

OLGC
HOLIDAY WORK FOR SENIOR SIX
EUROPEAN HISTORY P210/3

INSTRUCTIONS:

- a) Read and write the notes in your note books.
- b) Make sure you summarize your work in the summary books.
- c) Answer the questions in there and present your work on the first day of the term.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 1920-1939

The League of Nations was an international organization formed after the disastrous World War I with the aim of preserving world peace. It was formed basing on the 14th point of President Woodrow Wilson of USA that he gave during the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919. By this, he called for the formation of an international organization to safeguard and maintain international peace and security through collective action. However, the actual beginning/start of the league was on 10th January 1920 and it had its headquarters in Geneva of Switzerland. Originally, the league had 42 countries but by 1926 it had expanded to 53. The unfortunate part of the league was that, USA which brought the idea of peace formation refused to join right from the start, something that reduced its credibility. The protagonists behind its formation were the Great statesmen of the Versailles Treaty. These were Premier Lloyd David George of Britain, Premier Georges Clemenceau of France and Premier Orlando of Italy.

AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

To ensure that mankind should never be exposed again to the dangers of war.

To control sea pirates

To respect and guarantee the independence of states both big and small.

To reduce armament to the lowest level possible.

To solve the problems and disputes between and among countries without going to war.

To improve on the working conditions of the workers worldwide.

To ensure proper administration of the former German states (mandate states)

To grant independence to suppressed states e.g. Belgium.

To conduct reconciliation among states of Triple Entente and Triple Alliance.

To safe guard the integrity of the newly established states e.g. Czechoslovakia, Croatia, Poland and Rumania.

In order to achieve the above aims, the League of Nations members set up a number of structures which included the following;

There was the general assembly which comprised of representatives from all member states, the council which comprised of the permanent members like Britain, France, Italy and Japan and later joined by Germany in 1926.

There was also the secretariat with its headquarters in Geneva of Switzerland headed by the secretary general assembly and the council. The League of Nations also had the permanent court of justice with its headquarters at The Hague of Netherlands. Its work was to try war criminals and handle international disputes.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THE INTER WAR PERIOD 1920-39

The League of Nations played positive and negative roles in the social, political, economic and humanitarian developments of Europe and the world at large during the inter war period as can be seen below;

The League of Nations maintained relative peace especially between 1920 and 1930. It organized a number of conferences which helped to revive international co-operation e.g. helped to revive international co-operation e.g. in 1925 the league organized the Locarno Conference which resulted in the signing of the Locarno pact by Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany. The Locarno pact brought some temporary reconciliation between Germany and her former enemies i.e. Britain and France. This even made Germany to join the league in 1926 hence bringing a new era of peace in Europe.

The league established an international court of justice. The court was given the authority to settle international disputes among member states. By 1929, it had settled a number of disputes and had also witnessed the signing of around 400 treaties this promoted the spirit of diplomacy and dialogue among the member states. It also helped in promoting peaceful settlement of disputes, reconciliation and harmony all over Europe and world at large.

The league settled the disputes between Sweden and Finland over the control of the Islands of Åland which bordered the nations. Initially, the islands belonged to Sweden but after the Russian revolution of 1917, they were given to Finland as a reward to her role in the revolution. This resulted in series of disputes between the 2 countries. The league established a commission of inquiry into the matter and it concluded that the islands be given to Finland which settled the matter once and for all.

The league also succeeded in settling the disputes between Peru and Colombia over the control of the state of Leticia in South America. In 1922, Peru surrendered the control of Leticia to Colombia. However, in 1933, Peru invaded Columbia and captured Leticia. The league established a commission of inquiry and after carrying out investigations, it concluded that Leticia be given to Columbia and the crisis was settled once and for all.

The league intervened and stopped war between Greece and Bulgaria in 1926. The war had resulted from a border dispute between the 2 countries. Greece invaded Bulgaria and occupied part of her territory. Bulgaria appealed to the League of Nations which ordered Greece to withdrawal and compensate for the damages caused. France, Britain and Italy were given the authority was implemented and this was done hence avoiding the crisis.

The league successfully ended the dispute between Turkey and Iraq over the oil rich province of Mosul which was at the border between the 2 countries. Countries rivaled over the control of the province, the league established a commission of inquiry which recommended that Mosul be taken by Iraq, Turkey, accepted the recommendation of the commission and surrendered the province to Iraq. At this point, the league is credited for settling international disputes peacefully.

The league addressed the conditions of the workers at an International Labor Organization (ILO) under the leadership of the French Socialist Albert Thompson. The ILO inspired the formation of trade union and urban organizations across Europe. Such organizations advocated for better working conditions. The ILO also condemned and called for the abolition of child labor in countries where it was rampant, this helped to improve the conditions of the workers.

The LON addressed the problem of drug trafficking. By the time of the formation of the league, there was rampant drug abuse and drug addiction had become a social evil across the world. The league established a drug trafficking committee to monitor and frustrate the production, sale and consumption of such drugs as opium, marijuana, cocaine etc. in 1925, a permanent central opium Board was established to check on the licensing of imports, exports and transportation of opium. By 1939, this measure had drastically reduced the production, sale and consumption of such drugs hence restoring peace in order the world over.

The league ended the problem of slave trade. By 1920, there were many countries especially in the Middle East where slave trade and slavery were still rampant. In 1924, the league established a slavery commission to deal with the evil of slave and enslavement of people. The league also made the abolition of slave trade an international issue and slavery became a cause at the international court of justice. This therefore helped in the emancipation of human race.

In the field of health, the League of Nations registered success. In 1920, the league established an epidemic committee commission to deal with spread of disease like cholera and dysentery which had broken out in Russia and Poland. In 1923, the league also established the world health organization (WHO) to conduct with such on health related problems and find solution. The formation of such organization helped to identify the causes of most of the diseases that had broken on the prevention and cure for such diseases.

The league was also successful in handling the refugee crisis especially after the 1st World War. By 1920, many people were still distanced and scattered in the different parts of Europe, as a result of World War I. the league took care of them by providing food, shelter, clothing and

medication to such victims of war before repatriating them back to their countries of origin. This helped to alleviate the suffering of people.

In the economic field, the league also registered remarkable achievements. In 1927 e.g. the League of Nations established the economic committee which organized conferences to promote free international trade. It also set up a financial committee to provide loans for the reconstruction of European economies that had been divested by war. Among the countries that benefited from their loan included Bulgaria, Hungary and Iraq etc. this helped to revive the world economy after World War I.

The League addressed the problem of aggression whereby in 1927, it declared all acts of international aggression illegal. This resulted in the signing of the Kellogg Pact of 1928. According to this pact, all the 65 signatories denounced war except in self-defense. However, the weakness in this pact was that it never clearly defined the meaning of self interpreted and became aggression.

The league was successful in the administration of the port of Danzig and the Saar Coalfields. The two areas were originally part of Germany but they were taken up by the victor powers by the Versailles peace settlement. The port of Danzig was given to Poland while Saar coal fields were taken up by the victor powers and administered by the League of Nations. By the league taking direct control over these two strategic areas, it avoided conflicts and war over their administration. In 1935, the league organized a referendum in the Saar region and the people voted for the return of the German authority. All those helped to maintain in European peace.

The league effectively implemented the mandate system. It established the mandate commission to oversee the administration of the mandate

states. The states in question included Namibia, Togo, Cameroon and Tanganyika. These were former German colonies that were taken up by the victor powers at the Versailles peace conference. The states created problems at Versailles and had become a source of conflict among the great powers. The powers therefore decided to put the states under the League of Nations for collective and effective administration hence preventing conflicts among the powers.

The league also advocated for fair treatment of prisoners of war and for repatriation to their mother countries. Between 1920 and 1925, the league successfully repatriated all World War I prisoners of war back to their countries with the majority going to Germany, Bulgaria and Turkey. In Russia, they had taken 427,000 prisoners of war who were later returned to their countries of origin. The league further assisted such people with food, medication and shelter to help them resettle their lives. All this helped to alleviate the suffering of the human race.

FAILURES/WEAKNESSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The league failed to take action against Japan when she invaded the Chinese territory of Manchuria. In 1931, Japan invaded China and occupied her territory of Manchuria which renamed Manchukuo. Although both countries were members of the league, it didn't take action against the aggressor. Although some members like England called upon Japan to withdraw, she refused and was being supported by some other members of the league. She controlled Manchuria up to 1943 when she was forced out during the 2nd World War.

The league also failed to solve the conflict between Poland and Lithuania and forcefully occupied the city Vilna. Although the 2 countries were members of the league and signatories to the Kellogg pact which had made aggression illegal, the league didn't handle the crisis. It didn't

condemn the Polish aggression neither asked Poland to withdraw and this influenced other countries to become aggressive.

The league also failed to restrain/stop Italy from attacking Abyssinia/Ethiopia in 1935 (The Italo-Ethiopian crisis). In 1935, Mussolini of Italy ordered his forces to invade Ethiopia. The Italians used poisonous gas against the Ethiopians and within a short period, Ethiopia had been overrun and conquered. The league condemned the invasion but didn't take action. Britain and France e.g. tried to impose sanctions on Italy but the sanctions were half-hearted as they never wanted to antagonize Italy because they feared it would become even more aggressive. They therefore opted to follow the appeasement policy towards Italy hence failing to control aggression.

The league failed to prevent German aggression in the Rhine lands. In March 1936, Hitler of Germany invaded France and Belgium. This invasion was a violation of the Versailles peace treaty which prohibited German but it didn't take further steps against her. This partly because the league members feared the response from Hitler. This therefore encouraged other countries to become aggressive.

The league also failed to stop German aggression on Austria in 1938. In March, 1938, Germany invaded and occupied Austria and Austrians were subjected to German. This was a direct violation of the Versailles peace treaty which prevented the union of Germany and Austria. The league didn't take any action against Germans which implied that it had failed to protect what had been called upon at Versailles.

The league failed to create a joint army to be used to enforce its decisions and to maintain peace. According to the league constitution, member states were required to contribute troops whenever they were called upon. However, this wasn't effective because most of the big powers often

rejected the league's requests to contribute troops e.g. in 1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia, the league appealed to Russia and Germany to contribute troops but they refused. The absence of a standing army therefore made the League of Nations a toothless dog that couldn't bite.

The league further exposed weakness through poor organization. It was poorly organized without clear and consistent leadership. It operated on a laissez-faire system of free entry and free exit similar to co-operative societies which operate on the principle of open membership. There was no condition for membership and no punishment for withdrawal. This explains why countries like Germany, Italy and Japan joined and withdrew whenever they felt like doing so. This therefore reduced the credibility of the L.O.N.

