Cordiale’ (1904), with its understanding that France would recognize Britain’s position in Egypt in return for British approval of a possible French takeover of Morocco; this was one of the few remaining areas of Africa not controlled by a European power. The Germans announced that they would assist the Sultan of Morocco to maintain his country’s independence, and demanded an international conference to discuss its future. A conference was duly held at Algeciras in southern Spain (January 1906). The British believed that if the Germans had their way, it would lead to virtual German control of Morocco. This would be an important step on the road to German diplomatic domination and it would encourage them to press ahead with their *Weltpolitik*. The British, who had just signed the ‘Entente Cordiale’ with France, were determined to lead the opposition to Germany at the conference. The Germans did not take the ‘Entente’ seriously because there was a long history of hostility between Britain and France. But to the amazement of the Germans, Britain, Russia, Italy and Spain supported the French demand to control the Moroccan bank and police. It was a serious diplomatic defeat for the Germans, who realized that the new line-up of Britain and France was a force to be reckoned with, especially as the crisis was soon followed by Anglo-French ‘military conversations’.

### (b) The British agreement with Russia (1907)

This was regarded by the Germans as another hostile move. In fact it was a logical step, given that in 1894 Russia had signed an alliance with France, Britain’s new partner in the ‘Entente Cordiale’. For many years the British had viewed Russia as a major threat to their interests in the Far East and India, but recently the situation had changed. Russia’s defeat by Japan in the war of 1904–5 was thought to have weakened her considerably, and she no longer seemed so much of a threat. The Russians were keen to end the long-standing rivalry and anxious to attract British investment for their industrial modernization programme. The agreement therefore settled their remaining differences in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. It was not a military alliance and not necessarily an anti-German move, but the Germans saw it as confirmation of their fears that Britain, France and Russia were planning to ‘encircle’ them.

### (c) The Bosnia Crisis (1908)

This brought the tension between Austria–Hungary and Serbia to fever-pitch. The Austrians, taking advantage of a revolution in Turkey, formally annexed (took over) the Turkish province of Bosnia, which they had been occupying since 1878. This was a deliberate blow at the neighbouring state of Serbia, which had also been hoping to take Bosnia

since it contained about 3 million Serbs among its mixed population of Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The Serbs appealed for help to their fellow Slavs, the Russians, who called for a European conference, expecting French and British support. When it became clear that Germany would support Austria in the event of war, the French drew back, unwilling to become involved in a war in the Balkans. The British, anxious to avoid a breach with Germany, did no more than protest to Austria–Hungary. The Russians, still smarting from their defeat by Japan, dared not risk another war without the support of their allies. There was to be no help for Serbia; no conference took place, and Austria kept Bosnia. It was a triumph for the Austro-German alliance, *but it had unfortunate results*:

- Serbia remained bitterly hostile to Austria, and it was this quarrel which sparked off the outbreak of war.
- The Russians were determined to avoid any further humiliation and embarked on a massive military build-up. They intended to be prepared if Serbia should ever appeal for help again.

#### **(d) The Agadir Crisis (1911)**

This crisis was caused by further developments in the situation in Morocco. French troops occupied Fez, the Moroccan capital, to put down a rebellion against the Sultan. It looked as if the French were about to annexe Morocco. The Germans sent a gunboat, the *Panther*, to the Moroccan port of Agadir, hoping to pressurize the French into giving Germany compensation, perhaps the French Congo. The British were worried in case the Germans acquired Agadir, which could be used as a naval base from which to threaten Britain's trade routes. In order to strengthen French resistance, Lloyd George (Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer) used a speech which he was due to make at the Lord Mayor of London's banquet at the Mansion House, to warn the Germans off. He said that Britain would not stand by and be taken advantage of 'where her interests were vitally affected'. The French stood firm, making no major concessions, and eventually the German gunboat was removed. The Germans agreed to recognize the French protectorate (the right to 'protect' the country from foreign intervention) over Morocco in return for two strips of territory in the French Congo. This was seen as a triumph for the Entente powers, but in Germany public opinion became intensely anti-British, especially as the British were drawing slowly ahead in the 'naval race'. At the end of 1911 they had built eight of the new and more powerful 'Dreadnought' type battleships, compared with Germany's four.

#### **(e) The First Balkan War (1912)**

The war began when Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria (calling themselves the Balkan League) launched a series of attacks on Turkey. These countries had all, at one time, been part of the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire. Now that Turkey was weak (regarded by the other powers as 'the Sick Man of Europe'), they seized their chance to acquire more land at Turkey's expense. They soon captured most of the remaining Turkish territory in Europe. Together with the German government, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, arranged a peace conference in London. He was anxious to avoid the conflict spreading, and also to demonstrate that Britain and Germany could still work together. The resulting settlement divided up the former Turkish lands among the Balkan states. However, the Serbs were not happy with their gains: they wanted Albania, which would give them an outlet to the sea, but the Austrians, with German and British support, insisted that Albania should become an independent state. This was a deliberate Austrian move to prevent Serbia becoming more powerful.



Map 1.3 The Balkans in 1913 showing changes from the Balkan Wars (1912–13)

**(f) The Second Balkan War (1913)**

The Bulgarians were dissatisfied with their gains from the peace settlement and they blamed Serbia. They had been hoping for Macedonia, but most of it had been given to Serbia. Bulgaria therefore attacked Serbia, but their plan misfired when Greece, Romania and Turkey rallied to support Serbia. The Bulgarians were defeated, and by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913), they forfeited most of their gains from the first war (see Map 1.3). It seemed that Anglo-German influence had prevented an escalation of the war by restraining the Austrians, who were itching to support Bulgaria and attack Serbia. In reality though, *the consequences of the Balkan Wars were serious:*

- Serbia had been strengthened and was determined to stir up trouble among the Serbs and Croats living inside Austria–Hungary;
- the Austrians were equally determined to put an end to Serbia’s ambitions;
- the Germans took Grey’s willingness to co-operate as a sign that Britain was prepared to be detached from France and Russia.

### **(g) The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand**

This tragic event (Illus 1.1), which took place in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, on 28 June 1914, was the immediate cause of Austria–Hungary’s declaration of war on Serbia, which was soon to develop into the First World War. The Archduke, nephew and heir to the Emperor Franz Josef, was paying an official visit to Sarajevo when he and his wife were shot dead by a Serb terrorist, Gavrilo Princip. The Austrians blamed the Serb government and sent a harsh ultimatum. The Serbs accepted most of the demands in it, but the Austrians, with a promise of German support, were determined to use the incident as an excuse for war. On 28 July, Austria–Hungary declared war on Serbia. The Russians, anxious not to let the Serbs down again, ordered a general mobilization (29 July). The German government demanded that this should be cancelled (31 July), and when the Russians failed to comply, Germany declared war on Russia (1 August) and on France (3 August). When German troops entered Belgium on their way to invade France, Britain (who in 1839 had promised to defend Belgian neutrality) demanded their withdrawal. When this demand was ignored, Britain entered the war (4 August). Austria–Hungary declared war on Russia on 6 August. Other countries joined later.

The war was to have profound effects on the future of the world. Germany was soon to be displaced, for a time at least, from her mastery of Europe, and Europe never quite regained its dominant position in the world.



*Illustration 1.1* Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, shortly before their assassination in Sarajevo, 28 June 1914

## 1.4 WHAT CAUSED THE WAR, AND WHO WAS TO BLAME?

It is difficult to analyse why the assassination in Sarajevo developed into a world war, and even now historians cannot agree. Some blame Austria for being the first aggressor by declaring war on Serbia; some blame the Russians because they were the first to order full mobilization; some blame Germany for supporting Austria, and others blame Britain for not making it clear that she would definitely support France. If the Germans had known this, so the argument goes, they would not have declared war on France, and the fighting could have been restricted to eastern Europe.

*The point which is beyond dispute is that the quarrel between Austria–Hungary and Serbia sparked off the outbreak of war.* The quarrel had become increasingly more explosive since 1908, and the Austrians seized on the assassination as the excuse for a preventive war with Serbia. They genuinely felt that if Serb and Slav nationalist ambitions for a state of Yugoslavia were achieved, it would cause the collapse of the Habsburg Empire; Serbia must be curbed. In fairness, they probably hoped the war would remain localized like the Balkan Wars. The Austro-Serb quarrel explains the outbreak of the war, but not why it became a world war. *Here are some of the reasons which have been suggested for the escalation of the war.*

### (a) The alliance system or ‘armed camps’ made war inevitable

The American diplomat and historian George Kennan believed that once the 1894 alliance had been signed between France and Russia, the fate of Europe was sealed. As suspicions mounted between the two opposing camps, Russia, Austria–Hungary and Germany got themselves into situations which they could not escape from without suffering further humiliation; war seemed to be the only way for them to save face.

However, many historians think this explanation is not convincing; there had been many crises since 1904, and none of them had led to a major war. In fact, *there was nothing binding about these alliances.* When Russia was struggling in the war against Japan (1904–5), the French sent no help; nor did they support Russia when she protested at the Austrian annexation of Bosnia; Austria took no interest in Germany’s unsuccessful attempts to prevent France from taking over Morocco (Morocco and Agadir Crises, 1906 and 1911); Germany had restrained Austria from attacking Serbia during the Second Balkan War. Italy, though a member of the Triple Alliance, was on good terms with France and Britain, and entered the war *against* Germany in 1915. No power actually declared war because of one of these treaties of alliance.

### (b) Colonial rivalry in Africa and the Far East

Again, the argument that German disappointment with their imperial gains and resentment at the success of other powers helped cause the war is not convincing. Although there had certainly been disputes, they had always been settled without war. In early July 1914 Anglo-German relations were good: an agreement favourable to Germany had just been reached over a possible partition of Portuguese colonies in Africa. However, there was one side-effect of colonial rivalry which did cause dangerous friction – this was naval rivalry.

