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## **WORLD BEFORE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

Understanding of the events before 18<sup>th</sup> century is important to understand the later developments. The dawn of 18th Century was characterized by:

- End of Feudalism in England (Feudalism ended much later in rest of Europe).
- Increase in the number of towns and cities.
- Increase in trade.
- Transition to a money-based economy from land-based economy of Feudalism.
- Rise of Merchant classes and Absolute Monarchs (\*England had Democracy and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, there was supremacy of Parliament instead of Monarchy). Decline in power of the Catholic Church.
- Mercantile Capitalism.
- British-French rivalry at its zenith.

### **1. Feudalism**

#### **1.1. Introduction**

The Middle Ages or the Medieval Period in Europe was the period from 600 AD to 1500 AD. During this period many social and economic changes took place, especially in Western Europe. A system of society that was very different from rest of the world developed in Western Europe during the medieval period. It came to be known by the name of 'Feudalism'.

The word Feudalism comes from the word 'feud', which means 'conditional ownership of land'. Feudalism was a new social and economic system that came to prevail in Western Europe and later in other parts of Europe in the Medieval period (600-1500 AD). Under this, society was divided into rigid classes, politically there was no central authority and the economy was based in villages, which were self-sufficient and produced little surplus for trade. Hence, it was marked by a decline in trade as well as towns.

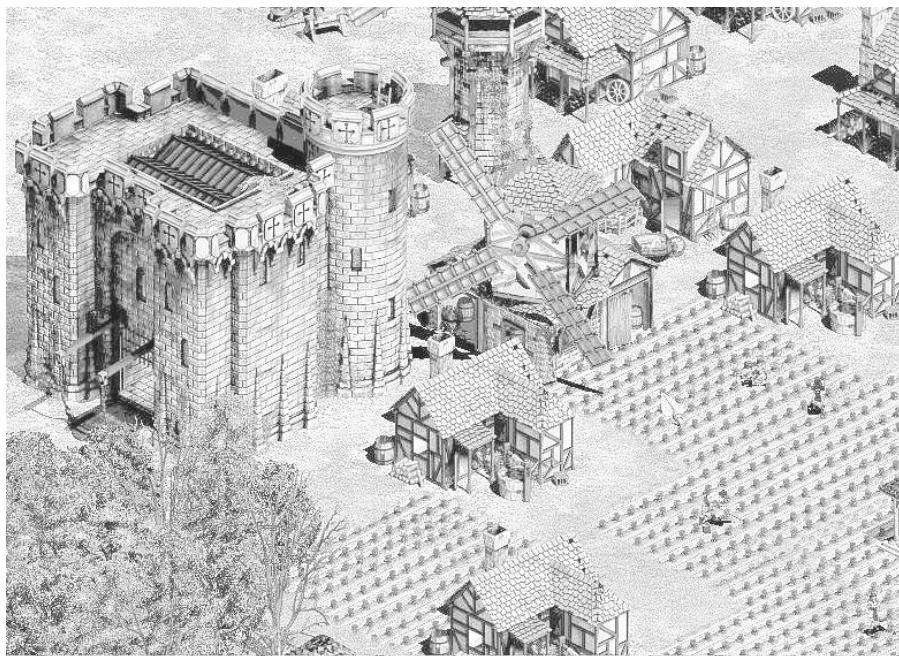
Also, there was lack of a central political authority and it were the numerous Feudal Lords who controlled the affairs of the society. The King was not very powerful. The peasants were exploited by the Feudal Lords and 'Serfdom' became an important feature of Feudalism. Moreover, influence of the Church extended beyond religious affairs in Europe.

#### **1.2. Why Feudalism developed?**

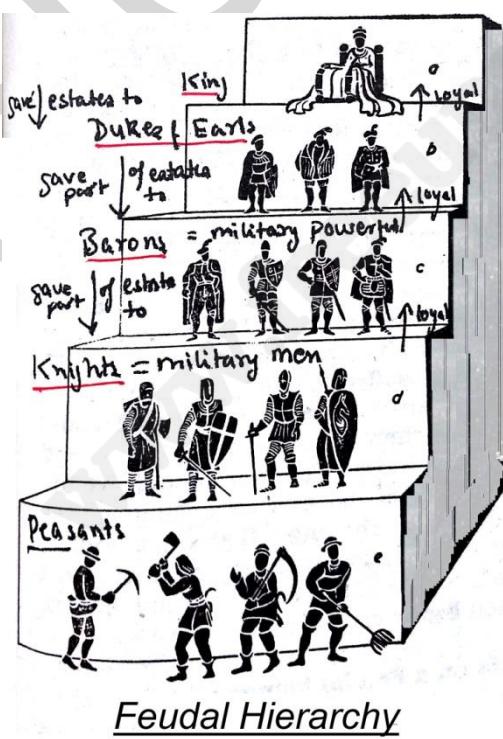
Feudalism developed due to lack of a single central political authority in Western Europe as it had disintegrated into many small and big kingdoms. In such a system the local Lords became more powerful than the King and controlled the affairs of the society.

#### **1.3. Features of Feudalism**

The economy in the Feudal system was village based and the villages were self sufficient. There was a decline in towns as well as trade during this period. Land, not money, was the main source of power.

**The Manor:**

The peasants worked on the land of the Feudal Lord, which was organized into many Estates or Manors. Each Manor had a Castle (home of the Lord), farms for peasants to work, houses for peasants to stay, workshops for peasants to produce non-agricultural goods and common woods for lumberjacks to cut. Whatever was produced on the Manor was consumed by the Lord and the inhabitants, while very little was traded. The workers on the Manor included the Serfs and the Tenant farmers. The farm was divided into strips of land. While some were given to the tenants who paid a share of the produce as tax to the Lord, rest of the land belonged to the Lord.

**Social and Economic System:**

### Peasants

The Peasants were classified into following:

1. **Serfs:** they worked on the land of the Lord for free and had to perform all labour for him as he desired. They were not free and were tied to the land. This meant that their owners changed with the change in ownership of the land from one Lord to another. This system came to be known as Serfdom.
2. **Freeholders:** they got their lands from the Lord. They were free and only paid a tax fixed by the Lord.
3. **Villeins:** they also got their land from the Lord. For a fixed number of days they worked for the Lord but otherwise they were free and paid tax in form of a part of their agricultural produce.
4. **Freemen:** they were the Serfs freed by their Lords on their discretion.

### The King and the Noblemen:

The Feudal Hierarchy consisted of the King at the top. Noblemen below the King were also arranged in a hierarchy of overlords and subordinate lords. Every nobleman was a vassal, of and only of his overlord. Being a vassal means owing allegiance or being loyal, in return of which the vassal got some formal rights. This hierarchical system was unbreachable i.e. a lower Lord would only follow commands of his immediate overlord and not of Lords further higher in the hierarchy. Thus couplets of command developed with a command having legitimacy just between two immediate levels. The King could only order the Dukes and the Earls who would then order their subordinate Lords and so on. The Dukes and Earls got military support from the Barons who were like Military Generals who further depended on the Knights, the actual warriors.

Further, any Lord himself was not the direct owner of the land under him. He held land in the name of his overlord. Thus legally, all territory belonged to the King. It was the King who only had the authority to grant Knighthood to son of a Nobleman who could then affix 'Sir' to his name.

Each Lord had his own soldiers and was the sole authority in his estate. Thus there was no central authority in functional terms and King was a central authority only in legal terms resulting in very little political unity.

Gradually, this Hierarchy became Hereditary. The sons of a Lord would become the next Lords and the next generation of their father's vassals would become their vassals.

### 1.4. Conclusion

It is quite evident that feudal society was divided into rigid classes with no scope for social mobility. The King had no real authority and the powerful Lords did not think about welfare of the people, majority of whom were peasants. There was economic stagnation, since most of the produce was wasted by Lords in luxurious living. There was no freedom of movement for the peasants as they were tied to the land and individual entrepreneurship was absent.

## 2. The Church

The Roman Catholic Church was as powerful as the institution of Feudalism. Once the rulers in Europe accepted Christianity, the Pope, who headed the Church, became the head of the Christian world in western Europe. By the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Pope often wielded more power than the King and could make him follow his orders. Initially, the Monasteries (the places where the Monks lived) were institutes of high learning. The monks worked to uplift people's moral life and for welfare of the poor. But soon, corruption crept into the monasteries.

## 2.1. Church's Evils

- Tao Te Ching, the Chinese manual of Statecraft, preached two thousand four hundred years ago: "*The ancients practiced the way which did not enlighten the people ; they used it, rather to stupefy them; the people are hard to rule when they have too much knowledge. Therefore, ruling a state through knowledge is to rock the state. Ruling a state through ignorance brings stability to the state.*" The Church used the same principle in maintaining its stranglehold. Also as we will see later, this power of enlightenment of people, is exactly why the American and French Revolutions are much more important for being the revolution of ideas than anything else.

In the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) the Church's evils took the form of:

- Money for Church posts.
- Money for every ritual.
- Money for removing sins. For example, the Church started selling "Letters of Indulgence" which upon their purchase removed the need for doing pilgrimages for removal of sins.
- Pope, nuns, bishops etc. became corrupt & lived like princes.
- Church owned & amassed huge property.
- To correct the state of affairs, Wandering Monks were introduced by some Church leaders. These Monks did not have home and travelled among the masses setting an example of self-sacrifice and chastity. But soon, they also became corrupt. For example, they authenticated any marriage and would remove all sins for money.
- The Church was the only institution for education in the Medieval time but becoming a Monk was the only future prospect this education offered. They taught in Latin which was not understood by the common man.
- Church made "once in a year" confession of sins to the Father compulsory and the breach of this rule mandated punishment.
- Logic, Reason and Science were discouraged. There was no education available in the disciplines of Science and History. This is why the developments in Science and Technology that happened later are referred to as the Scientific Revolution.
- There was wide belief in witches, superstition and magic. Church became violent. It ordered burning of people who opposed its ideas about God, religion and even the physical phenomena. This was done on charges of "Heresy". Many scientific thinkers became the victims of Church's punishments when they proposed scientific theories which invalidated the principles (like the Earth is Flat, or, the whole universe revolves around the Earth), which the Church propagated to glorify God. Many of them were burnt after being classified as witches & as possessed by evil spirits.

## 3. The Changing Times

### 3.1. Emergence of Trade, Towns and Cities

The Crusades in the 7<sup>th</sup> century brought Europe in contact with the Arabs. This exposed them to the rich Arab civilizations and their luxury goods. The demand of luxury goods from the East increased among the Lords. Also the increase in agricultural productivity due to improvement in methods of production, allowed the peasants to become buyers of more non-agricultural goods. These factors led to an increase in trade with the east. The crafts and the Towns (where crafts were produced) also increased in importance. Especially the period from 11<sup>th</sup> century onward saw rapid emergence of Towns, Trade and Crafts.

Gradually, the peasants started to work as Artisans (i.e. Craftsmen) and the Merchants started to settle in these new towns. As the number of Artisans increased in the towns, the latter

expanded to become cities. These cities developed, all across Europe, mainly along the land-based trade routes or around the sea ports. From the ports, the goods imported from Asia were transported along the overland routes to the mainland Europe. Italy witnessed the maximum development of cities (e.g. sea-port cities like Venice & Genoa) due to its location and the geographical advantage of having good natural harbours which facilitated trade with the East. The sea-ports and the inland centers of trade & commerce that developed during this time in Europe, are still its flourishing cities.

### **3.2. Change in Method of Production: Guilds**

To cope up with the demand due to increased trade and towns as well as specialization in crafts, a change in method of production of goods was felt necessary. The Merchants and craftsmen in towns started to organize themselves in Guilds, which were specific to the good being produced, e.g. Guilds of Goldsmiths, barbers, leather-workers etc. Under the Guild system, there was a Master Craftsman with three to four workers or apprentice working under him.

### **3.3. Rise in influence of Merchant Class**

The revival in trade and emergence of Towns resulted in emergence of a new class called the Middle Class, comprising mainly of Merchants. The towns slowly freed themselves from Feudal control. They had their own government, militia and courts. The people were not tied to the land, had freedom of occupation and could move around freely. The extent of social mobility that these towns offered attracted peasants from villages.

The Serfs were free in Towns and they provided the necessary workforce for the Merchants. The influx of more peasants provided a domestic market for the goods produced in towns. In towns, the economy was money-based and land was not the main source of power. The payment was now made in cash instead of having to perform labour for the Lord. The influence of the Merchants increased due to increase in profits from trade. Trade with the East brought goods, which were completely new to the people of Europe. Moreover, demand for such goods increased as they became popular among the masses. Gradually, the Merchants started influencing not just the social and economic, but also the political life in towns.

### **3.4. Transition to Capitalist Economy**

A cash based economic system was introduced in towns. Here life revolved around money, rather than land. Land was used for production of cash crops, which acted as raw material for manufacture of non-agricultural goods and the peasants in towns received payment in cash. Money came to symbolize wealth, instead of gold and silver. The profits, in form of money, could be reinvested in trade and industry unlike the idle-wealth in form of gold and silver. Such wealth or money is called 'capital'. The towns became a center of production instead of the village.

### **3.5 King Merchant Nexus and the Peasant Revolts**

A nexus between the King & the Merchants developed as both wanted power - political & economic. While Kings wanted to get rid of dependence on the Lords and desired less interference of the Church, the Merchants wanted to enjoy freedom of trade and social status, which the monetary profits brought through trade and commerce.

During the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century there were many peasant revolts against the Feudal institutions as well as the Church. Many times, the rebelling peasant leaders propagated religious doctrines, which were at variance with the Church. Thus, due to all these developments, the Feudal system began to decline, though it completely ended only by 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 4. Modern Era

Thus, by the end of Middle Ages the system of Feudalism was starting to disintegrate. In the Modern era, this process reached its conclusion. From 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century some important developments like Renaissance and Reformation took place, which resulted in an end to Feudal order.

### 4.1. Renaissance & Reformation

#### 4.1.1. Renaissance

**The term Renaissance means 'rebirth'.** The period of Renaissance began from 14<sup>th</sup> Century & lasted till 17<sup>th</sup> century. It began first in Italy because trade had brought maximum prosperity to Italian cities, which had freedom from feudal control (Italian cities had a virtual monopoly of this trade. It was after voyages of discovery at end of 15<sup>th</sup> century, that Portugal and Spain and subsequently, Holland, France and Britain started dominating trade). Later, the Renaissance ideas spread from Italy to the rest of Europe.

- It began as a movement to revisit the old scriptures and learn about ancient Greece and Rome. But soon, it turned into a movement of new ideas in art, religion, literature, philosophy, science and politics. It resulted in decline of Church's influence in the intellectual & cultural life of Europe. While the Church talked about peace in life after death, the Renaissance thinkers attacked the Church and talked about happiness on this earth.
- **Humanism** was at the core of Renaissance. It meant focus on Humanity, rather than Divinity. It manifested in a shift in focus towards study of man and nature, rather than theology. The concern for the other-worldly matters was rejected and the focus was on the living man, his joys and sorrows. Renaissance came to imply a new thinking, which was humanistic and rational, rather than superstitious. The potential of man, his dignity and his rights were stressed. Gradually, even the theme of Art & Culture became more about man and nature. E.g. Mary & Jesus were depicted as human beings rather than as religious symbols. Artists like Da Vinci, Michealangelo and Raphael were prominent artists of the Renaissance movement. The subject/theme of paintings in Churches shifted from heaven and hell to human forms.
- Thus, Humanism was against fatalism. The impact of Renaissance can be gauged by observing the present Individualistic societies of the West where the belief in ability to change one's life is still an important part of one's value system.
- Renaissance resulted in ascendance of local European languages in literature, instead of Latin. Thus it helped in linguistic development and thus, in development of national consciousness. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli gave a new concept of state which was superior to religion and was vested supreme authority in political matters. Political matters came to be treated as separate from religion. Thus Secularism can also be linked to Renaissance.
- The invention of **Printing Press** in first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century led to further spread of education & new ideas. Though it had less impact on the poor who were illiterate.
- **Scientific Revolution** was also a product of the transformation and began towards the end of the Renaissance era (i.e. around 17<sup>th</sup> century) and continued till late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The views of the Church regarding physical events were discarded. Only those phenomena were accepted which could be explained and verified through methods of scientific observation. Thus focus came to be upon testing a hypothesis through *experiments*. Copernicus found that Earth rotated on its axis and proposed the Helio-centric (Sun-centric) theory, i.e. Earth revolved around the Sun (as against the Church's idea that the Earth was center of Universe which is also known as Geo-Centric (Earth-centric) theory. The Church condemned him on charges of Heresy. Bruno who supported Copernicus view was burnt to death. Galileo

invented Telescope in 1554 and used it to study heavenly bodies. He confirmed Copernicus's observation and established that universe was an open system (Church described Universe as a closed system maintained in motion by God) and earth was only a small part of it. Galileo was also charged of Heresy and not allowed to work on Astronomy anymore. Kepler from Germany explained with help of Mathematics how planets move around the sun. Newton continued the work of Kepler & established that all heavenly bodies move as per the Law of Gravity.

Vesalius through study of dissections of human body provided complete description of the anatomy of human body. Harvey in 1610 explained blood circulation. This helped in medical science. Innovations like use of Astrolabe and Compass and development of better ships which could sail in any direction irrespective of the wind direction helped in discovery of new lands at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Scientific revolution paved the way for a new movement called Enlightenment that began in 1600s and reached its height in mid 1700s. **Enlightenment** stressed on ideas of self-rule, basic human rights and democracy. It was the driving force behind movements for establishment of self-rule and democracy in Europe and elsewhere. Thus, we shall see that Enlightenment played a very important role in the American Revolution (1776), the French Revolution (1789) and the Russian Revolution (1905, 1917).

#### **4.1.2. Reformation**

- Alongside, the **16<sup>th</sup> Century also witnessed Reformation** which can be classified into Protestant Reformation & Catholic Reformation.
- **Protestant reformation (early 16<sup>th</sup> century)** was a movement against the practices and authority of the radical Catholic Church. It resulted in the rise of Protestantism and in their opposition, the Protestant leaders started setting up Protestant Churches in different countries of Europe. Under Martin Luther, a monk who opposed the Letters of Indulgence and other Church evils, the first Protestant Church was setup in Germany (from 1520-1545) under the King's support.
- The German rulers supported Luther due to political reasons as well. They desired freedom from authority of Pope and control on wealth of Monasteries. Soon after, the Protestant Reformation spread to rest of Europe.
- Nationalism also played a role as the people now despised the authority of Catholic Church located in Rome. In England, King Henry VII declared himself the head of the Church. Then the Queen Elizabeth I made the Church of England, the official church by declaring its independence from the Church in Rome and adopting some Reformation principles.
- Protestant churches adopted the use of language spoken by the people, rather than the elitist Latin. The Bible was translated into local languages. (This was similar to ascendance of local languages in place of Sanskrit during Indian Renaissance) The use of local languages further increased national consciousness & thus Renaissance and Reformation can said to be a precursor to nationalism in Europe.
- Reason was popularized as more important than Religion.
- By 17<sup>th</sup> century, half of Europe had setup their own Protestant Churches.
- **Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation (late 16<sup>th</sup> century)**
  - This was a reform process initiated by the Catholic Church in response to the rising popularity of the Protestant Churches. In Spain, the reformers formed an organization of clergymen to work as "Soldiers of Jesus". The members of this organization came to be known as Jesuits and they went to France and Germany to win back followers. They also setup missions in India, China, Africa and America.
- After these reformations, religious wars began among the followers of both sects and many followers were killed on both the sides. The violence against Protestants in England resulted

in their migration to North America where their colonies later laid foundation of USA. In England, due to the pro-Catholic religious policies of King Charles I, religious violence merged into the English Civil War (1642-51) which was fought between the Parliamentarians and the pro-Monarchy Royalists over the form of government.

## 4.2. Beginning of International Trade

Voyages of Discovery (at end of 15<sup>th</sup> century) also characterized the beginning of the Modern Age in Europe (\*They resulted in founding of new lands of Asia and Americas by the Europeans and are discussed in the topic of Colonialism).

Italy was the first to establish virtual monopoly in trade with rest of the world. Later the trade got a boost with discovery of new lands of America, Asia and Africa at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. This changed the economy of many European nations. Also, with the discovery of these new lands, Colonialism began its march. The early colonial powers were Portugal and Spain. They were soon joined by, and in many cases replaced from their colonies by Dutch, Britain and France.

## 4.3. Rise of Absolute Monarchies

The King-Merchant nexus and the decline of Feudalism by the end of Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) helped the Kings in consolidating their hold on power. Strong rulers in form of Absolute Monarchies rose by subjugating the Feudal Lords and defying the Church's political interference. Denmark was the first to include Absolutism in a written constitution in 1665. Also, there were strong monarchies in Prussia (present day Germany), England, Holland, Austria, France etc.

For example, Louis XIV consolidated the French empire in 17<sup>th</sup> century and by the first decade of 18<sup>th</sup> century, France became a force to reckon with.

## 4.4. The English Revolution

There were struggles for democracy against the rule of Absolute Monarchy in England. The English Civil War (1642-51) was fought between the Parliamentarians and the pro-Monarchy Royalists. The Parliamentarians were against the absolute rule of King Charles I who believed in the Divine Right of the King to rule. They opposed the levy of tax by the King without the consent of Parliament. The result was:

- execution of the King.
- an end to monopoly of Church of England (which was pro Catholics, had adopted only some reformation principles like allowing divorce) over Christian worship in England.
- Establishment of the principle that the King cannot rule without the consent of Parliament.

The **Glorious Revolution of 1688** in England legally established the supremacy of Parliament. It was during this revolution that the Parliament, for the first time, appointed the King. The King was removed and his son-in-law, the William of Orange from Holland was made the King. Thus, from a limited constitutional monarchy established by the English Civil War (1642–1651), England transitioned to a Democracy with supremacy of Parliament.

## 5. Seven Year Global War (1754-63)

### 5.1. Introduction

The Seven Year Global War was fought from 1754 to 1763, actually a period of nine years, between France and Britain. Other European powers like Spain, Prussia and Austria also got engaged in the war. It is **called the Global War** since it was fought on different battlegrounds including North America, Caribbean, India, West Coast of Africa and in Europe.

## 5.2. Reason behind the War:

The main **reason behind the war** was the quest for **hegemony over colonies** between Britain and France.

**In North America**, the British had 13 colonies on the Eastern coast along the Atlantic Ocean. They wanted to **expand westwards** for want of more raw materials and an increased export market in North America. But the west was under the domination of France. The French were anxious to hold on to Western North America to prevent British hegemony in the world political and economic affairs.

Britain was undergoing the Industrial revolution (1750 onwards) at that time, which was making the British goods much more competitive in the world markets. Also, Britain was emerging as a dominant sea power and its maritime trade profits were soaring. Thus, France feared that a stronger Britain in North America would soon threaten the French colonies in the Caribbean. They were right and **in Caribbean** the British fought against Spain and France who controlled the profiteering sugar plantations in their Caribbean colonies.

The **West African Senegal** had large natural resources, especially of Gum, and the French trading ports here, came under the British attack.

