

AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD POLITICS

BY

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

PH.D., LITT.D., F.R.HIST.S.



NEW YORK
THE CENTURY CO.

1923

**Copyright, 1922, by
THE CENTURY Co.**

Printed in U. S. A.

PREFACE

AT the beginning of the World War I wrote a book about the relations among the great powers during the years immediately preceding the assassination at Serajevo. "The New Map of Europe" dealt particularly with Near Eastern problems and wars and with the foreign policies of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy in the events affecting the Balkan States, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and the countries on the African littoral of the Mediterranean. The purpose of the book was to attempt to explain how the relations among the great powers were vitally influenced by the conflict of interests that arose in their diplomatic and economic activities in the regions formerly under the exclusive domination of the Ottoman sultans. The reception accorded "The New Map of Europe" encouraged me to complete the survey of contemporary international relations by writing "The New Map of Africa" in 1916 and "The New Map of Asia" in 1919. The latter two volumes outlined the development of European overlordship in Africa and Asia.

None who lived in daily contact with international questions, and who was reporting from the spot wars and rumors of wars during the decade before 1914, could be satisfied with the prevalent idea that it was unnecessary to go farther back than the famous "twelve days" of diplomatic correspondence, from July 20 to August 2, 1914, to settle the responsibility for the World War. However great the guilt of the Imperial German and Austro-Hungarian governments for deliberately forcing the war upon Europe, their power was not so great that their will alone could have led us into the calamities of 1914-18. The most

bitter and unthinking partizan of armistice and peace conference days sees now that the elimination of Germany and Austria-Hungary from world politics has not brought us peace. Europe is still in arms, and the victorious powers are pitted against one another in the Near East and the Far East. Must we not admit, then, that *Realpolitik* and *Weltpolitik* are human, and not simply German, phenomena, and that they call for attention no less after our victory than before the war?

This is the justification for the study of world politics as a separate branch of political science. Anthropologists write of race; geographers of climate; economists of finance and trade and commerce; demographers of population; sociologists of living conditions; missionaries of cultural conquest in the name of religion; jurists of international law; diplomatists of the technique of dealings among nations; military experts of the conduct of wars and the rôle of armies and navies in peace and war; statesmen of the immediate and ostensible causes of war and aims of peace; propagandists of national movements and particular interests; humanists of improving world conditions; publicists of current events; and general historians set forth and interpret the activities of nations comprehensively, stressing political evolution and states of mind as well as recording events. Up to the nineteenth century the specialist in international relations is not needed. But since the birth of nationalism, the use of steam in production and transportation, and the consequent rise of world powers, he has a field of his own.

The field is difficult, however, because the problems discussed and the questions raised have been the storm center of men's thoughts for the past ten years. These problems have been approached unintelligently, and opinions have been formed without knowledge. Teachers of the historical and political sciences in American universities and colleges have had a curious experience. Their colleagues in other

departments would be astounded if professors of history and political science should presume to lay down the law to them in their particular fields. And yet professors of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, languages, engineering, chemistry, medicine, theology, and law have written books and articles and have lectured on problems of world politics, without having acquainted themselves with even the rudiments of the subject. An architect, who has created masterpieces, told me one day that a lecture I gave on African colonization was wrong from beginning to end. He could contradict none of my facts, and when I pressed him he confessed that he had never read a book on the extension of European control over Africa. "But I have been in Algiers," he declared. "And I have been in a Gothic cathedral," I answered; "but what would you think of me if I contested, without any supporting facts, your statements in a lecture on Gothic architecture?"

In attempting to put within the compass of one volume an introduction to world politics, it has been necessary to omit much of interest and importance, and to exclude, except where clearness demanded it, historical narrative. The writer confesses frankly that his sympathies are with the smaller nations in their struggles to maintain or win independence, and that he believes it is possible to use "one weight and one measure" in international relations. But he has tried to allow the facts to speak for themselves, and urges the reader to do the supplementary reading indicated for each chapter. References have been given, not as sources, but as guides to further information. In selecting them different points of view and the general availability of materials have been taken into consideration. Some books, excellent as sources, are not widely circulated, or are not written in the condensed form demanded by the general reader or student. When used as a text-book, the chapters are intended to acquaint the student with the skeleton facts upon which the lectures are based, to amplify

the lectures on certain points, and, above all, to provoke discussion. In the advanced study of political science no text-book can take the place of lectures and class-room quizzes and comment on assigned reading.