### (c) The naval race between Britain and Germany

The German government had been greatly influenced by the writings of an American, Alfred Mahan, who believed that sea power was the key to the successful build-up of a

great empire. It followed therefore that Germany needed a much larger navy capable of challenging the world's greatest sea power – Britain. Starting with Admiral Tirpitz's Navy Law of 1897, the Germans made a determined effort to expand their navy. The rapid growth of the German fleet probably did not worry the British too much at first because they had an enormous lead. However, the introduction of the powerful British 'Dreadnought' battleship in 1906 changed all this because it made all other battleships obsolete. This meant that the Germans could begin building 'Dreadnoughts' on equal terms with Britain. The resulting naval race was the main bone of contention between the two right up to 1914. For many of the British, the new German navy could mean only one thing: Germany intended making war against Britain. According to Winston Churchill, however, in the spring and summer of 1914 naval rivalry had ceased to be a cause of friction, because 'it was certain that we (Britain) could not be overtaken as far as capital ships were concerned'.

#### **(d) Economic rivalry**

It has been argued that the desire for economic mastery of the world caused German businessmen and capitalists to want war with Britain, which still owned about half the world's tonnage of merchant ships in 1914. Marxist historians like this theory because *it puts the blame for the war on the capitalist system*. But critics of the theory point out that Germany was already well on the way to economic victory; one leading German industrialist remarked in 1913: 'Give us three or four more years of peace and Germany will be the unchallenged economic master of Europe.' On this argument, the last thing Germany needed was a major war.

#### **(e) Russia made war more likely by supporting Serbia**

Russian backing probably made Serbia more reckless in her anti-Austrian policy than she might otherwise have been. Russia was the first to order a general mobilization, and it was this Russian mobilization which provoked Germany to mobilize. The Russians were worried about the situation in the Balkans, where both Bulgaria and Turkey were under German influence. This could enable Germany and Austria to control the Dardanelles, the outlet from the Black Sea. It was the main Russian trade route, and Russian trade could be strangled (this happened to some extent during the war). Thus Russia felt threatened, and once Austria declared war on Serbia, saw it as a struggle for survival. The Russians must also have felt that their prestige as leader of the Slavs would suffer if they failed to support Serbia. Possibly the government saw the war as a good idea to divert attention away from domestic problems, though they must also have been aware that involvement in a major war would be a dangerous gamble. Shortly before the outbreak of war, one of the Tsar's ministers, Durnovo, warned that a long war would put a severe strain on the country and could lead to the collapse of the tsarist regime. Perhaps the blame lies more with the Austrians: although they must have hoped for Russian neutrality, they ought to have realized how difficult it would be for Russia to stay neutral in the circumstances.

#### **(f) German backing for Austria was crucially important**

It is significant that Germany restrained the Austrians from declaring war on Serbia in 1913, but in 1914 encouraged them to go ahead. The Kaiser sent them a telegram urging them to attack Serbia and promising German help without any conditions attached. This was like giving the Austrians a blank cheque to do whatever they wanted. The important question is:

*Why did German policy towards Austria–Hungary change?* This question has caused great controversy among historians, and several different interpretations have been put forward:

- 1 After the war, when the Germans had been defeated, the Versailles Treaty imposed a harsh peace settlement on Germany. The victorious powers felt the need to justify this by putting all the blame for the war on Germany (see Section 2.8). At the time, most non-German historians went along with this, though German historians were naturally not happy with this interpretation. After a few years, opinion began to move away from laying sole blame on Germany and accepted that other powers should take some of the blame. Then in 1961 a German historian, Fritz Fischer, caused a sensation when he suggested that Germany should, after all, take most of the blame, because they risked a major war by sending the ‘blank cheque’ to Austria–Hungary. He claimed that Germany deliberately planned for, and provoked war with Russia, Britain and France in order to make Germany the dominant power in the world, both economically and politically, and also as a way of dealing with domestic tensions. In the elections of 1912, the German Socialist Party (SPD) won over a third of the seats in the Reichstag (lower house of parliament), making it the largest single party. Then in January 1914, the Reichstag passed a vote of no confidence in the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, but he remained in office because the Kaiser had the final say. Obviously a major clash was on the way between the Reichstag, which wanted more power, and the Kaiser and Chancellor, who were determined to resist change. A victorious war seemed a good way of keeping people’s minds off the political problems; it would enable the government to suppress the SPD and keep power in the hands of the Kaiser and aristocracy. Fischer based his theory partly on evidence from the diary of Admiral von Müller, who wrote about a ‘war council’ held on 8 December 1912; at this meeting, Moltke (Chief of the German General Staff – see Illus. 1.2) said ‘I believe war is unavoidable; war the sooner the better.’ Fischer’s claims made him unpopular with West German historians, and another German, H. W. Koch, dismissed his theory, pointing out that nothing came of the ‘war council’. However, historians in Communist East Germany supported Fischer because his theory laid the blame on capitalists and the capitalist system, which they opposed.
- 2 Other historians emphasize the time factor involved: the Germans wanted war not only because they felt encircled, but because they felt that the net was closing in on them. They were threatened by British naval power and by the massive Russian military expansion. Von Jagow, who was German Foreign Minister at the outbreak of war, reported comments made earlier in 1914 in which Moltke stated that there was no alternative for the Germans but to make ‘preventive’ war in order to defeat their enemies before they became too powerful. The German generals had decided that a ‘preventive’ war, *a war for survival*, was necessary, and that it must take place before the end of 1914. They believed that if they waited longer than that, Russia would be too strong.
- 3 Some historians reject both points 1 and 2 and suggest that Germany did not want a major war at all; the Kaiser, Wilhelm II, and Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg believed that if they took a strong line in support of Austria, that would *frighten the Russians into remaining neutral* – a tragic miscalculation, if true.

### **(g) The mobilization plans of the great powers**

Gerhard Ritter, a leading German historian, believed that the German plan for mobilization, known as the *Schlieffen Plan*, drawn up by Count von Schlieffen in 1905–6, was extremely risky and inflexible and deserved to be seen as the start of disaster both for

Germany and Europe. It gave the impression that Germany was being ruled by a band of unscrupulous militarists.

A. J. P. Taylor argued that these plans, based on precise railway timetables for the rapid movement of troops, accelerated the tempo of events and reduced almost to nil the time available for negotiation. The Schlieffen Plan assumed that France would automatically join Russia; the bulk of German forces were to be sent by train to the Belgian frontier, and through Belgium to attack France, which would be knocked out in six weeks. German forces would then be switched rapidly across Europe to face Russia, whose mobilization was expected to be slow. Once Moltke knew that Russia had ordered a general mobilization, he demanded immediate German mobilization so that the plan could be put into operation as soon as possible. However, Russian mobilization did not necessarily mean war – their troops could be halted at the frontiers; unfortunately the Schlieffen Plan, which depended on the rapid capture of Liège in Belgium, involved the first aggressive act outside the Balkans, when German troops crossed the frontier into Belgium on 4 August, thus violating Belgian neutrality. Almost at the last minute the Kaiser and Bethmann tried to avoid war and urged the Austrians to negotiate with Serbia (30 July), which perhaps supports point 3 above. Wilhelm suggested a partial mobilization against Russia only, instead of the full plan; he hoped that Britain would remain neutral if Germany refrained from attacking France. But Moltke, nervous of being left at the post by the Russians and French, insisted on the full Schlieffen Plan; he said there was no time to change all the railway timetables to send the troop trains to Russia instead of to Belgium. It looks as though *the generals had taken over control of affairs from the politicians*. It also suggests that a British announcement on 31 July of her intention to support France would have made no difference to Germany: it was the Schlieffen Plan or nothing, even though Germany at that point had no specific quarrel with France.

Doubt was cast on this theory by an American military expert and historian, Terence



*Illustration 1.2* Kaiser Wilhelm II and General von Moltke

Zuber, in his book *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan* (2002). Using documents from the former East German military archive, he argues that the Schlieffen Plan was only one of at least five alternatives being considered by the German high command in the years after 1900. One alternative dealt with the possibility of a Russian attack at the same time as a French invasion; in this case the Germans would transfer considerable forces by train to the east while holding the French at bay in the west. Schlieffen actually carried out a military exercise to test this plan towards the end of 1905. Zuber concludes that Schlieffen never committed himself to just one plan: he thought war in the west would begin with a French attack and never intended that the Germans should send all their forces into France to destroy the French army in one huge battle. It was only after the war that the Germans tried to blame their defeat on the rigidity and the constraints of the so-called Schlieffen Plan, which had, in fact, never existed in the form they tried to make out.

### **(h) A 'tragedy of miscalculation'**

Another interpretation was put forward by Australian historian L. C. F. Turner. He suggested that the Germans may not have deliberately provoked war: it was caused by a 'tragedy of miscalculation'. Most of the leading rulers and politicians seemed to be incompetent and made bad mistakes:

- The Austrians miscalculated by thinking that Russia would not support Serbia.
- Germany made a crucial mistake by promising to support Austria with no conditions attached; therefore the Germans were certainly guilty, as were the Austrians, because they risked a major war.
- Politicians in Russia and Germany miscalculated by assuming that mobilization would not necessarily mean war.
- If Ritter and Taylor are correct, this means that the generals, especially Moltke, miscalculated by sticking rigidly to their plans in the belief that this would bring a quick and decisive victory.

No wonder Bethmann, when asked how it all began, raised his arms to heaven and replied: 'Oh – if I only knew!'

In conclusion, it has to be said that at the present time, the majority of historians, including many Germans, accept Fritz Fischer's theory as the most convincing one: that the outbreak of war was deliberately provoked by Germany's leaders. For example, in *The Origins of World War I*, a collection of essays edited by Richard Hamilton and Holger H. Herwig (2002), the editors examine and reject most of the suggested causes of the war discussed above (alliance systems, mobilization plans, threat of socialism) and reach the conclusion that ultimate responsibility for the catastrophe probably rests with Germany. The Kaiser and his leading advisers and generals believed that time was running out for them as Russia's vast armament plans neared completion. Herwig argues that the German leaders gambled on a victorious war, even though they knew it was likely to last several years. In the words of Moltke, the Germans took this gamble in order to fulfil 'Germany's preordained role in civilization', which could 'only be done by way of war'.