**In India** the Battle of Plassey in 1757 was fought between the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud Daula and the East India Company. The East India Company benefited from the war by getting exclusive trading rights in Bengal and the total trade control by the British reduced the influence of the French in India. Further, in 1760-61 the Battle of Wandiwash between the French and the British established the British supremacy in South Asia while the French were restricted to Pondicherry.

## 5.3. Result: Treaty of Paris of 1763

The Treaty of Paris of 1763 signed after the 7 Year War had the following clauses:

1. Britain got Canada from France and Florida from Spain.
2. France was allowed to retain its Caribbean sugar islands.
3. Spain's control over Cuba and Philippines was recognized.

**The effect of the Seven Year War on world politics** was that it reduced the domination of France, while Britain consolidated its colonial power. Also, it laid the ground for American Revolution (1765-83) and French Revolution (1789).

## 6. American Revolution (1765-1783)

### 6.1. Introduction

In North America, the British had established 13 colonies on the west coast of Atlantic Ocean. After the Seven Year War, the influence of the French in rest of North America was ended.

### 6.2. Reasons for American resentments against the British

While the British Mercantilism or Mercantile capitalism created an environment of resentment among the White Americans, the Seven Year War created conditions, which became the immediate trigger for the American Revolution.

#### 6.2.1. Mercantile Capitalism

Mercantile Capitalism was the British policy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was based on the idea that the Government should regulate the economy at home and colonies abroad, so as to increase the national power and achieve a positive Balance of Trade. A positive balance of trade is

achieved when a country is a net exporter of goods (in value terms). This policy manifested in form of placing trade barriers on the colonies and establishing a monopoly of the British companies on trade done by the colonies. Such restrictions, which were part of the British colonial **policy of Mercantile Capitalism, prevented the Americans from developing their indigenous industry**. The colonies were barred by British law from using the non-British ships for trade. The export of certain raw material goods from American colonies could only be made to Britain. Further, a very heavy duty was levied on import of non-British goods into America. Such trade barriers are the characteristic feature of Mercantile Capitalism.

Further, the Americans were forbidden by law to setup industries like iron works & textiles. The exports of finished iron and textile goods was very profitable to the British businessmen and thus, the Americans were forced to fund the British growth in these sectors of economy.

### **6.2.2. Proclamation of 1763**

The aim of American Revolution was to end the British Colonialism in North America. As a truce with the American Indians, who had started an armed rebellion at the end of the Seven year War, the British Parliament issued a “Proclamation of 1763” which banned the expansion by the US settlers to the west of the Appalachian Mountains, as this area was now reserved for the native American Indians. Another reason for issue of such a proclamation was the lobbying by the Aristocrats in Britain, who did not want the westward expansion. They had bought land in the American colonies and made profits from the rents they extracted from the white settlers. The American settlers, who had fought in the Seven year War along the British with the purpose of westward expansion, felt cheated and thus ignored this proclamation. Their local militia forces continued to bring the area in the west under their control.

### **6.2.3. Role of Enlightenment Thinkers**

The Enlightenment or the “Age of reason” was a movement that began in 1600s with ideas proposed by thinkers like Hobbe and Locke on the form of government and the rights of the people. It reached its height in mid 1700s. Hobbe was pro-Absolute Monarchy and gave the concept of Social Contract which means that - because all people behave in self interest, people should give up some of their rights to the government, which in return should provide law and order to the society. On the other hand, Locke had a positive view of man and believed that man can learn from experience. He favoured the concept of Self-government. According to Locke, all people are born free and equal, with three natural rights—life, liberty, and property. The purpose of government, said Locke, is to protect these rights. If a government fails to do so, citizens have a right to overthrow it. (This right to insurrection was also made part of the Jacobin constitution in the French revolution.)

These **modern thinkers and philosophers played an important role in American and French Revolution**. Around 1750, many Thinkers were challenging the status-quo and demanding freedom and liberty for the people. They placed before the people, the idea of a democratic form of governance. They helped in development of ideas of Republicanism and Liberalism that militated against colonialism. English Philosophers like Locke, Harrington and Milton believed that men have fundamental rights, which no government can infringe. In 1690, Locke had defined the three natural rights of man. Montesquieu had described the principle of Separation of Powers in 1748. Thomas Paine of France argued that it was absurd that a continent (North America) be governed by an island (Britain). The Enlightenment thinkers in mid-1700s in France gave following ideas, which influenced both, the American Revolution and the French Revolution:

- 1. Reason:** Enlightenment thinkers believed truth could be discovered through reason or logical thinking. Reason, they said, was the absence of intolerance and prejudice in one's thinking.

2. **Nature:** To them, what was natural was also good and reasonable. They believed that there were natural laws of economics and politics, just as there were natural laws of motion.
3. **Happiness:** A person who lived by nature's laws would find happiness. Philosophers were impatient with the medieval notion propagated by the Church that people should accept misery in this world to find joy in the life after death. They wanted well-being on earth, and they believed it was possible.
4. **Progress:** The philosophers were the first Europeans to believe in progress for society. With a scientific approach, they believed, society and humankind could be perfected.
5. **Liberty:** The philosophers envied the liberties that the English people had won in their Glorious Revolution (1688). In France, there were many restrictions on speech, religion, trade, and personal travel. Through reason, they believed, society could be set free.

#### **6.2.4. Recovery of (Seven Year) War Expenditure:**

The Seven Year War had cost a lot of money to Britain. When they decided to make up for the costs of war by taxing the people in British colonies in North America, the latter opposed it.

#### **6.2.5. No Representation in British Parliament:**

The British Parliament enacted the **Stamp Act in 1765**, which imposed stamp taxes on all business transactions in the British colonies in USA. E.g. revenue stamps of some amount were made mandatory for all legal documents. The Americans responded by boycotting the British goods and soon many uprisings in the towns followed where the tax collectors were exterminated.

Since the British Parliament had no American representation, the American leaders opposed the right of Britain to levy any taxes on them. Moreover, the Americans felt that the money thus collected was used in interest of the British and not for development of the peoples of America. In the **Massachusetts Assembly**, the leaders of all 13 colonies gathered and adopted the slogan of **No Taxation without Representation**.

The threat by the American leaders to stop the import of British goods forced the British into repealing the Stamp Act.

Further, the Americans opposed the tax on consumer goods imported by the colonies by cutting British imports by half, which coerced the British into withdrawing all taxes except on Tea. The tax on Tea was not very high but it was not withdrawn by British because they wanted to retain their right to levy tax in US colonies. The **Boston Tea Party of 1773** was a protest against this Tea tax. A ship carrying tea was anchored in the Boston port. Initially the Americans did not allow the ship to unload and this resulted in a standoff for many days. Finally, when the pro-Britain Boston Governor ordered unloading, the white settlers dressed as American Indians destroyed all the tea by offloading all the containers into the sea. The infuriated British responded by closing the Boston Port to all trade and by passing the Intolerable Acts of 1774 (They were called Coercive Acts by the British. Intolerable Acts was the term used by Americans.)

#### **6.2.6. Intolerable Acts of 1774 & the Philadelphia Congress**

The **1<sup>st</sup> Continental Congress in Philadelphia (1774)** or simply the **Philadelphia Congress**, which had representatives from 12 colonies (Georgia did not participate because it wanted British help in dealing with militancy of American Indians) was held in response to the Intolerable Acts/Coercive Acts passed by the British Parliament earlier in 1774 to punish the colony of **Massachusetts** for the incident of Boston Tea Party by taking away its right of self-government. The Americans also appealed to King George III to remove restrictions on indigenous industry, allow Americans to trade with all the countries at reduced tariffs and not to tax the American colonies without their consent. Britain interpreted these demands as a Mutiny and attacked the colonies in 1775. This led the American representatives to proclaim the **Declaration of Independence in 1776** (drafted by Thomas Jefferson), which had the following points:

- That all men are created equal.
- That they are endowed by their creation certain inalienable rights like right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.
- Republicanism, i.e. the principle that people are the source of authority and it is people's right to setup their own government.
- Independence, i.e. the American colonies are oppressed by the British government and these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent states. (\*notice here that these colonies declared themselves as "independent states". The principle of states coming together to form the US Federation can be read between these lines.)

The Declaration of Independence document did two things - it summarized the political philosophy of Enlightenment thinkers like Locke in form of "self evident truths" and it listed the grievances to justify the breaking of ties between the colonies and the mother country.

### **6.3. American Revolutionary War or American War of Independence (1775)**

What was to follow, was the American War of Independence. The Loyalists were the British settlers who remained loyal to Britain and fought on their side. France, Spain and Dutch Republic helped the Americans secretly. In 1777, Britain tried to encircle the Americans by invading from Canada. Their failure in this Battle proved to be a turning point in favour of Americans. After this victory of Americans, France entered the war openly in 1778. Spain and Dutch Republic also fought with Britain in Europe and Asia. Spanish Army expelled the British army from Florida (Florida was with British since Seven Year War's end. Later US bought Florida from Spain).

In 1783, the British commander Cornwallis surrendered before the army led by George Washington.

#### **6.3.1. Second Treaty of Paris 1783**

It ended the American War of Independence. Some of its important clauses were:

- Perpetual Peace between USA and Britain
- All US Colonies were recognized as free, sovereign and independent states, with Britain giving up all claims on government, property and territory.
- US would give back confiscated lands of Loyalists.
- Spain signed a separate treaty with Britain and it got back Florida (lost to Britain after the 1<sup>st</sup> treaty of Paris, 1763)

#### **Constructive Criticism of American Revolution**

In 1789, the United States Constitution came into effect. It was the first written Republic Constitution. The Bill of Rights is the set of first ten amendments to the USA constitution and includes freedom of speech, press, religion and justice under the law.

The American Revolution established the first democratic Republic in the world and the USA soon embarked on Industrial Revolution. It also **expanded its territory** within the continent of North America by westward expansion and purchase of territory like Louisiana from France in 1803 and Florida from Spain in 1819.

The new Republic of the USA was not free of biases. The Republic was not truly democratic as the women, the blacks and the Native Americans did not get the Right to Vote. Slavery was a blot on the principle of equality and it could be finally abolished, only after the **Civil War of 1861-65** between the Northern and the Southern States of USA. The Southern States were against Slavery abolition as their economy was farm based and required the cheap black labour.

They also profited from the Slave Trade and even desired that slavery be expanded to the newly acquired territory.

It can be argued that the Men referred to in US constitution were Men of Property, as only those who held property were given all of the promised rights.

Still, the most important **contribution of American Revolution** was its contribution to ideas of Liberty, Equality, Fundamental Rights, Nationalism and anti-colonialism. The idea of equality with no special privileges to Nobility was radical at a time when much of the world was under Feudalism, where the Nobles were the prominent class. The idea of no taxation on property, which flowed from the Right to Property, was also novel in those times. Thus American Revolution was a revolution in ideas and system of Polity and it impacted the future events, the most prominent of them being the French Revolution of 1789.

## 7. French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars

The French Revolution was a product of the dysfunctional society characterized by Feudalism.

### 7.1. Reasons behind French Revolution

#### 7.1.1. Three Estates

The society of 18<sup>th</sup> century France was divided into three classes or estates. The Clergy was the first estate, the Nobles were the second estate and the third estate, which formed the majority of population, included the middle classes, the artisans, the city workers and the peasants.

The Clergy was the largest landowner in per capita terms. The Nobility had a monopoly on all the important official positions in the government service, the army, and other public offices. However, the Clergy and the Nobles did not pay any taxes and did no productive work.

The Peasants formed 80 per cent of the population. Within the peasants, there were further subdivisions in the form of landowner peasants, tenants and landless laborers. The **landowner peasants** formed a very minute percentage. The **tenants** had to pay 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of their produce in rent. The **landless laborers**, on the other hand, lived on paltry wages. Although no one was a serf technically, forced labor still existed as a feudal privilege of the lord, and was put into operation frequently, especially for public works.

The middle classes were the educated people like writers, doctors, civil servants and richer people like merchants. Though economically middle classes were important, they enjoyed very little social prestige and political rights in the society. The Artisans and city workers also lived a miserable life of poverty. They enjoyed no rights at workplace and couldn't shift jobs without certificate of good conduct by the employer.

The Third Estate did not have voting rights. On the other hand, the Clergy and the Nobles did not pay any tax and the tax burden was solely borne by the Third Estate. This was a major source for the grievance of people.

#### 7.1.2. Unpopular Monarchy & financial troubles

King Louis XVI was an inefficient ruler with poor intelligence. The people hated his wife Marie Antoinette who interfered in the appointments of officials. The King also showed favoritism in appointing officials (nepotism). Under King Louis XVI, France was in financial trouble due to costly wars like the Seven Year War. The American Revolution had pushed France to bankruptcy as France had aided the Americans against Britain. The irony was not missed by the people of France. While France supported the American Revolution (which aimed self-rule, liberty, equality and democracy for the people), the way the Monarchy ruled in France was an antithesis to the ideas that formed the foundation of the American Revolution.

### 7.1.3. Role of Enlightenment Thinkers

The revolutionary Enlightenment thinkers made the French Revolution more than just an outbreak of violence. Grounding their arguments on **Rationalism**, the thinkers argued that man was born to be happy and not to suffer as stated by the Church. This **happiness** could be achieved by removing the prejudices prevailing in society.

Further, they focused on **Secularism** as they either denied God or ignored him in their discussions. The **Doctrine of Nature** brought the Clergy under attack by the thinkers. It emphasized that there was a need to study nature's laws and religion cannot help in this, rather, it is the power of reason that is key to nature's understanding. *Voltaire* believed that all religion was absurd as it was against the logics of reason. *Atheists and Materialists* gained popularity as it was emphasized that man's destiny lay in his own hands.

The principles of **Laissez Faire** and **No Taxation without Representation** were stressed which brought the Nobility under criticism. Further, the ideas of **democracy** were propounded by thinkers like *Montesquieu* and *Jean Rousseau*. (\*the student should establish the link here between the French Revolution and - the Renaissance of 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Reformation of 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Scientific Revolution from 17<sup>th</sup> century onward that helped undermine the authority of the Church, the Enlightenment that started from 1600s and dwelt upon the form of government & the rights of the people and the American Revolution (1765-83))

## 7.2. Events in French Revolution of 1789

In 1789, King Louis XVI called a meeting of Estate's General, which was the old feudal assembly of the three Estates, to get consent for additional funds. The Third estate representatives opposed additional funding since they were the ones who were the only taxpayers and would have to bear the tax burden from any such additional funding. Although they had demanded and secured double representation for the Assembly, they were infuriated when they came to know that all the three estates were to have equalised votes irrespective of the number of representatives. When the debates reached a dead end, the Third Estate representatives declared themselves the National Assembly, an assembly of the people rather than an assembly of the Estates (like Estates General). Soon they moved their meeting to the nearby **Royal Tennis Court**. Their goal was to draw up a constitution for France in which the Third Estate could also have voting rights. The Second Estate saw this as an attempt to do away with the Old Order, and forced the King to crush the National Assembly. When the King sent in troops to disperse the leaders of third estate, the people got enraged and they went on to break open the **Bastille Prison**. They freed the inmates and took control of the arms and ammunition stored in the prison. This was a symbolic revolt against the King and marked the de-facto end to his authority. After Bastille event, the National Assembly started legislating and it adopted the now famous document of French Revolution, called the **Rights of Man and Citizen**. They abolished Feudalism, removed the Roman control on the French Church and curtailed the powers of the Church so as to reduce their influence in polity.

Following were the major ideas enlisted in the **Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen**:

- All men are born free and equal.
- Equality before law.
- Principle of innocent until proven otherwise.
- All people were eligible to the public offices
- Freedom of speech and press.
- Right to private property unless the public welfare necessitates to infringe this right.
- The society has a right to demand accountability from each civil servant.
- The document gave the term nation its modern meaning i.e. a Nation is sum total of the people residing in a territory and not the territory itself. From the idea of Nation followed

the idea of sovereignty of the people. Thus people were the source of all power and authority, and there cannot be any ruler above the people but only a Republic.

The **French revolutionary wars** were fought from 1792 to 1802, by France, against the absolute monarchies of Austria, Prussia and Savoy (Italian State) as the latter desired to protect their own hold on power from being eroded by ideas of liberty and equality. They are known as Revolutionary wars because France was trying to protect the revolution of 1789, which was under threat from neighbouring monarchies who were afraid of the French revolution spreading to their countries. Hence they wanted to reinstate Monarchy in France. The French forces tried to enlist the support of the people of the territory they gained control of, by offering them assistance and the ideas of fraternity, liberty and equality. In 1793, the King and the Queen of France were executed and then France declared a pre-emptive war against Britain, Holland, Spain and Hungary.

### **Jacobins & Napoleon**

To qualify as a voter, a person had to have income above a certain threshold. Due to this conditional Right to Vote, majority of the Third Estate could still not become voters. The Aristocracy was now replaced by the Bourgeois and the conditions of the peasants and city workers did not improve as they had expected. Soon after, in 1793, the radical Jacobins came to power in France. They made the Right to Vote unconditional by removing the income clause.

Under the Jacobins, the revolution entered a radical phase. Robespierre, the leader of the Jacobins was the man behind, what came to be known as, the Reign of Terror, where the regime sought to execute via guillotine all those who opposed the revolution. The King and the Queen were executed in 1793. It was a naïve idea that by use of guillotine against all critics, a new beginning could be made. Soon the guillotine was used to punish anyone voicing dissent. Under the Jacobins, France descended into anarchy with little scope for the Rule of Law.

Many Jacobins were also executed. Soon the Jacobins themselves turned against Robespierre and the Reign of Terror came to an end with his execution via guillotine. The Bourgeois again came to power and their government was called Directorate. In 1795 they rewrote the constitution reinstating the conditional Right to Vote. At the same time the power and prestige of the French Army were increasing. In 1799, Napoleon, in a coup, brought France under military rule. He declared himself the Emperor a few years later and the Monarchy was restored in France.



The years between 1803 and 1815 are known for **Napoleonic wars**, wherein the French fought against rest of Europe and brought the ideas of French Revolution to the conquered territories. Napoleon's forces abolished serfdom and modernized the administration of the conquered territories in Europe. After Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo** (United Kingdom of Netherlands-present day Belgium), the monarchies in rest of the Europe helped the old dynasty to come to power in 1815. But the monarchy could never restore its control to the level witnessed prior to the 1789 revolution and soon France saw four waves of revolutions to finally become a Republic in 1871.

### **7.3. Impact/Constructive Criticism of French Revolution**

#### **Pros:**

The French revolution had an important impact not just on France, but rest of the world. The wars with France weakened the European colonial powers like Spain and Portugal and their **colonies in South and Central America** declared themselves as independent republics. In Central America, inspired by the French Revolution, Haiti gained freedom from the French itself in 1804 through an armed revolt that began in 1792. Haiti gave protection to Simon Bolivar when he fled South America during his struggle for independence from France. Simon Bolivar from 1813 to 1824 liberated many South American countries and later tried to organize them into a US type federation in form of Gran Columbia. He freed Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia from the Spanish rule through an armed revolt.

**The abolition of Slavery** after French revolution was the first move against this repressive system and Britain followed suit in 1833 while USA banned it in 1865.

It led to **destruction of feudalism** in France as all laws of old feudal regime were repealed and lands of the nobles and church were confiscated and redistributed. The privileged classes i.e. the first and the second estate, were abolished. The anti-Feudalism wave that hit Europe in 19th century owes its origin to the events in France. Also, the French revolution ushered in the new economic system of Capitalism as against the prevalent Feudalism.

The **Jacobian constitution**, which although never came into effect, was the first genuinely democratic constitution. It gave the right to vote to all, and even the Right to Insurrection, which implies the right to revolt or rise against the government. The Government under the Jacobin constitution had the responsibility to give work to all and 'Happiness' of people was to be overarching state policy.

Under Napoleon's rule, the **Napoleonic Code** as a civil code for France, was introduced and some of its provision like merit based recruitment to government jobs and focus on clearly written law, continue to effect the present legal system in France and other nations.

The French Revolution **inspired movements against colonialism** in colonies around the world, while **movements for democracy** and self-rule rose in whole of Europe. In French Revolution, the working class had played an important role. They had formed secret societies to bring about the revolution. The **rise in workers solidarity** was later seen all across Europe especially in the industrialized Britain (as reflected in Chartist Movement in 1830s and 1840s). This helped in workers getting the right to vote and other welfare measures. The French revolution's ideas of equality and liberty helped make Britain much more democratic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **Cons:**

**But the French Revolution had limited success** in achieving its objectives. In reality, post-revolution regime failed to resolve the grievances of the **workers**, who were the main force during the uprising of 1789, and only the peasants benefited (as they became owners of land confiscated from the privileged classes). The revolution failed to bring in democratic rule and

the **Reign of Terror** under the Jacobins was a mass slaughter characterized by nothing but brute force and breach of rule of law.

**Napoleon**, due to his continuous warfare resulted in rise of nationalism in the invaded territories and he came to be perceived, not as a liberator, but a conqueror. This Nationalism was to prove advantageous to the unification of Germany and Italy in 1870s.

## 8. Nationalism - Rise and Impact

The rise of Nationalism, especially after French revolution, had important impact on the world including on the re-drawing of national boundaries.

Britain and France were the first nation-states to emerge.

### 8.1. Concept of Nation

Until the French revolution, except for Britain, the Europe was under the domination of feudal system and there was no concept of a Nation. There were empires with scattered territories ruled by Monarchs, there existed feudal lords with their estates and there were towns and cities, but no Nation, as we understand it today. The French revolution gave the concept of a Nation, which was sum total of people and in whom lay the sovereignty. Thus, Nationalism came to be represented as self-rule due to the French and American revolutions.

### 8.2. Misuse by Absolute Monarchs

Further, when Napoleon invaded the rest of Europe, stoked by the monarchs of Europe, nationalism manifested in form of the desire to protect the territory against foreign invasion. Thus the Monarchs used nationalism to consolidate their hold on power and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe witnessed aggressive Absolute Monarchies with focus on extension of territory and expansion of colonial empire. After Napoleonic wars, Europe saw waves of pro-democracy revolutions but Monarchies were opposed to the democratic ideas of French revolution and they used nationalism as a shield to defend and even extend their empires. War victories (e.g. Bismarck consolidated his hold on Germany via Franco-Prussian War of 1870) and admission of more colonies (e.g. Italy entered colonial race in Africa for political benefits at home) were used to maintain the hold on power.

### 8.3. Role of Revolutionary Thinkers

Modern thinkers contributed a lot to the concept of nationalism. Idea of self-rule and nationalism were also altering the national boundaries. Greece became independent from Ottoman Empire in 1832, while Belgium's pro-democracy revolution against United Kingdom of Netherlands helped it attain independence in 1839.

The movement for unification of Germany and Italy derived much of their energies from the ideas of these thinkers. Example, Garibaldi and Mazzini played an important role in unification of Italy, while the English poet Byron wrote and fought for Greek independence.

These thinkers brought Romanticism to the literary content of those times, which enthused the people to lend their support to their armies, freedom fighters and monarchies alike for sake of Nation's glory.

### 8.4. Industrial Revolution & Nationalism

The Industrial Revolution in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century increased the national competition in economic sphere and brought the nation-states in conflict with each other for acquisition of colonies.