The league failed to list USA, Russia, and Germany right from the start. The absence of USA in particular was a very big mistake and weakness because it was the US that brought the idea of the league and more so it was the strongest power after World War I. Her absence therefore made it impossible for the organization to implement its decisions because of suspicion and hatred given the fact that Russia had just become a communist and Germany had just been defeated in World War I.

The league failed to prevent the world economic depression of 1929-33. This was because it failed to ensure international co-operation and to implement economic policies necessary for free trade. This is partly what made the USA to adopt economic nationalism or protectionism. Besides, the league failed to address the loopholes in the Gold standard system which limited supply of money yet production was on the increase. All these weaknesses undermined international trade leaving countries flooded with goods yet the level of consumption had declined hence leading to the world economic depression.

The league failed to ensure disarmament of all nations in the inter war period. The disarmament commission was meant to ensure the disarmament of all the major powers. However, they only concentrated on Germany as Germany was being disarmed; the other powers like Britain, France and Russia continued to re-arm in the violation of Versailles peace settlement. It was the failure to disarm the other European powers that made Germany to embark on rearmament hence leading to the outbreak of World War II.

The League failed to settle the conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay. In December 1928, the 2 countries went to war over a border dispute. The league organized a peace conference for the countries but they continued with war. The league imposed sanctions on both countries but the other members of the league refused to implement the sanctions. In March 1935, Paraguay withdrew from the league and the organization lost interest in the case. It is therefore safe for one to conclude that the league failed to solve that conflict.

The league further failed to address the Spanish civil war of 1928-39. In 1931, the monarchy of Spain was overthrown and replaced by the republican government. From 1936-39, there was a bloody confrontation between the forces of General Franco backed by Italy and Germany against the Republican government backed by Russia, Britain and France. The league didn't do anything to end the crisis. Moreover, Britain and France who were the most influential members of the league took sides and supported the Republican Government. The league is blamed for neither settling the conflict peacefully nor stopping Britain and France from participating in the conflict.

The league failed to maintain unity in the interwar period. This was so because each of the powers had selfish interests, they were suspicious of one another and some like Germany had spirit of revenge. This led to the

formation of rival political organization/alliances amongst the owners e.g. the USA, Britain, France and Russia formed what they called the democratic alliance while Germany, Italy and Japan formed ANS alliance. The failure of the league to maintain unity divided Europe and the world at large into 3 rival camps/alliances hence laid ground for the outbreak of World War II.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The absence of USA right from the start.

The league's poor organization based on the principal of free entry and free exit

Lack of a standing army.

The failure by the league to disarm all countries and concentrate on Germany alone.

The hostility of the defeated powers like Germany towards the league also made it fail. The defeated powers especially Germany was hostile to the league because it was implementing the harsh terms of the Versailles peace settlement which had been imposed on them. This therefore prevented any hopes of reconciliation between the victor powers and the defeated nations. It should be remembered that the league was a product of the Versailles peace settlement which was too unfair to the defeated powers especially Germany. Germany therefore looked forward for any chances to weaken the league and erase the humiliation. This explains why he was always frustrating the decisions of the league.

The disagreement between Britain and France especially over the future of Germany also weakened the league. Britain and France were the major powers in the league but on a number of occasions they disagreed over a number of issues e.g. France wanted to maintain permanent hatred in Germany in form of isolation in order to revenge but Britain considered reconciliation and even wished to establish trade ties with the Germans. The 2 countries further disagreed over the control of the mandated states. Such wrangles weakened the league.

The voting system in the League of Nations also weakened the organization. During the decisions on the league committees and

organization, for decisions to be taken, it had to be unanimously agreed (Agreed upon by all members). Such a system therefore delayed the process of decisions making because it was always hard for all the members to agree on a particular issue. This normally delayed the discussions and voting on a number of issues hence weakening the league.

The selfish interests of the big powers also weakened the performance of the league. The organization faced a problem of young stubborn men particularly Hitler and Mussolini of Germany and Italy respectively who wanted to dominate Europe and the World at large as if the world only consisted of Germany and Italy alone. The two dictators were determined to achieve their aims through domination of Europe, they always worked centrally to the expectations of the league and by 1939, the idea of international peace had been forgotten by those two, this therefore weakened the league.

The league faced a problem of economic crisis. The league operated in a poverty stricken environment yet if it was to succeed. It needed a strong economic backing. It lacked money to support its activities like building its own army and international police to enforce its rulings. All the member nations were struggling to come out of the economic depression and general economic crisis that affected Europe after World War I. none of the member nations was willing to financially support the league activities and this weakened the organization.

The domination of the league by only the big powers also weakened the organization. Although the League of Nations was intended for all the countries of the world this wasn't the case when it came to the practicability of the major European powers especially Britain and France and gave chance to the small powers to take important decisions;

this made the small countries to lose confidence in the league activities hence weakening it.

The policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and France also undermined the league. The 2 leading members of the league never wanted to antagonize the aggressive European leaders especially Mussolini and Hitler even when they were wrong for fear of making them even more aggressive. They therefore adopted a policy of appeasement where they hoped to please the dictators by not challenging them in their actions, this made the league unable to punish such leaders even when they were wrong, and this made them more aggressive hence weakening the League of Nations.

The principal of equality of the League organization also made it fail. The league operated on the principal of one nation, one vote which made even small states like Ethiopia and Liberia to have the same say as the big powers like Britain and France. To the big powers, this was unacceptable because it was partly because of this that countries like Germany and Italy decided to withdrawal from the league because they felt cheated by the principal of equality hence weakening the league.

Guiding questions

Assess the achievements of the League of Nations in the inter-war period.

Why did the League of Nations fail to maintain peace in Europe between 1920 and 1939?

“The League of Nations was a toothless barking dog.” Discuss.

“The weakness of the League of Nations is partly to blame to the outbreak of the Second World War.” Discuss.

END

THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

The Second World War is the most destructive war that mankind has ever experienced. It started with the German invasion of Poland on 1st Sept 1939 and ended with the surrender of Japan on 14th August 1945.

The war was fought between the axis powers of Italy, Japan and Germany (Rome-Tokyo- Berlin axis) against the allied powers led by Britain, France, Russia and USA. A number of factors played a role in this most destructive war. However, the Versailles settlement of 1919 was the primary factor in the outbreak of the war.

CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

The Versailles Settlement of 1919

It has been argued that the Versailles settlement of 1919 sowed seeds for the outbreak of the Second World War. The peace treaty was very unrealistic in its attempt to create a lasting peace, which ploughed ground for the outbreak of war in 1939. It was a dictated treaty that Germany was forced to endorse (sign) without negotiation. The German delegates were not allowed to defend themselves and although they tried to defend themselves in writing, their defense was ignored. The delegates were treated like criminals who were escorted in and outside the hall of mirrors. This created a strong desire for revenge, which partly made Hitler to adopt an aggressive foreign policy that dragged Europe and indeed the world to the holocaust of the Second World War.

The Versailles settlement imposed unfair penalties on Germany that left her longing for a war of revenge. The disarmament clause destroyed Germany's navy, air force and reduced her army to 100,000 soldiers armed with 'sticks'. Worst of all, other powers especially France and Britain started rearming themselves. This gave Hitler an excuse to rearm Germany and attack smaller nations like Poland that made the outbreak of the Second World War inevitable.

Article 231 of the settlement entirely blamed Germany for the outbreak of World War I and article 232 imposed an impossible sum of 6.6 million dollars as war reparations. This irritated Germany because she was accused and made to pay for a gigantic crime where everybody that fought was guilty. As L.C.B Seaman puts it; The purpose of the settlement was not to be fair and just to the Germans but to impose drastic penalties upon her. (L.C.B Seamans: 193).

The payment of the reparations suffocated Germany's economy and contributed to the great economic depression of 1929-35. Hitler capitalised on this to rise to power and challenge the Versailles peacemakers which climaxed into the Second World War.

The territorial clause denied Germany most of her colonies in Europe, Asia and Africa. Germany lost many of her nationals and resources to the newly created states like Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

This was very unrealistic because it also neglected President Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination and nationalism. Germany remained aggrieved by the loss of her nationals and resources to the newly created states. Indeed, Hitler's invasion of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland (that sparked off the war) were partly to liberate the Germans who were deliberately scattered in Europe by the peacemakers. This is why TAYLOR argues that; The Guns which saluted the signing of the settlement opened the Second World War.

Nevertheless, it was not only Germany that came out of the Versailles settlement with a quest for revenge. Italy and Japan that had fought on the side of the triple entente against triple alliance were very disappointed by their rewards. Japan regarded the rewards of a few Islands and some parts of China as poor compensations for her role and complained bitterly of being treated as an unequal at Versailles. This is why Japan occupied Manchuria, conquered more areas and quitted the League of Nations by 1933. Italy also complained of poor compensation and it was a common talk in Rome that, "Italy had won the war but lost the peace". This is partly why Orlando left the conference in protest and Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Thus, the unfairness of the Versailles peacemakers to fellow allies made Italy and Japan to join Germany and form the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin axis. This strengthened the desire for revenge and was responsible for a series of aggression by the axis powers that climaxed in the invasion of Poland and the Second World War.

2. The role of the Appeasement Policy

Appeasement policy has been very much blamed for causing the Second World War. It was a deliberate move to satisfy the demands of aggressive powers provided that they were within the boundaries of reality and common sense. The policy was based on dialogue and compromise as opposed to violence as a solution to axis aggression. This is because there was a general feeling that the Versailles treaty was very unfair to the axis powers and that they should not be opposed if the Second World War was to be avoided.

Neville Chamberlain of Britain started the policy in collaboration with France. He argued that; another major war could be avoided by pleasing aggressive powers like Germany.

It was due to this policy that no military action was taken against Japan when she occupied Manchuria (1931), Mussolini when he invaded Ethiopia (1935) and on Hitler when he invaded the Rhine lands (1936), Austria (1938) and Czechoslovakia (1938). Appeasement reached its' climax in the Munich conference of

Sept. 1938 (Metternich agreement) where Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister and Deladier, the French Prime Minister accepted Germany's annexation of Sudetenland (part of Czechoslovakia) and Hitler promised that he would not make any other territorial demand or wage any more aggression.

Unfortunately, success and absence of military intervention gave Hitler and his allies a false impression that the appeasers were cowards and would never fight them whatever the provocation. It is this feeling that encouraged Hitler to invade Poland and refuse to withdraw as demanded by Britain and France. This set the world ablaze in the holocaust of the Second World War.