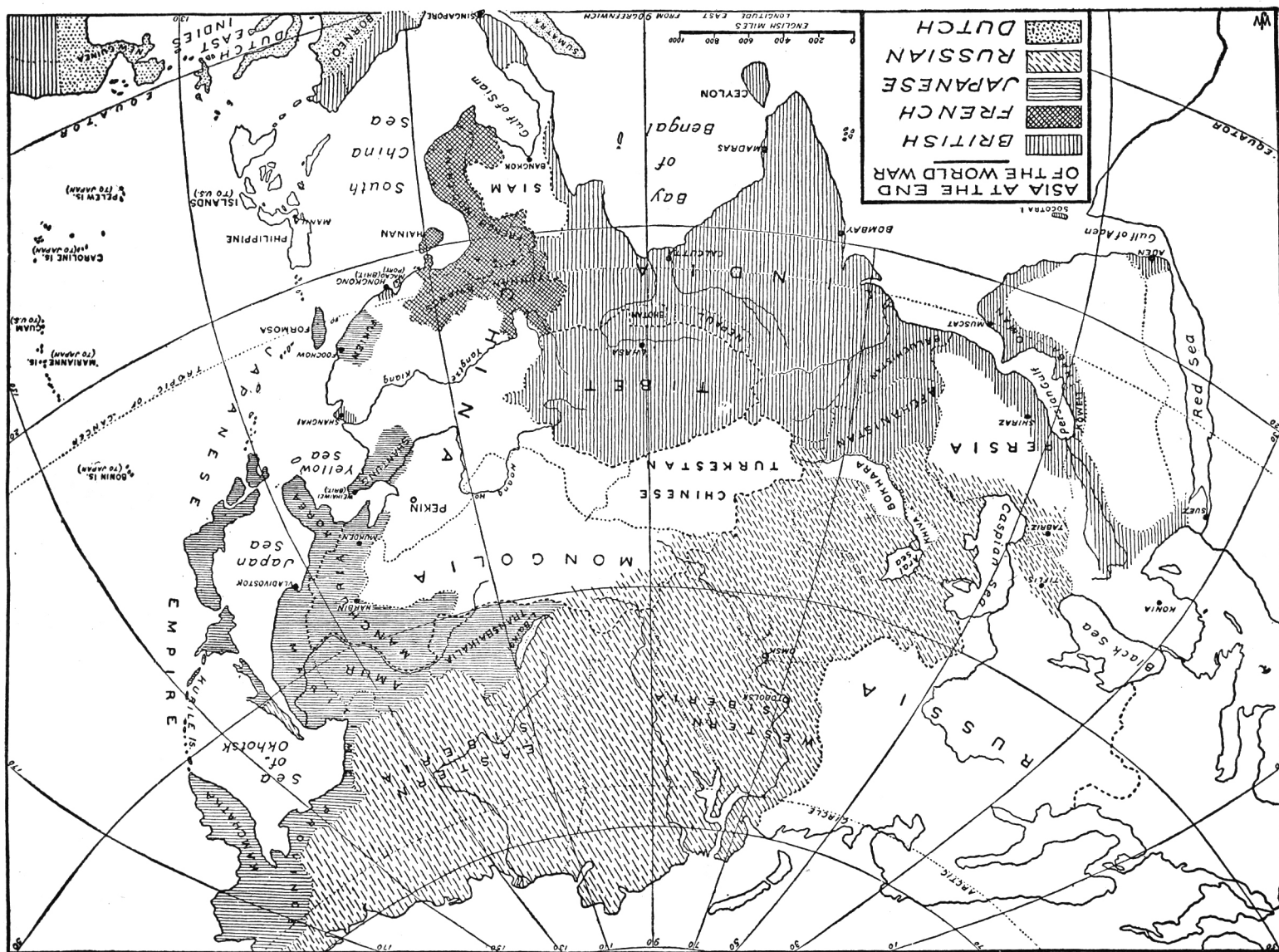
If British statesmanship and officialdom come in for a larger share of criticism in a course on world politics than those of other great powers, it is only because Great Britain is more involved overseas than any other power. I am of pure British stock, and am an intense admirer of the civilization and culture that are my heritage. My point of view is in no sense anti-British. In fact, it is peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. From our ancestors we have learned to lean backward in our desire to be fair to the other man and to put ourselves in his place. The most precious English intellectual tradition is to write with detachment and impartiality. In the atmosphere of passion and prejudice born of the war many of us departed from our moorings. But we are finding ourselves again. Facing facts and holding to common ideals of liberty and justice are the bases of Anglo-Saxon solidarity.