## 9. Unification of Germany and Italy

The major feature of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe was struggle for national unification and independence. Greece and Belgium became independent in this century and Germany and Italy rose as united independent states.

### 9.1. Unification of Germany



#### 9.1.1. Social & Economic conditions

The social conditions were similar to those witnessed in any Feudal society. In Germany, the landlords were called Junkers, who dominated the affairs of the state. Economically, the division of Germany into multiple states resulted in poor economic development because of restrictions these states brought on free movement of goods. The backward socio-political system also contributed to the poor economic situation.

#### 9.1.2. Role of Napoleonic Wars & French Revolution

In 18<sup>th</sup> century, Germany was divided into many states. The Napoleonic wars ended the artificial boundaries of many states and united them, but still 38 states remained. Prussia was the biggest and the most powerful of them. After the French revolution, the German people started demanding democratic form of government and economic reforms. The wave of nationalism enthused the Germans for unification of these states. All these undercurrents resulted in formation of the **German Confederation in 1815**. It included parts of Austrian & Prussian Empire and some German states. Large parts of Prussia and Austria were not included in the Confederation. Confederation's purpose was to coordinate economic policies of the constituent members. But it failed because of following:

- Each of the constituent state tried to assert its independence and did little to meet the anti-feudal aspirations of the people.
- The 1848 revolts for establishment of a democracy in a unified Germany.
- Rivalry between Austria and Prussia for dominating the affairs of the German Confederation.

### 9.1.3. Failure to unite under a Democracy

1848 was a year of revolts in most of Europe for establishment of democracy. These revolts were led by workers. In 1848, revolts started in all German states for overthrow of the present political system of Monarchy rule and the rulers were forced to grant a democratic form of government. The Constituent Assembly thus formed, met in Frankfurt with the goals to unite all the German States and to draft a new constitution. The Prussian King refused to the proposal of a constitutional monarchy for united Germany. In the meantime, the rulers bounced back and started the repression of the nationalists. Consequently, the rights granted so far to appease the nationalists were withdrawn and the monarchy of Prussia emerged the strongest.

### 9.1.4. Unification under Bismarck: Policy of Blood & Iron

The unification of Germany was still to happen but not under a democratic government but under the iron hand of Bismarck, the military commander of Prussia. His policy was to preserve the interests of the landed aristocracy and the domination of Army in affairs of the State. Bismarck followed the policy of Blood and Iron under which he coerced the states into unison. The policy was implemented swiftly and with great strategic expertise. The aim of the policy was to unite Germany under the Prussian Monarchy and this required bringing down the German Confederation.

To implement his policy:

- a) Bismarck's Prussia first fought a war in 1864 in alliance with Austria against Denmark to annex most of the territory of German Confederation.
- b) Then he allied with Italy in 1866 to defeat Austria and removed it from the German Confederation. Consequently the Confederation itself was ended.
- c) In 1867, Bismarck formed the **North German Confederation**. It united 22 German states but excluded the Southern German states like Bavaria, which remained independent. The constitution of this Confederation made the Prussian King the hereditary head of the state. The Southern states followed a pro-Austria policy but were forced to unite after the German victory in Franco-Prussian war of 1870.
- d) The Franco-Prussian war in 1870 led to final unification of Germany. In 1870 the French monarchy was tattering and the conditions were ripe for another revolution for establishment of a democratic republic. The French King Louis Bonaparte declared war on Germany in 1870. He wanted to use a war victory to divert attention of the public and to use the consequent war gains to lend credibility to his regime. On other hand, Bismarck was also partially responsible for provoking the French for war. The result was that France was defeated and it declared itself republic in 1871. The war and the consequent German victory allowed Bismarck to absorb rest of the German states into a united Germany (1871).

## 9.2. Unification of Italy

Unification of Italy was a two-step process. In the first step, it had to gain independence from Austria and secondly, it had to unite the consequent independent Italian states into a single unit. Mazzini and Garibaldi were revolutionaries who played an important role in this process. Mazzini had formed an organization named **Young Italy** in 1831 for unification of Italy. From 1831 onwards, Young Italy repeatedly attempted revolts against the Monarchy but all of them failed to establish a democratic and united Italy. Yet, Young Italy enthused the people for a united Italy under a liberal government.

### 9.2.1. Role of 1848 Revolts

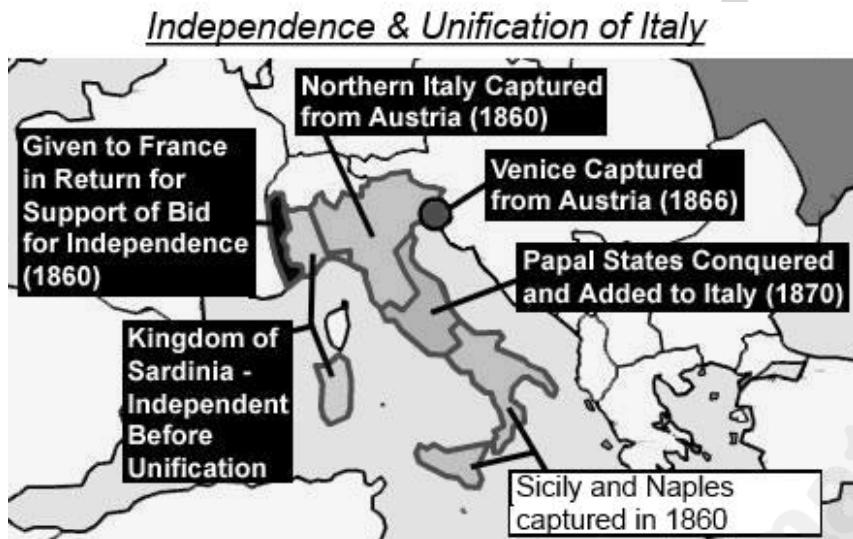
The 1848 revolts were led by intellectuals and liberals who were against the reactionary Austrian control and wanted a liberal government. These revolts did usher in democratic

reforms, but neither did these result in independence from Austria nor the consolidation of the states into a united Italy.

### **9.2.2. Unification through Bismarck like Policy of Prime Minister Clavour**

After the 1848 revolts, attempts at unification of Italy were made by the Prime Minister Clavour of the Italian State of Sardinia. His policy was similar to that of Bismarck. In 1859, Sardinia allied with France in a war against Austria, which freed many states of Italy from Austrian rule and most of them were united under the Monarch of Sardinia except:

- a) Venetia which still remained under Austrian rule,
- b) The Kingdom of two Sicilies (in Southern Italy), which was the collective name for Kingdom of Sicily and Kingdom of Naples; and finally
- c) Papal States, with their capital in Rome, which were under direct rule of the Pope who was supported by the French troops.



Sicily and Naples were liberated from the despotic rule of Ferdinand II by the revolutionary fighters led by Garibaldi and consequently brought under the Sardinia Monarchy in 1860 and the Kingdom of Italy was established. Venice was annexed by Italy in 1866 by taking advantage of Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Now only Rome was left. The Pope had the protection of the French troops. Weakened by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the French could not support the Pope anymore and in 1871, Rome was annexed and made the capital of Italy, thus completing the process of unification. After the unification, Italy and Germany started industrializing and Industrial Revolution started in these states as well.

## **10. Industrial Revolution**

### **10.1. History of Methods of Production before Industrial Revolution**

The trajectory of the method of production of goods has been like this- from Guild System to Putting-Out System to Factory System. There was decline of the **Guild System**, when the volume of trade increased further and the Guilds were unable to cope with the demand as they were unsuited for mass production.

**Putting-Out System:** This resulted in coming of Putting-Out System. Under this system, the raw material and the final product were owned by the merchant and the worker was only a wage earner. The site of work was the home or the backyard of the worker. The Merchant would have the responsibility of providing raw material and collected the final produce. The invention of

machines changed everything and even this system was replaced by what is called as the Factory System.

**Factory System:** Under this system, the centre of production shifted from home to the factory. The workers, for the first time now, travelled from home to work-sites on daily basis. They for the first time aggregated in such large numbers under a shed working on machines. The capital was owned by the Capitalist and the worker was just another factor of production and the capitalist was the owner.

## 10.2. What is Industrial Revolution?

Industrial Revolution happened first in England in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Industrial revolution** is the revolution in the economic processes of production of goods in the economy, aided by the technological innovations, and their spread, which gave a boost to the pace at which goods could be produced. Innovations that resulted in mechanized production, development of new sources of powering these machines, technological forays in fields of communication and transport are some processes, which when clubbed together are referred to as Industrial revolution. It was a revolution because it totally reformed not just the economic realm but also the social and political realms of the society.

## 10.3. Why Industrial Revolution first in England?

The events in England before 1750 set such conditions, which were favourable towards Industrial Revolution. The rise of capitalism after the end of Feudalism was crucial for Industrial Revolution. This was so because with capitalism came the desire to make more monetary profits, which could be achieved by developing new ways to produce more goods at lower costs. There was demand for manufactured goods due to the new ways of life in the growing towns and cities. The village people were migrating to towns as workers for industrial production. This gave a thrust to the quest for new ideas that could increase industrial efficiency. The Renaissance & Reformation with focus on power of reason had already made a psychological impact on the people to set out in quest for new ideas. Furthermore, the society in England had moved towards democracy (Glorious Revolution 1688), which allowed greater freedom of thoughts.

The accumulation of money from trade with the rest of the world ensured that there was money available for reinvestment for capital formation and for funding the activities of innovators.

Geography also played a role. Because of being an island, England had a natural barrier to protect it from the invasions. Unlike France and Germany, England had natural frontier, which allowed it to enjoy a degree of peace. This made the rulers more pro-democracy as they felt lesser need to be coercive as they were secure from external security threats. Britain had very good natural harbours which allowed it to develop sea-ports. Thus it benefited from the profits of sea-trade. England was rich in natural resources like coal and iron. It also had very good natural network of tributaries of rivers. These rivers were easily navigable, which allowed cheaper transport of goods and raw materials.

## 10.4. Components of Industrial Revolution

### 10.4.1. Revolution in Textile Sector

Industrial Revolution started with revolution in the Textile Industry. In 1700s, the East India Company was earning lot of profit, to the envy of British businessmen, by exporting the finished cotton cloth from India into Britain. This prompted the English businessmen to import raw cotton from India and convert it into finished cotton cloth in Britain so they could earn some profit from the booming cotton demand. When the old machinery like spinning wheel and

handlooms could not meet the demand, a series of innovations occurred. The new machines in the Textile industry aided faster spinning of raw cotton into thread. Hargreaves was first to develop such a machine. Arkwright adapted Hargreaves machine to run with water power. Soon, Crompton combined the positives of the two machines to develop one of his own. The impact of faster spinning machines was that they allowed the Textile factories to produce thread that was much finer and cheaper to produce. The decreased cost of production increased the profits and soon the machines became very popular in England. Further, in 1785, Cartwright developed the Powerloom, which truly revolutionized the production of cloth from the thread. The term Horsepower has its origin in the Powerloom of Cartwright as this machine was driven by horses running in a circular motion. Later, the powerloom was modified to run using water power as the factories were setup near rivers and canals to make use of hydropower. Cotton Gin was another invention, which made the process of separating the fiber from the seeds 300 times faster than by hand. This machine was invented by Eli Whitney in 1793 and it solved the problem of shortage of supply of raw cotton fiber due to the hand-based slow process of separating cotton fiber from cotton bales.

#### **10.4.2. Steam Power**

Another, and the most significant invention was development of Steam Engine by James Watt in 1769. Steam Engines gave a big boost to production of goods and consequently led to huge increase in demand for raw materials. They were the real thing which led to mass production because machines based on manpower or hydropower were much less efficient. Soon, the Steam Engines were deployed for running spinning machines and for powerlooms. This resulted in England importing five times more raw cotton by 1840. Steam Engines were also adapted for use in coal mines to pump out water, which in turn led to an increase in coal supply.

#### **10.4.3. Revolution in Iron Production**

Another revolution was in Iron production, which ultimately led to increased and cheaper mechanization of all industrial processes. The Steam power had led to demand for more machinery and England had huge deposits of iron ore and coal to make steel. But where England lacked was in the cheaper mode of processing raw iron. This problem was resolved by the development of Blast furnaces, which allowed for use of coke instead of charcoal. This allowed the British steel industry to produce high-grade cast iron instead of just the pig iron.

#### **10.4.4. Revolution in Transport & Communication**

Economy is as much about Geography as about processes of production. The development of transport corridors in form of rail-road network across the length and breadth of England and consequently in colonies of British empire allowed the British industry to hasten the supply of raw material and finished goods. Steam Engine was modified for use in Railways by George Stephenson in 1814. The coal could now be transported from the coal mines to the ports via Railways. In 1830, the first passenger train running on steam power made its journey. This invention allowed for greater movement of businessmen, of workers from the hinterland to the cities and development of a truly connected economy. In India, the revolution in railways started in 1853. McAdamized Roads i.e. Pakka roads were result of the engineering feat of McAdam. Better roads allowed for swifter movement of goods. The rail-road infrastructure was complemented by the Canal Network building. Water transport using steam powered ships was much cheaper than transport through land. Business transactions could be effected from remote locations with the arrival of Postal services.

#### **10.4.5. Agriculture Revolution**

Another aspect generally missed in the Industrial Revolution is the Agriculture Revolution that started before the former. It involved the production of more cash crops to meet the demands

of the British industry. The new farm machinery like steel plough and harrow for breaking the ground, mechanical seed drills, horse-drawn cultivator that replaced hoe and machines for reaping and threshing reduced the labor requirement in the Agriculture sector. The Enclosure Movement was led by the big landlords, who in connivance with the legislators in Parliament, increased their farm landholdings by taking over the small landholdings of marginal peasants and the village commons. Thus a lot of labor was actually available for the Industry in the towns and the labor surplus ensured cheaper labor costs and thus more profits to the businessmen. The new farm practices like intensive manuring and crop rotation increased the soil fertility and ensured food security of Britain.

## 10.5. Impact of Industrial Revolution

The impact of Industrial revolution was significant. Britain's economy came to be dominated by the Industrial sector, rather than the Agriculture sector whose share in the GDP declined. Higher GDP boosted textile exports and raw material imports by the British businesses. Britain now produced enough coal and pig iron for self-consumption and exports. Industrial revolution led to emergence of Britain as the top ranking Industrial economy. But the impact on the people was not very positive. There was increased migration from the villages to the cities in search of employment. More people now lived in cities and worked in factories and this population was not connected to the land. The urban areas now became the centers of production and were no more limited to being the center for trade and administration. A downside of this process was the crowding in cities, which led to problems of housing and sanitation. The urban area was now divided into two contrasting components of the slums on one side and the luxurious homes of the businessmen and the manager class on the other side. Migration caused social stress in form of dissolution of social bonds and the moral restraint that the village life generally places on its inhabitants. Clubbed with poverty this resulted in increase in crimes in the cities. The industrialists saw the workers as cog in the machine and as just another factor of production. Their aim was to maximize profits and thus the wages of workers were paltry. Little was done for the social security of the workers and the working conditions in the factories where unsafe machines maimed many. Child labor and participation of women in labor force increased, as they were available at cheaper wages. The working hours were as high as 15 to 18 hours per day.

Environmental pollution was also on an increase. This caused many health problems for the workers. The industrial lobby for long ensured that the Parliamentarians did nothing for the welfare of the workers, which led to development of resentment and many worker movements like of Luddites and Chartists developed after Industrial revolution in England. It is pertinent to remember here, that it was the negative side of the Capitalism of post-Industrial revolution era, which hastened the arrival of Socialism. Karl Marx developed his ideas by observing the miserable conditions of workers in England. There was increase in trade unionism and increased solidarity among the working class.

In a way, Industrial Revolution increased the penetration of democracy in England. The growing resentment among the workers and their consequent movements made the government conscious that *Laissez Faire* is not the sine qua non and the State has a responsibility to protect the vulnerable sections, if Capitalism itself is to be protected from workers revolution.

Gradually, with passage of four acts, the right to vote was extended to many sections of the society including the workers and by 1929, Britain adopted Universal Adult Franchise. Trade Unions were legalized in 1824 and series of factory Acts were passed, like in 1802 and 1819, which brought in age and working hours restrictions and regulated the employment conditions, especially of Women and Children.

Industrial revolution also resulted in increased contact between Industrialized and non-industrialized world. But this contact was not based on equality. The demand for raw materials and export markets made the Colonial powers to look for more territories to colonize. When in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rest of the Europe witnessed Industrial Revolution, there was a race for colonies among European nations. Thus, Industrial Revolution played an important role in emergence of Imperialism whereby the Colonial powers tried to establish much stronger control over the colonies by use of military power, direct rule and rule by intermediaries. Many colonies were treated as an extension of their own territory by colonial powers.

## 10.6. Spread of Industrial Revolution outside England

In Europe, the end of Napoleonic wars in 1815 brought an atmosphere in which the nations could focus on Industrial development. Machines were introduced in many European nations after 1815, but the movements for democracy, independence and unification of territories didn't allow Industrial Revolution to take root till 1871. In France, by 1850, the iron industry had started to develop, but the lack of raw material in form of coal and iron ore limited its progress.

Germany was second only to Britain in production of steel but was still far behind Britain. After German unification under Bismarck, German industry developed in leaps and bounds and soon became a rival to the British in production of pig iron and coal. Italy also witnessed Industrial revolution post-unification in 1871. It was Russia, which was last to industrialize.

Russia was rich in natural resources but due to lack of capital and free labor because of serfdom, the process of its industrialization was slow. Russian industrial production got a boost when Serfdom was abolished in 1861 and it borrowed foreign capital. But it was only after the 1917 October revolution that Russia underwent true Industrial revolution.

Outside Europe, the USA industry started developing after independence from Britain in 1783. But since the British policy of Mercantilism had prevented development of indigenous industry, and USA was engaged in its own political turmoil of Territorial expansion and the Civil War after President Lincoln banned Slavery, it was only after 1870 that Industrial production got a big boost. USA then emerged as an industrial power and by the World War I was the major supplier of finished goods to rest of the world.

Japan was the first Asian country to industrialize. Industrial Revolution took place in Japan in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It became a major exporter of steel machinery, metal goods and chemicals from the traditional exporter of silk, toys and porcelain.

Thus it can be said that the system of polity, political independence, security from invasions, the availability of labor and capital along with law and order stability were the major determinants of the Industrial revolution. Britain was the first to industrialize not because it had better intellectuals but due to existence of favorable conditions as mentioned above. When these conditions became prevalent in other countries, they soon embarked upon Industrial revolution. These conditions on the other hand never existed at the same time in colonies like India.

## 11. Definition of Colonialism

**Colonialism** is the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory. It is a set of unequal relationships between the colonial power and the colony, and often between the colonists and the indigenous population.

## 12. The History of Colonialism

### 12.1. Role of Explorations

The explorations or the **Voyages of Discovery at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century**, clubbed with the end of Feudalism played an important role in the rise of Colonialism. As early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Marco Polo of Italy discovered China.



The profits from trade increased the attraction of the European ports and the merchants made the ports their center of activity. Soon towns developed in coastal areas of the Mediterranean sea and places like Venice & Genoa increased in prosperity. These coastal towns enjoyed freedom from the rural based system of Feudalism. The serfs were free in these towns and thus migration from the villages to the towns gained pace. The society in these coastal towns was based on money and not land. The Kings, who in the Feudal system were dependent on the subordinate lords for military help and despised the powers of the Feudal Lords and the Church, patronized the merchants by funding their voyages. The merchants in turn aided the King so as to escape the feudal controls where merchants enjoyed little social status and political rights.

The monetary profit became the most important reason for explorations, which brought goods that could be sold at home at a much higher margin. E.g. Vasco Da Gama (1498) found the price of pepper in India to be 1/20<sup>th</sup> of the price in Venice. Spice trade was the most lucrative. By mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, Venice emerged as the primary trade port for spices. From Venice, the spices were transported to Western and Northern Europe. Venice became extremely prosperous by charging huge tariffs (\*recall Renaissance of 14<sup>th</sup> century began first in Italy).

Geography played an important role. Without direct access to Middle East, the Europeans were forced to pay high prices charged by Venice. Even the wealthy had trouble paying for spices. The routes to the east were known by the name of Silk Routes. Along with Venice, it was the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople, which acted as a middle man in this trade with the east. These two lay along the trade routes and had power to choke them if they wanted. In 1453, Ottoman Empire defeated the Byzantine Empire and choked/blockaded the sea routes.



**Routes before Age of Discovery:** The economically important Silk Road (via land) and spice trade routes (via sea) blocked by the Ottoman Empire 1453 with the fall of the Byzantine Empire, spurring exploration motivated initially by the finding of a sea route around Africa and triggering the Age of Discovery.



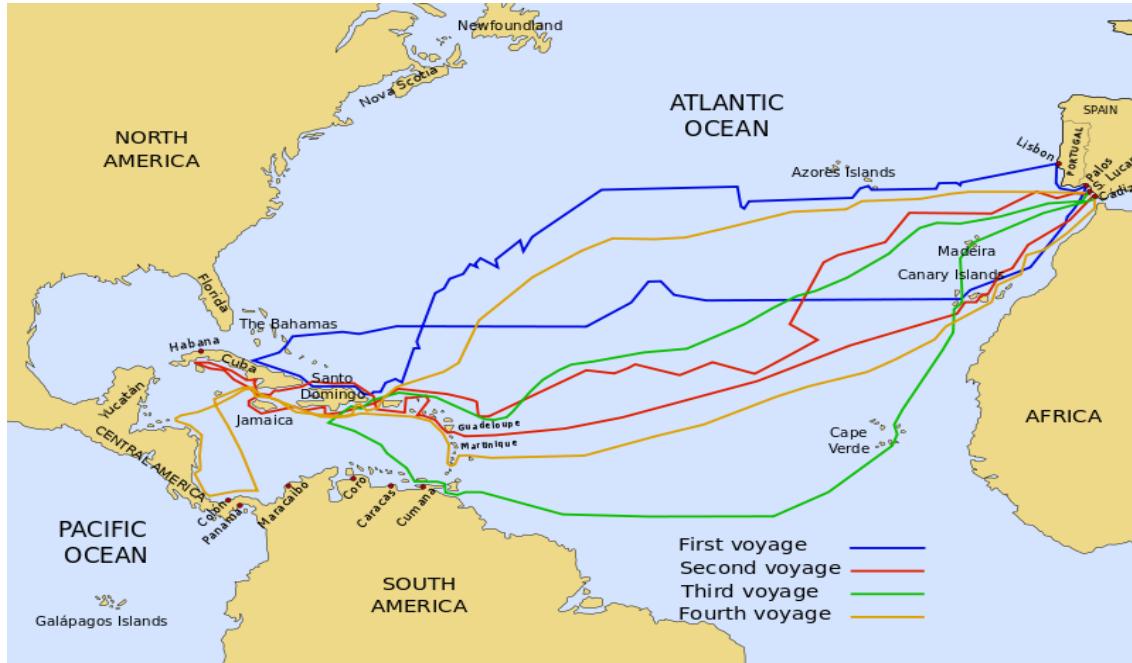
**Routes after Age of Discovery:** Map showing main Portuguese (dark) and Spanish (grey) oceanic trade routes in the 16th century, as a result of the exploration during the Age of Discovery

The Europeans had to do something about it and this paved the way for Voyages of Discovery at end of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, before the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was Italy, which dominated the trade with rest of the world owing to its geographical location and monopoly on the knowledge of sea-routes of commerce. But soon, due to the envy of the prosperous Italian trading cities and the blockade put up by the Ottoman empire, the sailors began journeys with an aim of finding an alternative route to the East. This quest for finding a **North West route** led to the **discovery of Canada** by John Cabot of Britain. With the explorations, gradually the geographical map of the world emerged.