## **QUESTIONS**

### **1 Germany and the origins of the First World War**

Study the Sources A to C and then answer the questions that follow.

### Source A

A lecture given in October 1913 by an Englishman, J. A. Cramb, who had lived in Germany for many years.

The German answer to all our talk about the limitation of armaments is: Germany shall increase to the utmost of her power irrespective of any proposals made to her by England or by Russia or by any other State upon this earth. . . . I have lived among Germans and I have been impressed by the splendour of that movement which through the centuries has brought Germany to her position today. But with the best will in the world I can see no solution to the present collision of ideals but a tragic one. England desires peace and will never make war on Germany. But how can the youth in Germany, that nation great in war, accept the world-predominance of England? The outcome is certain and speedy. It is war.

### Source B

The diary of Admiral von Müller, head of the Kaiser's naval cabinet, 8 December 1912 (meeting with the Kaiser and top military and naval personnel).

General von Moltke [Chief of German General Staff] said: I believe war is unavoidable; war the sooner the better. But we ought to do more through the press to prepare the popularity of a war against Russia. The Kaiser supported this. Tirpitz [Naval Minister] said that the navy would prefer to see the postponement of the great fight for one and a half years. Moltke says the navy would not be ready even then and the army would get into an increasingly unfavourable position, for the enemies were arming more strongly than we. That was the end of the conference; the result amounted to almost nothing.

### Source C

Report of a conversation held in May or June 1914, written from memory by Gottlieb von Jagow, *after Germany's defeat in the war*. In 1914 Jagow was the German Foreign Secretary.

On 20 May and 3 June 1914 our Majesties gave lunches in honour of the birthdays of the Emperor of Russia and the King of England. On one of these occasions – I cannot remember which – Moltke said he would like to discuss some matters with me. In his opinion there was no alternative to making preventive war in order to defeat the enemy while we still had a chance of victory. I replied that I was not prepared to cause a preventive war and I pointed out that the Kaiser, who wanted to preserve peace, would always try to avoid war and would only agree to fight if our enemies forced war upon us. After my rejection, Moltke did not insist further. When war did break out, unexpectedly and not desired by us, Moltke was very nervous and obviously suffering from strong depression.

*Source:* Sources A, B and C are quoted in J. C. G. Rohl, *From Bismarck to Hitler* (Longman, 1970, extracts).

- What can be learnt from Source A about British attitudes towards Germany shortly before the outbreak of the First World War?
- To what extent do Sources B and C offer support for the view that the main responsibility for the war rests with Germany?

- (c) Using the sources and your own knowledge, assess the relative strengths of the various theories put forward as causes of the First World War.
- 2 Explain why and how events in the Balkans contributed to the growth of international tension in the years 1908 to 1914.
  - 3 Explain why the Bosnian Crisis of 1908–9 and the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 did not develop into a general European conflict, whereas the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 did.

# Index

- Abacha, Sani 550  
Abbas, Mahmoud 246, 257, 259, 260  
Abdelazia, Mohamed 536  
Abiola, Mashood 550  
Abubakar, General Abdulsalam 550  
Abyssinia *see* Ethiopia  
Acerbo Law (1923) 292  
Acheampong, Ignatius 546  
acid rain 594  
Adenauer, Konrad 193  
Afghanistan 143, 163–4, 216, 263, 269, 271–3, 390  
Africa 4, 8, 9, 36, 38, 73–4, 94, 100–1, 160–1  
  independence of 520–9, 530–4, 535–8, 539  
  under-development of 542–3  
  disasters 543–4  
  drought in 590  
  problems 542–4; problems in 21st century 578–9  
African National Congress (ANC) 267–8, 563, 567, 568  
Agadir Crisis 7, 9  
Agricultural Adjustment Administration (USA) 476  
AIDS/HIV 188, 275, 591, 602, 611–14  
  in South Africa 570  
  in southern Africa 612–13  
Akufo, General Fred 546  
Albania 9, 47, 72, 75, 119, 287–8  
  since 1945 122, 126, 166, 173, 209, 211, 213, 214, 219, 220  
Albright, Madeleine 433, 501  
Alexander, King of Yugoslavia 80  
Algeciras Conference (1906) 8  
Algeria 192, 231, 240, 252  
  independence 530–3  
Alia, Ramiz 219  
Allende, Salvador 143, 155–7  
allied air offensive 102–4, 108  
alphabet agencies 478  
al-Qaeda 263, 267, 271–6, 277, 281  
Alsace-Lorraine 4, 33, 34, 36  
America *see* Latin America, South America, United States of America  
American Federation of Labor (AFL) 462, 464  
American Railway Union (ARU) 462, 463  
Amin, Idi 552, 553  
Andropov, Yuri 390  
Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935) 69, 73, 77, 80  
Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) 4  
Angola 143, 390, 537–8  
  civil war in 557–8  
Annan, Kofi 181, 186, 189, 578, 613–14  
*Anschluss* 70, 77, 80  
anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) 139, 163  
Anti-Comintern Pact (1936) 69, 70, 75, 77  
anti-communism (USA) 492–6  
Antigua 516–17  
Anzacs 24  
apartheid 182, 267  
  introduced 562  
  opposition to 563–6  
  end of 566–9  
appeasement 78–87  
April Theses (Lenin) 345  
Arab League 189, 233  
Arabs 175–6, 231–61  
Arafat, Yasser 242, 246, 250, 254–7, 259–60, 265, 266  
Argentina 182, 324  
Armenia 167, 371, 395  
Armour, P.D. 458  
Arusha Declaration (1967) 552–3  
Ashmun, Jehudi 572  
Assad, Hafez 250–1, 252  
Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) 437  
Atlantic Charter (1941) 511–12  
Attlee, C.R. 126  
Australia 24, 94, 145, 147, 196

- Austria (since 1918)  
  between the wars 63–5  
  and the Peace Settlement 38–9  
  and union with Germany (1938) 70,  
  76–7, 80  
  since Second World War 133, 200, 205
- Austria-Hungary (before 1918) 3, 4, 7–11  
  and responsibility for First World War  
  12–16  
  during First World War 19, 21–2, 24–5,  
  26, 31–2, 32–3  
  breakup of 32, 38–9
- autocracy, meaning 4
- Axis, Rome–Berlin (1936) 69, 75, 77
- ‘axis of evil’ 276
- Azerbaijan 167, 371, 395
- Azikiwe, Nnamdi 522, 547
- Babangida, Major-General Ibrahim 550
- Baghdad Pact (1955) 235
- Bahamas 516–17
- Balewa, A.T. 547–8
- Balfour Declaration (1917) 236
- Balkan Wars 7, 9–11
- Banana, Canaan 573
- Banda, Dr Hastings 526
- Bangladesh 516
- Bantu Self-Government Act (1959) 563
- Barak, Ehud 255
- Barbados 516–17
- Barnett, Tony 612
- Barthou, Louis 80
- battles  
  Adowa (1896) 73  
  Arnhem (1944) 103  
  Atlantic (1942–3) 102  
  Britain (1940) 92, 93–4  
  ‘Bulge’ the (1944) 107  
  Cambrai (1917) 28  
  Caporetto (1917) 28  
  Dien Bien Phu (1954) 150, 436, 530  
  El Alamein (1942) 92, 100–1  
  Falkland Islands (1914) 27  
  Jutland (1916) 27–8  
  Marne (1914) 20–1  
  Masurian Lakes (1914) 21  
  Midway Island (1942) 89, 99–100  
  Monte Cassino (1944) 104  
  Passchendaele (1917) 28  
  Somme (1916) 25–6, 41–2  
  Stalingrad (1942) 89, 101  
  Tannenberg (1914) 21  
  Verdun (1916) 25  
  Vittorio Veneto (1918) 31  
  Ypres (1914) 21; (1915) 22; (1917) 28
- Bay of Pigs 135–7
- Begin, Menachem 244–5
- Beijing (formerly Peking) 70, 164, 165
- Belgian Congo *see* Congo
- Belgium 3, 11, 89–90, 91, 197, 198–9, 204,  
  and decolonization 535–6
- Belize 516–18
- Belorussia 396
- Ben Bella 531–2
- Benes, Eduard 61–2, 81, 130
- Bengal 514, 515
- Berlin 105, 103, 107–9, 134  
  divided after Second World War 125  
  blockade and airlift 130–1  
  wall 134, 136, 166
- Berlusconi, Silvio 194
- Bethmann-Hollweg, Theobald von 14–16
- Beveridge Report (1942) 119
- Bevin, Ernest 129, 196, 237
- Biafra 548–9
- Biko, Steve 565
- bin Laden, Osama 258, 263, 267, 271–6
- Bizimungu, Pasteur 560
- Black Muslims 490–1
- Black Panthers 469, 491
- Black Power 491
- Blair, Tony 227, 275, 276–82
- Blitzkrieg* 90, 91, 95–6, 110
- Blum, William 265, 269
- Boers 561
- Boer War 561
- Bolsheviks 57–9, 339, 341, 343–56
- bombing 89, 91, 93–4, 100, 102–4, 108,  
  153–4, 334
- Bosnia 7, 8–9, 174, 180, 275
- Botha, P.W. 566, 567
- Bourghiba, Habib 530
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros 560
- Boxer Rebellion (1899) 406
- Bracher, Karl Dietrich 112, 310
- Brandt, Willi 162, 191, 193, 586
- Brandt Report (1980) 586–91
- Brazil 159, 324
- Brezhnev, Leonid 163, 214, 388–90
- Brezhnev Doctrine 214, 389
- Briand, Aristide 53, 56–7, 80
- Britain, Great 131, 145, 166, 173, 197  
  and Germany 50–4, 77–86; before 1914  
  3–4, 8–9, 11–17