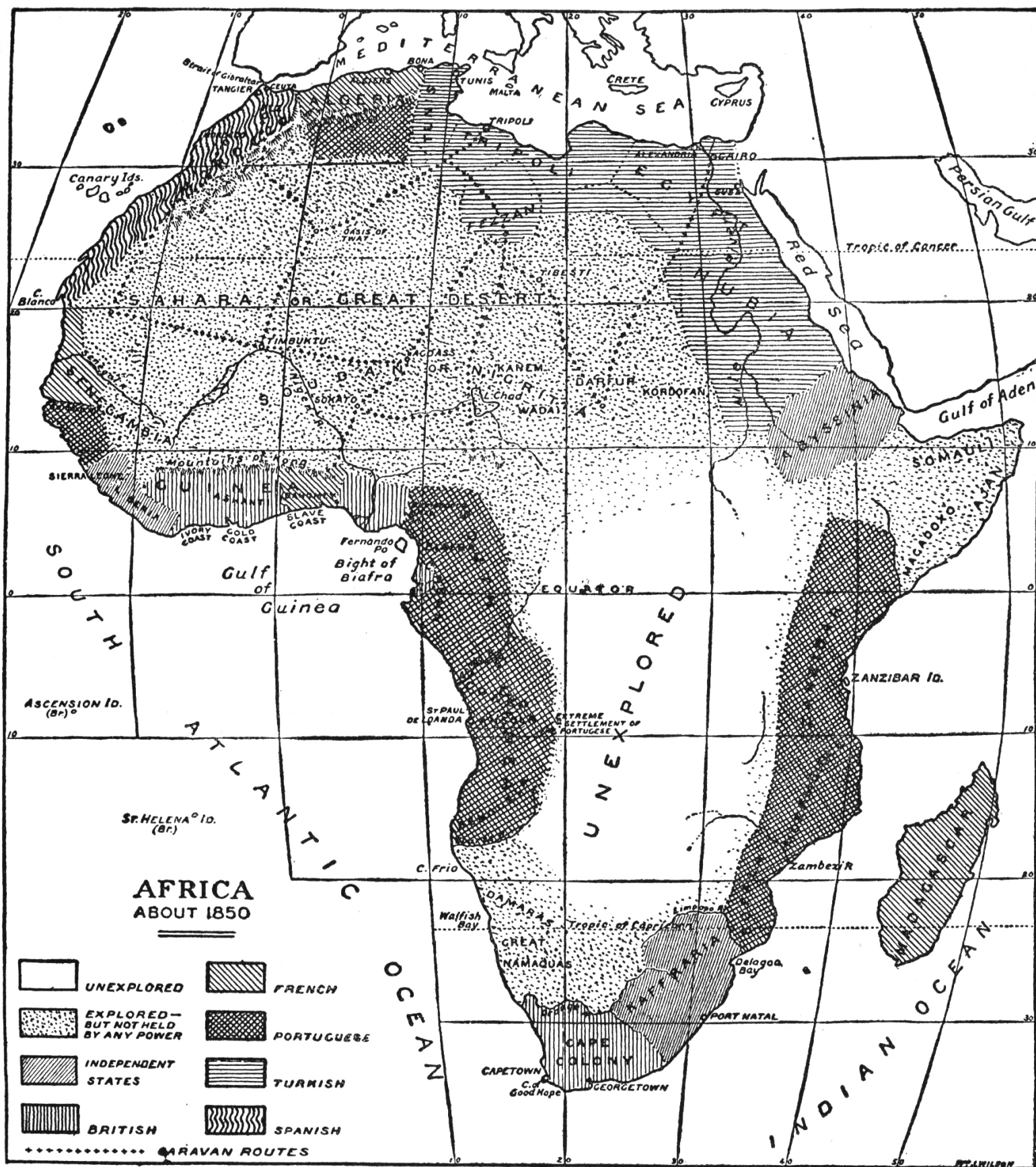
I can not adequately express my appreciation of the help and light in the preparation of this volume that have come to me from unknown friends in many countries. Ever since 1914 numerous correspondents have been pointing out to me errors of fact, or have entered into stimulating and suggestive discussion provoked by statements in my books and magazine articles. All this has been grist to my mill. My friends in American, British, and French universities have given me encouragement and equally helpful criticism and admonition. The opportunities for personal investigation in different parts of the world have been enjoyed through the constant and generous interest of the late James Gordon Bennett and of Mr. Rodman Wanamaker. Professor William Starr Myers, of Princeton University, and my brother, Professor Oliphant Gibbons, of the Buffalo Technical High School, read the manuscript. Pro-