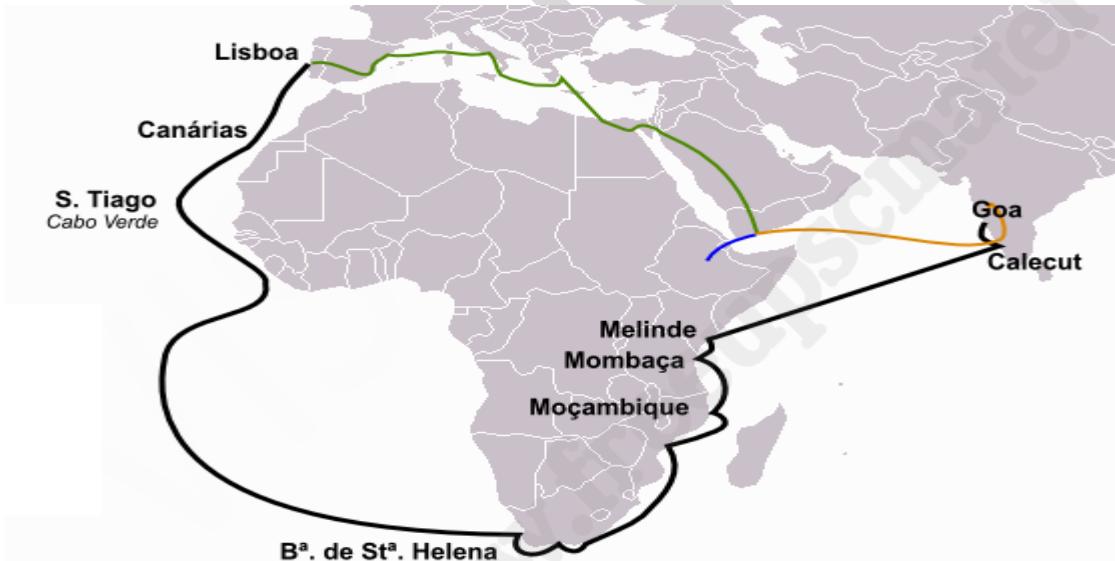
## 12.2. Technical innovations

Technical innovations played an important role in success of explorers in being able to sail to the new lands. By the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century, innovations in form of **Compass**, **Astrolabe**(it helps in determining the location of ship), **the Art of Mapping and development of better ships** that could travel longer, improved the explorer's knowledge of geography of the sea. They were able to develop accurate maps of sea-routes and gain knowledge of weather patterns that enabled them to safely reach the new lands. The period around the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century thus came to be

known as the Age of Discovery. Christopher Columbus, funded by Spain, went out in search of India but landed up in Central America in 1492. He had touched the shores of Haiti but mistook it for India. This is why he called the natives as Indians and the islands as Indies.



In 1498, aided by Portugal, **Vasco Da Gama** discovered India by traveling from Europe to India by circumventing the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa).



America was discovered by **Amerigo Vespucci** (& not Columbus) around 1500 AD. The Portuguese also discovered **Philippines** in South East Asia.

**These discoveries marked the start of Colonization.** The new found lands were rich in mineral resources and many had very good natural harbors which could be developed into ports that could serve as nodal points of trade. The European merchants sought to establish their setup there i.e. they started to form colonies in these new found lands. Thus came into origin, the word, **Colonization**.

The profits from the goods imported from the new found lands of America, Asia and Africa led to a race for exploration. Spain and Portugal were soon joined by the Dutch, France and Britain.

## 13. Colonization

The colonization of Asia, Africa and America began with three focuses - **Gold, Glory and God**. While Gold represented the profits from trade, Glory represented the recognition a European power received as a world hegemon. With the flag of the Kingdom came the Missionaries to promote Christianity.

It is to be noted here that the country which dominated in the realm of **sea power** was able to benefit the most out of the Colonial era. A larger fleet of merchant ships was a mark of trade volume and spread across external markets while a strong navy could protect them, attack the vessels of the competitors and block the sea-routes of commerce. The country which was able to have friendly harbors along the trade route in form of Ports of call where the ships could refuel and the crew could rest, had an advantage in the trade competition. Thus, Mercantile capitalism went hand in hand with colonialism, with the latter providing a safe zone for the former to prosper. As mentioned earlier, many new commodities entered the trade basket, and products like potatoes, tobacco, maize and spices, which were hitherto unknown in Europe were traded. The colonies served as sources of raw material to feed the European factories. E.g. Sugar plantations setup in America gave a boost to the sugar industry. Similarly, rice, coffee and cotton resources were also exploited.

The Europeans established trading posts in the coastal areas of the new found lands. The policy of **Mercantile capitalism** involved attacking merchant vessels of other kingdoms, blocking trade routes, setting up colonies, placing trade barriers, monopolizing the trade with the colonies and if unable to colonize, then securing special trading rights with the new found lands so as to have a trade monopoly. The Portuguese had established trade monopoly with Asia after discovery of trade route to India via Cape of Good Hope in 1498 and thus replaced Italian monopoly on trade with the east. Later, the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch in Indonesia and by the British in India. Afterwards, the military strength and the sea power aided France and Britain to emerge as the major colonial powers.

## 14. Impact of Colonialism

On one hand, the European countries saw very rapid increase in trade volume and diversity, while on the other hand, the colonies were ripped off their resources. Europe started importing products like spices, which were new to its market and became very popular. Similar was the case with cotton cloth imported from the east. Spain setup sugar plantations in Central American colonies, while the Portugal put up the plantation system in Brazil. Countries like Holland, which were barren internally made huge profits out of the colonies by providing ships for commerce to Britain and other European countries. On the other hand, the impact of colonialism on the colonies was appalling. South America was colonized by Spain after the Amerigos voyage, which it had funded. The civilization of Aztecs and the Incas were destroyed and their gold and silver plundered. The indigenous Americans were forced to work for the colonists in the mines and farms. The mines of Peru, Bolivia and Mexico were exploited with all the wealth exported out to Spain. Later, the Dutch, the British and the French also came to control parts of America. The objective of Colonialism in Asia was trade profit, while Slave Trade was the main reason in case of Africa. In Africa, colonization began early but was limited to the coastal region because the hindrances placed by the geography limited the expansion of colonial empire to the mainland Africa.

**Slave trade was started by the Portugal** as its workers on the plantations were not able to bear the hot and humid climate of Brazil. It hunted down the Black Africans who were physically strong and were used to living in an equatorial climate and brought them to work on plantations. While the Africans worked on the plantations as slaves, the native Americans

worked like serfs on the estates of the colonists. Soon the Slave trade was introduced in North America, West Indies and other parts of America by European powers after colonization. Spain introduced the Slave trade first in Haiti in the Caribbean and then in Florida, Mexico, Chile and other parts of Coastal South America. The Plantation system was mainly put up for production of Sugarcane, tobacco and cotton. The Slave Trade came to be known as the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and the Triangular Slave Trade as a tripod of America, Africa and Europe was established and the Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to America. The Slave trade continued for 300 years. Initially at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century it were the individual merchants, sailors and pirates who conducted the trade but by the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century the Slave Trading Companies had taken over. The Black Africans were initially hunted from coastal Africa as the interiors were out of bound but after the explorations of the mainland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the slave hunting extended to whole of Africa. The conditions of journey across Atlantic were inhumane and many Africans died during these journeys due to lack of hygiene and crowding. The Industrial Revolution, after 1750, increased the demand for raw materials in England. To increase supply of raw materials from the colonies and with the increasing colonial empire of Britain, the number of Africans traded in the Slave Trade also increased. In the British colony of West Indies nearly 2 million slaves were imported in 100 years. The present demographic profile of America is symptomatic of the extent of slave trade from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Slavery was ended by France after the French Revolution in 1789 mainly because the revolution was based on ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. The British passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 to end slavery in all of its colonies, while the USA banned it after the civil war (1861-65). The ban on Slavery faced opposition from many quarters. The Dutch settlers of South Africa opposed the ban. Also, the civil war in US was fought between the USA Federal government and the southern states on the issue of slavery. The southern states were opposed to a ban on Slavery and rather desired its extension to the new territories being acquired by USA.

## **15. Relation between Colonialism and Mercantile Capitalism**

Mercantile Capitalism was the British policy in the 18th century. The idea was that the Government should regulate the economy at home and colonies abroad so as to increase the national power. This amounted to placing trade barriers and monopoly of trade with colonies to British companies, with the aim of having a positive balance of payment. The traders wanted Free Trade Agreements and trade monopolies with countries outside Europe. On opposition from the native chiefs and the rulers, these countries were colonized.

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a new development. Due to thinkers like Adam Smith, the policy of Laissez Faire was begun to be implemented. It meant less domination of the State in the economic sphere (as during Mercantile Capitalism) and thus a free market economy. It was a free market economy only in the domestic economy. The whole world was not being converted to a free market (as today, in era of MNCs & Globalization). The Imperial powers had special rights in areas of trade and investment over most of their colonies. Companies from other countries did not enjoy equal privileges in these colonies and the contracts of economic projects were secured for companies belonging to the Imperial country. By end of 19<sup>th</sup> century Laissez Faire declined. British economist Keynes published *The End of Laissez Faire* in 1926. It was due to ills of Laissez Faire- like exploitation of workers and non-intervention of government even when there was a famine (1880 famine in India-government did not intervene)- that it was realized that Laissez Faire cannot be followed blindly and the State has to intervene for ensuring the enjoyment of basic human rights.

## 16. Difference between Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is part of Imperialism and Imperialism is a natural extension of Colonialism in the age of Industrial revolution. Imperialism has the basic feature of political acquisition of a foreign territory. Thus according to some authors, Militarism (which implies invasion of a territory for its annexation) is a must for Imperialism or is a form of Imperialism (because political acquisition can happen without vanquishing or invading a territory but by using it as a threat). In contrast, Colonialism implies domination of people's life and culture. The main goal of colonialism is extraction of economic benefits from the colony while Imperialism includes political control. Thus, colonialism may be done by companies who secure special trading privileges and setup trading posts , while Imperialism is done by the state through government diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates and spheres of influence and to promote industrial trade and investments. Colonialism results in control over life of natives in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. It is more subtle whereas Imperialism is more formal and aggressive.

NCERT uses the term Imperialism as distinct from Colonialism. While the nomenclature followed by other authors treat Colonialism equivalent to Imperialism, what the NCERT refers to as Imperialism is called New Imperialism or Neo-Imperialism. The basic dividing line is the era of Industrial Revolution. The events after the Industrial Revolution in the colonial empire building are termed as New Imperialism. Now what was new? The New in this New-Imperialism, which started after the Industrial Revolution in Europe was the **race component**. There was also an increase in the degree of every aspect of the Colonial actions. Race signified the economic competition between the European powers to get hands on to as many colonies as possible. It was a race for raw material sources and export markets, both of which would be provided for by the colonies. It was also a race for securing sea-lanes of commerce by either colonizing the ports of call or signing treaties with other nations to provide safe harbors to the merchant vessels. The race component also included a race for naval supremacy and build up of land based military forces. **But why this race phenomenon did not occur in as explicit a form before?** The answer lies in important factors like Industrial Revolution, which spread to the rest of Europe, USA and Japan in 19<sup>th</sup> century; the rise of Nationalism which fueled the national rivalries for quest of economic and military supremacy; and also the decreased geographical space. The last factor is interesting and had important bearing for the world peace. Earlier there was enough territorial space for the European powers to colonize but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, except for the interior lands of Africa, nearly the whole world had come under influence of one powerful nation or the other. Thus, now the major powers of the world could only grow at expense of one another. There was brute competition to protect whatever colonies one nation had, and at the same time try to displace the rival colonial power from the other colonies. Here came in the factor of degree. The colonial powers in the New Imperialism had to use greater force to protect their colonial assets and secure own frontiers. This made political control in the colonies much more imperative to ensure an economic control. To secure political control, military was required and thus a peculiar feature of the New Imperialism was the rise of State power. Trading companies like the East India Company were slowly replaced by the their governments.

## 17. Definition of New Imperialism

Imperialism is the political and economic domination or exploitation of the non-industrialized nations by the industrialized nations. This can be achieved by military conquer or by colonizing the foreign territory i.e. acquiring the foreign territory and then making them dependent. The foreign rulers are a minority and they impose superiority of their race and culture on natives.

Next is the question of the features that characterize this phenomenon of Imperialism. The major components of Imperialism can be grouped as

- Raw Material and Export Markets
- Protective Tariffs
- Imposition of Free Trade
- Drain Theory
- Political control of the colonies
- Capturing Ports of Call

The search for raw material and export markets for the surplus produce from factories in the industrialized nations led to a race among the European powers, Japan and USA to have control over colonies. This led to rise of New Imperialism that had feature of race for colonies and spheres of influence. Great Britain was the first to industrialize, post 1750. Other European nations could only industrialize in the latter half of 19<sup>th</sup> century and thus they could not compete with British exports in the external markets. They introduced protective tariffs to prevent British exports from entering the domestic and foreign markets to protect their own indigenous industry. Even before Industrial Revolution could spread to the rest of Europe, the British as part of Mercantile Capitalism had placed trade and tariff barriers on American colonies to check influence of France, Spain, Portugal and Holland. Thus, the trade with colonies was monopolized by the colonial power. At the same time, the colony was not allowed to implement any protective tariffs for protection of its own indigenous industry and free trade was imposed, whereby no import duties could be levied on the imports from the Colonist nation. The colonies provided for high rate of return for the foreign investment in various sectors like railways and the colonists promoted foreign investment and dissuaded indigenous investment. Above phenomena was very well explained in the Drain Theory deployed by the Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji. The British had made India into an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. The foreign investment ensured that the profits from these investments went into the pockets of foreign investors.

The colonies were brought under political control either by direct rule, like in India, or by ruling through intermediaries, like in the princely states of India. Another strategy during Imperialism was of capturing the ports of call i.e. Capture those places where ships could replenish supply of coal and water. The colonists tried conquering islands that were along the sea routes and near the coasts of trading nations.

## 18. History of New Imperialism

New Imperialism or ‘Neo-Imperialism’ as such can be identified as the second wave of imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as distinct from the earlier wave of European colonization from 15th to early 19th centuries. This was a result of Industrial Capitalism.

Struggle for independence in some colonies started as the world was moving towards New Imperialism. America had declared independence in 1776, during the American Revolution. The French Revolution inspired independence movements worldwide. Napoleonic wars during the initial years of 19<sup>th</sup> century weakened Spain and Portugal, and consequently, some of their colonies in South and Central America declared independence. Mexico became independent in 1821 from Spain. Simon Bolivar freed Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia from Spain. Brazil became independent from Portugal by 1824. Thus, **there was a temporary period of decline in Imperialism after the French Revolution of 1789, before its rise again in 1870s.**

It is pertinent here to provide a summary of factors that led to rise of New Imperialism.

a) **Role of Political Factors:** There were a plurality of political factors behind the emergence of

New Imperialism. One of these was the rise of Absolute Monarchies in Italy and Germany, post-unification in 1870s. This absolutism increased the aggression on part of the state.

However, New Imperialism cannot be attributed solely to the Absolute Monarchs. In fact, Britain which had democracy had the largest colonial empire. Thus, all industrialized regimes, whether democratic or absolute, engaged in Imperialism. Industrialization increased their hunger, as well as potential, to build their colonial empire. The rulers also saw Imperialism as a tool to maintain political control at home.

Military victory over colonies and empire building was not only improving the economy of the colonial power, but raising the prestige of the rulers as well. These two factors, viz. a sound economy and national glory provided legitimacy to their rule. It was due to such reasons, for instance, that Italy and Czarist Russia joined the race for colonies.

- b) Role of Nationalism:** Nationalism rose after the French Revolution (1789). In the era of Industrial Revolution, it soon manifested in form of economic rivalry among the nation states. National rivalries were further fueled by nationalist ideas propounded by the nationalist thinkers. In Britain, France, Germany and Italy, **nationalism resulted in demands for expansion of colonial empires** during 1868-72. Also, the Absolute Monarchies relied on both Imperialism and Nationalism to divert attention of the public, which was getting exposed to ideas of democracy.
- c) Role of Industrial Revolution/Industrial Capitalism:** Industrial Revolution was one of the major factors in rise of New Imperialism. There was surplus money from trade as well as profits from mass production, after Industrial Revolution. This money was further reinvested for capital formation. The development of transport and communication infrastructure allowed faster movement of goods and people, and development of steam ships reduced the time taken for trading goods around the world. The demand for goods in the domestic markets was also increasing due to rapid increase in European population in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
The factories' demand for raw material increased, which led to a search for raw material outside national boundaries. Population pressure in Europe led to search for more colonies where Europeans could settle. Soon, the factories were producing much more than the domestic and existing external markets could absorb. This further increased the attraction of new colonies. Thus, a cycle of more demand for manufactured goods, profits, capital formation, demand for raw material, surplus production and demand for export markets got established and it can be said that the Industrial Capitalism (Capitalism after Industrial Revolution when production of goods was done in factories with machines) gave a thrust to Imperialism.
- d) Increased number of players:** Industrial revolution in rest of Europe, USA and Japan happened after 1870s. The industrialized nations desperately started looking for sources of raw material and export markets.
- e) Decreased Geographical space:** The world was relatively more peaceful till 19<sup>th</sup> century when there was enough unoccupied space to be colonized and the empires could expand easily. But in 19<sup>th</sup> century, any further expansion could only occur at expense of another colonial power. Also, the number of players in the 'race' had increased. Thus, colonialism changed into Imperialism as now State's military power and tighter control over colonies was needed to maintain and expand the colonial empire. In the next four decades (from 1870 onward), there was a race for colonies and the only untouched areas, China and Africa, were scrambled among European nations.

- f) **Religion and Cultural Factors:** Other factors like aspirations of **Christian Missionaries** to spread Christianity and the notion of **White Man's burden** to spread superior civilization in the backward colonies also played a role. Belgium's King Leopold II used the latter as a garb for exploiting Congo and so was the case with other Imperial powers. However, some good samaritans actually tried to uplift the life of the people by working for social reforms. Theosophical Society even led the anti-Imperial Home Rule movement in India (1916). Other issues that they dealt with included rights of women and spread of modern education.

Rise of New Imperialist Powers		Beginning of Industrialization proper	Victims of New Imperialism
Italy	1870 onward	1870 onward	Mainly Africa
Germany	1870 onward	1870 onward	Mainly Africa, Pacific
Russia	1850s onward	Begun by 1914, yet on eve of WWI it was predominantly Agricultural economy.	Mainly Central Asia. Also West Asia, China
USA	By 1890s	1865 onward	Mainly Pacific (domination of South America)
Japan	By 1890s	1868 onward	Mainly China (Far East) and Pacific

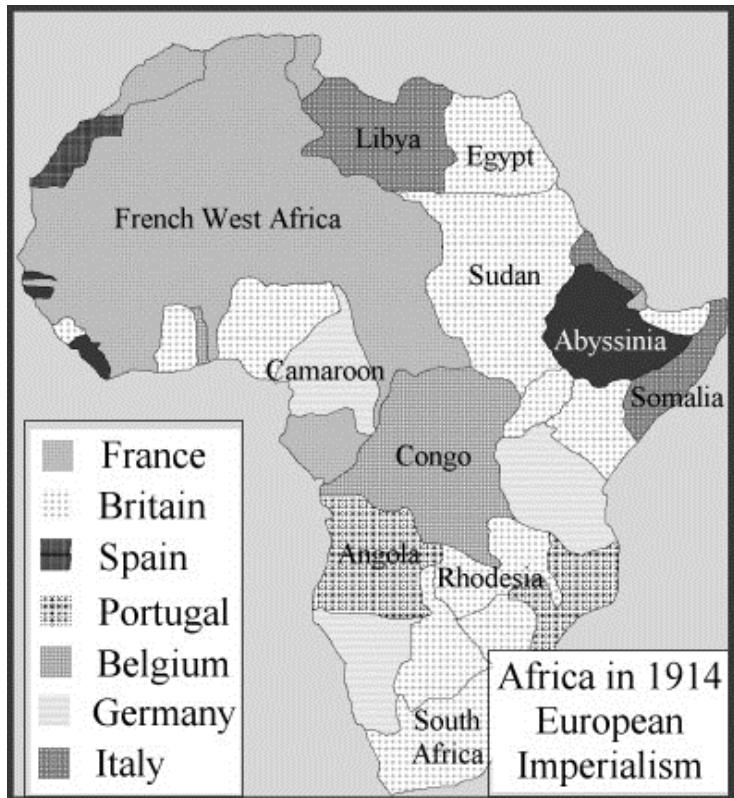
## 19. Colonialism in Africa

Slave Trade has already been discussed in previous handouts.

African continent was known by the name of Dark Continent till its interior areas were explored in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Difficult terrains, non-navigable rivers and other such geographical features ensured that colonialism had a late entry in mainland Africa and was restricted for a long time to Coastal Africa.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, publications of the expeditions made by individual explorers raised the interest among the Europeans. These publications included the accounts of the explorers who detailed the wealth of the Central Africa. They were able to chart the courses of important rivers like Congo. The navigability of rivers and knowledge of their course implied that the European companies and troops could now reach into the interiors and transport out the mineral wealth to the coasts for further export.

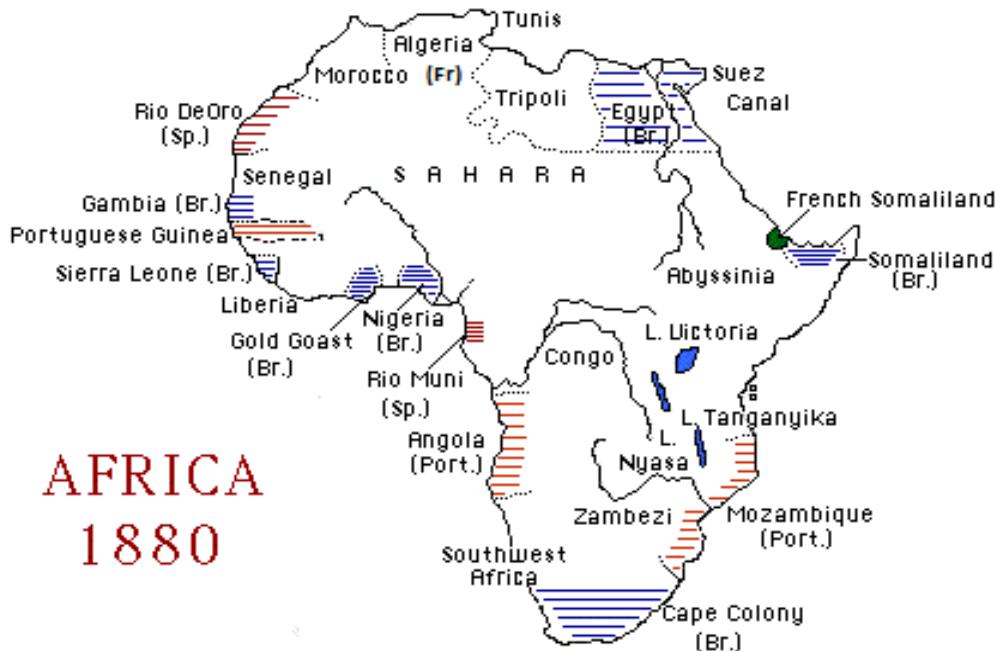
**King Leopold II of Belgium** patronized the explorers and was the first to establish a colony in central Africa. In 1876, he had brought Congo under his control and managed it as his private colony (Congo was renamed as Congo Free State in 1885). His success raised the interest of other European powers and they entered into a quest for colonies in Africa. After colonization of Congo, the Scramble for Africa began. By 1914 whole of Africa was scrambled among Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal, except for Abyssinia (where the Italians were defeated by the nationalists in the 1876 Battle of Adowa), and Liberia.