Appeasement policy gave Hitler a "breathing space" time to re organise Germany and ally with Italy and

Japan. The lack of intervention against aggression caused by appeasement policy was used by Hitler to strengthen Germany economically and militarily in preparation for war. It should be emphasised that Hitler's occupation of Rhine lands, annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia increased Germany's economic and military strength, which encouraged him to invade Poland that triggered off the war. On the other hand, he used it to strengthen diplomatic relations and form the Roma-Berlin- Tokyo axis. The re organisation of Germany and formation of axis alliance made appeasement policy a boomerang/ backfire that led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Appeasement policy undermined the League of Nations leading to the collapse of international diplomacy.

It contradicted the idea of collective security making the league unable to act against Fascist and Nazis aggressions, because Britain and France who were pursuing the policy were the most influential members in the League of Nations. This made the Fascists and Nazis to embark on a series of aggression without fear of reaction from the league.

Besides, appeasement policy contributed to the rise of Mussolini and Hitler to power and consequently the spread of Fascism and Nazism in Europe. Mussolini and Hitler opposed and fought against the spread of communism and socialism from Russia. On the other hand, Britain and France were also threatened by the spread of socialism and communism since the Russian revolutions of 1917. This made Britain and France to indirectly support Fascist and Nazis aggression through appeasement policy. They calculated that Fascism and Nazism would destroy communism and socialism, which would also leave the Fascists and Nazis weakened and exhausted. Unfortunately, the Fascists and Nazis waged a series of aggression under the guise of fighting communism, gained strength and provoked the outbreak of World War II by 1939.

NB. It has to be rewinded back that Britain and France decided to appease Germany and her allies because of the unfairness of the Versailles treaty. Otherwise, if the Versailles settlement was realistic, Germany and her allies would have possibly reconciled and there would be no appeasement policy and thus the outbreak of war in 1939.

3. The revival of Alliance system

The resurrection of alliance system in the inter war period cannot be neglected in the outbreak of World War II. Italy, Germany and Japan formalized the Rome-Berlin -Tokyo axis in 1937. Britain, France, USA, Belgium and Poland formed the allied or democratic powers. These alliances were based on divergent and conflicting ideologies. The allied powers were struggling to promote democracy while the axis powers were propagating and promoting totalitarianism/dictatorship. These ideologies were very incompatible and that is why the German invasion of Poland was magnified into the Second World War due to ideological differences. Once again, the alliance system had divided Europe into two hostile and antagonistic camps that made the Second World War inevitable.

NB. It has to be noted that the revival of alliance system in the inter war period can be traced to the Versailles settlement of 1919. Germany, Italy and Japan that formed the Rhine-Berlin-Tokyo axis were birds of the same feathers who were cheated or unfairly treated at the Versailles settlement. It was therefore only a matter of time that the three powers converged with a common aim of revenging against the signatories of the settlement. This also forced the "Versailles powers" to form the democratic alliance as a counter measure to the axis alliance.

4. The arms race

Like World War I, arms race also contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War. Hitler got an excuse to rearm Germany because other powers did not disarm but were instead rearming themselves secretly. He (Hitler) argued thatbecause other powers had not disarmed as they had promised, it was wrong to keep Germany helpless. It made Germany to embark on an intensive rearmament programme.

Consequently, Hitler started a grand scheme of conscripting 500,000 men into the German armed force.

He modernised the German air force and it became one of the strongest in the world. The same challenge was taken by Japan and Italy. This made the axis powers to be confident of themselves and adopted an aggressive foreign policy that climaxed into the Second World War. On the other hand, Britain and France could not just sit back and watch these developments. They reacted by adopting a large-scale rearmament programme in which factories produced guns, tanks and fighter planes as fast as they could. Each power became anxious to display its military might and shopped for an opportunity which came through the German invasion of Poland.

NB. It was the desire to destroy the disarmament clause of the Versailles settlement that made Hitler to rearm Germany, which triggered arms race and the Second World War. Otherwise, if the Versailles peacemakers had enforced general disarmament as stipulated in the Versailles settlement, Hitler would not have got an excuse to rearm Germany, which could have maintained some relative stability in Europe.

5 The weakness of the League of Nations.

The weakness of the League of Nations as a peacekeeping body also shares responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War. The activities of the League of Nations was monopolised by Britain and France who unfortunately undermined it by pursuing appeasement policy. The League failed to enforce general disarmament which provided Hitler with an opportunity to rearm German and provoke the war. Besides, the League had no army of its own and it was considered "a toothless backing bull dog". Although article 16 provided that member states should send troops if necessary, a resolution was passed in 1923 that each country was free to decide whether or not to fight in a crisis situation. This gave ceremonial burial to the idea of collective security, which facilitated aggression in Europe. Donald Kegan argues that.

Hitler's path was made easier by growing evidence that the League of Nations was ineffective as advice for keeping peace and that collective security was a myth (Donald Kegan, p 936).

In other words, the weaknesses of the League of Nations encouraged Hitler's aggression in Europe that drove the world into the Second World War. By 1939, all the axis powers had pulled out of the League of Nations which made it even more difficult to restrain their aggression.

NB. However, a logical flashback reveals that the League of Nations was an offspring of the Versailles settlement (Woodrow Wilson's 14th point). Its role amongst others was to defend the Versailles settlement.

To Clemenceau, the best use of the league was as an "instrument for perpetuating the peace settlement .In fact, the weaknesses and failures of the League of Nations became a foregone conclusion because of being associated with the unrealistic Versailles treaty.

6. Economic depression 1929-1933

The effect of Economic depression also played a role in the outbreak of the Second World War. The slump/depression caused a global political, social and economic crisis. This gave an opportunity for Hitler to rise to power. As other countries were busy handling the problems caused by the depression, Germany used the opportunity to rearm herself. She devoted most of her resources to the army, navy and a.i.r force.

This was because America was forced out of European affairs while Britain and France went into 'hiding to reorganise their economies. This left Hitler with no serious threat since the League of Nations was even weakened by the depression.

The depression also made some powers to resort to aggression as a way of securing raw materials and markets. Mussolini urged the Italians to be war like and resurrect the former Roman Empire if they were to survive the depression. He became practical when he invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Economic crisis also forced Japan to invade Manchuria in 1931 in order to exploit coal and silk. Hitler's invasions of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rhine lands and Poland were partly for market and economic prosperity.

Economic depression destroyed international relations which degenerated into the Second World War. It made nations to protect their markets through protectionism and high tariffs, which increased tension and hostility that gradually graduated into the Second World War.

NB. However, a critical analysis reveals that the reparations and territorial clauses of the Versailles settlement contributed significantly to the depression. In fact the serious economic crisis that Germany faced from 1919 to 1939 was rooted in the Versailles peace treaty.

7. The rise of dictators

The rise and role of dictators and aggressors undermined world peace and led to the outbreak of the Second World War. In the inter war period, militants like Mussolini of Italy, Hitler of Germany, Hirohito of Japan and General Franco of Spain overthrew democratic governments and created autocratic governments based on blood and iron policy. The dictators converged in the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and embarked on foreign aggression that was intended to promote dictatorship and destroy democracy. It created a struggle by democratic powers like Britain, France and USA to contain such aggressions, stop the growing influence of dictatorship and consolidate democracy in Europe. This created fear, panic, suspicion and hatred that exploded into war in the aftermath of German invasion of Poland. To this extent, it is justifiable to argue that the Second World War was in fact a struggle between two contradictory ideologies.

8. Nationalism

The rise and growth of nationalism in Europe also conditioned the outbreak of the Second World War. The Versailles peacemakers of 1919 were guided by their selfish national interests at the expense of German nationalism. Consequently, German nationals were scattered in the newly created states like Austria, Czechoslovakia, Sudetenland and Poland. The scattered Germans were incited by propaganda from the Germans in Germany (Hitler inclusive) to demand either for reunion with their mother country or full independence. The Germans and Hitler argued that it was double standards to subject Germans foreign control when the First World War was fought for self-determination i.e. Independence of nations. This provided Hitler with a convenient pretext to annex Austria, Czechoslovakia, Sudetenland and Poland, which led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

9. Imperialism

Imperialism also accounts for the outbreak of the Second World War. Britain and France manipulated the Versailles Settlement of 1919 to satisfy their imperial desires and undermine defeated powers most especially Germany. They distributed German colonies in Asia and Africa amongst themselves using the mandate commission of the League of Nations. The need to compensate the loss of German territories and influence made Germany to embark on a series of aggression that climaxed into the invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War. Alongside Germany, Japan and Italy also had burning desires to expand their territories and

influence which explains why Japan invaded Chinese territory of Manchuria and Italy occupied Ethiopia. This forced France and Russia to sign an agreement in 1935 to check on German, Japanese and Italian imperialism. Thus Imperialism led to fear, suspicion, antagonism and aggression that made the outbreak of World War II inevitable.

10. Anti-Semitism

World War II was also caused by anti-Semitic / racial feelings and activities against the Jews in Italy and Germany. The Nazis led by Hitler and Fascists under Mussolini's leadership had a grand programme to exterminate/Wipe out the Jews from Germany and Italy respectively. Consequently, the Jews were harassed, persecuted and massacred by Nazis and Fascist hardliners. It was opposed and condemned by France, Britain, Russia and USA. This is what amongst other reasons attracted these powers to join the War against Germany when she invaded and occupied Poland.

11. Role of the press

Press propaganda was also responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. The mass media in Germany and Poland caused war fever by over exaggerating atrocities committed by each other. Hitler used the German newspapers and radio stations to exaggerate the persecution of the 2.5million Germans in Poland. This incited the Germans in Germany and those in Poland against Polish authorities. The Polish newspapers and radios also magnified the threats of German government and German's in Poland against the Polish government. Press propaganda created suspicion, fear, panic and tension that were used by Germany to attack Poland. It should also be noted that press reports about the atrocities committed by German soldiers in the event of invasion of Poland is what terrified other powers, like Britain, Russia and France to join the war against Germany.

12. The communist threat

The threat of communism in Western Europe also contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War.

After the Russian revolution of 1917, communism spread to Eastern Europe and started threatening Western Europe by 1939. Communist influence set in a struggle by workers and peasants against exploitation and segregation. This favoured the rise of dictators and their aggressions in Europe. Hitler of

Germany, Mussolini of Italy and Hirohito of Japan took advantage of the fear of communism amongst western capitalist countries and launched a series of aggressions in the 1930's. They did it under the pretext of fighting communism, which went unopposed up to 1938. It should be stressed that Britain and France considered Fascist and Nazis aggressions a lesser evil than communist threat and that partly explains why they pursued appeasement policy, which is one of the factors responsible for the outbreak of the second world war.