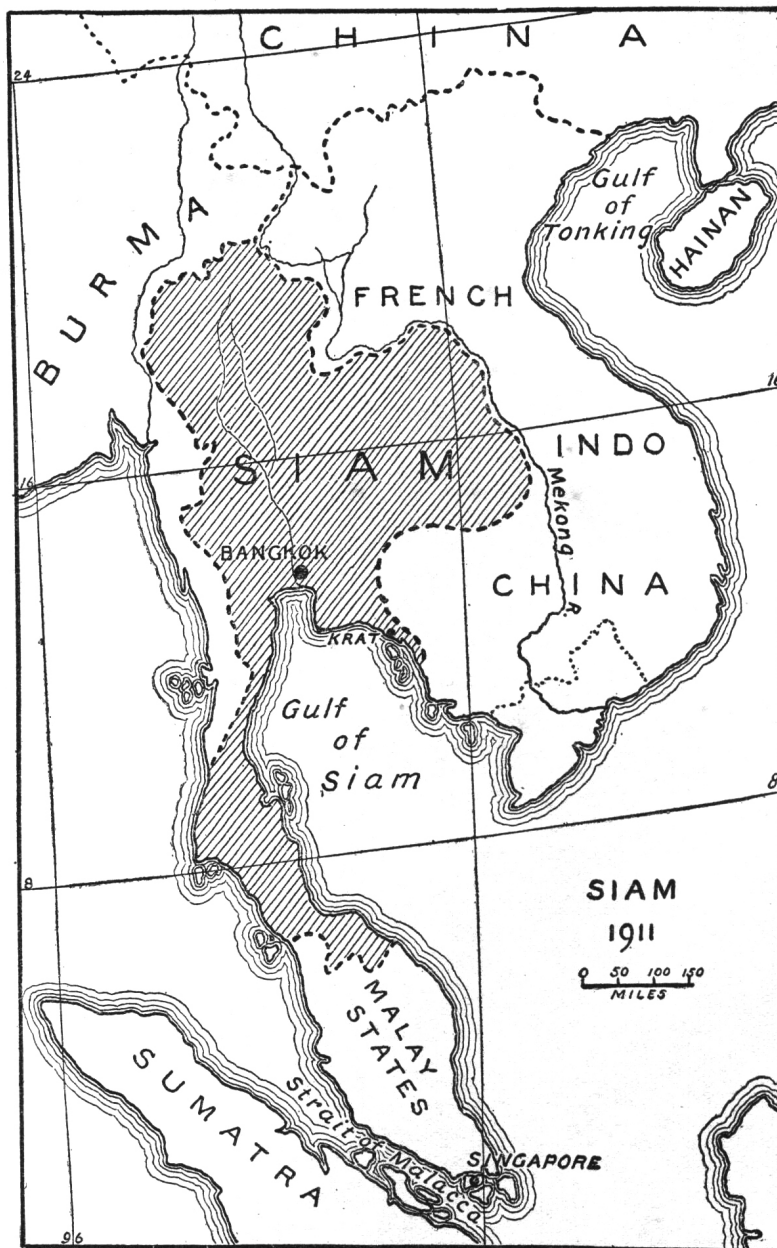
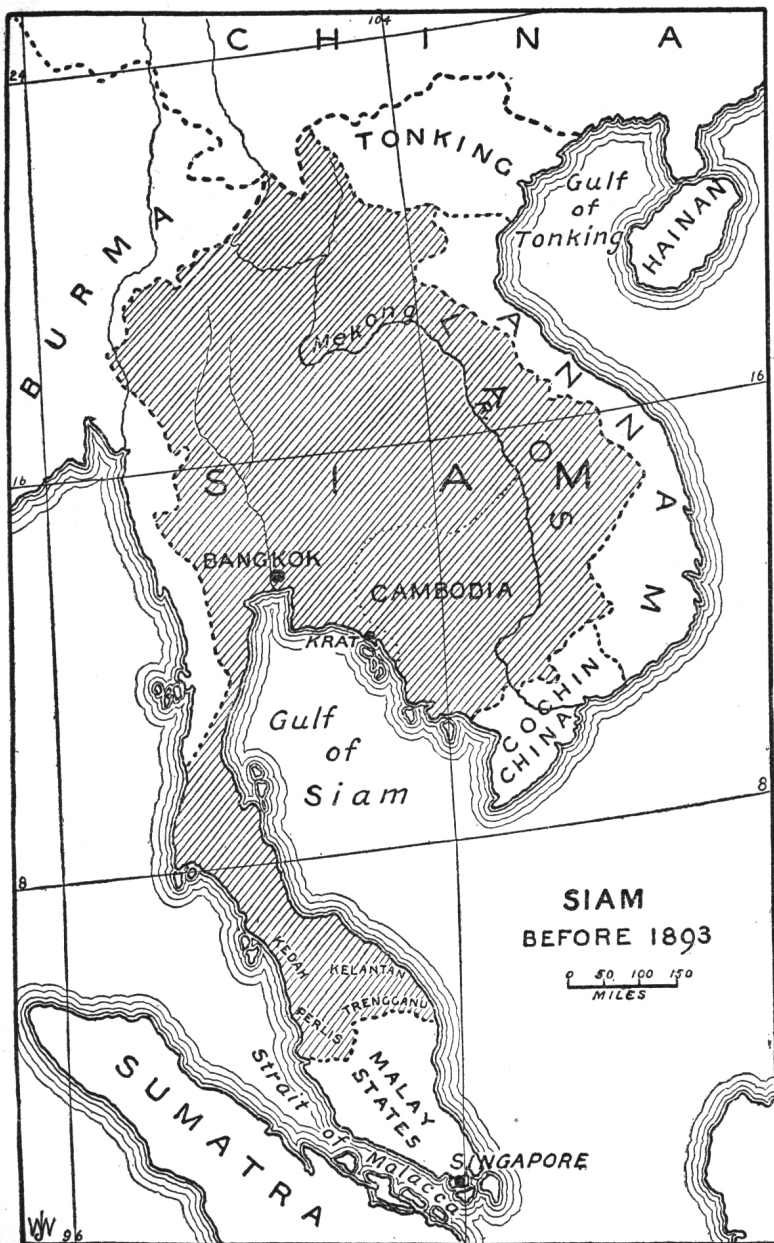
fessor Frederic Austin Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, has edited manuscript and proofs with a thoroughness for which I can not express too highly my admiration and thanks. My publishers have shown the interest and care that long years of happy association have taught me to expect from them.