There were many squabbles among the European powers for territory and trading rights in Africa. French and British interests collided in Egypt and Sudan. Belgium opposed an agreement in 1884 signed by Britain and Portugal, demarcating their areas of influence, as it would have resulted in denial of sea access to Congo. Finally, the overlapping claims of European colonists were resolved through negotiations in different conferences.

Berlin Conference, held in Germany in 1884-85, was called to resolve disputes regarding the West and Central Africa, especially the river valleys of Niger and Congo. It was an important event and resulted in demarcation of spheres of influence of each colonial power in Africa.





Following were some of the **decisions of the Berlin conference (1884-5)**:

1. Niger river Valley was divided among the British and the French with the Lower Niger becoming a protectorate of Britain and the Upper Niger a protectorate of France.
2. Niger river was made free for ships of all signatory nations.
3. The British agreed to French colonization of Tunis. Spain was awarded coastal area of present day Western Sahara.
4. Also, the European powers promised to take steps for welfare and development of the Africans. The conference vowed to end Slavery by the Black and Islamist powers and this was to be ensured by each colonial power in their sphere of influence.
5. It was decided that the Congo Free State will be governed by the International Association for Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa. This association was setup by King Leopold II of Belgium and thus Congo was recognized as a private colony of King Leopold II (to be taken away from him by the Belgium government in 1908)
6. Freedom of trade and navigation for all was guaranteed in the Congo River Valley. Also, no individual nation was to claim any special rights in Congo and King Leopold II granted freedom of investment to all signatory nations. An International Commission was also setup for monitoring of compliance with the agreement.

### **19.1. France in Scramble for Africa**

France established its empire in North-West Africa. After colonizing Algiers (1830), part of Gambia, and Tunis (1881) it longed for control over Morocco. Initially, the French faced opposition. In the Madrid Conference in 1880, the independence of Morocco was guaranteed and all European nations were given a right to freedom of trade. But in 1900, France signed an agreement with Italy, whereby Italy agreed to not oppose French influence over Morocco and France, in return, pledged not to oppose Italian control of Libya. During the Berlin Conference, Britain agreed to French special rights over Tunis. Further, in 1904 Britain and France signed an agreement, whereby the French recognized the British special rights over Egypt and Sudan, while France got British recognition with respect to its special rights over Morocco. In the same year, Spanish and French Morocco were demarcated through an agreement. Germany was a late entrant into colonization, and it felt left out in the scramble. In 1911, when France deployed its troops in Morocco, Germany sent its warship to the nearby island of Agadir. After

the negotiations, Germany was given some territory in French Congo and in return it recognized French control of Morocco. In 1912, France made Morocco its Protectorate and Morocco ceased to be independent.

## 19.2. Britain in Scramble for Africa

British had colonies in the south, the east and western Africa. Its colony of Gold Coast (Ghana) in the West was rich in Cocoa, while Nigeria had large oil reserves. Egypt was of special interest to the British due to the Suez Canal, which provided for a shorter sea-route to its Asian colonies, especially India. Suez Canal was managed by a company with shareholding of France and the Governor of Egypt. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Egypt was under financial stress and it had to sell its shareholding to the British in 1875. In 1876, Egypt failed to pay the installments of the loan it had taken from Britain and France. The two European powers setup a Council for management of budget of the Egyptian government and thus brought Egypt under economic control. The high taxes and the delay in payment of salaries to the Egyptian Army led to a revolt in 1882. It was however, crushed by the British troops and Egypt was brought under British control. In 1904, France recognized British rights over Egypt and Sudan in exchange for recognition of its rights over Morocco. In 1922, Egypt was given independence but Britain continued to control the Suez Canal.

## 19.3. Germany in Scramble for Africa

Germany entered the scramble for Africa after unification of Germany in 1870. From 1882 to 1884, Germany was able to colonize South West Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland in Equatorial Africa and German East Africa.

After World War I, the German colonial empire came to an end and its colonies were distributed among the Allied Powers as Mandates. Mandates were the former colonies, which were assigned to developed nations by the League of Nations for preparing them for independence at a later date. For example, German South West Africa was given to South Africa as a mandate.

## 19.4. Italy in Scramble for Africa

Italy, like Germany was a late entrant. It failed to colonize Tunis because the French took control of it in 1881. It succeeded in colonizing Eritrea in North Eastern Africa. Through various treaties Italy acquired Eastern Somaliland in 1880s. Abyssinia (Ethiopia) lay between Eritrea and Eastern Somalia. Italy failed to colonize it and was defeated by the nationalists in 1896. In 1911, Italy occupied Libya from the weak Ottoman Turkey. In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia and took it under its control. After defeat in World War II, Italy lost all of its colonies.

Even a small country like **Belgium** was able to get a share in the African pie. It first colonized Congo, and then extended its control to Rwanda and Burundi.

Portugal colonies were Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, while Spain had Spanish Morocco, Spanish Sahara (Rio De Oro was its part) and Spanish Guinea.

## 19.5. Impact of Colonialism on Africa

- a) White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives
- b) Slavery
- c) Mass killings by Colonial powers
- d) Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence
- e) Extreme neglect of Education and Health
- f) Economic development hurt

### **19.5.1. White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives**

Colonialism in Africa brought along with it trading merchants, businessmen, missionaries, military and administrative officers. Many of them settled in Africa due to attractions of plentiful arable land and profits from trade. The missionaries stayed on and established Christian institutions for propagation of their religion. Thus, today we see many African countries divided into Muslim and Christian dominated regions. The European settlers were elites in Africa and they enjoyed luxuries of living, which they could not afford back home. The European settlers, like the Boers in South Africa, became wealthy and powerful in Africa. They controlled the government and denied Africans any political right. In almost every colony, the lands of Africans were taken away for cultivation and mining by settlers with Blacks working as slaves.

### **19.5.2. Slavery**

Slave Trade made many Africans forcefully leave their homes to never come back. It destroyed many families. The local Africans traded in the local slave markets. They formed the workforce on the European plantations in Africa. The psychological impact of slavery was an inferiority complex, that was systematically injected into the society, with even the Church supporting the notions of Master and Slave Race. The Race thesis was institutionally deployed to deprive Africans of their rights during Apartheid in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

### **19.5.3. Mass killings by Colonial powers**

Africans resisted the colonial military with great valor and they could not fight against the technology of Guns with the Europeans. Many Africans were killed by the European military while resisting the loss of their lands, slavery, unfavorable treaties offered by the Europeans and the imposition of European culture. Whole villages were destroyed if the inhabitants refused to agree to the demands of the Colonists. Belgium Congo probably witnessed the first Genocide of the modern era. From 1876 to 1908, nearly 10 million Africans were massacred in Belgian Congo by the administration of Belgian King Leopold II.

### **19.5.4. Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence**

Africa due to many factors of Geography, is comprised of multiple Tribal cultures. The scramble for Africa divided Africa into colonies with arbitrary boundaries, which did not follow the logic of geographical continuity, cultural unity or economic viability. This resulted in colonies having multiple tribes, with very different cultures. They did not see themselves as part of one nation. Further, the colonists used the policy of divide and rule. They patronized one tribe at expense of the others. The favored tribesmen were provided with arms and money and were used to coerce the other tribes into submission. This resulted in mutual hostility among tribal groups. For example, in Rwanda, Belgium followed this policy and after independence the country witnessed constant tribal violence. In 1994, this process culminated in the worst genocide in recent history as the Hutu tribesmen massacred millions of Tutsi tribe members. The lack of national unity still haunts many African nations and it has been very difficult to ensure functional democracy.

### **19.5.5. Extreme neglect of Education and Health**

The colonists and white settlers ensured that the native blacks did not get educated. Higher education, in particular, was neglected. Wherever the policy of Apartheid was followed, Africans were given inferior education in separate schools. Statistically speaking, the gross enrolment ratio at levels of primary, secondary and higher education was very low at time the African nations became independent. For example, at the time of independence in 1960, there were just 17 graduates in Belgian Congo and no doctors, lawyers, engineers. Also, there were no Africans at officer level posts in the Army. This resulted in inefficient governance after

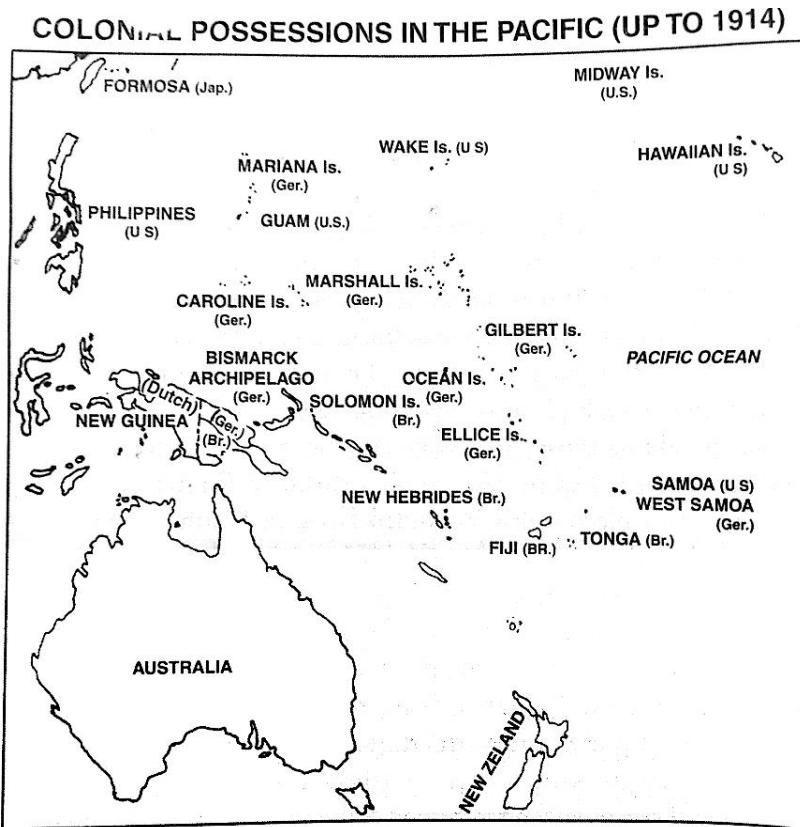
independence, and caused the consequent collapse of democratic regimes. The elected governments failed to deliver on the huge developmental goals and became dependent on the developed world for aid, which brought Neocolonialism to the African nations. Today Africa's population is increasing at rapid pace and much of its population is in the working age group. But it is struggling to convert this bulge in working age group into a demographic dividend due to lack of education, which if present could have ensured a skilled workforce.

Health sector was also subjected to great neglect. The colonies suffered from epidemics regularly given the humid conditions due to an Equatorial climate. HIV-AIDS today is most prevalent in Africa and Africa is the biggest intervention area for World Health Organization and NGOs like Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

#### **19.5.6. Economic development hurt**

Colonialism impacts the social, psychological, economic, cultural and political aspects of the colony. Lack of cohesion in the society due to tribal rivalries, presence of prejudices of being a slave race, which were internalized, and the consequent inferiority, lack of education and denial of participation in governance - were the resultant aspects of Colonization. These factors prevented economic development, and indigenous entrepreneurship, in any significant form, could not develop in Africa. The policy of Mercantile capitalism followed by the Colonists hurt the economy of Africa. Africans did not get the market price for the mineral resources, which were exported out of Africa. The Colonists ensured that no indigenous industry develops and Africa remains an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods manufactured in European factories. During the Berlin Conference in 1880s, Germany wanted a clause of effective control of a European nation in a territory to claim it as a colony. This clause would have required Colonists to develop infrastructure and setup government machinery for things like law and order etc. Germany desired to use this clause to replace other European nations from the colonies. But Britain and France defeated this clause. Thus, in many African nations the colonists ruled and reaped the economic benefits, but without any responsibility of governance. The little infrastructure that was developed was to facilitate colonial interests. For example, the transport infrastructure was aimed at creating linkages between mineral rich interiors with the ports to facilitate easier raw material extraction. Britain was quick to develop pipelines in Sudan and Nigeria for extraction of hydrocarbons. Further, the colonial rivalry resulted in colonists establishing trade barriers between colonies and thus an integrated market could not develop across Africa.

## 20. Colonialism in Pacific



By 1900, all Pacific Islands came under Colonial control.

### USA:

In 1823, Monroe Doctrine was brought out by USA. It emphasized two things: Policy of Isolation and Hegemony of US in North and South America. It said that US would not interfere in the European affairs or colonies and it would treat any interference in its backyard (all of America) as an act of aggression. But by 1890s, USA emerged as a new Imperialist power. It started to bring areas outside America under its influence i.e. it extended the notion of its 'backyard' to the Pacific and the Far East (China).

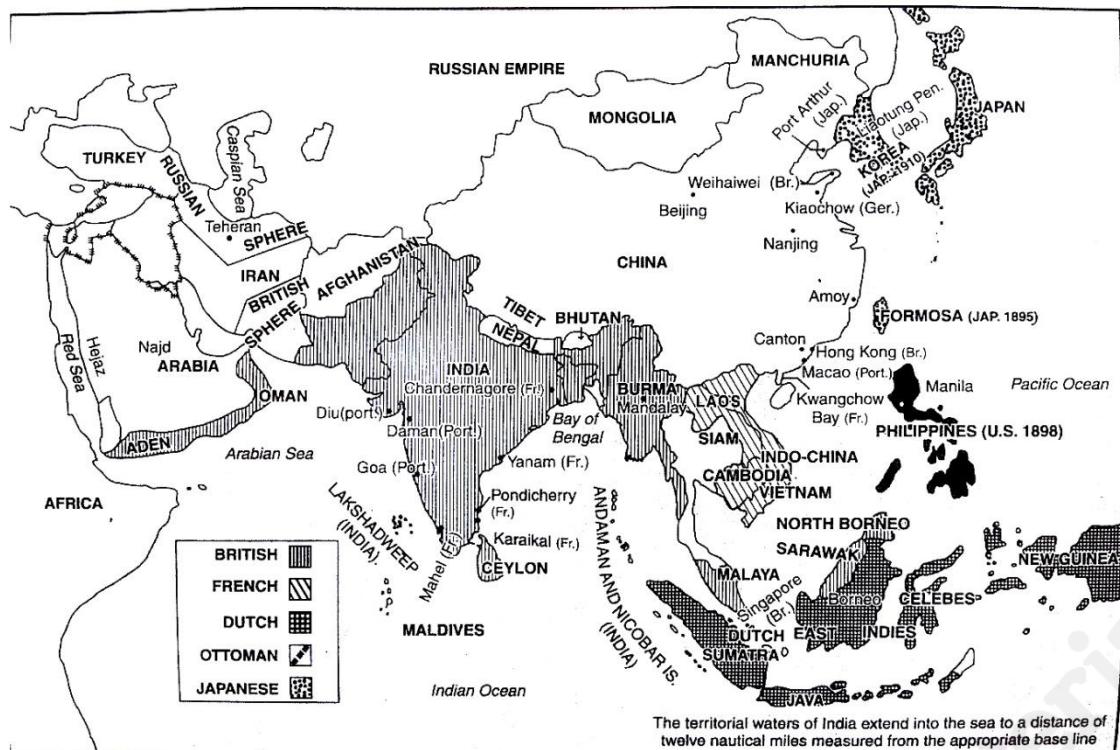
- A. By 1881, US had started claiming Hawaii Islands as part of American system. During the Spanish-US war in 1898 (fought over Cuba, which along with Puerto Rico was the only Spanish Colony in the Americas):
  - a) Spanish colonies in the Pacific
    - i. **Philippines** came under USA attack and consequently annexed.
    - ii. Spain ceded **Puerto Rico** and **Guam** to the US.
  - b) **Cuba** though made legally independent, its foreign policy came under US control. It was forbidden to make any treaties with any other country.
- B. **Hawaii (Pacific)** was officially annexed by USA in 1898. (\*Islands of Guam and Hawaii are strategically important even today for the present US policy of Asia pivot).
- C. Samoan Islands (Pacific) became victim of rivalry for control between USA, Germany and Britain. In 1899 Samoan islands were divided between USA and Germany (Britain was compensated elsewhere).

**In case of Britain**, it were mainly the settlers of New Zealand and Australia who wanted Britain to colonize more territory around them. In the Fiji islands it was on the demand of locals, who resented the autocratic rule, that Britain took over in 1885. In 1885, Britain and Germany

divided the Eastern half of New Guinea among themselves, while Dutch were in control of the Western half. Germany also bought some islands in the Pacific from Spain.

## **21. Colonialism in Central and West Asia**

## **COLONIAL POSSESSIONS IN ASIA IN 1914**



In Central and West Asia, the main rivalry for colonies was between Russia and Britain. Russia wanted access to the sea for trade and thus desired to control the ports. It followed an expansionist policy, which threatened Britain with respect to the Indian empire. The two rivals had strained relations till 1907. Russian expansion in Asia began after the **Crimean war (1853-6)** in which Russia lost against an alliance of France, Britain, Ottoman Empire and Sardinia (Italy). In the Crimean War, Russia wanted expansion of territory at expense of a weakening Ottoman Empire, while the European powers were against such a Russian expansion as it would threaten Eastern Europe coming under sway of the Russians. **In 1858, Russia forced China to hand over huge territory north of the River Amur** establishing much of the modern border between Russian Far East and Manchuria (China). Today China seeks to get it back from Russia.



*Fig: River Amur*

This gave Russia a port in the Western Pacific. To check Russian influence in **Tibet**, Britain sent troops there in 1904 and acquired control over Tibet's foreign policy. Russia weakened after the defeat in 1904-5 Russo-Japanese war, made an **agreement in 1907** with Britain and recognized Tibet and Afghanistan as areas of British influence. Thus, British were able to create a buffer zone between India and Russia.

**In Persia (Iran)**, as per the **1907 agreement**, Northern Iran was recognized as sphere of influence of Russia, Southern Iran of Britain and the Central Iran was made a buffer zone with equal freedom for both.

**In Asia**, Britain had India, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Burma.

Most of the **Far East**, except China, was scrambled by 1871. Russia had one-third of the area under its control. In the East Asia, China and Japan were independent. Japan escaped Imperialism and embarked on Industrialization after 1868 Meiji Restoration. It had become imperialist in 1890s and thus it was China, which became the target of Imperialism in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## 22. Colonialism in China

Following is a bullet point summary of events in China during its colonization (although Neo-colonization is more relevant word to use, as we will see later) :

1. China was discovered by the Portuguese in 1514 and they established trade relations with China by setting up a trading center in Canton in 1557.
2. But, China followed a policy of seclusion and only limited trade happened.
3. The Opium Wars of 19<sup>th</sup> century forced China to open up to rest of the world i.e in trade, inflow of foreigners and in establishing diplomatic relations.
4. Historically, China had national unity and Manchu Dynasty ruled from 1640s to 1911. From 1840s till 1949, when Maoists came to power, it witnessed a period of foreign interference, civil war and disintegration.
5. Taiping rebellion (1850-64) was a religious-political movement, which was crushed by provincial armies of China.
6. Loss of territory north of River Amur to Russia in 1858.
7. Japan invaded China in 1894-5 and brought parts of China under its control, especially Manchuria was brought under Japanese economic influence.
8. Boxer Rising occurred during 1899-1900. It was a violent anti-foreign and anti-Christian revolt. British deployed Indian soldiers to put it down.
9. Japan emerged victorious from the Russia Japan war of 1904-05 and replaced Russia from areas under its control in China.
10. In 1911, the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown and a Republic was proclaimed.
11. From 1916 to 1928, there was no central authority in China and the Generals with private armies seized control of different provinces. This era is called as Warlord Era.
12. It was Kuomintang or KMT or the Nationalist party, which rose during the Warlord Era and ended it completely in 1928. Sun Yat Sen and later Chiang Kai Shek were its important leaders.
13. KMT fought a civil war with Chinese Communist Party which emerged victorious by 1949, establishing a communist form of government in China while Chiang Kai Shek fled to Taiwan operating a Government in exile.

### 22.1. Details of events in China

China was discovered by the Portuguese in 1514 and trade relations were established by setting up a trading center in Canton in 1557. By 1730s, all European nations were trading with China, while USA started trading in 1784. But China followed a policy of seclusion after Europeans

started meddling in internal affairs, especially the Christian Missionaries from Rome (Rome was till 1870 supported by French Army. Thus France was also involved in China). China allowed only limited trade through selected Chinese traders and only via port of Canton.

## 22.2. Two Opium Wars (1840-2 and 1858)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, China had a weak government in form of Manchu dynasty. Britain had become a major trade partner but it had a huge trade deficit as China was self sufficient and imported little from the West. The British were facing the burden of this trade deficit as the Chinese accepted only precious metals like Gold as payment for exports to Britain (especially Tea and Silk). As a solution to this problem, the British started exchanging Opium as payment. This was opposed by China and resulted in Opium Wars in 1840-2 and 1858. **After the first Opium war**, British took over Hong Kong and extracted trade concessions from China. They also established British sovereignty over the trading centers. China was coerced into giving up the opposition to trade with the West. Major ports of China were opened to British trade and residence. Free trade was imposed on China. This meant that British could trade with any Chinese trader and custom duties were reduced. Also, a British diplomat was permanently stationed in China. British citizens in China could only be prosecuted under the British law.

**Between the two Opium wars**, other European nations and USA also signed trade agreements with China but the former desired more favorable treaties, which led to the second Opium war.

**After the second Opium War**, the trade treaties were revised. Even more Chinese ports were opened for trade. The European ships got rights of transit in Chinese rivers and Europeans could freely travel across China. China was made to guarantee security of life of Missionaries and the latter were given right to establish Churches anywhere in China. Ironically along with all this religiosity import into China, the Opium trade was also legalized. After the second Opium War, many more European nations, some South American nations and Japan established trade relations with China. Thus, China was opened up with different imperialist powers gradually establishing their Spheres of Influences in China.

### 22.2.1. Loss of territory north of River Amur to Russia in 1858

In 1858, China was weak. It was losing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Opium War and was fighting the Taiping Rebellion. In 1858, Russia threatened to attack & thus forced China to hand over huge amount of territory north of the River Amur.