- during First World War 19–32; and Peace Settlement 32–4, 36, 39, 41  
 foreign policy between the wars 50–4, 56–7, 77–86  
 and India 512–16  
 and China 4  
 and Russia 7–8, 57–8, 354  
 and the League of Nations 47–9  
 during Second World War 89–110, 119–20  
 and the Middle East 177, 233–40  
 and the Empire  
 and decolonisation 512–29  
 and Africa 520–9  
 and the European Community 191, 197–203, 204–6, 226–7  
 and South Africa  
 and Suez 177, 238–40  
 and the war against terrorism 273, 276–82
- British Expeditionary Force (BEF) 21
- British Guiana *see* Guyana
- British Honduras *see* Belize
- Broszat, Martin 76, 321
- Brunei 519
- Brusilov, General 26, 343
- Brussels Defence Treaty (1948) 131
- Bukhari, Major-General 549
- Bukharin, Nikolai 362–4, 370
- Bulgaria 9–10, 19, 24, 31, 32, 45  
 and the Peace Settlement 41  
 since 1945 122, 126, 209, 211, 219, 220
- Bullock, Alan 85, 95, 112–13, 114, 115, 320, 322–3
- Burma 89, 97, 147
- Burundi 536, 559, 579
- Bush, George 253–4
- Bush, George W. 174, 189, 256, 258–60, 265–6, 434–5, 502–4, 600  
 and Afghanistan 263–4, 271–3  
 and Iraq 263–4, 276–82
- Busia, Kofi 545–6
- Buthelezi, Dr M. 568
- Buyoya, Pierre 559
- Cambodia (Kampuchea) 143, 150, 160, 165, 179–80, 439–44, 529–30
- Cameroun 533
- Camp David 244–6
- Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) 139–40
- Canada 19, 131, 145, 163, 196, 214  
 capitalism, meaning and nature of 123, 309  
 capitalist bloc 584–5
- Capone, Al 461
- Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) 518
- Carmichael, Stokeley 491
- Carnegie, Andrew 458
- Carter, Jimmy 164, 245–6, 497
- Castro, Fidel 135–9, 142, 147–9
- Ceausescu, Nicolae 218–19
- Celebes 534
- Central African Federation 526
- Chad 533
- Chamberlain, Austen 53, 78
- Chamberlain, Neville 70, 78–85, 91
- Chanak 41
- Charmley, John 85
- Charter 77 214–15, 218
- Chechnya 275
- Chernenko, K.U. 332, 391–2
- Chernobyl 392, 595–6
- Chiang Kai-shek 132, 142, 164, 408–9
- Chile 143, 155–7, 182
- Chin Peng 519
- China 48, 51, 70–2, 118, 170, 172  
 before 1949 4, 405–16  
 since 1949 415–28; agricultural changes 416–17  
 industrial changes 417  
 modernization 422–3  
 becomes communist 132, 142  
 under communist rule 278, 356–70, 411–13  
 constitution of 1950 416  
 government, structure of 417  
 and Japan 69, 70–2, 119  
 and Korea 142–7  
 and USA 143–7, 164–5  
 and USSR 165  
 and Vietnam 153–5, 165
- Chinese revolution (1911) 405–6
- Chirac, Jacques 192–3, 227, 229, 592
- chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) 594
- Chomsky, Noam 265, 270
- Churchill, Sir Winston 13, 82, 91, 94, 124–6, 128, 141, 196, 200
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) 476
- Civil Rights Movement (USA) 467–70, 487–92
- Civil Rights Acts (USA) 487
- civil wars  
 Angola 557–8  
 Congo 554–6  
 Ethiopia 571–2

- civil wars – *cont'd*  
 Liberia 572–3  
 Nigeria 547–52  
 Rwanda 559–61  
 Sierra Leone 574–5  
 Sudan 578  
 USA 449; reconstruction after 467–8  
 Clemenceau, Georges 28, 31, 33, 34, 54–5  
 Clinton, Bill 174, 223, 255–6, 269, 500, 501–2, 597  
 impeachment of 502  
 Cold War  
 meaning 122, 585  
 causes 122–4  
 events during 122–41, 179, 272  
 end of 166–8  
 collectivization  
 in Russia 361, 366–8  
 in China 416–17 418  
 collective security 43, 69–70, 84  
 Comecon 130, 191, 209–10  
 Cominform 129–30, 133, 209  
 Comintern (Communist International) 69  
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 206–7, 229  
 Common Market *see European Economic Community*  
 Commonwealth, British 200  
 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) 396  
 communes  
 in China 418  
 in Yugoslavia 210  
 communism  
 meaning and nature of 123  
 cadres 417  
 in Russia 349–58, 361–98  
 in Eastern Europe 126–34, 191–2, 208–19  
 in China 411–12  
 in North Korea 431  
 in Vietnam 435  
 collapse of 143, 166–8, 215–19, 391–6  
 communist bloc 584–5  
 Congo (Zaire 1971– ) 161, 177, 535–6, 579  
 civil war in, 554–6  
 Congolese National Movement (MNC) 535, 554  
 Conquest, Robert 370, 372  
 contraception 606, 611  
 and AIDS 613  
 convoys 28, 101–2  
 Coolidge, Calvin 460, 470  
 Corfu Incident (1923) 47  
 Council of Europe 191, 197  
 Craxi, Bettino 194, 195  
 Croatia 167, 174, 220–3  
 Cruise missiles 139, 163, 413  
 Cuba 142, 147–9  
 missiles crisis (1962) 135–9  
 Cultural Revolution (Chinese) 419–20  
 Cyprus 178, 197, 214, 228, 519–20  
 Czechoslovak Legion 354  
 Czechoslovakia 119, 163, 166, 184  
 creation of 38–9  
 between the wars 61–2  
 and Germany 43, 52–3, 61–2, 70, 81–3, 84–5, 86–7  
 under communist rule 122, 130, 209, 211, 213–14  
 1968 rising 178, 191, 213–14  
 end of communism in 166–7, 218  
 division of (1992) 167  
 Czech Republic 227, 228  
 D-Day (1944) 104–6  
 Dahomey 533  
 Daladier, Edouard 81  
 d'Annunzio, Gabriele 288  
 Danqua, J.B. 545  
 Danzig 70, 84  
 Dardanelles 13, 24  
 Darfur 578–9  
 Dawes Plan (1924) 52, 300, 304  
 Debs, Eugene 462–4, 466  
 decolonization 120, 509–40  
*see also individual countries*  
 De Gaulle, Charles 192, 196, 202–3, 533  
 and Algeria 531–2  
 and Fifth Republic 532  
 De Klerk, F.W. 568, 569  
 Democratic Republic of the Congo *see Congo (Zaire)*  
 democracy, meaning 3  
 Democracy Wall (China) 421–2  
 Deng Xiaoping 419–24  
 Denmark 89, 90, 131, 197, 200, 195, 203, 207, 227  
 Depression, the Great *see world economic crisis*  
 desegregation (USA) 487–8  
 detente, meaning 143, 162, 162–5  
 Dien Bien Phu (Vietnam) 150, 436, 530  
 disarmament 45, 48  
 German 33–6, 48, 53–4, 76

- Doe, Samuel 573  
 Dollfuss, Engelbert 64–5, 76  
 Dominican Republic 159  
 domino theory 150  
 Dos Santos, Jose Eduardo 558  
 dreadnoughts 7, 9, 13, 26–8  
 drought in Africa 590  
 Dubcek, Alexander 213–14, 218  
 Du Bois, W.E.B. 469  
 Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944) 170  
 Dunkirk 94  
 ‘dustbowl’ (USA) 451, 478  
 Dutch East India Company 561  
 Dutch East Indies *see also* Indonesia 98, 175
- Earth Summit (1992) 597  
 East Timor 254, 538–9  
 Ebert, Friedrich 300, 302  
 ecosystem, the 593–6  
 Eden, Sir Anthony 200, 238–40, 519  
 Egypt 89, 94, 95, 103, 177, 182–3, 231–5, 237–46, 253–4  
 Eire 131, 197, 203, 204, 205, 226–7  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D. 105, 107, 133, 148, 150, 152, 161, 495  
   Doctrine 161  
   social policies 483  
 Enabling Law (Germany) (1933) 311  
 Enosis 519–20  
 Enron 504  
 Entente Cordiale (1904) 7, 8  
 environmental pollution 594–6  
 Eoka 519  
 Equatorial Guinea 536  
 Eritrea 539, 579  
 Estonia 34, 90, 119, 228, 349, 371, 395  
 Ethiopia 43, 48–9, 73–5, 119, 539  
   civil war 571–2  
 euro, the 225  
 Europe, Council of 191, 197  
 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 197–8  
 European Economic Community (EEC) 197–203  
   formation of 191, 197–9  
   and Britain 191, 197, 200–3  
   problems in 204–7  
   becomes European Union 208  
 European Free Trade Association (EFTA) 200  
 European Parliament 191, 196, 199
- European Union 208, 225–9  
   new constitution 228–9  
 Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) 195, 204
- Farmers’ Relief Act (USA, 1933) 476, 478  
 Fascism 287–98, 305–22  
   principles of 291–2, 309–10, 318–19  
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration (USA, 1933) 477  
 Finland 45, 119, 123, 205, 214, 349, 371  
 Fischer, Fritz 13–16  
 First World War  
   events leading up to 7–11  
   causes of 12–16  
   events during *see also* battles 3, 19–32, 349  
   reasons for German defeat 30–1  
   and USA 465–6, 584  
   Peace Settlement 32–41  
 Fitzpatrick, Sheila 342, 370, 372, 381  
 Five Year Plans  
   USSR 364–6, 380, 386  
   China 358–9  
 FLN (National Liberation Front – Algeria) 531–3  
 FLNA (Angola) 528, 537, 557–8  
 Foch, Marshal F. 30, 31  
 food production and population growth 607–8  
 Ford, Gerald 164, 496  
 Ford, Henry 458–9  
 Formosa *see* Taiwan  
 fossil fuels, exhaustion of 593  
 Fourteen Points (Woodrow Wilson’s) 30, 33–7, 45
- France  
   before First World War 3–4, 7–9, 11  
   during First World War 19–25, 28–32  
   and the Peace Settlement 33–7, 41  
   foreign affairs between the wars 48–9, 54–7, 59, 72–5, 77, 78–80, 85, 303, 354  
   during Second World War 89–91, 104–6, 118  
   reasons for defeat 91–3  
   since 1945 120, 131, 172, 192–3, 196, 197, 198–203, 226, 254, 278  
   and decolonization 120, 234  
   and the EEC 191, 194–5, 196, 198–203, 206, 207, 226  
   and Cambodia 439  
   and Laos 444  
   and Suez 177, 238–40  
   and Vietnam 435–6