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

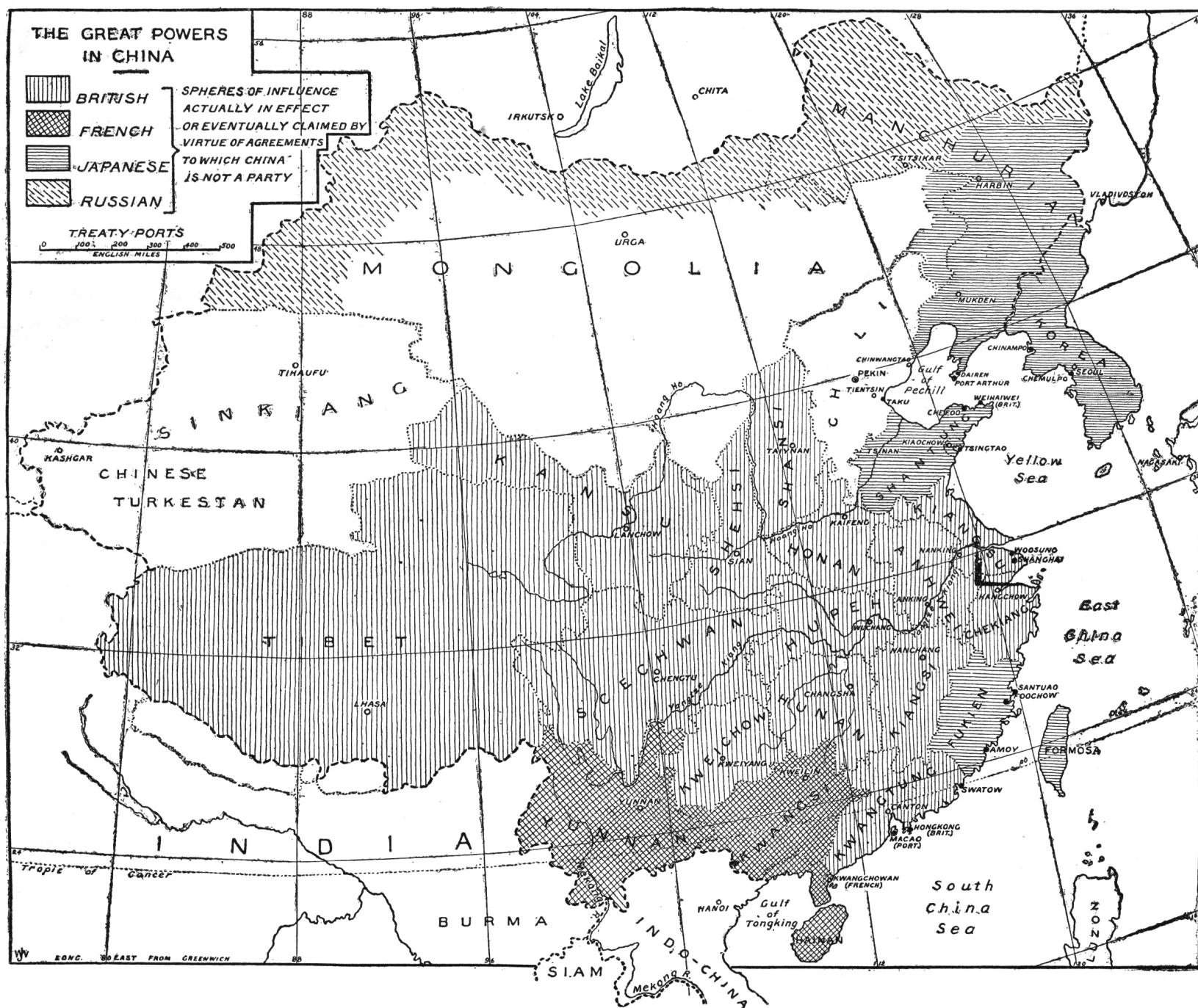
Princeton, May 1, 1922

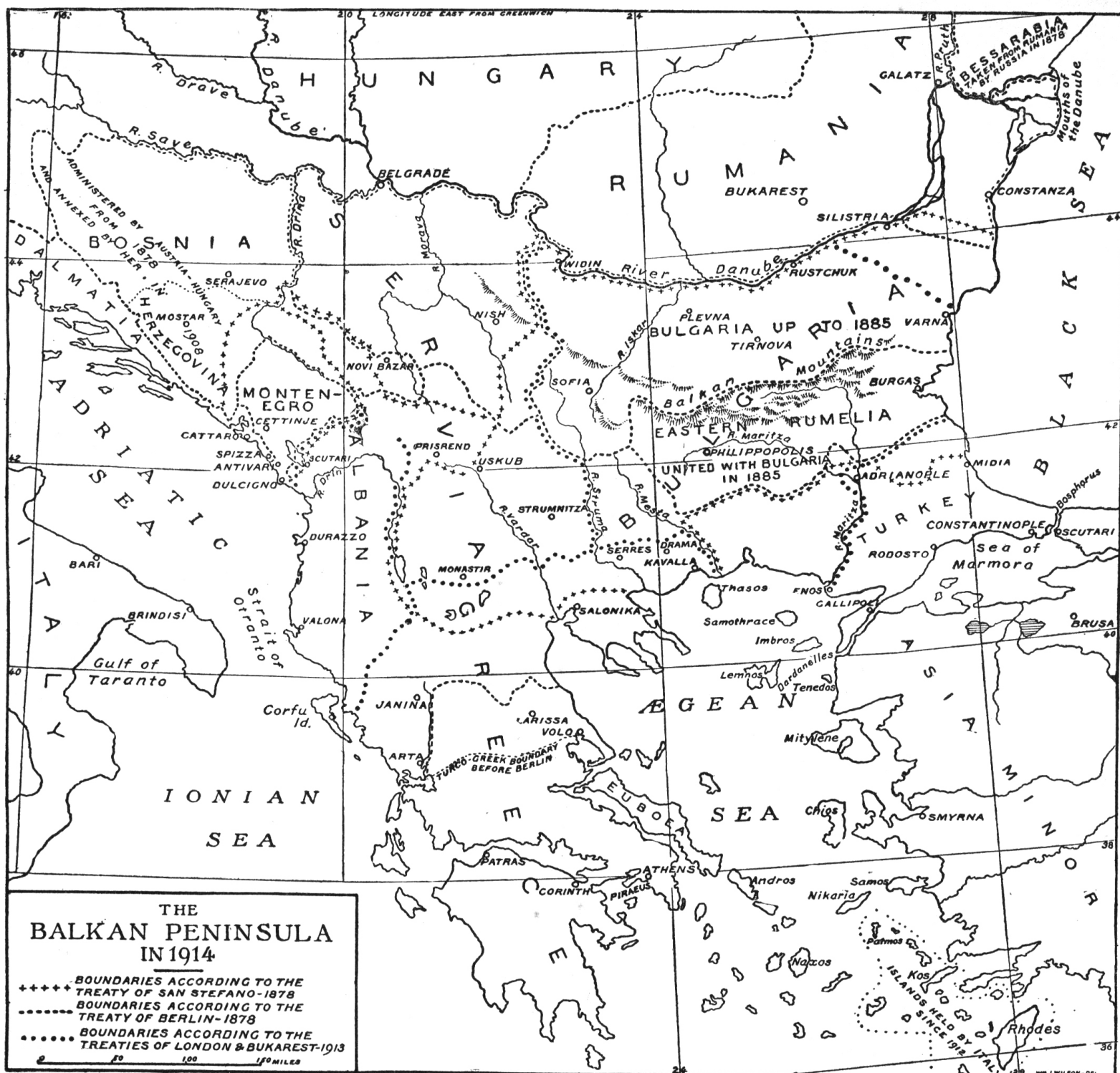


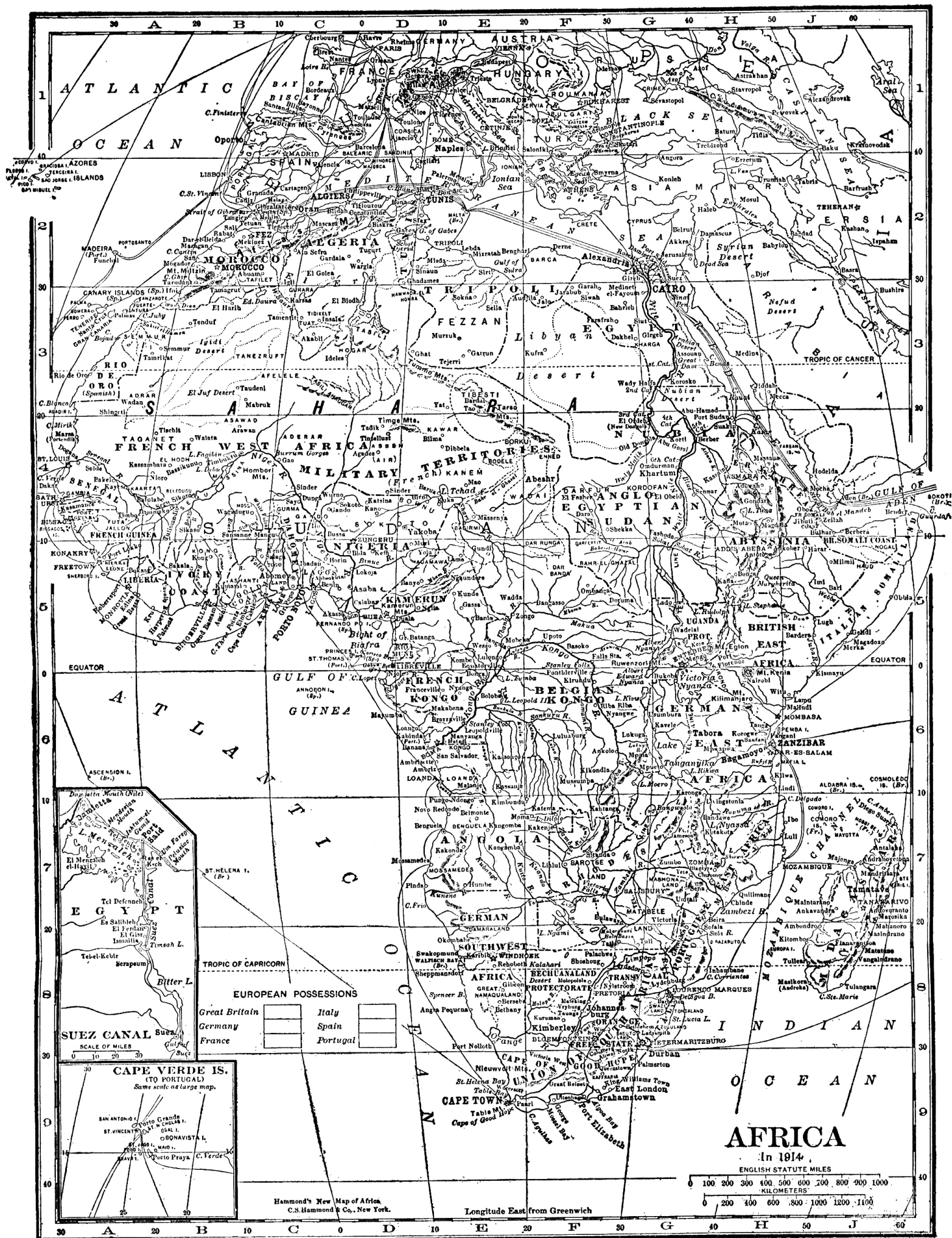


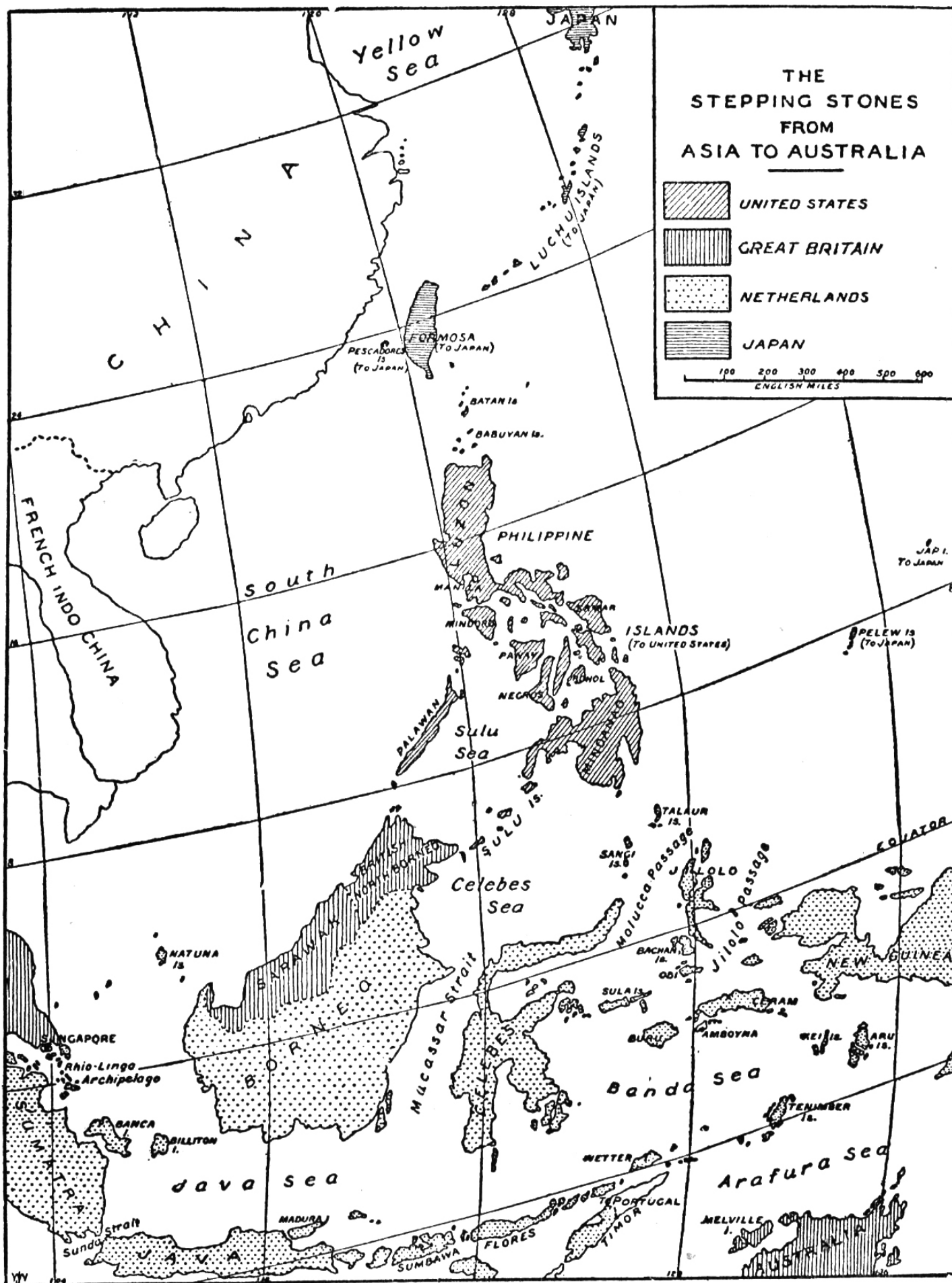


THE SPOILIATION OF AN ASIATIC STATE
SIAM BEFORE 1893 AND AFTER 1910









CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I THE BEGINNINGS OF WORLD POLITICS	3
II NATIONALISM AND STEAM POWER (1789-1848)	17
III THE RISE OF WORLD POWERS (1848-1878)	30
IV FRENCH COLONIAL EXPANSION (1830-1900)	52
V BRITISH COLONIAL EXPANSION (1815-1878)	65
VI CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN THE NEAR EAST (1878-1885)	83
VII THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION (1879-1908)	96
VIII RUSSIAN COLONIAL EXPANSION (1829-1878)	113
IX CONSOLIDATION OF RUSSIAN POWER IN THE FAR EAST (1879-1903)	122
X JAPAN'S FIRST CHALLENGE TO EUROPE: THE WAR WITH CHINA (1894-1895)	130