### 22.2.2. Manchu Dynasty and Warlord Era

Manchu Dynasty ruled China from 1640s to 1911. As discussed above, till the 1<sup>st</sup> Opium War in 1840s, Manchu rulers followed a policy of seclusion or isolation. It was able to sustain isolationist policy because China was pretty much self sufficient in all goods and in fact always had a positive Balance of Trade (BoT) with rest of the world. Its tea was circulated by the British in their empire and rest of the world. The Boston Tea Party's tea was actually Chinese Tea. There were no major upheavals in China and it remained generally peaceful till 1840s. In 1840s, European nations started to force their way into China to take advantage of trade possibilities. Their aim was to make China an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. Britain was the first to interfere. It fought and won the Opium Wars and forced China to end policy of seclusion. Other EU nations followed suit and divided China into Spheres of Influences i.e. special areas of domination where a particular European nation got rights and concessions at specific ports. Then USA intervened in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and imposed an Open Door Policy where all nations were free to trade with all of China with no one nation dominating its affairs.

During **1850-64, Taiping Rebellion** occurred in Southern China. It was a partly religious and partly political movement, with an aim to setup a Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace through

armed rebellion against the Manchu Dynasty. The Christian Taiping rebels demanded shared "property in common," equality for women, and the replacement of Confucianism, Buddhism and Chinese folk religion with their form of Christianity. The Taiping Rebellion was crushed but not by the government at the Centre but by the provincial armies. The degradation in image and control of the Manchu rulers led to beginning of a process of Provinces asserting independence from the Central government. This process culminated in the Warlord Era (1916-28) where the real authority lay with the provincial armies led by individual Generals.

### **22.2.3. Five Major Events**

**Five major events** occurred before beginning of the Warlord Era:

- i. **Sino-Japan War (1894-5):** This war was fought mainly over Korea, which was hitherto under the control of China. After the loss, China recognized Korea as an independent state (\*Japan occupied Korea in 1910). Also, China was forced to give some territory to Japan in the Southern China. Formosa (Taiwan) was occupied by Japan. The Senkaku islands in South China Sea, which are today a point of contention between China and Japan were annexed by Japan after this war. Also, Manchuria came under economic influence of Japan where it made lot of capital investments after 1890s. Manchuria was very important due to its high coal and mineral reserves. It also provided access to Pacific Ocean. Japan envied the Russian control of Manchuria after 1858.
- ii. **Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900):** By 1900, China was divided into spheres of influences (thus China was reduced to a status of International colony). It was felt that it would soon be partitioned, with each Imperial power ruling its sphere of influence. The rebellion was against foreign interference in political, economic and religious affairs and was crushed by a joint Anglo-German-Russian-French-Japanese-American force. The Empress was forced to pay massive compensation for damage to the foreign property in China. Boxer Protocol, signed thereafter, allowed foreign powers to station their troops for protection of their citizens in China. After the treaty, Russia continued to occupy all of Manchuria.
- iii. **Russo-Japan War (1904-05):** It was fought over Manchuria. Japan won this war and took over Russian possessions in China. Thus, more Chinese territory came under Japan's control.
  - a) It got privileged position in South Manchuria (i.e. converted Southern Manchuria into its sphere of influence) and also got Port Arthur.
  - b) Japan converted independent Korea into its Protectorate in 1905 and also acquired control of Liaotung Peninsula.
  - c) Russia ceded half of Sakhalin islands to Japan.

The win established Japan as a major world power. US was against Russian domination in China. In Russo-Japan war, US President Roosevelt mediated and persuaded Russia to recognize Japan's territorial gains. US entered into a secret agreement with Japan to allow US trade freely in these areas. Thus, US began Policy of Appeasement towards Japan, which boosted Japan's imperialism and allowed it to become a major power and a US rival in the Pacific. The Russian defeat at hands of an Asian country, on one hand, psychologically boosted the Asians in their independence struggle and on other hand, it weakened the Russian Czarist regime at home. The defeat was an important reason for decline of the Czar and it culminated in the Russian revolution of 1905 that brought limited constitutional monarchy and then in 1917 established the Communist regime.
- iv. **Western Educated Chinese youth** returned in early 1900s with radical revolutionary ideas. They desired to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty and some like Sun Yat Sen wanted to establish a USA type democracy. Sun Yat Sen established Kuomintang or KMT or the Nationalist Party.
- v. **Republic China in 1911:** The Manchu Dynasty's rule ended in a revolution in 1911, when most of the provinces declared themselves independent. The new government tried for

democratic reforms demanded by the young intellectuals. But the provincial armies opposed such reforms and in a military coup in 1911, the nascent government was overthrown. China was proclaimed a Republic under a military General named Yuan Shih Kai as President. Further, when Yuan declared himself to be the Emperor in 1915 against the wishes of provincial armies, he was removed from power and the Warlord era began (1916-28).

#### **22.2.4. World War I (1914-19)**

During the World War I (1914-9), Japan captured more Chinese territory in form of Kiaochow Islands and Shantung Province. However, it agreed to free these areas during a conference in Washington in 1921, in exchange for limitation on presence of US, British and French navies in the Pacific Ocean.

#### **22.2.5. Warlord Era (1916-28)**

During this time China disintegrated in numerous states, each controlled by a Warlord with a private army, who fought among themselves. The Warlord era created chaos in China and the farmers suffered the most hardships.

#### **22.2.6. May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement (1919)**

The **May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement (1919)** was a movement started by the Chinese youth against the warlords and the regressive Chinese culture. Students gathered and held mass demonstrations. The **Chinese Communist Party** was formed in 1921 and it was sympathetic to the cause of peasants, who were the most oppressed section of the society under Warlord era. Simultaneously, **KMT** was strengthening itself militarily under Chiang Kai Shek and was successful in ending the rule of Warlords and uniting the country by end of 1927-28. The KMT was opposed to the communist ideology of Chinese Communist Party, which focused on peasant welfare through measures like land redistribution, while the KMT was pro-landlords. Also by 1927, KMT, being militarily stronger, was able to suppress the communists.

#### **22.2.7. Kuomintang and Sun Yat Sen**

KMT was formed in 1912 by Dr Sun Yat Sen, who had returned to China after the 1911 revolution. It wanted a united, democratic and modern China. Though it was not communist in its ideology, it was ready to cooperate with the Communists in the initial phase. Dr Sun Yat Sen was opposed to the disintegration of China during the Warlord era. His policy can be analyzed into three principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Land Reforms. By Nationalism, he desired an end to foreign interference in Chinese affairs and building of a great nation, while by Democracy he desired to end the rule of Warlords. Under the principle of Land Reforms, he was not in favor of immediate confiscation of lands from the landlords but promised the peasants that in the long term he would try land redistribution in favor of peasants, their economic development and lower rents.

He was only partially successful in his aims. In 1912, he was able to form a military government in Canton in Southern China with help of southern warlords. Thus, the aim of Democracy could not be achieved. Also outside Southern China he had little influence due to lack of proper Army of KMT. His alliance with the Southern Warlords ended in 1921 and thereafter he had to flee Canton and had to seek Soviet Russia's help for unification of China, which helped modernize and train KMT's Army. He was successful in rousing the spirit of Nationalism and became famous as an intellectual statesman but unable to end foreign interference or build China into a great nation. He died relatively young at the age of 59 in 1925 after which Chiang Kai Shek became the leader of KMT.

### **22.2.8. Chiang Kai Shek**

After 1925, it was Chiang Kai Shek, a militarily trained man, who was responsible for developing the KMT Army with the Soviet help. Although he studied the working of Communist Party and Red Army of Soviet Russia, he had a right wing ideology and was pro-capitalist class. He removed all the communist members from the KMT in 1925 and thus, was less tolerant than his predecessor Sun Yat Sen.

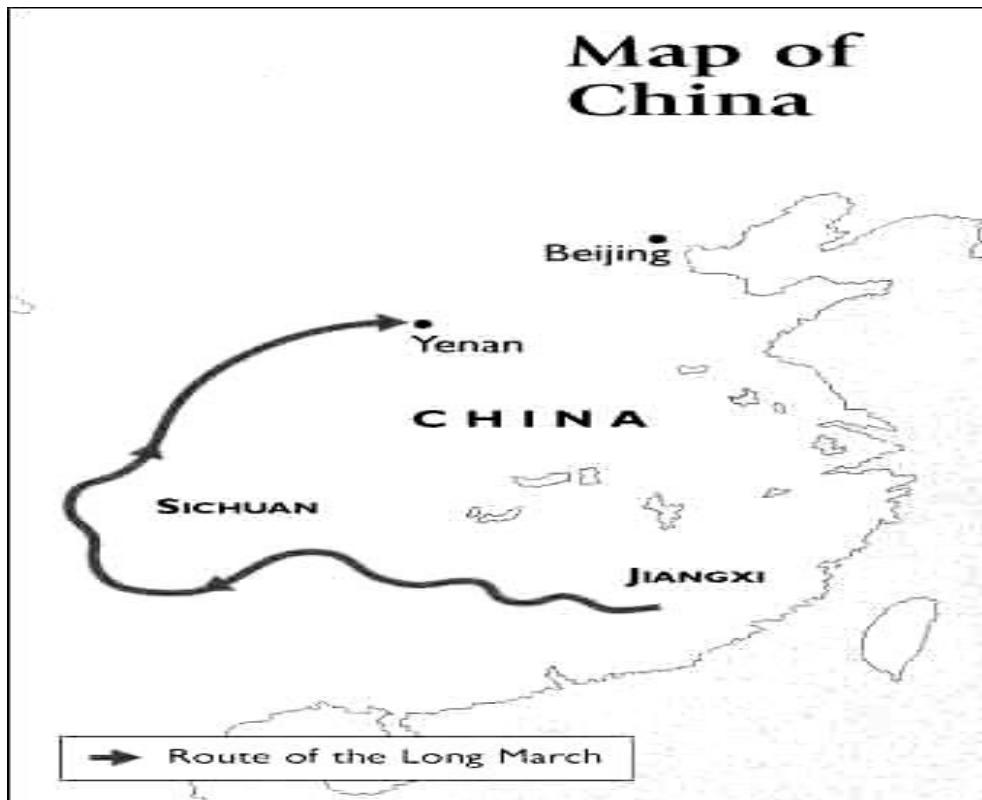
### **22.2.9. Chinese Communist Party (1921+)**

Even though KMT's aim was establishing democracy in China, the Soviet Russia after 1921 began supporting the KMT with cash, military training and arms with hope of having a friendly and united China under Kuomintang. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party was formed by the leftist intellectuals in 1921. Both KMT and Chinese Communist Party got support from peasants and workers during the warlord era.

Northern March (1926) was a military campaign by KMT and Chinese Communist Party against the Warlords. In 1927, after its win against the Warlords, the KMT initiated the Purification Movement, which was KMT's campaign against the Chinese Communist Party during which worker and peasant leaders as well as Chinese Communist Party members were massacred. In fact, the Chinese Communist Party was to a good extent eliminated.

But the consequent KMT government that came to power failed to meet aspirations of the masses. The government was inefficient and corrupt. A nexus developed between the landlords, the industrialists and the government officials, which resulted in exploitation of the poor. The workers suffered from poor conditions of work, while the peasants were disenchanted by lack of land reforms, high taxes and forced labor. They formed the support base of whatever was left of the Chinese Communist Party.

From 1930 to 1934, KMT initiated the **Encirclement Campaigns** to destroy Chinese Communist Party. The strategy was to encircle the Chinese Communist Party base and exterminate them in combat. The 1934 Communist escape is famous in this context, whereby 1 lakh Chinese Communist Party cadres were able to breach the KMT trapped Chinese Communist Party Headquarter in Southwest China and they set out on the famous **6000 mile Long March** from Southwest China to the mountains in the North. The Chinese Communist Party cadres covered 6000 miles in one year (Indian coastline is of 7517 km while 6000 miles convert to 9600 km approximately) and on their way they crossed mountains & rivers, fought the warlords, which were allies of KMT and won more and more territory. Only 20,000 of 1 lakh members survived and they setup a new base in Shensi province.



With the support of peasants, the remaining leadership of Chinese Communist Party, especially Mao Zedong reinvigorated the party. Chinese Communist Party gradually started bringing more area under its control. They provided an honest administration and introduced pro-peasant land reforms in areas under their control, which further tilted the masses in their favor.

Japan had invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established a puppet state (Manchukuo) there. From 1931 onwards, small localized "incidents" of Japanese aggression against China continued. But the KMT continued to attack the Chinese Communist Party cadres, instead of diverting full energy against the Japanese. Due to pressure from its own soldiers, KMT had to make truce with Chinese Communist Party in 1936 and after that both of them fought together against Japanese invasions, which took form of full blown war when Japan in 1937 initiated full fledged invasion of China. This is called as the second Sino-Japan war (1937-45) and it became part of the World War II.

The KMT forces were quickly defeated by Japanese army while the Chinese Communist Party cadres had more success due to its guerrilla warfare strategy. This increased the support base of Communists who were now seen as patriotic. Also, Mao Zedong (who was chairman of Chinese Communist Party since 1931) did not delay the reform process and resumed it as soon as it was possible, even amidst the war. For example, it started a Rectification programme in 1942 under which the intellectuals, students and urban youth were sent to remote villages to work on the fields with peasants for understanding and empathizing with the hardships of peasant's life. Thus, during the Sino-Japan war the Chinese Communist Party was able to increase its military control in China by their Guerrilla warfare strategy and by enlisting more and more Chinese peasants and workers.

After 1945, the civil war resumed between Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang. USA and USSR had occupied territory in China after defeating Japan. As USA was against communism it handed over the territory under its occupation to Kuomintang while Russia handed over Manchuria to Chinese Communist Party. Thus, now the Chinese civil war became part of the Cold War whereby USA supported KMT and USSR supported the Chinese Communist Party.

By 1949, the Chinese Communist Party emerged victorious as its Red Army was by then relatively large and well armed with Soviet weapons. This forced Chiang Kai Shek to flee to Taiwan where he setup a government in exile for whole of China. This government was recognized as the legitimate government of China by the USA, while a new Communist State emerged on the world map in territory of mainland China.

## 23. Imperialist Japan

Before 1868, the following conditions existed in Japan:

- a) **Political System:** Emperor was merely a figurehead. Real power was with the military generals also known as shoguns.
- b) **Social System:** a Europe-like feudal society existed in Japan.
- c) **International contact:** for over 200 years, Japan was cut-off from rest of the world.

Around 1850s, Japanese independence came under threat. US sent a naval fleet in 1853 and coerced Japan into opening two ports for US ships and trade was permitted. Similar treaties were signed with European powers in coming years.

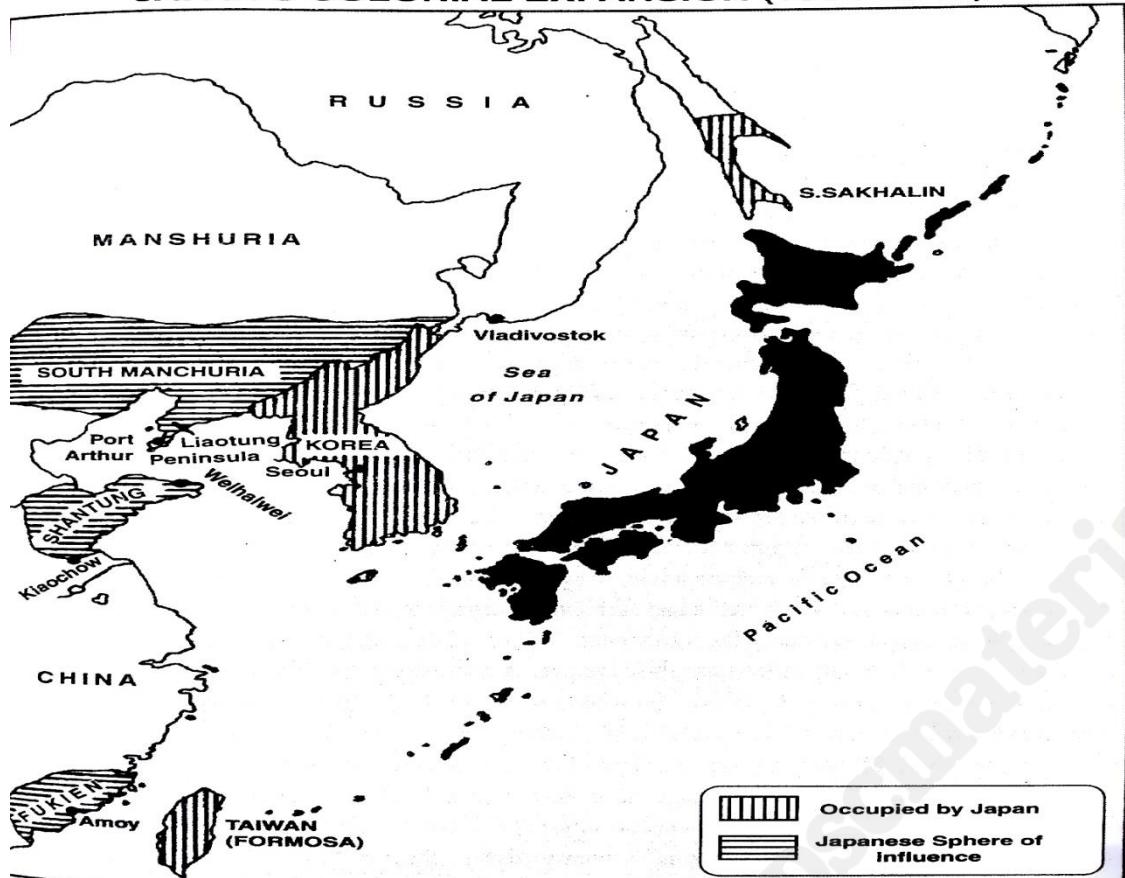
**Meiji Restoration (1868):** In 1868 the rule of shoguns was ended and a new set of advisers began ruling in the name of Emperor, whose authority was restored at least on paper. The Emperor took the title of Meiji and these changes are collectively called Meiji Restoration. From 1868 to 1908, Japan emerged as an industrialized nation. Initially, the government took up the responsibility and invested a lot in heavy industries. Later, the industries were sold to Capitalists who soon emerged as self-sufficient and no more required government support. An efficient Education programme ensured that Japanese were made literate very rapidly. It provided skilled workforce needed for rapid industrialization. Extreme nationalism and worship of Emperor were stressed in the education. This enthused people to work hard for national economic growth and also helped in justification of Imperialism that was to happen later. In 1889, a new constitution was enacted. The ministers were responsible to the Emperor and not the Diet (Parliament). Emperor was referred to as divine. The ministers and the Diet had no say in appointment of Army and Navy officers who. The Diet had limited financial powers. The right to vote was given to only 3% of population. Thus, gradually the armed forces came to dominate the political affairs of Japan.

Japan was a small island nation with majority of people living on meager wages. Thus, it lacked domestic market and embarked upon colonization in search of export markets and raw materials to feed its industry. Manchuria was very important due to its high coal and mineral reserves. It also provided access to Pacific Ocean. Japan envied the Russian control of Manchuria after 1858.

1. **Sino-Japan War (1894-5):** This war was fought mainly over Korea, which was hitherto under the control of China. After the loss,
  - a) China recognized Korea as an independent state.
  - b) Formosa (Taiwan) was occupied by Japan.
  - c) Senkaku islands in South China Sea, which are today a point of contention between China and Japan, were annexed by Japan after this war.
  - d) Manchuria came under economic influence of Japan, but it still envied the Russian control of Manchuria since 1858.
2. **Russo-Japan War (1904-05):** It was fought over Manchuria. Japan won this war and acquired more Chinese territory
  - a) Japan converted Southern Manchuria into its sphere of influence and also got Port Arthur.
  - b) Japan converted independent Korea into its Protectorate in 1905 and also acquired control of Liaotung Peninsula.

- c) Russia ceded half of Sakhalin islands to Japan.
- 3. Japan annexed Korea in 1910. During WWI, Japan wanted but failed in converting China into its Protectorate.
- 4. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established the puppet state of Manchukuo. From 1931 onward, small localized “incidents” of Japanese aggression against China continued.
- 5. **Sino-Japan war (1937-45):** Japan in 1937 initiated full fledged invasion of China. It became part of the World War II.

#### JAPAN'S COLONIAL EXPANSION (1895–1918)



Japan turned into a military dictatorship in early 1930s, which gave a boost to imperialistic campaigns in China. It were the economic and political problems, which had plunged Japan into control of the Army. Japan had enjoyed economic boom till middle of 1921. It had benefited from the World War I (1914-19) as after the war European powers were weak economically and were involved in quarrels over Treaty of Versailles. Economic weakness of European nations

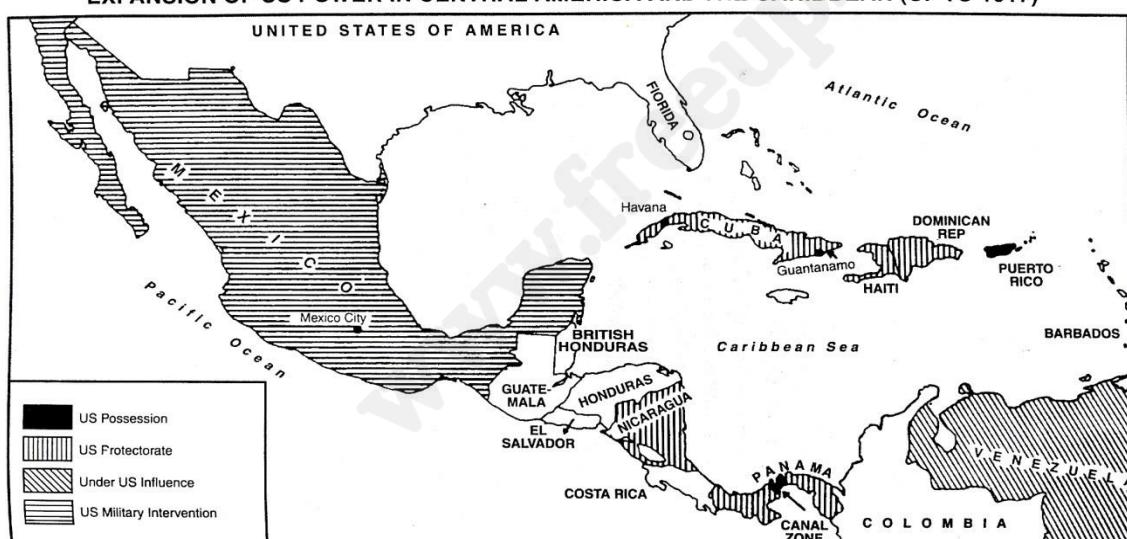
made their exports less competitive. Also, they were militarily exhausted and thus not in a position to check Japanese aggression. The only nation powerful enough to check Japan's imperialist march was USA but it was itself disgusted with the World War I and followed a policy of isolation, which entailed non-interference in world affairs and prevention of military conflict with any other nation at all costs. Thus, Japan took benefit of this whole situation. By 1918, it had profited economically by exporting shipping and other goods to the Allied Powers during WW I. It had replaced European companies in export markets, especially in Asia, and got supply orders which Europeans could not service. During World War I, Japan's cotton exports had tripled and merchant ships doubled.