13. The Spanish Civil War 1931-1939

The Spanish civil war was an event that led to the outbreak of the Second World War. The Spanish monarchy was overthrown in 1931 and replaced by a republican government. The leaders of the ousted monarchy including General Franco fled to South America. In 1935, General Franco moved to North America from where he coordinated a rebellion against the republican government. From 1936-39 there was a disastrous confrontation between General Franco's rebels supported by Italy and Germany against the republican government supported by Russia and foreign mercenary forces from several European countries including Britain, USA and France. The war ended in 1939 with the overthrow of the Republican government by General Franco who established a Fascist state in Spain. On one hand, this success intensified the hostility, hatred and antagonism of Italy, Spain and Germany against Britain, Russia and France, which became a rehearsing, ground for the outbreak of the Second World War. On the other hand, the war increased the prestige of Italy and Germany and gave them confidence of success in an event of any other war. It's this false confidence from the Spanish Civil war that dragged Hitler to attack Poland, which sparked off the Second World War.

NB. The official British and French position over the Spanish civil war was that of non-intervention to which Italy and Germany had initially consented only to violate it continuously by supporting General

Franco. The Fascist forces destroyed British and other vessels trading with the republican government of Spain. The British and French were disgusted by the violation of the principle of non-intervention and establishment of a Fascist state in Spain.

The official British and French policy of non-intervention over the war was interpreted as a sign of cowardice and fear of the Fascist and Nazi military power. This made the Fascists and Nazis to harden with their policy of aggression that dragged Hitler to attack Poland and set the world a blaze in the holocaust of the Second World War. Besides, the refusal of Britain and France to

officially join Russia in the war against General Franco and his Fascists plus Nazis supporters made Russia to feel isolated and loose trust in Britain and France. This is what prompted Russia to sign a non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939, which morale boosted Hitler to invade Poland and begin the Second World War.

The rise of General Franco and Fascism in Spain consolidated totalitarianism / dictatorship in Europe, alongside Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. This encouraged Hitler to invade Poland with assured support from General Franco and Mussolini hence the outbreak of World War II. -Furthermore, the consolidation of totalitarianism threatened the security of Britain, France and Russia forcing them to take action against Germany after the German occupation of Poland.

14. The German invasion and occupation of Poland, 1st September 1939

Lastly, the immediate event for the outbreak of the Second World War was the German invasion and occupation of Poland on September 1939. After occupying Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia, Hitler stepped up his claims for the Polish Corridor, port of Danzig and Posem. Hitler falsely hoped that Britain and France would not interfere as they had done when he occupied the Rhine lands, Austria and Czechoslovakia. With this false impression, Germany under Hitler attacked Poland from all fronts and almost brought it to ruins. Britain and France gave Hitler an ultimatum to withdraw within 24 hours that Hitler defied. This made Britain and France to declare war on Germany on 3rd September 1939. They were joined by Russia, the United States plus their colonies while Germany was joined by Italy, Japan and their colonies.

NB. It is questionable whether Hitler would have invaded Poland if it were not because of the need to liberate the 2.5 million Germans and territories that were given to Poland by the Versailles settlement of 1919. One can therefore argue that if the Versailles settlement had not forced the 2.5 million Germans and some German territories to Poland's control, Hitler could perhaps not have invaded Poland and the Second World War could not have been inevitable by 1939.

REASONS FOR APPEASEMENT POLICY

These questions demand the reasons why appeasement policy was used in Europe after the First World War up to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Thus, give a background to appeasement policy, Explain the reasons and Conclude.

Reasons

1. The Russian and communist threat forced Britain to pursue appeasement policy. The influence of Russia and communism in the Middle East, China and Europe was a great obstacle to the British interests. There was also panic amongst the propertied classes of Britain by a mere mention of the word communism. Thus, Chamberlain saw communist threat as more dangerous than fascist and Nazi aggressions and decided to compromise with the Nazis and Fascists through appeasement policy.

Moreover, the axis powers carried their aggression under the guise of fighting communism which could not be resisted by Britain.

2. The need to maintain the balance of power also made Britain to adopt appeasement policy in the inter war period. The British expectation was that the axis powers and Russia would fight and destroy themselves through aggression, which would favour her policy of isolationism. It was hoped that the axis powers could liquidate the Soviet Union, which would eliminate the Russian domination of the world through communism. It was with this reasoning that Britain did not put up any resistance against German aggression in Austria, Czechoslovakia and indirectly supported Japan and Italy to occupy Manchuria and Abyssinia respectively. However, appeasement policy boomeranged and instead facilitated the axis powers to destroy the balance of power.

3. The unrealistic nature of the Versailles settlement created a public sympathy for Germany and her allies in Britain. It was argued that a disarmed and weakened Germany was "a vast Centre of economic depression" and a line of weakness for communism. This forced Britain to try to relax the most unrealistic clauses of the Versailles treaty through appeasement policy that was to bring reconciliation and peace in Europe.

4. Internal weakness of Britain after World War I was another reason why she used the policy of appeasement. Appeasement was; almost pre-determined by the precarious state of her economy, her own indecision in policy and by sundry embarrassments within the empire. Economic depression had created problems like inflation, mass unemployment and huge debt burden. It is this precarious economic condition that created an imaginary fear of communism. It also made Britain to emphasise German economic recovery for her own economic recovery since Germany was her best customer at one time. Thus, the British economic predicament or problems forced her to follow a policy of peace which was to give her time to re organise her economy.

5. Besides economic weakness, Britain was also militarily weakened and exhausted that she could not easily fight the axis' aggression. USA and USSR had become the world super powers and Britain had lost her pre-war customers which also left her militarily weakened. Chamberlain admitted that Britain was not prepared for a full-scale war and this is partly responsible for the British policy of appeasement.

6. The bad experience of the First World War also gave rise to appeasement policy in the interwar period.

It had caused socio-economic and political destructions and disturbances to the whole world. War was therefore seen as the worst experience of mankind and there was every need to avoid it at whatever cost. This is what forced Britain and even France to follow the policy of concession and peace through the appeasement policy.

7. The anti-colonial movements especially in Asia tied the hands of Britain that she could not fight the axis' aggression. By 1919, there were revolutionary movements in British colonies that diverted the British attention towards Africa. This could not enable her fight the axis' aggression in Europe and that is why she used the policy of appeasement.

8. The weaknesses of the League of Nations was yet another reason for the British policy of appeasement. The League of Nations had no army of its own and relied-on sanctions which proved useless against the Nazi and fascist aggression in Europe. This made Chamberlain to hijack the role of the League and pursue .appeasement policy. He argued that war could be avoided through settling disputes by personal, contacts and negotiations with the axis powers, which gave rise to appeasement policy.

9. The withdrawal of USA from the concert of Europe (League of Nations) also gave rise to appeasement policy in the history of Europe, USA was the brain behind the League of Nations and she was a world military and economic super-power. Her withdrawal left European politics in the hands of Britain and France who were weak economically and militarily and hence incapable of fighting the axis powers. If USA had joined the League of Nations, the League would have been strengthened and there would be no need to appease the axis powers.

10. The inability of the British politicians to properly understand the character and ambitions of the axis powers made Britain to pursue appeasement policy. They thought that the axis powers were fighting communism yet they were using communism as a camouflage of their hidden ambition to dominate the world. Chamberlain falsely believed that Hitler meant business and

would honour him word if the injustice done to Germany at Versailles were reversed. This is why he appeased Hitler at the Munich conference of 1939 in which Germany was appeased with Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia. It was only when Hitler attacked Poland and Britain declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939 that Chamberlain realized his blunders. He admitted this on the same day (3rd September 1939) in his remarks that;

This is a sad day to all of us and to none is it sadder than to me. Everything that / have worked for, everything that I have hope for, everything that I have believed in life has crushed into ruins.

ROLE OF EUROPEAN POWERS AND PERSONALITIES IN THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1. Germany/Hitler's role

a) Germany was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War. Hitler started the arms race in order to avenge the disarmament clause of the Versailles settlement and dominate Europe. This was adopted by other powers and created hostility, fear, panic and recklessness that led to the Second World War.

b) Hitler created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis to oppose and destroy the influence of the western democratic powers led by Britain and France. This made the western powers to form the democratic alliance that divided Europe into two antagonistic camps leading to the Second World War

c) Germany led by Hitler boycotted the League of Nations and left it weakened. The Nazi aggression challenged and made the League of Nations to fail to preserve peace in the interwar period. The weakness of the League opened way for war other than diplomacy as a means of settling world disputes hence the outbreak of the Second World War.

d) The German and Hitler's aggressions in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rhine lands, Sudetenland and Poland disorganised Europe and led to the outbreak of the Second World War. It also encouraged other powers like Japan and Italy to become aggressive. This escalated tension in Europe and led directly to war when Germany occupied Poland in 1939.

e) Hitler and Germany misinterpreted the British desires for peace through appeasement policy as a sign of weakness and cowardice. This made him to embark on a vicious cycle of aggression that led to the Second World War. Hitler is therefore .accused of abusing appeasement policy, which made it to boomerang and cause war.

f) The German/Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1st September 1939 was the immediate event that led to the Second World War. It made Britain and France to realise the futility of appeasement policy and declare war on Germany that began the Second World War.

g) The German/Hitler's defiance to the British and French ultimatum after the invasion of Poland is what made Britain and France to declare war on her (Germany). When Germany invaded Poland, the French and British gave her an ultimatum to withdraw within 24 hours which Hitler refused to abide by. Had Hitler complied with this ultimatum, Britain and France would have had no excuse to declare war on Germany and the Second World War could have not been inevitable.

2. Britain

a) Gave moral support to aggression by the axis powers as a counter measure to communism in Europe.

She encouraged the Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Italian invasion of Abyssinia, the Nazi aggressions in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Rhine lands. This provoked a vicious cycle of aggression that climaxed into the German invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War.

b) The British policy of appeasement was a boomerang that contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War. It was regarded by Hitler and Mussolini as a sign of weakness and cowardice. This encouraged fascist and Nazi aggressions that reached its peak in the German invasion of Poland and began the Second World War.

c) Britain was also entangled in the arms race that created fear, panic, recklessness, which graduated to war in 1939.

d) She was a champion of the democratic alliance that antagonised the axis alliance and caused war in 1939. Besides, Britain had allied with Poland which encouraged her to take a bold stand against Germany and declare war after the German invasion. If Poland had not relied on British support, she would have possibly looked for a diplomatic solution other than war against Germany's occupation of her territory.

e) It was Britain that declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939, which magnified the conflict between Germany and Poland into the Second World War. This was after Germany's refusal to withdraw from Poland as demanded by the ultimatum.

f) Britain was 'a big force' behind the unrealistic Versailles settlement that sowed seeds for the outbreak of the Second World War. The settlement was very unfair to Germany, Japan and Italy

and left them with nostalgia to revenge. This forced them to converge in the axis alliance and wage a series of aggression that climaxed into the Second World War.