- Franco, General 324, 333–4, 536  
 Franklin, Benjamin 453  
 Franz Ferdinand, Archduke 11  
 FRELIMO 537–8  
 French Community 533–4  
 French Guiana 534  
 FRETILIN 538–9  
 Friedman, Milton 498, 585  
 Fukuyama, Francis 262, 275  
 Fulton Speech (Churchill) 126
- Gabon 533  
 Gaddafi, Colonel Muammar 282, 539, 592  
 Gang of Four (China) 421, 422  
 Gaidar, Yegor 398–9  
 Gallipoli Campaign (1915) 24  
 Gambia 522  
 Gandhi, M.K. 514, 515  
 Gandhi, Rajiv 567  
 Garvey, Marcus 469  
 GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) 185, 187, 196, 601  
 GDP (Gross Domestic Product), meaning 205  
 Geneva Protocol (1924) 47  
 Genoa Conference (1922) 50, 52  
 Germany  
   and Britain before 1914 3–11  
   and responsibility for First World War 12–16  
   during First World War 3, 19–32  
   reasons for defeat 30–1  
   and the Peace Settlement 32–7, 41  
   Weimar Republic 300–9  
   under Hitler 75–7, 81–7, 307–23  
   and League of Nations 45, 53–4  
   and Austria 70, 75–7, 81–4  
   and Britain 50–5, 80–4  
   and Czechoslovakia 52–3, 75, 77, 81  
   and France 50–7  
   and Poland 45, 52–3, 70, 75–6, 84  
   and Russia 58–9, 68, 70, 84,  
   during Second World War 89–118  
   reasons for defeat 110–1  
   divided after 1945 119, 122, 131–2  
   East 132, 134, 163, 209, 214, 215, 217–18,  
   229–30  
   West 131–2, 134, 193–4, 195, 197, 204,  
   206  
   reunited 166, 217–18  
   since reunification 167, 194, 207, 219–20,  
   227, 254, 278
- Ghana 161, 521, 544–7  
 Gilbert, Martin 86  
 Giolitti, Giovanni 288, 290  
*glasnost* 207, 391–2, 394  
*Gleichschaltung* 312–15  
 global terrorism 262–84  
 global warming 593, 597–9  
 GM crops 596–7, 596–7  
 GNP (Gross National Product)  
   USA 480  
   world 588  
 Goebbels, Dr Joseph 312–13, 320–1  
 Gold Coast 521  
 Gompers, Samuel 462  
 Gomulka, Wladyslaw 212, 214  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 143, 163, 165, 215–16,  
   217, 219, 229, 272, 391–6  
   assessments of 396–7  
 Gore, Al 502, 597  
 Gowon, General Yakubu 548  
 Great Depression, the *see* world economic crisis  
 Great Leap Forward (China) 418–19  
 Great Society (USA) 484–5  
 Greece 9–10, 45, 47, 72, 89, 94, 129, 145,  
   178, 204  
   ‘green revolution’ the 607  
 Grenada 516–17  
 Grey, Sir Edward 9, 11  
 Grivas, General George 519  
 Guadeloupe 534  
 Guatemala 159  
 Guernica 334  
 Guevara, Che 148  
 Guinea 533, 579  
 Guinea-Bissau 537  
 Gulf War (1991) 179, 253–4, 261, 500  
 Gusmao, Xanana 539  
 Guyana 516–18
- Habsburg Empire *see* Austria-Hungary  
 Haig, Sir Douglas 25–6, 31  
 Haile Selassie, Emperor 73, 539, 571  
 Hamas 247, 256, 259–60, 267  
 Hammarskjold, Dag 172, 177, 555  
 Hamilton, Alexander 453  
 Havel, Vaclav 218  
 Hayek, Frederick 498  
 Haywood, Big Bill 463, 465–6  
 Heath, Sir Edward 188–9, 202, 203, 586  
 Helsinki Agreement (1975) 163, 214  
 Herriot, Edouard 55, 59

- Hindenburg, General Paul von 21, 25, 300, 308–9, 317
- Hirohito, Emperor of Japan 326, 328
- Hiroshima 90, 108–10, 324
- Hiss, Alger 493
- Hitler, Adolf,
  - Munich Beer Hall Putsch 302
  - rise to power 305–9
  - internal policies 309–23
  - foreign policies 69–70, 75–7, 81–7
  - during Second World War 89–111, 314–15
  - and the Holocaust 315
  - and the ‘weak dictator’ theory 320–3
- Hizbollah 247, 267
- Hoare, Sir Samuel 74, 79
- Ho Chi Minh 150, 152, 164, 435–7, 529–30
- Holland 89–90, 91, 131, 197, 204, 207
  - and decolonization 175, 534–5
- Holocaust, the 111–17, 315
- Honecker, Erich 166, 217, 229–30
- Hong Kong 98
- Hoover, Herbert 470, 474–5
- Horta, Jose 538
- Horthy, Admiral Nikolaus 65–6
- Hossbach Memorandum 86
- Hoxha, Enver 219
- Hu Jintao 427, 438
- Hu Yaobang 421, 422, 424
- Hua Guofeng 420
- Huddleston, Trevor 564
- Human Rights Commission (UN) 181–2
- Hundred Flowers campaign (China, 1957) 417–18
- Hungary
  - between the wars 65–6
  - and the Peace Settlement 39
  - since 1945 122, 126, 209, 211, 206, 227, 228
  - 1956 rising 133–4, 177, 190, 191, 212–13
  - end of communism in 166, 215, 217
- Hun Sen 441, 443–4
- Husak, Gustav 214
- Hussein, King 235, 242, 247
- Hutton, Will 599
- Idris, King of Libya 539
- Iliescu, Ion 218–19
- immigration (USA) 454–7
- imperialism, meaning 4
- India 147, 178
  - independence 512–13
  - partition of 513–16
- Indo-China 149–50, 529–30
- Indonesia 168–9, 534–5
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) 462, 463–6
- inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) 134, 139, 163
- Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change 598
- Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty (1987) 163
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 276
- International Court of Justice 44, 56, 173, 265
- International Labour Organization (ILO) 45, 182, 188, 592
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) 184, 210, 266, 601
- Iran (Persia) 161, 167, 179, 231–5, 268, 270, 282
- Irangate 499–500
- Iran–Iraq War (1980–8) 162, 179, 251–3
- Iraq 45, 162, 167, 179, 180–1, 227, 231–5, 240–2, 251–4, 264, 276–82, 500
- Iron Curtain 126, 141
- Ironsi, J.A. 548
- Israel 175, 231, 236–8, 238–40, 241–7, 250, 254–60
  - creation of 231, 236–7
  - wars with Arabs 231, 237–47, 254–60
- Italy
  - before 1914 3, 4, 7, 12
  - during First World War 19, 25, 28, 31
  - and the Peace Settlement 39–41, 287–8
  - problems after 1918 287–90
  - Mussolini comes to power in 287, 290, 292–8
  - foreign policy between the wars 48–9, 50, 72–5
  - during Second World War 89, 94, 100–1, 102, 104, 118–19
  - since 1945 119, 131, 194–5, 197, 204, 227, 254
  - and decolonization 539
- Ivory Coast 533
- Jackel, Eberhard 87, 321
- Jamaica 184, 516–18
- Japan 3, 4, 7
  - during First World War 325
  - between the wars 325–6
  - and China 43, 48, 51, 69, 70–2, 114