The social conditions in Japan were also responsible for its Imperialist tendencies. The influential sections of the society like the Army and the conservatives were against Democracy and frequently criticized the government. The Army was against Government's soft and conciliatory approach to China, as it wanted to take advantage of the Civil War in China to expand the colonial empire.

The economic conditions also played a role. The economic boom ended by 1921, because the European nations had recovered economically and now recaptured their lost export markets. In Japan, unemployment increased and the peasants were hit by rapid decrease in prices of rice due to bumper harvests. The protests of workers and peasants were suppressed brutally and thus, they also turned against the government. The World Economic Crisis served as the turning point, as Japanese exports were hurt badly as the importing nations were not in a position to pay for imports. In Manchuria, the Chinese companies were trying to replace the Japanese companies and the Japanese trade and businesses were at risk. This was unbearable in the background of the Economic Crisis of 1929. The Army invaded Manchuria in 1931 without the government's knowledge and the Prime Minister was killed in 1932 when he opposed the invasion. Till 1945, it was the Army, which ran the country on Fascist lines. The Emperor enjoyed high prestige but he also failed to control the Japanese imperialism because he was afraid of his orders not being followed. Thus in Japan, it was the Army and not the elected government, which was responsible for Imperialism in 1930s. Also, it were the economic problems and the small size of its territory, which increased its Imperialism.

## 24. Imperialist US

EXPANSION OF US POWER IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (UP TO 1917)



From 1865 to 1895, USA rose as an industrial power. For some time, the US influence in international economy was not felt because it had huge domestic market and thus much of its production was consumed internally. The reason for huge domestic market was increased

population in USA due to huge migration of Europeans and other groups in 19<sup>th</sup> century and first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Another reason was the Policy of Isolation, which implied a general lack of interest in world affairs.

But by 1890s, US emerged as a new Imperialist power. The major reason was Industrial Revolution induced demand for export markets and raw materials. US also used the concept of White Man's Burden and export of modern civilization was cited as a reason for US interference. The domination of the weak by the strong nations was justified as the law of nature. US expansion in the Pacific had started even earlier.

(\*please go to Colonialism in Pacific )

In 1890s, when Europeans wanted to partition China, the USA felt left out and thus enforced the '**Open Door Policy**', which implied that in China all Imperial powers would have equal rights and no Imperial power would discriminate against another power citing any area as its Sphere of Influence. Thus, China became an International Colony. US contributed troops for suppression of Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900)

In 1893, US reiterated its hegemony over North and South America. It declared itself as practically sovereign over whole of America and its orders should be treated as law. It forced the British to agree to arbitration in a territorial dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana (present Guyana).

US was against Russian domination in China. In **Russo-Japan war of 1904-5**, US President Roosevelt mediated and persuaded Russia to recognize Japan's territorial gains. US entered into a secret agreement with Japan to allow US trade freely in these areas. Thus US began Policy of Appeasement towards Japan, which boosted Japan's imperialism and allowed it to become a major power and a US rival in the Pacific.

**Corollary to Monroe Doctrine:** In 1904 Monroe Doctrine (1823) was expanded. Roosevelt argued now that US had the right to not just oppose European interference in Latin American affairs but also had the right to intervene in internal affairs of South American countries. From 1906-9 US troops intervened in Cuba to restore law and order.

**Panama Canal in Columbia:** It was completed in 1914. It boosted US trade in a big manner. The canal allowed a link between the two oceans of the Pacific and the Atlantic. Earlier US bought shares of the French Company, which was constructing the canal. When the Columbian government opposed the terms of agreement with the US, the latter manufactured a revolution and sent troops to prevent curbing of the revolution. Soon, Panama was recognized as an independent nation and it signed a much more favorable agreement than what the US had offered Columbia.

**Neo-Colonialism in South America:** The Presidents after Roosevelt, namely, Taft and Woodrow Wilson followed the policy of promoting investments by US companies and bringing Latin American economy under its control with help of these investments. US intervened in Mexico by helping in a coup against popularly elected leader Madero (elected in 1910, removed & murdered in 1913). Mexicans became hostile to US after this event (Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821).

## 25. World in 1914

### 25.1. Europe still dominated rest of the World

Though Europe still dominated rest of the world, important powers like US and Japan had arisen outside Europe too. Moreover, within Europe, not all European countries were powerful. It were Germany, France and Britain, which were the major powers. The rest of Europe was still in the process of economic modernization.

By 1914, Germany was ahead of Britain in production of pig iron and steel but lagged behind in production of coal. On other hand, France, Italy, Belgium and Austria-Hungary were well behind Britain and Germany. Russia was last to begin with industrialization. In 1914, Russian industry was expanding rapidly but still its economy was pre-dominantly agricultural and thus, far behind Germany and Britain. Russia was also witnessing political turmoil. One Russian Revolution had happened in 1905 and the next took place in 1917.

Outside Europe, US and Japan had begun industrialization around 1870s. In 1914, US produced more pig iron, steel and coal than Germany and Britain. It had adopted the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 and by 1914 it had ensured its domination of all of the Americas but was relatively detached from the affairs of Europe. Japan had emerged as a major exporter of textiles. It had defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and gained recognition as a major world power. Japanese imperialism was directed towards China. US policy of appeasement towards Japan had made it a strong rival in the Pacific. Thus by 1914, US and Japan both had emerged as Imperialist powers.

## 25.2. Political Systems of the world powers varied widely

There was democracy in US, Britain and France. Germany had lower house but the real power lay in office of the Chancellor and the Kaiser (Emperor). Italy was a constitutional monarchy but the Right to Vote was available only to the wealthy. Japan after Meiji Restoration (1868) had brought a constitution in 1889, which provided for a lower house (Diet). But the Diet had limited powers, the Right to Vote was available to only 3% of the population and the real power was in the hands of the army, navy, the Emperor (Meiji) and the privy council.

## 25.3. Imperial Expansion after 1880

After Industrial Revolution in the 1870s, many European nations sought to increase their colonial empire. European powers had scrambled the whole of Africa by 1914. Although nominally China was a Republic since 1911, after overthrow of Manchu Dynasty, it had been converted into an international colony by US, Japan, France, Britain and Germany.

## 26. Causes of Friction within Europe

Following can be classified as some of the major causes of friction among European powers:

1. **Rivalry for colonies** in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.
2. **Naval rivalry:** It was a result of colonial rivalry and was witnessed the most between Britain and Germany. Germany was a late entrant in the race for colonies and wanted to use its navy to threaten other colonial powers for expansion of German colonial empire. Germany sought to increase its naval strength by citing national defense, while the British opposed German naval buildup citing that it was only Britain, which had the right to naval supremacy. Britain argued that it deserved a supremacy in naval strength to ensure continued protection of its colonial empire, which was the largest and the most spread out by 20<sup>th</sup> century.
3. **Loss of Alsace Lorraine by France** to Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 was a cause for Germany-France rivalry.
4. **Russia was suspicious of Habsburg empire's ambition in the Balkans.** Balkan is an area in the north east of Mediterranean Sea and is populated by mainly the Slavs. The Russian Czarist regime/Romanov Dynasty also belonged to the group of Slavs and had its own ambitions in the Balkans.
5. **Serbian nationalism:** The Serbs wanted to integrate the Balkan areas populated with Slavs into a single Yugoslavia. Such a Yugoslavia would have required secession of certain areas from the Habsburg empire which had people from different ethnic groups including Slavs. Once the Slavs had been integrated into Yugoslavia, other groups would have also

demanded secession. Thus, the idea of Yugoslavia threatened the integrity of Habsburg empire.

6. **Europe had divided itself into two alliances:** The Triple Alliance had Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy while the Triple Entente had Britain, France and Russia. But these were not very rigid alliances. In fact, Italy fought on the side of Britain and France in the World War I. The World War I was fought between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria) and the Allied Powers (Italy, Britain, France, Russia and US).

## 27. Major events before WW I

1. **Moroccan Crisis (1905-6):** In 1904-5 Britain and France had signed *Entente Cordiale* with a clause that Britain's control over Sudan and Egypt would be recognized by France and the special rights of France over Morocco would be recognized by Britain. Germany became anxious of increasing French influence in Morocco. It pledged to maintain independence of Morocco and called a conference. But Italy, Spain, Russia and Britain supported France in the conference and the latter got control over Moroccan Banks and Police. This was a diplomatic defeat for Germany.
2. **Britain-Russia Agreement of 1907:** It ended their disputes in Asia. Afghanistan and Tibet were recognized as British spheres of influence and Iran was divided into three zones with the North recognized as Russian zone, the central area as a buffer and the South as British zone. Russia hoped to get British investments for its industrial development after this agreement.
3. **Bosnia Crisis (1908):** Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia from the weak Ottoman empire. Bosnia had significant population of Slavs and thus Serbia also longed for Bosnia as an integral part of future Yugoslavia. Serbia called for help from Russia, which tried to organize a conference over the issue. But no conference was held as Britain and France withdrew support to Serbia when it became clear that Germany would support Habsburg Empire in case of a military conflict. They wanted to avoid a direct military clash with the Germans. Russia was not militarily strong to take any action in favor of Serbia. After this humiliation, Russia began its militarization so it could help Serbia if the need arise in future. Russia was now more suspicious of Habsburg empire's ambitions in the Balkans and Serbia became a bitter rival of Austria-Hungary.
4. **Agadir Crisis (1911):** When France deployed troops in Morocco, Germany got anxious of Morocco coming French control. It sent its warships to the island of Agadir near Morocco. It threatened France that if it did not withdraw its troops then Germany will annex Agadir. Britain was worried that if Germany captured Agadir then it would be in a position to threaten British trade routes. Britain again sided with France. In a compromise, Germany was given a small strip of land in French Congo and in return Germany was compelled to recognize French control of Morocco. The German public opinion became bitter against France and Britain, and this event gave further boost to naval race between Britain and Germany.
5. **1<sup>st</sup> Balkan War (1912):** Here the Balkan League (Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria) attacked Turkey and captured most of Ottoman Empire's territories in Europe. Germany and Britain mediated to bring about a ceasefire. In the peace settlement, the Ottoman Empire's territory in Europe was divided among the Balkan States. Serbia was unhappy as it wanted Albania for this would have provided it with access to the sea but Albania was made an independent state. Obviously, the Austrian hand was working through Germany against Serbia.
6. **2<sup>nd</sup> Balkan War 1913:** This was fought against Bulgaria by Greece, Romania, Turkey and Serbia. Bulgaria attacked Serbia because it was unhappy with most of Macedonia being given to Serbia at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> Balkan war. After its defeat in the war, Bulgaria lost all

territory it had gained from the 1<sup>st</sup> Balkan war. Germany had restrained Austria-Hungary from militarily helping Bulgaria. Britain on the other hand, had not come to the aid of Serbs. Germany took this as a sign of British detachment with the Russians. The result of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Balkan War was a stronger Serbia, which was now determined to instigate Croats and Serbs (both are Slavs) of Habsburg Empire for realization of the goal of Yugoslavia.

- 7. Assassination of Archduke of Austria *Franz Ferdinand* in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia (June 1914)** : Bosnia had been annexed by Habsburg empire and the Bosnians were aligned with Serbia. A secret society had organized the killing and the Bosnian government was aware of the plot but did not do anything to stop it. This event was definitely an act of terrorism and the anger among the Austrians was justified but Austria-Hungary took this event as an opportunity to try annexing Serbia. It presented Serbia with a set of demands with a deadline. Serbia accepted most of the demands but not all because accepting all the demands would have amounted to surrendering the sovereignty of Serbia to Habsburg empire. Serbia fearing invasion ordered military mobilization. After the deadline, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. The assassination served as the immediate cause of the World War I.

## 28. Who/What was to blame for the Assassination of Archduke steamrolling into World War I ?

- Definitely the quarrel between Serbia and the Habsburg Empire was responsible for the outbreak of war between Serbia and Austria but not for World War I. Following were the reasons for escalation of Serbia-Austria conflict into a World War:
  - **Web of Alliances:** It refers to the Alliance System, Europe had organized itself into. This made the allies of each side to enter the war. Once Austria declared war on Serbia after the latter failed to meet all the demands, Russia ordered full mobilization honoring its alliance with Serbia. Then Germany mobilized troops and declared war on Russia because Russia had rejected the German demand of not mobilizing troops against Austria and Germany had an alliance with Austria. Then Germany formed an alliance with Ottoman Empire and declared war on France because Germany believed that France would enter the war in favor of Russia, honoring the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894. The German War Plan was also known as **Schlieffen Plan**, which aimed at German victory over France in just 6 weeks. This was possible only if Germany would attack France through Belgium, which lay between France and Germany. Since Britain was an ally of Belgium and had guaranteed its neutrality, it declared war against Germany when Belgium was attacked. Japan entered war, honoring its alliance with Britain. Thus, all major powers were at war with each other due to the Alliance System. But this was not the sole reason as the earlier conflicts had not escalated into a world war.
  - **Imperialism:** Colonial rivalry in Africa and the Far East was also to blame. France, Britain and others had ganged up against Germany in the Moroccan crisis thwarting its colonial ambitions. Japan wanted German Pacific islands and thus entered the war on the side of Allied Powers. Italy entered the war on side of Allied Powers in 1915 on promise of more territory.
  - **Naval Race** between Germany and Britain increased tensions and both became rivals. By defeating the other in the war at sea, each power had ambition of establishing naval supremacy once and for all.
  - Capitalism was blamed by Lenin as he saw economic rivalry with profit motive as the root cause of the war.
  - **Russia** made war more likely by backing Serbia. Had Russia allowed Serbia to deal with Austria alone then Germany may not have entered the war. Russia always desired

influence in the Eastern Europe. But it had genuine concerns as well. Ottoman empire was already under the influence of Germany and Austria. If Serbia had been defeated by Austria then Dardanelles, which provided an outlet from the Black Sea and thus was crucially important for Russian trade, would have come under control of Austria and Germany, who could then have strangled the Russian trade.

- **German backing of Austria** was also crucially important. This was probably because the Germans felt encircled by Russia, France and Britain. Russia and France had signed an agreement in 1894. In 1904, Britain and France who were traditional rivals, signed an agreement of friendship also known as *Entente Cordiale* under which they resolved their disputes regarding colonies in Africa. In 1907, Russia and Britain signed an agreement that ended their disputes in Asia. Thus by 1907, Germany was anxious due to the growing proximity between the other major powers in the region, even though technically these agreements were not military agreements and dealt with territorial disputes and trade & investments.
- **Mobilization plans** of the big powers were also responsible. The mobilization of armies increased the tensions and mutual suspicion. Europe had many internal disputes other than the Serbia-Austria quarrel and once one power ordered the mobilization of its forces, the rival powers had to mobilize their own forces to be able to deal with any possible military threat to their own frontiers.
- **A tragedy of Miscalculations:**
  - Germany believed that due to France-Russia Agreement of 1894, France will surely fight in favor of Russia.
  - After passive stand of Britain in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Balkan War, Germany thought that Britain would not come to the aid of Russia or France.
  - Further, Germans miscalculated that the Schlieffen Plan will bring them a quick victory.
  - Germans miscalculated that by supporting Austria they would be able to threaten Russia into neutrality.
  - Austria miscalculated that since it had German support, Russia wont come to aid of Serbia.
  - Politicians in Germany and Russia felt that mobilization would not necessarily escalate into a War.
- **Cultural belief** that war was good, necessary, glorious and the notion of superiority of us over them rallied the people in favor of war.

## 29. During the World War I

The Schlieffen Plan failed as the Germans failed to defeat the French in the planned time of 6 weeks. After this it was clear that it was to be long drawn war. Trench Warfare and the war at the sea were the two important features of World War I.

- i. **The Trench Warfare** occurred mainly in France with both sides armies digging trenches. The soldiers used to sit in and fire from the trenches. Whenever troops charged out of the Trenches against the enemy, they were exposed in an open field and became easy targets of the enemy. In this way, both sides suffered huge casualties. Soon a standoff developed with both sides stationed in their respective trenches. The life in the trenches was miserable with water clogging resulting in diseases and consequent deaths.
- ii. **War at the Sea:**
  - a) **The Blockade Policy:** This was followed mainly by Britain and Germany. It aimed at three things:
    - i. Blockade of the rival trade routes so the rival is starved out due to the lack of supply of goods (arms, rations etc.) and is thus forced to surrender.

- ii. Provide security to own trade routes so that the country which is blockading doesn't itself starves.
  - iii. For movement of troops.
- Britain was successful in destroying many surface warships of Germany.
- b) **Allied Blockade caused problems to the US** as the British stopped and searched all ships to prevent Germany from getting any supplies. This slowed down movement of US merchant ships. Also, the US wanted to trade with both the sides and thus disapproved of Allied Blockade,
  - c) **Germans retaliated with sea mines and submarine attacks.** Once the German surface warships had suffered huge damage at hands of the British navy, the Germans did not have any other option but to resort to submarine attacks and sea mines. But this infuriated US as some of its ships were sunk and in one incident many US citizens onboard a ship had died. From now on the public opinion in the US was more pro-British.
  - d) **Battle of Jutland (1916)** : This was a battle on the sea and resulted in further British control of sea surface. This left Germany with no option but to use underwater submarines and in an attempt to blockade the Allies it started the unrestricted submarine warfare.
  - e) **Unrestricted Submarine warfare by Germans** in Atlantic Ocean in 1917: This was the German Blockade with an aim to cut off British supply lines and it started attacking 'all' ships in the Atlantic. This policy did not discriminate between neutral ships and the ships of Allies. This infuriated US further but Germany thought that it would be able to starve the Allied Powers into surrender before the US decides to enter the war. Unrestricted submarine warfare was a major reason that catapulted US into the war on the side of Allied powers.

## 30. Woodrow Wilson's 14 points (1918)

They more or less served as the war aims of Allied Powers.

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy
2. Free navigation at sea for all nations in war and peace
3. Removal of economic barriers between states
4. All round reduction of armaments
5. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the populations concerned
6. Evacuation of Russian territory
7. Restoration of Belgium
8. Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France
9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality
10. Self government for people of Austria-Hungary
11. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro to be evacuated and Serbia to be given sea access
12. Self government for the non-Turkish people of Ottoman empire and permanent opening of Dardanelles
13. An independent Poland with secure access to Sea
14. A general association of nations to preserve peace

Wilson under pressure from Britain and France added two more points regarding Germany viz disarmament of Germany and war reparations by Germans for civilian losses caused by them in occupied territories.

## 31. Attitude of the Allied Powers & the Peace treaties

The British wanted a lenient treaty with Germany because a prosperous Germany would serve as a market for British exports. France desired a harsh treaty with Germany so as to ensure that it is not able to threaten French frontiers in the foreseeable future. The US also wanted a lenient treaty with Germany but was disappointed with the harsh treaty that Germans signed with the Russians and the destruction of civilian infrastructure by the Germans during their retreat from France and Belgium. Finally a compromise was reached and Germans were not to pay the whole cost of war but just the cost in lieu of damage done to civilians and their property.

### 31.1. Treaty of Versailles

It was signed with Germany. Following were its major points:

- 1) **Germany lost territory in Europe:** Alsace-Lorraine was given to France. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent nations. Parts of German territory were given to Denmark, Belgium, Poland and Lithuania. SAAR and DANZIG had german population but they were brought under administration of League of Nations. Danzig was a major port of West Prussia. Saar was to be under League of Nations for fifteen years and then a vote was to be held to decide if it would go to France or Germany. France was given the right to use coal mines of Saar for these fifteen years.
- 2) **Union between Austria and Germany** was forbidden even though Austria had huge German population.
- 3) **Germany's African colonies** were taken away and converted into Mandates under the League of Nations. Members of the League of Nations were to 'look after' the colonies assigned to them as mandates and to prepare them for independence in the future.
- 4) **Germany was disarmed:** It was barred from introducing conscription (compulsory military service). Rhineland (Germany) was made a buffer zone between France and Germany by demilitarizing it permanently. Germany was only allowed to have six battleships and at maximum one lakh soldiers. It could have no planes, no tanks and no submarines.
- 5) **War guilt clause:** It placed the blame for World War I solely on Germany and its allies.
- 6) **War Reparations:** Germany was to pay 6600 pounds after a lot of deliberations. But it was decreased to 2000 million pounds later as the earlier amount was disproportionately high and Germans were in no position to pay such a huge amount. The aim of the reparations was to ensure that Germany continues to grapple with its economy for a long time and thus never be a threat to France and Britain in foreseeable future.

### 31.2. Other Treaties

#### 31.2.1. Treaty of St Germain (1919) and the Treaty of Trianon (1920)

Treaty of St Germain (1919) was signed with Austria and the Treaty of Trianon (1920) was signed with Hungary. These treaties had following consequences:

- a. Austria & Hungary were reduced to a very small size as compared to the expanse of Habsburg empire.
- b. Territory was distributed among other European nations on the principle of self determination which entailed that now people lived under the government of their own nationality.

### 31.2.2. Treaty of Sevres (1920)

It was signed with Turkey. Following were important points:

- 1) Huge loss of territory to Greece e.g. Eastern Thrace and Smyrna. Italy also got some territory.
- 2) Dardanelles or the Straits (provided outlet from Black Sea) were permanently opened.
- 3) Ottoman Empire's colonies were converted to mandates and given to Britain and France. Syria became French Mandate while British Mandates included TransJordan, Iraq and Palestine.