3. France

a) France is blamed for supporting Chamberlain's policy of appeasement that led to a series of aggression and the outbreak of war in 1939, If France had not supported or opposed Chamberlain's policy, it's possible that he would have dropped it and handled the Nazi and Fascist aggression militarily. This was bound to threaten Mussolini and Hitler and hence reduce aggression in Europe. Consequently, Hitler would have possibly not invaded Poland and the Second World War would have been avoided in 1939.

b) France was the 'greatest shareholder' of the unrealistic Versailles settlement that became a foundation for the outbreak of the Second World War. The Versailles settlement was chaired by Clemenceau who skillfully and carefully manipulated the terms of the settlement to punish Germany for her crimes in the First World War and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 - 1871. This irritated Germany and left her determined to revenge, which led to the outbreak of the war in 1939.

c) France is also blamed for her involvement in the arms race and alliance system. She entered into a number of alliances in order to strengthen her diplomatic position against Germany. In Sept 1920 she signed the Franco-Belgian treaty; which was a military alliance against Germany. Similar treaties were signed with Poland in Feb 1921, Czechoslovakia in 1924, Rumania in 1926 and Yugoslavia in 1927.

This divided Europe into two armed and antagonistic camps that exploded into the Second World War in the aftermath of the German invasion of Poland.

d) France is accused of collaborating with Britain to declare war on Germany on 3rd September 1939. If France had not supported Poland against Germany, the German-Polish conflict would have remained a localized affair between the two states. Thus, the French involvement is what magnified it into a European war and finally the Second World War.

4. Russia

a) Russia is blamed for signing a non-aggressive treaty with Germany in 1939. This encouraged Hitler to invade Poland on September 1939 that triggered the Second World War. The treaty gave Hitler a false impression that Russia would not join the war against her and this is partly why she

violated the British and French ultimatum to withdraw. However, Russia changed and joined the allied powers against Germany.

b) The spread and threat of Russian communism led to the rise of Hitler and Mussolini who played a leading role in the outbreak of the Second World War. It also made Britain to pursue appeasement policy, which indirectly facilitated aggression by the axis powers and led to the outbreak of war in 1939.

c) Russia's isolation from the League of Nations which also blocked communist countries in Eastern Europe from the League left the League weakened. It made the League a narrow association of a few Western powers and therefore failed to capture European public opinion. This provided a line of weakness for aggression and explosion of the Second World War.

d) Russia is also accused for joining Britain, France and Poland against Germany. This escalated the war to Eastern Europe which graduated to the Second World War.

5. Japan and Italy

a) Japan and Italy are accused for the outbreak of the Second World War for waging aggression, which partly encouraged Hitler's aggression that led to war in 1939. Japan is blamed for invading the Chinese territory of Manchuria and Italy is accused for her invasion of Abyssinia. These started a series of aggression that climaxed into the Second World War by 1939.

b) Japan and Italy are also blamed for arms race and alliance system that contributed to war by 1939.

They are accused of joining Germany in the German centered Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis alliance in 1937. This assured Hitler of support in case of war and therefore encouraged him to invade Czechoslovakia and Poland that sparked off the Second World War.

c) Lastly, Japan and Italy assisted Germany against allied powers in the Second World War. This strengthened Germany and made it impossible to defeat Germany by 1945. Indeed Japan put a stiff resistance in the east that was only broken by the US atomic bombs in August 1945.

d) Japan is accused for her reckless bombing of the U.S fleet at Pearl Harbour on December 1941. This is what provoked U.S.A to join the war against the axis powers.

6. Poland

a) Although Poland fought a defensive war, she is blamed for signing a military pact/agreement with Britain in 1939. This threatened Germany for Germany could not tolerate a strong neighbor

with powerful connections to Britain. This partly forced Germany to declare war on Poland and destroy her before it was too late.

b) Poland is also accused of occupying the German territories of Danzig, Posen, Upper Silesia and a corridor of land that passed through Germany to the Baltic Sea. These included 2.5 million German nationals that were given to her at the Versailles conference of 1919. When Hitler demanded for the German territories and nationals, Poland refused which forced Hitler to declare war and set the ball rolling for the Second World War. However, the blame for this largely rests on Britain and France who had given Poland such territories and populations at the Versailles conference of 1919.

c) Lastly, Poland is accused of declaring war on Germany after the German invasion of her territory in 1939. Although this was justifiable, she is blamed for ignoring diplomacy as a priority in resolving conflicts.

CONSEQUENCES/ EFFECTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War is the most disastrous event in the history of the world. In a real sense, it is the greatest war that mankind has ever experienced. In the war, the axis powers were finally defeated in 1945 and the allied powers came out victorious. The war affected all aspects of human life as well as international politics of that time and the present generation. Generally, the war had positive and negative consequences in the social, political and economic structures of the world some of which can be traced up to the present era.

Positive consequences

i) The war gave rise to European economic integration and regional economic organisations to improve the welfare of mankind. This led to the formation of organisations like the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.E.C.D), European Coal and Steel Community (B.C.S.C), European Free Trade Association (E.F.T.A) and European Economic Community (E.E.C) in 1958. After the war, American companies that had made abnormal profits from producing war related products bought shares in European countries which led to the formation of multi-national companies. These companies expanded their investment throughout the world e.g. B.A.T, Pepsi cola and oil companies such as Shell and Caltex.

ii) The war led to the defeat and downfall of great military dictators of Europe. The pressure of the war forced Hitler to commit suicide while Mussolini was killed by his own soldiers towards the end of the war. This marked the collapse of Nazism and fascism in the history of Europe.

Militaristic leaders in other areas like Spain and Japan were overthrown. These undermined totalitarianism and paved way for democratic governments throughout Europe.

iii) On the other hand, the war led to the liberation of states that were victims of aggression by the axis powers. The defeat of Germany and her allies was followed by the granting of independence to smaller states like Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Ethiopia that had been under German and Italian rules. This was done by the allied powers during and after the end of the war. A number of Germans, Italians and Japanese who had settled in such conquered territories were expelled to their mother lands after the war.

iv) The formation of U.N.O to replace the League of Nations whose weakness was responsible for the outbreak of the war was an outcome of the Second World War. The idea for the formation of U.N.O came from Dumbarton Oaks war time conference of 1944 between USA, Britain, Russia and China.

Thereafter, the first draft of the U.N.O was signed in April 1945 at San Francisco. On Oct 1945, the U.N.O was officially proclaimed at its headquarter in New York with six (6) organs to facilitate its role in world affairs. The main concerns were peace, international co-operation and development.

v) The establishment of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 and the rise of Zionism were occasioned by World War II. During the course of World War II, the Jews were persecuted and massacred by the Nazis, Fascists and Arabs. Consequently, Jewish immigrants flooded Palestine and a serious conflict developed with the indigenous Palestinian Arabs. Britain tried in vain to resolve the conflict and referred it to the UN Security Council In 1947. In 1948, the Security Council created the Jewish state of Israel out of the Arab state of Palestine. However, this marked the beginning of a protracted conflict between the Jews and Arabs in the Middle East, which have been a constant threat to world peace.

vi) The war resulted into abandonment of appeasement policy. Appeasement policy that was intended to avoid war instead boomeranged and caused the outbreak of war in 1939. Chamberlain was so disappointed by Hitler's unending demands and invasion of Poland that he regretted for having pursued appeasement policy. The invasion made Britain and France to realise the blunder of appeasement policy and join the war against Germany. From then onwards, the policy was abandoned in the diplomatic politics of Europe.

vii) The Marshall Aid plan and COMECON were initiated to help the West and East respectively to revamp economies that were dislocated by the war. The Marshall Aid plan was an economic recovery scheme in which food, fuel, machinery, raw materials and money (valued at \$13 billion) were given to save the collapsing capitalist economies of Europe. The Russian Prime Minister Viache Molotov responded by initiating the Molotov plan and COMECON to save the badly revenged socialist economies. These aids were to help the antagonistic blocs to reconstruct their economies and solve economic problems like inflation, unemployment, poverty and starvation.

viii) The rise and growth of nationalism in the Middle East, Asia and Africa were also due to the war. It led to the rise of USA and USSR who supported decolonisation movements especially in Africa against the British and French colonial masters. The war also weakened France and Britain and thus weakened their abilities to manage their colonies which gave the colonised people chance to fight for their independence. The few people who fought in the war were inspired with revolutionary ideas that they used to champion the move towards independence. All these contributed to the decolonisation of countries such as Ghana, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Palestine, Kuwait, Israel etc. One should acknowledge that the decolonisation process led to loss of colonies by European powers.

Negative consequences

ix) The war resulted into massive destruction of lives. Over 50 million people died as a direct consequence of the war. Of these, about 22 million were soldiers and 28 civilians. About 6 million Jews were exterminated in Germany and areas occupied by the Nazi troops during the war. There were mass killings in concentration camps which became death camps. Prisoners were made to dig mass graves &om where-, they were shot and buried. Generally, about 12 million people lost their lives in concentration camps as a result of terror unleashed by the fascists and Nazis. The overall consequence was depopulation and a change Sin the population structure.

x) Properties whose value cannot be quantified were also destroyed during the war. Intensive bombardment of towns and cities demolished properties such as industries, houses and war machineries. Industrial towns like the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were completely razed to the ground by US atomic bombs which became the worst destruction in the

history of mankind by 1970. This left behind the problem of reconstruction amidst financial crisis that befall the world due to the war.

xi) There was also a large influx of homeless refugees and Internally Displaced Persons. Thousands of them were kept in camps in Western Europe during and after the war. Most of these were people like the Jews who were fleeing the Nazi and fascist aggressions. This left the allied powers with the problem of how to repatriate and rehabilitate such displaced persons. This burden was shouldered by the international community through the UNO.

xii. On the other hand, there were migrations outside Europe. Fear of death in Europe forced some families and groups of individuals to flee as far as America, Australia and South Africa. War criminals who were wanted to answer charges for atrocities they committed during the war also fled across Europe as a strategy of evading arrest. This explains why some of the most wanted Nazi and fascist commanders were not arrested and tried.

xiii) The Second World War changed the balance of power and led to the rise of USA and USSR as super powers. The Soviet/Russian soldiers consolidated communism in Eastern Europe and Russia emerged as a super power commanding great influence in Eastern Europe. USA that did not suffer much from the war and whose atomic bombing of Japan brought the war to an end also emerged from the west as a dominant power. The rise of USA and USSR were at the expense of Britain, France and Germany who were the hitherto traditional superpowers.

xiv) The emergence of USA and USSR led to intense rivalry, suspicion, hatred and conflict that gave rise to cold war. This was partly because of the struggle by Soviet Union/Russia to consolidate and spread communism, which was antagonized by American determination to spread capitalism. This divided the world into two antagonistic ideological camps, which led to the formation of NATO by USA in 1949 and Warsaw Pact by USSR in 1955. It should be noted that Russia planted communist regimes in her areas of occupation that threatened western powers and led to the cold war. On the other hand, countries that did not want to identify themselves with the two antagonistic camps under the leadership of India formed the Non Align Movement.