- Japan – *cont'd*  
 and USA 51–2, 327–9  
 invasion of Manchuria 43, 48, 57, 69, 70, 326  
 and League of Nations 43, 48, 72  
 during Second World War 89–90, 96–100, 108–10, 118–19, 327  
 since 1945 122, 254, 327–31  
 economic success 585–6
- Jaruzelski, General Wojciech 216
- Java 534
- Jews 111–17, 175, 231–47, 254–60, 314–15
- Jiang Quing 421
- Jiang Zemin 426, 427
- Jim Crow laws (USA) 468
- Jinnah, M.A. 513, 514
- Johnson, Lyndon B. 153  
 social policies 484–6
- Johnson, Paul 609
- Johnson, Prince 573
- Jordan 231, 235, 243, 252
- Jospin, Lionel 192
- Juppe, Alain 192
- Kabbah, Tejan 574
- Kabila, Joseph 556
- Kabila, Laurent 556, 576
- Kadar, Janos 211, 213, 217
- Kagame, Paul 560–1
- Kamenev, Lev 357, 363–4, 370
- Kampuchea *see* Cambodia
- KADU 525
- KANU 525
- Kapp Putsch (1920) 300, 302
- Karadzic, Radovan 222
- Karzai, Hamid 273
- Kasavubu, Joseph 536, 554–5
- Kashmir 178
- Katanga 555
- Kaunda, Kenneth 526
- Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928) 50, 53
- Kennan, George 123–4, 126, 342
- Kennedy, John F. 135–9, 153, 203, 453  
 assassination of 485, 486  
 social policies 484
- Kennedy, Robert, 486
- Kenya 262, 523–6
- Kenyatta, Jomo 523–5
- Kerensky, Alexander 344–5, 349
- Kershaw, Ian 87, 112, 114, 308–9, 310, 320–2
- Keynes, J.M. 36
- Khmer Rouge 165, 179, 439–42
- Khomeini, Ayatollah 235, 251–2, 267–8
- Khrushchev, Nikita 132–9, 209, 211, 377, 381, 384–8  
 his criticism of Stalin 385
- Kim Dae Jung 433
- Kim Il Sung 431–3
- Kim Jong Il 433–5
- King, Dr Martin Luther 488–90  
 assassination of 486, 490
- Kirov, Sergei 369
- Kissinger, Henry 440
- Kohl, Helmut 194, 217–18
- Koizumi, Yurichiro 434
- Kolchak, Admiral Alexander 352–4
- kolkhozy* 366–8
- Korea 142  
 war in (1950–3) 143–7, 176–7, 328, 432  
 North 276, 431–5; economic crisis 433  
 nuclear confrontation 434–5
- Kornilov, General Vladimir 345
- Koroma, Johnny Paul 574
- Kosovo 174, 224, 275
- Kosygin, Alexander 388–9
- Krenz, Egon 217
- Kufuor, John 547
- Ku Klux Klan 384, 407, 468–9, 470, 489
- kulaks* 341, 367–8
- Kun, Bela 65
- Kuomintang 142, 407, 411–12
- Kutchuk, Dr Fazil 520
- Kuwait 179, 231, 252–4, 268
- Kyoto Protocol (1997) 189, 266, 503, 598–9
- labour unions (USA) 461–5
- Lancaster House Conference (1979) 528, 575, 576
- Laos 143, 149–150, 154, 160, 444–6, 529–30
- Latin America 135–8, 142, 147–49, 158–60, 182
- Latvia 34, 90, 119, 228, 349, 371, 395
- Laval, Pierre 74, 80, 93
- Lawrence, T. E. (of Arabia) 41
- League of Nations 35, 41, 43–9, 69, 72, 74, 84, 174–5
- Lebanon 178–9, 231–3, 242, 247–51, 262, 268, 270
- Lebensraum* 75–6, 81, 95
- Lend–Lease Act (USA) (1941) 97
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilich 69, 165, 361, 371  
 and the Russian revolutions 339, 341–2, 345–8

- domestic policies 348–58  
 foreign policies 57, 349  
 assessment of 358–60  
 Leningrad 95–6, 101  
 Lesotho 579  
 Lewinsky, Monica 502  
 Liberia 572–3, 579  
 Libya 94, 100, 167, 231, 270, 282, 539, 592  
 Liebknecht, Karl 302  
 Ligachev, Yegor 393  
 Limann, Hilla 546–7  
 Lin Biao 419, 421  
 Li Peng 424–5, 438  
 Lincoln, Abraham 467  
 Lisbon Peace Accords (1991) 557–8  
 Lister, Joseph 606  
 Lithuania 34, 47, 62–3, 84, 90, 119, 228, 349, 371, 395  
 Liu Shao-qui 418, 419  
 Lloyd George, David 9, 26, 31  
 Lockerbie disaster (1988) 262, 268, 270, 282  
 Lome Convention (1975) 203–4  
 Long March (Mao Zedong) 409, 410  
 Lon Nol 440  
 Ludendorff, General Erich von 29–39, 301, 302, 309  
 Lumumba, Patrice 161, 535–6, 554–5  
*Lusitania* 27  
 Luthuli, Chief Albert 563, 565  
 Luxembourg, Rosa 302  
 Luxembourg 131, 197, 204  
 Lvov, Prince George 344–5
- Maastricht Agreement (1991) 192, 207–8  
 Macedonia 10, 167  
 MacArthur, General Douglas 100, 146, 327  
 McCarthy, Joseph 492–6  
 McCarthyism 133, 493–5  
 MacDonald, J. Ramsay 47, 52, 58, 79  
 Machel, Samora 527  
 Macleod, Iain 526  
 Macmillan, Harold 201, 240, 519, 524  
 ‘wind of change’ speech 565–6  
 Madagascar 533  
 Madison, James 453  
 Madrid bombings (2004) 281  
 Mafia, the 194–5  
 Maginot Line 93, 96  
 Maiziere, Lothar de 217–18  
 Makarios, Archbishop 519–20  
 Malacca 518  
 Malan, Daniel F. 562  
 Malawi 526, 579  
 Malaya 89, 98, 518–19  
 Malaysia 186, 518  
 Malcolm X 469  
 Malenkov, Georgi 132, 385  
 Malta 197, 228  
 Manchuria 43, 48, 69, 70, 165, 326  
 mandates 35, 36, 45, 173, 233–4  
 Mandela, Nelson 266, 268, 559, 565, 568, 569–70  
 Mandelstam, Osip 377, 387, 392  
 Mao Zedong 132, 142, 150, 409–12, 415–20  
 problems facing 415–16  
 March on Rome (1922) 290  
 Margai, Sir Milton 573  
 Marshall Plan (1947) 129, 191, 192, 584  
 Martinique 534  
 Marx, Karl 123, 341–2, 351, 359, 363  
 Masaryk, Jan 130  
 Matteotti, Giacomo 292  
 Mau Mau 524  
 Mauretania 533  
 Max of Baden, Prince 300  
 Mbeki, Thabo 568–70, 577, 578, 613  
 Mboya, Tom 525  
 McCarthyism 133  
 Medvedev, Roy 357, 382  
*Mein Kampf* 86, 111–12, 306  
 Memel 34, 84  
 Mendès-France, Pierre 530–1  
 Mengistu, Major Haile 539, 571  
 Mensheviks 303–4, 342, 349, 353  
 Messali Hadj 531  
 Middle East 161–2, 231–61, 267–9  
 military–industrial complex 495–6  
 Mills, J.E.A. 546  
 Milosevic, Slobodan 174, 220–4  
 Mitterand, François 192  
 Mkapa, Benjamin 554  
 Mobutu Sésé Séko, General 161, 555–6, 557  
 Molotov Plan (1947) 130, 209  
 Moltke, General von 14–16, 17  
 Mommsen, Hans 112, 321  
 Momoh, Joseph 574  
 Mondlane, Eduardo 537  
 Monetarism 498, 585  
 Monnet, Jean 199  
 Monroe, James 572  
 Montagnards 439  
 Montgomery, General Bernard 100, 107  
 Morgan, J. Pierpoint 458  
 Morocco 8, 530

- Mountbatten, Lord Louis 514  
 Mozambique 180, 527–8, 537–8, 579  
 MPLA (People's Movement for Angolan Liberation) 528, 557–8  
 Mubarak, Hosni 246  
 Mugabe, Robert 528–9, 575–8, 579  
 Muhamed V (King of Morocco) 530  
 multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) 139, 163  
 Muluzi, Bakili 613  
 Munich Conference (1938) 70, 75, 81–2  
 Museveni, Yoweri 613  
 Muslim League 513  
 Mussolini, Benito 81  
   rise to power 287–90  
   domestic policies 291–7  
   foreign policies 47, 48–9, 64–5, 72–5  
   during Second World War 89, 94, 100, 104, 296–7  
   downfall 104, 296–7  
   assessment of 297–8  
 Muzorewa, Bishop Abel 528  
 Mwinyi, Ali Hassan 552–4  
  
 Nagasaki 90, 108–9, 324  
 Nagorno-Karabakh 395  
 Namibia 36, 173, 557  
 Nasser, Colonel G.A. 177, 231–4, 238–44, 388  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 469, 489  
 National Industrial Recovery Act (USA, 1933) 477  
 National Labor Union (USA) 462  
 nationalism, meaning 7, 291, 309  
   African 173  
 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 131, 163, 166, 191, 196, 203, 222–3, 224  
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) 495  
 National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis) 300–1, 305–23  
   programme and principles 309–10  
   compared with fascism 318–19  
   Germany under 307–23  
 nationalist movements 511  
 naval warfare 21, 24, 26–8, 30–1, 89, 90–1, 99–100, 101–2  
 Nazi–Soviet Pact (1939) 70, 84, 85  
 Ndayizeye, Domitien 559  
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 513, 514, 586  
 neo-colonialism 540, 589  
  
 Netanyahu, Binyamin 247, 254–5, 256  
 Netherlands *see* Holland  
 Neto, Agostinho 537–8, 557  
 New Deal (Roosevelt) 475–80  
   aims of 475–6  
   measures 476–8  
   opposition to 478  
   achievements 478–80  
 New Economic Policy (NEP) (Lenin) 355, 357, 363–4  
 New Zealand 24, 94, 147  
 Ngo Dinh Diem 436  
 Nicaragua 159, 173, 265  
 Nicholas II, Tsar 339–44, 353  
 Niemoller, Pastor Martin 314  
 Niger 533  
 Nigeria 521–2  
   civil war in 547–52  
 Nixon, Richard M. 153–5, 163–4, 440, 454  
   social policies 486–7  
   and Watergate 496–7  
 Nkomo, Joshua 526  
 Nkrumah, Kwame 161, 521, 543, 544–5  
 Normandy Landings (1944) 90, 104–6  
 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 501  
 North Borneo *see* Sabah  
 North–South divide 586–91  
 Northern Rhodesia *see* Zambia  
 Norway 89, 90–1, 131, 197, 200, 207  
 Nove, Alec 356, 366, 381  
 Nozick, Robert 600  
 nuclear disarmament 139–40, 162–3, 497, 499  
 nuclear power 595  
 nuclear weapons 108–10, 119, 132, 134–5, 137–40, 167, 380  
 Nujoma, Sam 557  
 Nuremberg Laws (1935) 314  
 Nyasaland *see* Malawi  
 Nyerere, Dr Julius 523, 552–4, 559  
  