XI THE ATTEMPT TO PARTITION CHINA (1895-1902)	139
XII JAPAN'S SECOND CHALLENGE TO EUROPE: THE WAR WITH RUSSIA (1904-1905)	158
XIII THE REVIVAL OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM (1895-1902) .	166
XIV PERSIA AND THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT OF 1907	178
XV EGYPT, MOROCCO, AND THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT OF 1904	185
XVI THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN WELTPOLITIK (1883- 1905)	195
XVII THE FRANCO-GERMAN DISPUTE OVER MOROCCO (1905- 1911)	207
XVIII THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION AND ITS REACTIONS (1908-1911)	219
XIX ITALIAN EXPANSION IN AFRICA (1882-1911)	228
XX THE REOPENING OF THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION BY ITALY (1911-1912)	236

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXI	INTRIGUES OF THE GREAT POWERS IN THE BALKANS (1903-1912)	246
XXII	THE BALKAN WAR AGAINST TURKEY (1912-1913)	254
XXIII	THE BALKAN TANGLE (1913-1914)	261
XXIV	THE TRIPLE ENTENTE AGAINST THE CENTRAL EMPIRES (1914)	272
XXV	ITALY'S ENTRANCE INTO THE TRIPLE ENTENTE (1915)	283
XXVI	THE ALIGNMENT OF THE BALKAN STATES IN THE EUROPEAN WAR (1914-1917)	294
XXVII	CHINA AS A REPUBLIC (1906-1917)	305
XXVIII	JAPAN'S THIRD CHALLENGE TO EUROPE: THE WAR WITH GERMANY AND THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS ON CHINA (1914-1916)	318
XXIX	THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD POLITICS (1893-1917)	328
XXX	THE UNITED STATES AND THE LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS (1893-1917)	340
XXXI	THE UNITED STATES IN THE COALITION AGAINST THE CENTRAL EMPIRES (1917-1918)	358
XXXII	THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE ROMANOFF, HAPSBURG, AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES THROUGH SELF-DETERMINATION PROPAGANDA (1917-1918)	367
XXXIII	THE ATTEMPT TO CREATE A LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT PARIS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY (1919)	381
XXXIV	THE REFUSAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO RATIFY THE TREATIES AND ENTER THE LEAGUE (1919-1921)	390
XXXV	WORLD POLITICS AND THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1919-1922)	399
XXXVI	WORLD POLITICS AND THE TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN (1919-1922)	407
XXXVII	WORLD POLITICS AND THE TREATY OF TRIANON (1919-1922)	416
XXXVIII	WORLD POLITICS AND THE TREATY OF NEUILLY (1919-1922)	422
XXXIX	WORLD POLITICS AND THE TREATY OF SEVERES (1920-1922)	428
XL	THE REESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE PREVENTED BY UNSATISFIED NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS AND DIVERGENT POLICIES OF THE VICTORS (1918-1922)	442