XV) Economic decline was direct consequence of World War II. Productive sectors like agriculture, trade, transport, communication and industries were disrupted and destroyed during the war. The British and French economies were shattered and left in a quagmire state. This brought famine, starvation, inflation and unemployment to millions of survivors.

xvi) Germany was partitioned into two separated by the famous Berlin wall that belonged to

Russia had a socialist government and West Germany that was given to USA Britain and France had a capitalist, government. This was to punish Germany for her aggression that had led to the outbreak of the first as well as the second world wars. It was also to weaken Germany in order to safeguard Europe and the world from further German aggression and war.

NB. The division of Germany ended with the reunification of Germany in 1991

This only ended when the compensation bill was cleared.

xvii) Japan was devastated by the Second World War. She became a physical ruin, an economic desert and a Centre of political turmoil/ confusion. The Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were razed to the ground by American atomic bombs whose effects were still being felt up to 1970. She was also forced to abandon her claims of Manchuria that was given back to china. Worst of all Japan was colonised by USA in order to compensate for the destruction of USA's fleet at Pearl Harbour in 1944. This only ended when the compensation bill was cleared.

xviii) It also stimulated rapid scientific innovations that led to the production of weapons of mass destruction. The war witnessed the use of atomic bombs for the first time in the history of mankind. This was used by USA with devastating impact on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After the war, Russia, Japan, Britain, Iraq, North Korea and Pakistan embarked on research in the production of weapons of mass destruction. This was responsible for the nuclear crisis that has degenerated to war in post-World war II era. It also enhanced arms and rearmament in post-World war II era.

However from the summer of 1942, the rapid advancement of the axis troops were systematically checked and reversed. The Nazi and Fascist troops lost several battles and by 1944 they were defeated.

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS POWERS/GERMANY

1 The axis powers were faced with internal opposition that made them vulnerable to defeat by the, a powers. Germany, Italy and Japan had dictators who could not rally and Mussolini were very unpopular, which made their own people to turn against them. This explains why Mussolini was arrested and executed by his own fellow fascists, which led to the surrender of Italy. This also partly made Hitler to commit suicide and marked the defeat of Germany as well. On the other hand, there was patriotism in allied countries due to charismatic leadership of Winston

Churchill, FD Roosevelt, Truman and Stalin. Their popularity made it very easy to mobilise resources most especially manpower to fight and defeat the axis powers.

2. Externally, the axis powers were faced with internal resistance from the countries that they invaded and occupied. By 1941, the axis powers had successfully occupied countries like Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and states of Eastern Europe. The axis rule in these states was very brutal, autocratic and full of atrocities. Such states formed resistance movements and waged a series of resistance to the axis forces e.g. local militias sniped at axis forces and blew up bridges while factory workers sabotaged industrial production through vandalism and go slow tactics. In Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Marshall Tito mobilised the Yugoslavs and successfully repulsed German troops. Such resistance diverted and weakened axis forces to the advantage of allied powers. Resistance groups also provided military information and direction to allied powers that made the defeat of Germany and her allies inevitable.

3. The naval superiority of the allied powers also explains the defeat of the axis powers. Britain and USA had the best navy in the world. They used their naval power to dominate the European coastlines and made it impossible for the axis powers to get reinforcements from Europe. In 1941, the British and American navy sunk the German sub marine and surface raiders. All these explain why Germany was very successful over her neighbours between 1939- 40 but failed in the subsequent battles like the one in Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

4. Technological superiority of allied powers also account for their success against axis powers. Britain and USA manufactured more sophisticated fighter jets, tanks^ planes, missiles, bombs and warships. In 1940, Britain produced a radar that easily detected allied warplanes and ships before they could bombard her strategic military bases. The manufacture of atomic bomb by USA and its disastrous impact on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 is what stopped Japanese stubborn resistance and ended the war.

5. Lack of foresight was also responsible for the doom that befell the axis powers. They ignored the necessity of fighter planes. Japan for instance concentrated on the production of battleships that made her vulnerable to bombings by the allied warplanes. Germany also made a mistake of concentrating on the production of "V" rockets at the expense of strengthening her air defense. On the other hand, the allied powers concentrated on the production of warplanes, missiles and radars. These tilted the military balance of power in favour of the allies and led to the defeat of the axis powers.

6. Hitler's military blunder was also responsible for the success of the allied powers. He underestimated the military strength of allied powers. Hitler invaded England with a misconception that none of the

British colonies would assist her. He and his troops were demoralised when British colonies rallied behind their master to fight against axis powers. Hitler's invasion of Russia which was code named Operation Barbarossa (June 1941) was a military disaster. Hitler also failed to realise the dangers of acute winter where temperature was as low as -40°C and even refused to withdraw his troops from Russian territories. He did not effectively planned for winter and the German troops did not have the badly needed heavy clothes to protect them from severe cold. This exposed them to the disastrous consequences of winter, which affected the rapid advancement of Nazi troops. This is why the 6 divisions of the Nazi troops failed to defeat Russia in 1942. This demystified the view that German troops were invincible and morale boosted Russian and other powers determination to fight Germany.

7. The success of the allied powers was also determined by the size of their population and number of colonies. USA was supported by the whole of North and South America, France and Britain enjoyed support from their several colonies in Africa and common wealth states like South Africa, India Egypt and East Africa. The 1919 treaty of Versailles deprived Germany of her colonies, which were given to France and Britain as mandate states. Thus the axis powers had few populations and colonies that made them to be outnumbered in the battlefield. The largescale of the war divided the axis powers into thin/smaller units that were defeated one at a time. For instance, Germany failed to consolidate her initial success against Russia because the six divisions of the Nazi troops were too few to effectively monitor the area (because the area was too wide).

8. Shortage of raw materials and supplies to the is power also accounted for the success of the allied powers. The League of Nations imposed economic embargo on Japan in 1931, Italy in 1935 and Germany in 1936. This made them unable to import the necessary war materials like rubber, cotton, copper, atomic and oil products to reinforce their military strength. It also created a serious economic crisis that affected the morale, strength and determination of the axis troops to the advantage of the allied powers.

9. Paradoxically, the allied powers were actively involved in trade and others like USA and USSR gained prosperity by producing w[^] related materials. For example, Russia shifted her

industries to rural mountains of the East after the German occupation of the West and produced vast quantities of arms and other war materials. USA's war industry was producing 120 warplanes and 70,000 tanks per year. By 1945, allied powers had 4 times as many tanks as the Germans. These developments compared to economic crisis of the axis powers made the axis powers unable to withstand the allies after 1942.

10. The role played by USA in the war played a decisive role in the defeat of axis powers.
President FD

Roosevelt had considered World War II as a European war and promised neutrality with USA as an "arsenal of democracy" through his "cash and carry policy for arms". However, there was a radical policy change in which USA started supplying arms free of charge to Britain and France according to the Lease-lend act of March 1941. In the same year (1941), Japan invaded Hawaii Island and destroyed American pacific fleet at Pearl Harbour, which prompted USA the war against the axis powers. To join The involvement of USA boosted the allied powers with the badly needed financial, human and technical resources since she had the most stable economy. For instance, USA freely supplied tanks, warships, fighter planes and tanks that helped to halt rapid advancement of axis powers and shift the military balance of power in favour of allied powers.

11. Press propaganda through the mass media e.g. newspaper, radio and magazines also aided the success of allied nations against axis powers. Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill used the London times and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to inform the world that the allies were fighting dictatorship, persecution and barbaric leadership. Franklin D Roosevelt utilised the Voice of America (VGA) to mobilise Americans and the whole world to fight the axis powers. Such press propaganda created a negative public opinion against axis powers and made it difficult to mobilise the masses for effective military campaign. It also favoured the formation of resistance movements in areas controlled by axis powers that made the success of allied powers inevitable.

12. The downfall of Italy in September 1943 and the defection of Badoglio who succeeded Mussolini was paramount in the success of allied powers against axis powers. In the aftermath of Anglo-American invasion of Italian mainland on 3rd September 1943, Badoglio withdrew Italy from the axis camp and joined the allied powers. This betrayed axis powers and led to leakage of military secrets and information to the advantage of allied powers. It also reinforced the allied

camp given that Italy was used as a strategic base for aircraft and store for war materials. These played a crucial role in the subsequent defeat of Germany and Japan that marked the triumph of allied powers in World War II.

13. The death of prominent axis leaders i.e. Mussolini and Hitler also contributed to the defeat of axis powers.

By 1945, Italy and Germany could no longer withstand the fire power of allied nations and there was public outcry for immediate end of the war. In 1943, Mussolini fled to Northern Italy from where he was assassinated by disgruntled fascist supporters. He was replaced by Badogho who defected and helped the allied powers against the axis powers. In 1945, Hitler out of desperation committed suicide in a bunker. He was succeeded by a weak willed Admiral Doenitz who accepted to surrender unconditionally on 7th May 1945. The death of Mussolini and Hitler denied Japan of their inspiring leadership and support and that was why she (Japan) surrendered unconditionally in the aftermath of the dual bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

14. The role of US atomic bombings was the most instrumental in the final success of the allied powers.

Japan had occupied vast parts of the east and defeated the US troops at Pearl Harbour in 1941. They had high moral and determination to fight even after the surrender of Germany and Italy. However, they were demoralised and hence surrendered because of the USA's atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. USA used US B-29 bomber to demolish Hiroshima on 6th Aug 1945 and Nagasaki on 9th Aug 1945. These forced Japan into unconditional surrender that marked the final success of the allied powers and hence defeat of the axis powers.

PLEASE COPY THE NOTES BELOW AS WELL.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATIONS (UNO)

Background

The U.N.O was a new international organisation that was formed by allied powers to replace the League of Nations, whose weaknesses had paved way for the outbreak of World War II. The general idea of the UNO was hatched at the Dumbarton Oaks conference (USA) by Britain,

USA, Russia and China on Oct 1944. The first draft of the UN charter was later signed by 51 nations on April 1945 at San Francisco conference (USA). Thereafter UNO was officially declared on Oct 1945 with its headquarters in New York. The UNO was created with six organs to implement its aims and objectives i.e. the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

NB: The UNO had original members and new members who could be admitted by some criteria. The membership was open to all peace-loving states who accepted the rules contained in the charter and who in the judgment of the organisation were willing and able to execute their obligations. The Security Council played the most significant role in admitting or rejecting admission of any state. Membership of a state could be suspended on the recommendation of the Security Council and such a state would be outlawed by the General Assembly.