 OAS (Organisation de l'Armee Secrete) 532  
 OAU (Organization of African Unity) 180, 544–5, 553, 559, 560, 566, 572  
 Obasanjo, Olusegun 550, 551, 577  
 Obote, Dr Milton 523  
 October Manifesto (1905) 339–40  
 Oder–Neisse Line 125, 126, 127, 167  
 Odinga, Oginga 525  
 oil  
   in Third World 591–2

- OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) 244, 591
- Oslo Peace Accords (1993) 246–7, 254–5
- Ostpolitik 162
- Overy, Richard 112–13
- Pact of Steel (1939) 75
- Pakistan 147, 178, 275  
creation of 516
- Palestine 175–6, 236–8, 244–7, 254–60, 276  
self-rule (1995) 246–7
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 242–7, 250
- Panama 264–5
- Papen, Franz von 307–8, 317
- Paris 91, 105, 106
- Pasteur, Louis 606
- Pathet Lao, 160 444–5
- peaceful coexistence 122, 132, 163, 387–8, 495
- Pearl Harbor 89, 96–8
- perestroika* 215, 391–3, 395
- Peking *see* Beijing
- Penang 518
- Peron, Juan 287
- Persia *see* Iran
- Pétain, Marshal Henri 25, 28, 91, 93
- Petrograd *see also* Leningrad 343–7
- Pilsudski, Jozef 62–3
- Pinochet, General Augusto 157, 182
- Pipes, Richard 345, 347, 352, 359
- Pius XI, Pope 289, 293, 313
- Poincaré, Raymond 55
- Poland 19, 34, 39, 45, 47, 52–3, 59, 62–3, 349  
and Hitler 43, 63, 70, 75–6, 84, 86  
during Second World War 89–90, 111–17  
since 1945 123, 125–7, 167, 184, 191, 209, 212, 214, 216–17, 220, 227, 228, 280, 281  
end of communism in 166, 216–17
- Polisario Front 536–7
- Polish Corridor 75, 78, 84
- pollution 495–9, 593, 594–6
- Pol Pot 165, 179, 440–2
- Pompidou, Georges 192, 203
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) 242–3, 246, 256–7
- population, growth and problems 604–7  
consequences of 607–8  
control of 608–11  
statistics 604–5  
in Third World 590, 606–7
- Portugal 131, 143, 197, 200, 204, 227, 324  
and decolonization 180, 537–9  
and Zimbabwe 527
- Potsdam Conference (1945) 125–6
- Powell, Colin 492
- Primakov, Evgeny 401–2
- Princip, Gavrilo 11
- Prohibition (USA) 385, 461, 478
- protection *see* tariffs
- Punjab, the
- Putin, Vladimir 402–4, 434, 438
- Pu Yi 406
- Rabin, Yitzhak 246–7
- racial problems 471–7  
in USA 384, 402, 404–8, 460, 467–70, 487–92  
in Germany 309, 314–15
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul 519
- Rajk, Laszlo 211
- Rakosi, Matyas 212
- Ranariddh, Prince 443–4
- Rasputin, Grigori 342
- Rawlings, Jerry 546–7
- Rawls, John 600
- Read, Christopher 343, 355
- Reagan, Ronald 163, 265, 497–500
- Red Guards (China) 419, 420
- ‘Red Scare’ (USA) 466
- ‘Red Terror’ 252–3
- reparations 35, 36, 50, 52, 53, 55, 303–4
- resources, exhaustion of 593–4, 608
- revisionism 165, 387–8
- Rhineland 35, 37, 54, 69, 77
- Rhodesia  
Northern *see* Zambia  
Southern *see* Zimbabwe
- ‘road map’ (for peace in the Middle East) 257–60
- ‘Roaring Twenties’ 458, 459, 470
- Rockefeller, John D. 458
- Rohm, Ernst 317
- Roman Catholic Church, the  
and Hitler 313  
and Mussolini 289, 293
- Romania 10, 19, 26, 39, 119  
since 1945 123, 126, 191, 209, 213, 218–19, 220  
overthrow of Ceausescu regime 166, 218–19
- Rome–Berlin Axis (1936) 69, 75, 77
- Rommel, Field-Marshal Erwin 94, 100, 103

- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 453, 474  
 and the New Deal 453, 475–80  
 during Second World War 98, 105, 123–4
- Roosevelt, Theodore 464
- Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel 493
- Ruhr, the 103  
 French occupation of 50, 52, 55, 303
- Rumsfeld, Donald 227
- Russia (USSR 1918–91)  
 responsibility for First World War 12–16  
 during First World War 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 31–2, 343, 349  
 and the Peace Settlement 41, 57, 349  
 under Nicholas II 339–44  
 1905 revolution in 339–40  
 1917 revolutions in 343–8  
 civil war in 57, 123, 353–6  
 under Lenin 348–61  
 under Stalin 85, 361–83  
 foreign policies 57–9, 85  
 and League of Nations 46, 49  
 during Second World War 89–90, 95–6, 101–2, 110, 117–20  
 under Khrushchev 384–8  
 under Brezhnev 388–90  
 under Gorbachev 391–7  
 foreign policies since 1945 122–39, 141, 143–5, 149, 154–5, 162–4, 165–6, 176–7, 278, 387–8, 389, 390  
 and Africa 143, 158, 160–1  
 and China 162, 165  
 and Eastern Europe 122–31, 133–4, 166, 177, 178, 215–19, 387–8, 389  
 and the Middle East 238–9, 240  
 end of the communist regime in 166, 215–16, 391–8  
 end of the USSR 166, 396  
 since 1991 340, 398–403
- Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) 3, 7, 339
- Rwanda 265, 536, 559–61
- SA (*Sturmabteilung*) 306, 310–11, 317–18
- Saar, the 34, 37, 45, 54, 76
- Sabah 519
- Sacco and Vanzetti Case, the 466–7
- Sadat, Anwar 233, 243–6
- Saddam Hussein 162, 179, 181, 251–4, 264, 276–80, 503
- St Kitts and Nevis 516–18
- St Lucia 516–17
- St Vincent 516–17
- Sakharov, Andrei 390–1
- Salazar, Antonio 537
- SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties) 163
- Sam Rangsri 444
- Sankoh, Foday 574
- Sarajevo 11
- SARS 427–8
- Sarawak 519
- Saudi Arabia 179, 231, 253–4, 267, 274
- Savimbi, Jonas 558
- Schleicher, Kurt von 308
- Schlieffen Plan 14–16, 20
- Schmidt, Helmut 193–4
- Schnellhuber, John 599
- Schroder, Gerhard 227, 271
- Schuman, Robert 197–8
- SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) 147
- Second World War  
 events leading up to 73–84  
 causes of 84–7  
 events during *see also* battles 89–119  
 reasons for defeat of Axis powers 110–11  
 effects of 117–20, 191, 327  
 and nationalist movements 511–12
- self-determination 33
- Senegal 533
- September 11th attacks (9/11) 227, 263, 270–1, 503
- Serbia 7–16  
 becomes Yugoslavia 39
- Service, Robert 343, 347, 359
- Seychelles 516
- Shagari, Shehu 548
- Sharia law 274, 551
- Sharon, Ariel 256–60
- Sharpeville massacre (1960) 564, 566
- Sibanda, Gibson 577
- Siegfried Line 90, 107
- Sierra Leone 522, 573–5, 579
- Sihanouk, Prince Norodom 439–44
- Singapore 89, 98, 518–19
- Sisavang Vong 444
- Six Day War (1967) 241–2
- slavery (USA) 467
- Slovakia 82–3, 166–7, 220, 228
- Slovenia 220–1, 228
- Smith, Ian 527–8
- Social Revolutionaries (SRs) 342, 349–51, 353
- Social Security Act (USA, 1935) 477, 480  
 ‘socialism in one country’ 364

- Socialist Labor Party (USA) 462, 465–6  
 Solidarity 166, 214, 216–17  
 Solzhenitsyn, Alexander 387, 390  
 Somalia 180, 185, 275, 539  
 Son Sann 442  
 South Africa 36, 173  
     apartheid in 174, 181–2, 561–6  
         opposition to 563–6  
         end of 566–9  
     end of white minority rule in 267–8  
     and Zimbabwe 527–8  
 South America 46, 143, 155–7, 182  
 South West Africa *see* Namibia  
 South West Africa People's organization  
     (SWAPO) 557  
 Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
     (SCLC) 489  
 Southern Rhodesia 526–8  
     UDI 527–8  
     *see also* Zimbabwe  
 Souvanna Phouma, Prince 444  
 soviets 344–5, 349, 354  
 Soweto massacre (1976) 565  
 Spaak, Paul-Henri 197–8  
 space exploration 496, 499  
 Spain 324, 331  
     civil war in 69, 75, 77, 79, 80, 324, 331–6  
     since 1945 197, 204, 227, 278, 281, 324,  
         334–5  
     and decolonization 536–7  
 Spanish Sahara 536–7  
 Spartacist Rising (1919) 300, 301–2  
 sputnik 135, 483  
 Sri Lanka 186, 267  
 SS (*Schutzstaffeln*) 310, 314, 317  
 Stakhanovites 366, 373  
 Stalin, Joseph 358  
     rise to power 361–4  
     and collectivization 366–8  
     and the Five Year Plans 364–6, 380  
     and the purges 369–71  
     and the Soviet Empire 371–2  
     foreign policies 59, 108, 118, 123–32,  
         144–5  
     after 1945 191, 210–12, 378–81  
     life and culture under 373–8  
     assessments of 372–3, 381–2  
 Star Wars 163  
 Stevens, Siaka 573–4  
 Stolypin, Peter 340–1, 342  
 Stone, Norman 343  
 Strasser, Valentine 574  
 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (1979) 497  
 Stresa Front 69, 73  
 Stresemann, Gustav 51–3, 56, 67–8, 300,  
     304, 305  
 Strijdom, J.G. 562  
 submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)  
     139, 163  
 'successor states', the 59–66  
 Sudan 231, 269, 533, 578–9  
 Sudetenland 61, 70, 81–3  
 Suez Canal 177, 234–5, 238–41, 244, 245  
 Suez War (1956) 177, 238–41  
 Suharto, T.N.J. 535  
 Sukarno, Achmad 511, 534–5  
 Sumatra 534  
 Suny, Robert 359–60  
 Sun Yat-sen, Dr 406, 407  
 supply-side economics (USA) 498  
 Surinam 534–5  
 Swaziland 579  
 Sweden 45, 197, 200, 204  
 Switzerland 200, 207  
 Syngman Rhee 431, 432  
 Syria 231–3, 241–5, 249–51, 252, 254  
  