Organs of U.N.O

i) The General Assembly:

It was composed of representatives from all members of the UNO, who had one vote each. It met once a year in September but special sessions could be convened in times of crisis by the members themselves or by the Security Council. The General Assembly had powers to discuss, review, supervise and criticise the activities of other organs of UNO. The General assembly also had powers to admit, suspend or expel any member. Decisions on issues of major importance required a two third majority but minor issues could be resolved by a simple majority.

ii) The Security Council:

The Security Council met more often than the General Assembly. It was created with 11 members of the UNO out of which five (Britain, USA, Russia, France and China) were permanent members. In 1965 its membership was increased to 15 with the same 5 permanent members. Each member of the Security Council had one vote and every permanent member of the council had the right to veto the decision of the General Assembly. Resolutions require 9 of the 15 members that must include the 5 permanent members. The primary duty of the Security Council was to maintain World peace and Security. It had to submit annual or special reports to the General Assembly.

iii) The Economic and Social Council:

It comprised of 27 members who were elected for three years by the General Assembly. Its main function was to initiate studies and make reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other socio-economic problems. The Council executed responsibilities assigned to it by the General Assembly and those requested by member states. It also supervised and coordinated other commissions and specialised agencies like WHO, ILO, FAG, UNICEF, UNESCO, IMF etc. (about 30 in total).

iv) The Trusteeship Council:

This was an improvement of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. Its members were elected by the General Assembly. It was to look after the mandated territories of the defunct League of Nations in order to ensure fair treatment by the mandated states. The states in question were 11. These were territories taken from Germany and her allies after World War I and those grabbed from Italy and Japan in 1945. The trusteeship council visited the territories under the trusteeship system to assess how they were being administered. The Council could send questionnaires to states concerned with the aim of getting information regarding the political, economic and social developments of the mandated territories. The major aim of the council was to prepare the territories for either self-rule or union with other existing states.

v) The International Court of Justice:

The organ was an improvement of the permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations. It was based at Hague with 15 judges of different nationalities, elected for a three year term by the General Assembly and Security Council jointly. The court catered for legal matters especially cases between two or more states. It would also advise other organs on legal issues.

vi) The Secretariat:

It was the administrative organ of the UN with Secretary General as the Chief Administrative Officer of the organ. The Secretary General was appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a 5 year term. The Secretary General was assisted by a large number of subordinates whose mandate was to scrutinize the various roles of the UNO. The Secretariat was based at New York. The Secretary General in accordance to the UN charter had to initiate issues to be discussed before the council and would make annual reports on the performance of the Secretariat. The funds to maintain the activities of the Secretariat were met by all member states of the UN. However, USA made the biggest contribution in comparison to other members of the UN.

Justification for the formation of UNO

1. The Primary concern of the UNO was to maintain law and order in order to preserve world peace. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 was a perfect proof that the League of Nations was incompetent in maintaining world peace. Therefore there was need for a stronger international organisation that would bring the world together and maintain peace. This gave rise to the UNO.

2. The need to stop aggression was an issue behind the formation of UNO. This was because Kaiser William II and Hitler's aggression were primarily responsible for the outbreak of the First and Second World wars respectively. The wars were the worst experiences that mankind had ever faced. The UNO was therefore formed to protect weaker nations who are vulnerable to aggression from powerful states in order to avoid yet another similar catastrophe.

3. The desire to bring to justice those who committed crimes against humanity was also responsible for the formation of UNO by 1945. These included the Nazi and fascists who conducted mass killings of the Jews, Communists and other innocent civilians during the Second World War. These were serious crimes that could not be handled by the domestic laws of the different states. So UNO was formed to carry out a series of trials through military tribunals like the Nuremburg tribunal and to punish those found guilty.

4. The UNO was to enforce disarmament and guard against the arms race that was partly responsible for the outbreak of the two world wars. Besides previous weapons like poisonous gas, long range artilleries, missiles and war planes, there was also atomic bomb that was made and used by US on Japan. These weapons of mass destruction were a serious threat to the survival of human race. The Security Council was to create awareness of the danger of weapons of mass destruction and enforce measures to stop the manufacture, proliferation and use of such weapons.

5. The UNO was formed to facilitate decolonization and democratization of those nationalities that were dominated and oppressed. Colonialism and dictatorship had outlived their usefulness and there was a desire for independence and democratization especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The UNO through the Trusteeship Council was to ensure a peaceful transformation from colonialism and dictatorship to independence and democracy. This was because nationalism had been a source of tension that was partly responsible for the outbreak of the two World Wars.

6. The UNO was also formed to check on threats to the environment which was potentially dangerous to mankind. Weapons of mass destruction especially atomic bombs used in World War II had destroyed the world habitat, flora and fauna. In addition testing of dangerous weapons like chemical weapons on deserts and water was causing a serious environmental hazard to mankind. All these explain why efforts were made to establish the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). It was to control pollution, desertification and improve on the rural and urban settlements amongst others.

7. The UNO was also concerned with the need to eliminate the problem of human and drug trafficking. By 1945, the war atmosphere had made human trafficking and consumption of intoxicating drugs to flourish. The sales and consumption of opium and marijuana were on a scaring level to peace and security. These drugs were causing social unrests, making people to run crazy, idle and disorderly in society. Thus there was need for an international organisation to handle such global threats to mankind hence the formation of UNO.

8. The UNO was also founded to rehabilitate and resettle prisoners of war and displaced persons who were made homeless by the Second World War. Besides, oppressive, tyrannical and despotic governments had forced several people to flee to neighboring states for fear of persecution. The prisoners of war, Internally Displaced Persons and refugees were faced with the challenges of psychological problems and acute need for humanitarian assistance due to lack of basic necessities.

9. Similarly, UNO was formed to oversee the protection of human rights in the world. During the war the world registered gross abuse of human rights that included rape of women, murder, exilement etc.

The children's rights and welfare were equally abused. They suffered from orphanage, scarcity and many of them lost their lives. There was need for an international organ to guarantee safety of peoples rights.

Achievements (strength) of UNO

1. As far as world peace is concerned, the U.N through the Security Council registered some achievements. It diffused many conflicts and tensions that could have led to the outbreak of the third world war. The Berlin blockade by Russia in 1948 was lifted through the intervention of the President of the Security Council. From 1950 to 1953 UNO dealt with the conflict between North Korea and South Korea resulting into a truce signed in July 1953 and hostilities ended. In 1960, the council settled the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The Suez Canal crisis was also peacefully resolved in 1956 when the General Assembly compelled France, Britain and Israel to withdraw their offensive weapons from Egypt. A number of other political conflicts were also successfully resolved by the International Court of Justice. Thus, the role of the UN through the Security Council and General Assembly was very instrumental in the preservation and maintenance of global peace, security and stability.

2. The UNO through the UNRWA (United Nations Relief Works Agency) and UNHCHR were to provide food, water, shelter, medical care and psychological treatment to prisoners of war, displaced persons and refugees in the World.

3. The UNO came up with the need to improve economic co-operation and status of the World. World economies were shuttered by the destructions caused by the Second World War. It was to mobilise funds to help weaker and poor states to reconstruct and strengthen their economic potential.

4. UNO promoted Children's rights by officially declaring them in 1959 and it was promulgated to the whole world through various sensitisation programs. The rights declared by UNO included

the right to education, parenthood, name, nationality, play, leisure etc. UNICEF funded children's education most especially of the girl child education and welfare in many countries of the world. All these reduced the abuse of children's rights and other related injustices.

5. UNO reduced the sales and consumption of intoxicated drugs like opium and marijuana. This was achieved by sensitizing people through seminars and mass media such as radio, TV, magazines etc. about the dangers of drug abuse. The Anti-drug Commission declared the above drugs illegal and those found dealing in them were to be severely punished by respective countries. These measures checked on the production, transportation, sales and consumption of such drugs. Eventually, the rate of crimes committed by consumers of drugs was significantly reduced by 1970.

6. Environmental threats was successfully checked and reduced by the UNO. By 1970, UNO had embarked on a global sensitisation program (through mass media, workshops and seminars) to control pollution, desertification and improve on rural and urban settlement patterns. Bio diversity program with emphasis on afforestation and reforestation programs alongside utilisation of world forests were promoted. These programs helped to conserve the environment against threats like pollution and desertification.

7. Decolonization and democratization was achieved by U.N.O through the Trusteeship council. The council was able to oversee the administration of the mandate states and provide guidance towards the granting of independence. The council was able to guard against exploitation and oppression of the colonies by those powers mandated to govern them. This facilitated independence of Countries like Libya, Somalia, Namibia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Israel and Palestine. The UNO was also influential in promoting democratic governance in the post independent era of such countries. This helped the colonised states to recover easily from the long term consequences of colonial oppression and exploitation.

8. UNO also scored success in the reduction of cultural intolerance and racial segregation. It achieved this through joint research and cultural exchanges. By 1970, UNESCO had offices in all the member states where people were sensitised about the value of other cultures. UNO also decampaigned Apartheid in South Africa and anti-Semitism in Europe. In 1970, the Economic and social council organised a global youth conference in which the challenges facing the youth were discussed. This promoted international co-operation and tolerance amongst people of diverse cultural background.

9. Disarmament was one of the most remarkable contributions of UNO towards world peace. In 1946, the Security Council set up the Atomic Energy Commission to control the production of atomic energy and weapons. Between 1963 and 1969, the council presided over the signing of test ban treaties that barred the - production and use of weapons of mass destruction such as chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. The Security Council also initiated SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) in 1948 and SALT II in 1956 through which nations cooperated to limit the amount of long range missiles and bombers in their possession. Although UNO partially failed in disarmament, it succeeded in reducing the production of such weapons and frustrating attempt by countries like USA that possessed them from causing trouble to the world.

10. The establishment of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 was an achievement for UNO. By 1830 the Congress System had granted the Jews citizenship in various states where they had fled due to persecution. However during the course of World War II, the Jews were again persecuted and massacred by the Nazis, Fascists and Arabs. After World War II, a serious dispute and often wars arose between the Jews and the Arabs. In 1947, the conflict was brought to the UNO Security Council, which did a series of investigations. In 1948, the council created the Jewish

state of Israel out of the Arab state of Palestine. This was a positive step in the protection of minorities and displaced persons from homelessness, persecution and massacre.

11. The increased membership since its inception in 1945 was a testimony of UNO's success. In 1945 when UNO was formed, only 51 states ratified the charter to become members. However, UNO's popularity tremendously increased due to numerous achievements registered to the extent that its membership grew to over 100 by 1970. This brought more states together and increased the level of cooperation that maintained global peace, law, order and stability.

12. Lastly, UNO addressed the issue of justice and accountability for international crimes committed during the Second World War. The International Court of Justice based at Hague was one of the organs of UNO created to handle legal issues related to war crimes and compensation. Nazi war criminals such as Goebbels who was Hitler's chief of propaganda and Himmler Heinrich were tried at the Nuremberg tribunal although they committed suicide. Several other Nazis, Fascists, Japanese, Italians etc. who persecuted the Jews and committed other crimes were also tried and punished accordingly. Other than war crimes, the court also resolved several disputes that involved member states by 1970. This laid a sound and vibrant foundation for justice, accountability and peaceful resolution of disputes in Europe.

Weaknesses and failures of the UNO

1. The loans and grants from IMF and World Bank meant to revamp world economies had some negative consequences on the development of the third world countries. The strings attached to them promoted political ideologies of the western capitalistic powers and sometimes the third world countries were forced to invest in non-priority areas on the directives of the lending body. Besides it accelerated unemployment because of the so called experts who were sent and paid very highly to monitor the aids and donor projects. Worst of all the loans were lent at very high interest rates and that is why poor countries that depended on such loans had become poorer by 1970.

2. Although UNO reduced drug trafficking, it failed to eliminate it completely. This was because UNO did not have an effective and competent force to control drug trafficking on land, air and the sea. Thus, the sales and consumption of cocaine, opium and marijuana continued to the extent that it became an acceptable way of life amongst many societies in the Middle East. This promoted anti-social behaviours and crimes like murder, defilement, suicide bombing etc. These undermined peace, stability and prosperity in Europe by 1970.

3. The decolonisation and democratization programs were incomplete by 1970. The UNO did not have a clear policy for granting independence to the colonised nations. The independence especially of African nations was mainly due to the efforts of the oppressed and exploited Africans other than the UN. Moreover, America and other Western capitalists were against decolonisation. This was because imperialism was the highest form of capitalism. USA also supported apartheid, the very reason why South Africa, Angola and Mozambique were still colonised by 1970. The rise and existence of autocratic and undemocratic leaders like Fidel Castro in Cuba, Kamuzu Banda in Malawi and Mobutu Sese-seko in Congo demonstrate the failure of the democratisation program of the UN. This was because some members of the UNO especially USA and USSR supported such dictators as long as they were able to further their political ideology and related interests.

4. The rise and existence of neocolonialism and its associated evils in third world countries exposed the failure of UNO. After colonialism, European powers resorted to neocolonialism as an indirect means to control, exploit and oppress the third world countries. This was accomplished through imposing unfavourable foreign political ideologies like capitalism and

communism, economic policies such as liberalisation and establishment of military bases e.g. USA in the Middle East and Africa by more developed nations. By 1970, these practices had led to underdevelopment of third world countries and subjected formerly independent states to dependence on their former colonial masters in a neo colonial relationship. The UNO is therefore blamed for keeping aloof as neocolonialism undermined the independence and democratisation process of nations.

5. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 failed to totally achieve its objectives by 1970. It was not fully accepted in many states especially in Arab nations who perceived it as a western concept designed to undermine their traditional culture. For instance, the provision for equality between man and woman was rejected as a ploy to destroy the family tradition that had sustained communities since nations were created. It did not also have laws to punish those who violated the rights stated in the declaration. The UDHR just presented a strong moral appeal and a common standard of rights to be achieved by all nations. This made many governments and dictators to easily violate human rights with impunity as there was no legal provision for sanction in the UDHR.

6. In relation to the above the promotion and protection of children's rights failed to succeed in some other ways. The UNO emphasised the rights of children without the corresponding duties that made many nations who believed in children working for their families to ignore it. The UNO did not also provide a law to punish those who violated children's rights by 1970, thereby making it easy for those who violated children's rights to do so with impunity. Worse still, some rights of the children that were promoted by the UNO contradicted the cultural practices of some societies. For instance, the right to equality between girls and boys could not be accepted in many African and Arab states because the society valued boys more than girls. This explains why such societies continued to violate the right to education of the girl child more than boys through early marriage. Thus, UNO failed to fully achieve its objective of promoting children's rights by 1970.

7. In the field of politics and peace, UNO failed more than it succeeded. This was due to the inherent weakness of the UNO itself. For instance, the veto powers of the five permanent members of the Security Council made it impossible to resolve and implement several problems and policies respectively. For example, Russia invaded Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1958 and vetoed the Security Council's resolution to withdraw her troops on both occasions. Thus the veto powers of the five permanent members gave them a "license" to wage aggression and block any UNO resolutions that were not in their favour.

8. The UNO failed to stop cold war politics and its associated tension in Europe. During the cold war, Western countries led by USA and the Eastern countries led by USSR embarked on sabotage, propaganda, and diplomatic aggression in bid to promote antagonistic ideologies of capitalism and communism. In this period, the role of the UNO was hijacked by USA and USSR to perpetuate their conflicting political ideologies. Disputes were settled by either USA or USSR yet UNO never or rarely condemned America or Soviet Union for ignoring it as the legitimate international peace keeping body.

9. Germany remained divided between the West and East in spite of the existence of UNO. Before 1945, Germany was a united nation with a strong economy and a high spirit of nationalism. However, cold war politics made Germany to be partitioned into two i.e. West Germany with the ideology of capitalism and East Germany under communism. In 1948, the Berlin wall was created to completely separate West Germany from East Germany. Although the blockade was lifted in 1949 through the intervention of the UNO Security Council, Germany

remained a divided country between the West and East. This was associated with diplomatic aggression, sabotage and hostility perpetuated by USA and USSR. UNO should therefore be discredited for its negligence that made Germany to be torn apart during the cold war era.

10. The UNO also failed to fully wipe out cultural intolerance and racism. Though UNO embarked on global sensitisation campaign against racism and cultural intolerance through UNESCO, the campaign was not fully successful by 1970. People still remained intolerant and failed to live in harmony with those from diverse cultural background. For instance, the Arabs and Jews, the Europeans and Africans; often failed to live in harmony and that was why they fought each other on racial basis. Apartheid in S Africa where Africans were systematically segregated by the whites was the worst form of racism that the UNO failed to address. The fact that Apartheid and other similar cultural arrogance still existed by 1970 illustrated the failure of UNO.

11. The UNO'S policies on disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and space exploration were great failures. By 1945, it was only America with Atomic bomb but nearly all the super powers had manufactured weapons of mass destruction by 1970. Even third world countries like India, Pakistan, North Korea and Iraq possessed such weapons. Even when the testing of these weapons was outlawed by UNO, America and Russia persisted.

The UNO and America practiced double standards of frustrating smaller nations from acquiring weapons of mass destruction while the great permanent members of the UNO continued to maintain and manufacture them. There was also misuse of space for exploration by 1970. All these violated the Atomic Energy Commissions terms of 1946, SALT talks and test ban treaties, whose primary objective was to ensure effective disarmament without weapons of mass destruction and space exploration.

12. Politically and militarily, the UNO registered more failures as an instrument of peace by 1970. The Iraq-Iran war persisted for 8 years without any concrete settlement by the UNO.

It also failed in the Chinese war of 1953 where America openly supported Chiang Keiserk and Russia supported Maotse-tung. In the Vietnam War of 1967-73, USA intervened and perpetuated the conflict and the UNO did nothing against USA.

The UNO totally failed in the Arab-Israeli conflict since it was formed up to 1970. From 1948 when the state of Israel was created, the Israelites and Arabs conflicted over the disputed territories of Gaza strip and Jerusalem city. Tension boiled to war point when Israel on her own terms declared Jerusalem her city. An ineffective economic sanction was imposed on Israel, which never compelled her to change her position on Jerusalem. This led to suicide bombings, violence and counter violence that led to massive death and destruction of property. The UNO proved incompetent of resolving this conflict, which made it to remain one of the most serious conflicts in the world by 1970.

The UNO further failed in the Korean war of 1950-53 because of the double standard policy of USA and USSR who were permanent members of the Security Council. In the war, USSR supported North Korea while USA backed South Korea, which rendered UNO's policy of uniting North Korea and South Korea a total failure.

The UNO's diplomatic and military intervention in the Congo crisis of 1960s failed to yield peace. In 1960, Belgium prematurely granted Congo independence leaving behind intertribal war

that UNO failed to settle. It was a shame to UNO that the Congolese Prime minister, Patrice Lumumba and UNO Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold lost their lives during the crisis in Congo. The UNO is blamed for failure to restore law and order in Congo that was taken advantage of by Mobuto Sese-seko, the then Congolese army commander to rise to power (1966) and establish a classic despotic government in Congo. Above all, the UNOs intervention in Congo was condemned by Russia as a USA's guise to extend her imperialism. Worst of all, the Congo venture was too expensive that it almost brought the UNO into financial crisis, given that Russia and other states declined to pay their share of the cost

13. Lastly, UNO failed to totally eradicate terrorism in the world. By 1970, the world experienced rampant assassinations, hijack of planes, planting of time bombs and suicide bombings especially in Asia and the Middle East.

The most disastrous ones occurred in the Middle East between the Palestinians and Israelis over the disputed Gaza strip and Jerusalem city. Terrorism was also perpetuated by USA and USSR to enforce their rival political ideologies of capitalism and communism respectively. It was ironical that USA and USSR who were permanent members of the Security Council could resort to terrorism without being restrained by the UNO.

The UNO failed to bring to justice the Al-shabab who masterminded world terrorism.

14. Over reliance on sanctions other than military intervention was a fundamental weakness of UNO. It was only successful in Rhodesia where a trade embargo was declared but failed in South Africa, Israel and Portugal.

In conclusion there is no doubt that UNO had played a leading role in preserving world peace by 1970.

The role of UNO in maintaining world peace was supplemented by the contributions of other regional and continental organisations in different parts of the world such as O.A.U that settled several disputes in Africa and preserved continental peace. The South African Development Co-operation (S.A.D.C) also maintained peace and settled conflicts amongst the states of Southern Africa. The E.A.C. did the same in East Africa before its collapse, the NATO and the Warsaw Pact also maintained peace, harmony and Unity between the Western and Eastern countries respectively. ECOWAS and EEC brought Economic integration and co-operation amongst the West African and European nations respectively. These climaxed into political co-operation and hence ushered peace amongst the West African and European nations.

However, UNO failed to completely foster world peace due to underlying factors. It should be noted that the issue of world peace was complex for any international organisation in the world history. Despite the effort by UNO to fulfill its mandate individual member states occasionally pursued their individual state interest. In addition the activities of UNO were costly and required dedication by member states to meet their financial obligations which unfortunately some did not. These and many other bottlenecks made it difficult for UNO to fulfill all the objectives of its framers.

A BLESSED HOLIDAY.