 Taft, W.H. 464  
 Taiwan (Formosa) 163, 164  
 Taliban, the 258, 263–4, 271–3, 503  
 Tamil Tigers 267  
 Tanganyika 36, 523  
 Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)  
     523  
 Tanzania 184, 210, 262, 269, 523, 579  
     poverty in 552–4  
 tariffs 39, 200  
 Taylor, A.J.P. 15–16, 56, 76, 86, 358  
 Taylor, Charles 573  
 Taylor, F.W. 459  
 Tekere, Edgar 575  
 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) 451, 477,  
     479  
 Terreblanche, Eugene 568  
 terrorism, definition of 266  
 Thailand 160, 186,  
 Thatcher, Margaret 163, 206, 567  
 'thaw', the 132–4, 387  
 Third World, the 120, 147, 182–3, 187,  
     203–4, 266, 275  
     non-alignment of 586  
     poverty of 586–91  
     economic split in 591–2  
     population growth in 606, 607

- Three Mile Island 595  
 Tiananman Square 424–7  
 ‘tiger’ economies 592  
 Tirpitz, Admiral von 13, 17  
 Tito, Marshal Josip Broz 127–8, 133, 191, 210–11, 220  
 Togo 533  
 Tolbert, William 572  
 Touré, Sékou 533  
 Transjordan *see* Jordan  
 treaties  
   Amsterdam (1997) 225  
   Austrian State (1955) 133  
   Berlin (1926) 59  
   Brest-Litovsk (1918) 33, 349  
   Brussels (1948) 189  
   Bucharest (1913) 10  
   Geneva Agreement (1954) 150, 442  
   INF (1987) 163  
   Lateran (1929) 293  
   Lausanne (1923) 41  
   Locarno (1925) 48, 52–3, 67  
   London (1913) 9  
     (1915) 25  
   Maastricht (1991) 185, 199–200  
   Neuilly (1919) 41  
   Nice (2001) 225–6  
   Rapallo (1920) 72  
     (1922) 52, 58  
   Riga (1921) 354  
   Rome (1957) 189  
   Saint Germain (1919) 38–9, 63–4  
   San Francisco (1951) 119, 291  
   Sevres (1920) 39–41  
   Trianon (1920) 39, 66  
   Versailles (1919) 20, 34–7, 75–7, 301, 306  
   Washington (1922) 51–2  
 trench warfare 20–1, 22–3, 25–6, 28–31, 41–2  
 Trevor-Roper, Hugh 86, 98  
 tribalism 542  
   in Burundi and Rwanda 559–61  
   in Nigeria 547–8  
 Trinidad and Tobago 516–18  
 Triple Alliance 4  
 Triple Entente 4  
 Trotsky, Leon 339, 345, 347, 349, 352, 354, 361, 362–4, 369–70  
 Trotter, W.M. 469  
 Truman, Harry S. 108, 123, 125–6, 129, 131, 132, 145, 227, 453  
   social policies 483  
 Truman Doctrine 129  
 Trusteeship Council 173  
 Truth and Reconciliation Commission 570  
 Tshombe, Moise 555  
 tsunami, the 185–6  
 Tsvangirai, Morgan 577, 578  
 Tubman, William 572  
 Tucker, Robert C. 355  
 Tudjman, Franjo 220–1  
 Tukhachevsky, Marshal Mikhail 370  
 Tunisia 530  
 Turkey 8–10, 19, 21, 24–5, 31, 40–1, 45, 178, 197, 231  
 Tutu, Archbishop Desmond 568, 570  
 U-2 spy plane 134  
 Uganda 523  
 Ukraine 95–6, 112, 354, 371–2, 396  
 UNAC (Zimbabwe) 528  
 unemployment  
   in Japan 288–9  
   in USA 484, 486  
     *see also* world economic crisis  
   in Germany 194, 300, 305, 316  
 UNESCO 183, 187, 188  
 UNICEF 184, 276  
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)  
   *see* Russia  
 UNITA (Angola) 537, 557–8  
 United Arab Republic 233  
 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 589  
 United Nations Organization (UNO) 120, 133, 142–7, 170–90, 222, 236–7, 240, 253–4, 255–6, 257, 265, 276–9  
   compared with League of Nations 168  
   peacekeeping 175–81, 222  
   weaknesses of 185–8  
   nationalist movements and 512  
   and South Africa 566  
 United Nations Population Commission 609  
 United States of America (USA)  
   Civil War 467–8  
   constitution and political parties 450–4  
   immigration 454–7, 460  
   becomes economic leader of the world 458–61, 584, 600, 601–2  
   and First World War 19, 27, 28, 29, 31–2, 465–6  
   and the Peace Settlement 33–4, 36, 41  
   and Russia 354  
   and Japan 51–2, 67, 72, 327–9

- and China 145–6, 496
- and Germany 67
- internal affairs between the wars 465–7
- world economic crisis (1929–33) 48, 470;
  - causes 470–2; effects 48, 85, 295–6, 300, 305–6, 326, 331, 472–3
- socialism in 461–7
- foreign policies between the wars 50, 66–7, 72
- and League of Nations 41, 46, 54–5, 66
- and Second World War 89–90, 96–111, 118–20, 480
- internal affairs since 1945 482–504
- poverty in 483–7
- social policies since 1945 483–7
- McCarthyism 133, 493–5
- civil rights campaign 467–70
- foreign policies since 1945 119–20, 122–40, 142–55, 157–65, 166–7, 176–7, 179–81, 196, 214, 235, 237–40, 253–4, 254–60, 262–84, 496, 499
- and Vietnam 149–55, 168–9, 179, 432, 585
- and North Korea 434–5
- and Laos 444–5
- and Latin America 147–9, 158–60, 264–5
- and global terrorism 262–84
- women in 461
- Uniting for Peace resolution 166, 168, 171
- Upper Volta 533
- USSR *see* *Russia*
- U Thant 138, 172, 175, 555
  
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius 458
- Versailles Settlement 32–41
- Verwoerd, Dr Henrik 562, 566
- Victor Emmanuel III, King 287, 290, 297, 319
- Vietcong 152–4, 436
- Vietminh 150, 151, 435, 440, 529
- Vietnam 142–3, 149–55, 160, 165, 168–9, 179–80, 435–9
  - independence, struggle for 435–6
  - a divided country 436–7
- Virgin Lands Scheme (Khrushchev) 386–7
- Vorster, B.J. 562, 566
  
- Wagner Act (USA, 1935) 477
- Walesa, Lech 217, 220
- Wall Street Crash (1929) 300, 305
- Wallace, Henry 476
- war deaths
  - First World War 31–2
  - Second World War 117–18
- war debts (to USA) 67
- warlord era (China) 405–7
- Warsaw Pact 134, 166, 178, 196, 210
- Washington, Booker T. 469
- Washington Conferences (1921–2) 51–2
- Washington, George 453
- Watergate scandal 454, 496–7
- Weimar Republic *see* Germany
- Wem Jiabao 427
- West Africa, independence in 521–2
- West Indies 516–18
- West Indies Federation 516
- West Irian 175, 534
- Whiteside, Alan 612
- Whitewater Scandal 501–2
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser 13–16, 300
- Wilson, Harold 527
- Wilson, Woodrow 27, 33, 34, 464–5
  - his Fourteen Points 33, 35–6, 43
- Works Progress Administration (USA, 1935) 477
- World Bank 184, 266
- World Conservation Strategy (1980) 594
- World Disarmament Conference (1932–3) 48, 57, 59, 76
- world economic crisis (1929–33) 48, 470, 584
  - causes 470–2
  - effects 48, 85, 295–6, 300, 305–6, 326, 331, 472–3
- world economy
  - changes since 1900 583–6
  - capitalism v. communism 584–5
  - North–South divide 586–91
  - effects on environment 592–7
  - at the millennium 599–602
- World Health Organization (WHO) 182–3, 187, 188, 612, 613
- World Trade Centre 262, 263, 268, 270
- World Trade Organization (WTO) 597, 601
  
- Xoxe, Kose 211
  
- Yakovlev, Alexander 382
- Yalta Conference (1945) 124–5
- Yeltsin, Boris 223, 384, 393–6, 398–402
- Yemen 221–3
- Yom Kippur War (1973) 242–4
- Young Plan (1929) 36, 51, 53, 304
- Yuan Shih-kai 406
- Yugoslavia 7, 39, 72, 80, 122, 167, 209
  - formation of 39

- Yugoslavia – *cont'd*  
    between the wars 60–1  
    under Marshal Tito 127–8, 130, 133, 191,  
        210–11, 220  
    break-up and civil war in 167, 220–5
- Zaire *see also* Congo  
Zambia 526  
ZANU 528–9, 575  
ZANU-PF 528, 575
- ZAPU 528–9, 575  
Zenawi, Meles 572  
Zhao Ziyang 424–6  
Zhivkov, Todor 219  
Zhou Enlai 145, 164, 411, 420  
Zimbabwe 526–9, 575–8  
    *see also* Southern Rhodesia  
Zinoviev, Grigori 357, 362–4, 370  
Zionism 236  
Zyuganov, Gennady 400–1