### 31.3. Verdict on Peace Treaties

As can be seen from the Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, the principles of self government, reorganization of states on lines of ethnicity, international peace and security through overall disarmament were the major principles forwarded by the allied powers as war aims. When assessed on these principles the Treaty of Versailles cannot be justified. It rather became a major tool that was to be used later by Fascist regime of Hitler to wage another war, the World War II. Following are some points in this regard:

- 1) **The Treaty of Versailles was a dictated peace** as the Germans were not allowed to be part of the negotiations. They could only put forward their opinion and criticism through writings. All their criticisms were ignored. Only the clause of loss of territory was the one where the Germans were compensated. The industrial region of Upper Silesia in West Prussia was handed over to Germans after a vote. But then the Allied Powers argued that the Treaty of Brest Litovsk was also a dictated peace upon Russia.
- 2) **The clause of disarmament of Germany** made it virtually impotent and the reparations charged upon the Germans were unjustified. Wilson's 14 points included 'all round decrease in armament' but it was only Germany which was disarmed and no other European power started disarmament. The limit on troops and arms made it difficult for Germany to maintain law and order.
- 3) **Principle of nationality, ethnicity and of Self Determination:** This was a major principle advocated by the Allied Powers to justify reorganization of Europe's internal borders and creation of new independent states out of Habsburg empire. But it was not completely followed:
  - a) **Germans:** Significant amount of German territory with German population was given to newly created nations. Poland had more than a million Germans. The union between Austria and Germany was forbidden even when Austria had many ethnic Germans. After the Treaty of St Germain and Treaty of Trianon with Austria and Hungary respectively, three million Germans in Sudetenland were now part of Czechoslovakia. The result was that many Germans lived outside Germany after the World War I and this was to be used by Hitler to justify German aggression and expansion before World War II.
  - b) **Turks:** The Treaty of Sevres was also in violation of the principle of Self Determination as it resulted in areas populated by Turks being given to Greece especially the territory of Smyrna which was on Turkish mainland. This resulted in the rise of nationalism in Turkey and the nationalists under Mustapha Kemal rejected Treaty of Sevres. The Greeks were chased out of Smyrna and Mustapha Kemal forced a renegotiation. Smyrna and some other former territories of Ottoman Empire were restored to Turkey through Treaty of Lausanne (1923).
  - c) **Arabs:** T.E Lawrence was a British officer who played a major role in inciting Arabs against the Turks. He led the revolts by the Arabs against the Ottoman empire from 1916-18. After supporting the Allies in the World War I, the Arabs hoped for

- independence but their hopes remained unfulfilled. Arabs were also unhappy with the talks regarding creation of a Jewish state within Palestine.
- d) **Indians:** India did not gain any real autonomy even when many Indian soldiers fought on the side of British. The War Aims of Allied powers included self-governance and self-determination. The Government of India Act 1919 failed to meet the aspirations of the Indian National Congress. The dismemberment of Turkey was also a major grievance among the Muslims. The British had promised to Indians a lenient treatment to the Ottoman Empire after the World War I in return for Indian support but they did not keep their promise. These factors along with colonial oppression in form of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Rowlatt Act served as a trigger for the Khilafat & Non-Cooperation Movement in India.
- 4) **Principle of 'Economic Viability':** It was ironical that Allied Powers used the principle of 'Economic Viability' to justify that the newly created states needed areas having German population but the union between Austria and Germany was ignored even when it made perfect economic sense.
- 5) **Loss of Colonies:** The objection to loss of African colonies by Germany was genuine. The distribution was not impartial and was for satisfying imperialistic ambitions of the Allied Powers. The League of Nations handed over these colonies as mandates only to the members of Allied Powers. Mandate System was a virtual annexation of German colonies by Allied powers. Britain got German East Africa. France got most of Cameroon and Togoland while rest of these two colonies was given to Britain. South Africa got German South West Africa.
- 6) **War Guilt Clause:** It is pretty much evident that all the Imperial powers were responsible for the World War I. Thus the War Guilt clause, which fixed responsibility of World War I solely on Germany and its allies was unjustified. It served as a humiliation for the Germans. The Allied Powers insisted on it as it made Germany legally liable to pay war reparations.
- 7) **War Reparations:** The huge War Reparations resulted in humiliation to the Germans. The amount of 6600 million pounds was too high and was aimed at keeping Germany weak economically in the foreseeable future.
- 8) **Reduction in Territory:** Austria and Hungary were reduced to very small size in terms of territory and population. Most of the industrial wealth of Austria went to Czechoslovakia and Poland. They were soon engulfed by economic crisis and they had to seek loans from League of Nations.
- 9) **Free Trade clause neglected:** Free trade among nations was part of Wilson's 14 points. But trade barriers were introduced by most of the newly created nation states. This made the recovery of Austrian economy very difficult.
- 10) **Russia did not gain much** from peace settlement as the communist regime was not invited to the negotiations.

## 32. Impact of the World War I (1914-19)

- 1) **The Peace Treaties:** They weakened Germany only temporarily because some of clauses like Disarmament and huge War Reparations were impossible to implement. Germany soon began rearming itself with help of Russians and defaulted on the payments towards reparations.
- a) The treaties only served to sow seeds of resentment and extreme national rivalries which were to harvest in form of the World War II.
  - b) Treaties divided Europe into two groups of states. While one group wanted to revise the peace settlements, the other group wanted to defend/preserve the peace settlements.
  - c) US did not ratify the peace settlements and never joined the League of Nations as the public soon denounced Wilson and US reverted back to the Policy of Isolation to prevent any military engagement in future.

- d) Italy felt cheated as it did not get all the territory that was promised to it in lieu of entering the war in 1915.
- 2) **League of Nations** was created to ensure world peace and for social work.
- 3) **Russia became Communist:** World War I led to rise of revolting Bolsheviks who were against the Russian participation in the war due to the economic burden it brought upon the Russian population. There were two phases of Russian Revolution of 1917. In the February Revolution (1917) the Czar was overthrown due to army mutinies and the civil unrest. A provisional government was setup but it failed to hold the promised elections. Helped by the Germans, Lenin returned from exile to Russia and this paved way for the October Revolution (1917) that led to overthrow of the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, came to power and a separate peace treaty (Treaty of Brest Litovsk) was signed with Germany in 1917. This treaty was very harsh upon the Russians and was used against the Germans when they complained about the Treaty of Versailles being immoral and excessively harsh.
- 4) **Rise of US as a hegemonic power:** US entered the war in 1917 when the German blockade of ships (1917) started targeting all the merchant vessels in Atlantic, including of the US. The Zimmerman Plan was another factor which changed the public opinion in US in favor of entering the war. This plan was a product of German diplomat Zimmerman and entailed persuading Mexico to attack US. Also, earlier US did not want to enter the war on side of the autocratic Czar. The spirit of American Revolution was behind the US reluctance. But the fall of the Czarist regime in Russia removed this barrier as well. The following factors helped US emerge as the true winner from the World War I:
- a) The war was not fought on the US soil. Thus US escaped the usual damage to infrastructure and the consequent economic costs of reconstruction a war brings.
  - b) US intervened militarily only during the last phase of the World War I and thus it lost minimal soldiers in the warfare unlike the Europeans who had to deal with the shelling and the trench warfare.
  - c) US gave loans to the Allied Powers during the war and to the Germans after the end of the war to meet the reparation costs imposed on them under the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, US made a lot of money through World War I. Its war machine i.e. the military industries gained the most by selling weapons during and after the war. The decade after the war, till 1929 when the economic crisis hit US, was one of the most prosperous for US.
  - d) The leading role played by President Woodrow Wilson in the negotiations in Versailles is a symbolic proof of the stature of US during and after the World War I.

Thus, although even on the eve of World War I, US was the leading industrial economy, the World War I catalyzed its arrival on the world stage as a truly global power.

- 5) **European economy suffered** due to the war and European nations became dependent on loans from US for reconstruction.
- 6) **Dismemberment of Ottoman Empire:** The Ottoman empire disintegrated after its loss in the World War I and the new nation state of Turkey came into being.
- 7) **Disintegration of Habsburg Empire:** Austria-Hungary separated on their own just before the end of the World War I and the Habsburg empire came to an end.
- 8) **Rise of new nations states:** Turkey, Austria and Hungary were created as mentioned above. Further, Czechoslovakia and Poland were created. Serbia fulfilled its dream of uniting the Slav people under Yugoslavia which was formed by merging Serbia and Montenegro. Also Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent nations. Germany had ceased them from Russia after the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917).
- 9) **Imperialism continued:** The German colonies were converted into Mandates. Mandates were handed over to the victors for preparing them for independence at a suitable future

date. The British got the German colonies in Africa. Ottoman Empire's territories of Iraq, Syria, TransJordan and Palestine were distributed as Mandates among France and Britain.

**10) Introduction of new Weapons:** Many new weapons were used for the first time in World War I. Barbed Wires, Machine Guns, Tanks, Poison Gas and Shelling were put to great use. This pushed the world away from peace and ensured that the future wars were more dangerous.

**11) World War I did change the people's outlook towards war:** War was now condemned by many thinkers due to the high civilian casualties. Before the World War I, war was cited as glorious and there was a dominating flavor of romanticism in the literature being published. This changed after the World War I and writers like Hemingway began denouncing the war as inhuman. Most viewed the World War I as a tragedy because it didn't need to happen, it didn't accomplish much and it only created socio-economic conditions that made World War II more likely.

## 33. League of Nations

League of Nations had its origin in the war aims of Allied Powers. Woodrow Wilson's 14 points had envisaged creation of an international agency that would work for maintenance of world peace. Similarly, Britain had also listed creation of such an organization as one of its war aims during World War I. This clause took the form of League of Nations, which was formed in January 1920, with its headquarters in Geneva, on the same day as the Treaty of Versailles came into effect.

### 33.1. Aims of the League of Nation

Following were the aims of the League of Nation:

1. Settle international disputes to prevent war in future. This was to be achieved through the principle of collective security. All the member nations were to collectively act against a nation who tried to wage a war. This action against the aggressor nation would take form of economic sanctions and military action, if required. Thus, maintenance of international peace and security was the primary goal of the League.
2. Economic and Social work: The League of Nations was to seek international cooperation for socio-economic development across the world. For this purpose various organizations within the League of Nations were created.

### 33.2. League Covenant

It was the list of rules through which the League was to operate. These rules were drawn up by an International Committee that comprised of the leaders of important world powers.

### 33.3. Organizational Structure of the League of Nations

- **Membership:** There were 42 member nations to begin with. By 1926, when Germany was granted membership, the total number of member nations had reached the tally of 55.
- **Security Council:** The League of Nations had a United Nations Security Council, like Security Council with eight members to begin with, four permanent members and four non-permanent members. The non-permanent members were elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years. By 1926, the council had thirteen members with the seats for non permanent members now increasing to nine. The four permanent members were France, Italy, Japan and Britain. The decisions in the council had to be unanimous. The mandate of the League of Nations Security Council was to deal with political issues.
- **Peacekeeping Function:** All disputes that could boil down to a war were to be referred to the League and any member that resorted to war was to face collective action by the rest of the members. The Security Council would have the authority to recommend the amount

- of resources - naval, air, military - that each member of the League should contribute for collective action against the aggressor.
- **General Assembly:** Members of the League of Nations constituted the General Assembly. The Assembly met annually and the decisions were to be taken unanimously. All members of the Assembly had one vote. The Assembly was a policy making body of the League and thus its mandate was to decide on the general policy issues. It also controlled the finances of the League of Nations and had powers to change a peace treaty. The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the Council, the election with the Council of the Judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities.
  - **Permanent Court of International Justice:** It was setup in Hague (Netherlands). Its mandate was to deal only with the legal disputes between states and not the political disputes. It had fifteen judges from different nationalities. It continues to function today as part of the United Nations and is known as the International Court of Justice.
  - **Secretariat:** It was setup as a support unit and handled the paperwork, formulation of reports and preparing the agenda.
  - **Commissions & Committees:** Commissions were setup, with each commission dealing with specific problems. Examples of important commissions included commission for handling issues regarding 'Mandates', Disarmament, Military Affairs etc. On the other hand, important committees were those dealing with areas of Health, Labor, Women Rights, Drugs, Child Welfare etc.

### 33.4. Evaluation of Performance of League of Nations

To determine the success or failure of the League of Nations, we can analyse its performance with respect to two major aims of the League as mentioned earlier. If the performance of the League of Nations is to be summarized, then it can be said that it failed with respect to its aim of being a leading forum for resolution of international disputes and ensuring a peaceful world. But, it did important work for the socio-economic development across the world, specially, the work by International Labor Organization towards welfare of the workers and the contribution of League of Nations for rehabilitation of the refugees of the World War I was commendable.

#### 33.4.1. Success of the League of Nations

The League was successful in two areas:

- **Economic and Social work through its Commissions and Committees:**
  - **ILO:** The International Labor Organization was the most successful. The goals of ILO included - fixing maximum working days and minimum wages, ensuring that member nations provided for unemployment benefits and old age pensions. Its work included information dissemination with respect to performance of different member nations and to push the governments for actions in the area of welfare of the workers.
  - **The Refugee Organization:** It helped the Prisoners of War in Russia to their homes outside Russia. In 1933, it helped the Jews, who were fleeing to escape Nazi persecution, to resettle in different countries where they would be safe.
  - **Health Organization:** It did good work in finding causes of different epidemics. It was especially successful in combating Typhus epidemic in Russia which had the potential to spread to the rest of Europe.
  - **Mandates Commission:** It had the responsibility of monitoring the governance of territories given to member nations as Mandates (former colonies of Ottoman Empire and Germany). A separate commission, which was setup for supervising the governance in SAAR, was very efficient and successfully held a plebiscite there in 1935.

After the plebiscite, SAAR was returned to Germany. Although the Mandates Commission functioned well, it can be argued that it did not do much against colonialism in former African colonies that were converted to Mandates. The Mandates were to be prepared for independence but the commission failed to ensure that the colonial powers provide for participation of the locals in the governance of Mandates.

- **Resolution of minor International disputes:** Here the League had partial success. It forced Greece to pay compensation to Bulgaria, when the former invaded the latter. The League decided in favour of Britain when Turkey started claiming the Mosul province, which was a mandate of Britain. The League solved a territorial dispute between Peru and Columbia. Also in 1921, when there was a dispute regarding Upper Silesia (an industrial region) between Germany and Poland, the League successfully made both the parties reach a settlement and Upper Silesia was partitioned between the two.

**Conclusion:** None of these disputes threatened the world peace. Also whenever a major power was involved, the decision of the League was always in favour of the major power.

### **33.4.2. Failures/Causes of Ineffectiveness of the League of Nations**

- **An Allies Organization:** League of Nations came to be viewed as an organization of the Allied Powers especially of France and Britain, setup for implementation of unjust peace treaties, which failed to satisfy all nations.
  - Turkey and Italy were both dissatisfied with the peace treaties. While Turkey was aggrieved at territories it considered as inalienable being handed over to Greece, Italy was dissatisfied for not getting the territorial gains it was promised in 1915 in lieu of entering the war in favor of the Allies.
  - The Peace treaties signed were against principle of Self Determination. For instance, millions of Germans, after the peace treaties, resided outside Germany in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Similarly, many Turks were now residents of Greece.
- **Conference of Ambassadors:** This body was setup as a temporary body to resolve disputes regarding peace treaties until the League of Nations was setup and made fully functional. But, it continued to exist even after the formation of the League. This hurt the legitimacy and the authority of the League of Nations. At times, the Conference of Ambassadors overruled the League's decisions, for example, in case of the Corfu incident (1923) involving Mussolini's Italy and Greece.
- **Failure of Disarmament:** It was only Germany, which was made to disarm under the Treaty of Versailles. The League failed to convince other major powers to disarm. Britain and France did not want self-disarmament. When the World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932-33, Hitler demanded equality of armament with France. But, France refused as it feared that Germany would become an equal military power and soon emerge as a threat to its frontiers. Hitler used this as an excuse to quit the World Disarmament Conference. Soon, he would denounce the League of Nations and make Germany quit it as well.
- **Mockery of Collective Security:** The League of Nations failed to check any violations of the frontiers established after the WWI through the peace treaties.
  - **1923 resolution:** It allowed each member the freedom to decide if it wanted to contribute any military resources during activation of the collective security clause. This literally nullified the responsibility that all the member nations had in their duty of checking any act of war by another member nation.
  - **Failure of Geneva Protocol (1924):** The British and French governments had proposed a Geneva Protocol. It provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes. It committed the League of Nations members to come to immediate military aid of a victim of

aggression and also aimed at general disarmament. In the Geneva Protocol the member states would declare themselves "ready to consent to important limitations of their sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations". But, USA condemned the proposal (due to its Policy of Isolation) and the next Conservative government in Britain withdrew the British support to the protocol. Thus, the protocol was never ratified.

- **Economic Crisis of 1929** led to poverty and unemployment and consequently, right wing governments came to power across the world. These governments were more aggressive and violated the League Covenant. For example, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, Abyssinia was invaded by Italy in 1935, the Spanish Civil War of 1936 saw military intervention by Mussolini and Hitler in favor of France, Japan invaded China in 1937 and Hitler annexed Austria in 1938. In all these cases, the League proved powerless and failed to check the military aggression. In case of **Japanese invasion of Manchuria** in 1931, the decision of the League was that the Japanese should evacuate Manchuria. Japan rejected this decision and consequently withdrew from the League in 1933. Military or economic sanctions against Japan were not even discussed as Britain and France were under economic stress due to the Great Depression. Similarly, when **Abyssinia** appealed to the League against the Italian aggression of 1935, the League applied sanctions but only half-heartedly. Italy was still allowed to import important goods like coal, oil and steel, and thus, the sanctions failed to coerce Italy to withdraw from Abyssinia.

**Three things are clear from the above discussion and following was the impact of the Economic Crisis of 1929 on world politics :**

- The right wing governments, especially the Fascist regimes in Japan, Italy and Germany took benefit of the World Economic Crisis as they knew that due to economic concerns the important League members like Britain and France would not act.
- Britain, France and USA were following a policy of appeasement towards the Fascist regimes to prevent war. This was to prove disastrous and was the major reason for Fascist regimes becoming gradually powerful enough to challenge the world peace.
- Also, it is clear that every nation, including the proponents of the League, were concerned with their own economic interests. Be it the US Policy of Isolation or the British abandonment of the Geneva Protocol, the major powers did not want a responsibility that would not bring any direct territorial or economic gains. Even Britain and France, who were at the helm of the affairs of the League, did not act when they did not find support of other important economic and military powers like USA, USSR etc. The national economic concerns and political benefits became more important than the world peace.
- **The League of Nations was not a truly representative organization:** It had limited membership. This also resulted in lack of funds for the League's work. The three main world powers, namely, USA, USSR and Germany were not its members when the League was formed in 1920. Thus, it became an organization of the French and the British and lacked the legitimacy of being called a truly representative world body. Germany was admitted only by 1926, while USSR gained membership in 1934. USA never joined the League of Nations and neither did it ratify the peace treaties. After the World War I, the US public rejected Woodrow Wilson and his fourteen points and US reverted back to its Policy of Isolation. The Republicans viewed LoN as a world government, which would threaten US national sovereignty and freedom. It did not want to be involved in any future military conflict or to be involved in the European affairs. By 1933, Japan had quit the League of Nations and soon after that the Hitler's Germany also left the League. Thus, on the eve of the World War II, the League of Nations was in ruins and a failure.

**Summary:** The League failed to implement its decisions in disputes, where the verdict of the League was against a major power. Aggressive regimes like Japan, Italy and Germany defied the League. Britain and France did not do much to give teeth to the League. The Economic Crisis of 1929 was also responsible in its own way. The Conference of Ambassadors undermined League's authority. Important powers like Germany, US, USSR were not its members. The League Covenant was weak and it failed to provide a real collective security.

### 33.5. Impact of the failure of the League of Nations

- Gradually, small states lost all faith in the League of Nation due to its inaction against aggression in Manchuria and Abyssinia.
- Fascist regimes got encouraged. Hitler became confident of violating the Treaty of Versailles.
- World War II could not be prevented.

### 33.6. Comparison of UN with the League of Nations

United Nations	League of Nations
Setup in 1945 after WW II	Setup in 1920 after WW I
UN Charter	League Covenant
Active US and USSR participation.	US did not join. USSR was admitted very late (1934)
Dominated by US and Russia	Dominated by Britain and France
UN Charter based on proposals by US, USSR, China and Britain	League Covenant drawn up by US, Britain and France as Russia was not invited to the Treaty of Versailles.
UN aims were world peace, protection of all individual human rights and socio-economic development.	League of Nations did not include protection to rights of an individual.
UN General Assembly decision making not based on unanimity principle.	LoN's General Assembly took decisions based on unanimity principle. This resulted in frequent stalemate.
In UN, developing countries have much more voice.	In LoN, the colonies had no say.
UN is more representative body with nearly all nations being its members. It has become more representative of the Third World after former colonies gained independence. The membership also increased after emergence of new states post USSR disintegration.	LoN was less representative due to lack of membership to all nations.
Voting in UNSC need not be unanimous for a decision to take effect.	Voting in League's Security Council had to be unanimous.
Permanent members of UNSC are USA, France, Britain, Russia and China. Number of non-permanent members are 10 elected for 2 years.	Permanent Members of League's Council were France, Britain, Japan and Italy. Number of Non permanent members were 9 by 1926 from four in 1920 when the League was formed. They were elected for 3 years.

UN has been more successful because of more time and money being devoted to Economic and Social development work. Also, the scope of UN is much wider in the domain of socio-economic

development than LoN. All specialized agencies of UN, except ILO, were setup after 1945. UN is more focused on Good Governance. For example, it has formulated and works with the member-nations for achievement of developmental targets like Millennium Development Goals. UN has been able to take decisive action due to change in procedures as UNGA does not need unanimous vote. Also, UNSC veto can be overruled by UNGA as per the **Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950** (during Korean War (1950) - USSR was boycotting the UNSC due to non-admission of Communist China. Some analysts argued that abstention meant vetoing the resolution. Thus, UNGA was consulted and it passed this clause that allowed veto to be overruled and thus UN could intervene in the Korean war). The resolution stated that "*in any cases where the Security Council, because of a lack of unanimity amongst its five permanent members, fails to act as required to maintain international peace and security, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately and may issue any recommendations it deems necessary in order to restore international peace and security.*"

Also there is much greater prestige of the UN Secretary General as compared to its LoN counterpart. Kofi Annan (1997-2006) became very famous for his conflict resolution ability. Even if UN has not been able to prevent wars, it has been able to bring them to a quick end by mediating a ceasefire on different occasions.

UN is more important in the era of Global Governance and as the world has become more integrated due to Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization and issues of global concern like environment and safety of other Global Commons.

### 33.7. Similarities between UN and LoN

Common aim of World peace and Socio-Economic development.

Veto powers of a member in Security Council

Lack of permanent army of their own and thus dependence on members for contribution of troops

#### Common weaknesses:

- Criticism of being a tool of super powers
- Pro-West
- Being subservient to powerful individual nations
- Financial dependency on US and Europe: UN is mainly dependent on US funding while LoN was dependent on Britain and France

## 34. The World from 1919-23

- 1) **Turkish nationalism:** Turkey was unhappy with the Treaty of Sevres (1920), as it had lost a lot of territory to the Greece. Many turks found themselves under the occupation of the Greeks. This led to rise of nationalism and Mustapha Kemal forced Greece out of occupied territories.
- 2) **Italian unhappiness with peace treaties:** Italy was unhappy with the territorial gains it had made after the World War I. It was promised much more when it was persuaded to join the Allied Powers in 1915. When Mussolini came to power in 1922, Italy seized Fiume from Yugoslavia. The Corfu Incident happened in 1923. Corfu was an island of Greece. Some Italian workers working under the Boundary Commission setup for resolution of a territorial dispute between Albania and Greece were killed. In response, Italy bombed Greece and occupied Corfu and left it only after Greece paid compensation as demanded by Italy.

- 3) **US war debt to Europe:** US had benefited a lot from the World War I. It had sold lots of arms and extended loans to the Allied powers. Britain, France and other Allied nations expected that US would provide them some concession on the loans. But US continued to demand full repayment of the war debt.
- 4) **Question of German Reparations:** Britain and France were under economic stress. They had to repay the US war debt and also invest money for infrastructure reconstruction after the war. The Germans were themselves devastated by the war and were finding it very difficult to pay the war damages. They expected a lenient treatment and a reconsideration on the amount to be paid. Britain was in favor of easing the terms of payment as it would make German economy recover faster making it actually capable of paying the war reparations. Also, a prosperous Germany would serve as an export market for British goods. On the other hand, France was rigid and wanted Germany to pay full reparations. This was due to two reasons. One, it was French tactics to keep Germany economically weak for foreseeable future so it does not threaten French frontiers. Two, France actually depended on German reparations to payback the loans taken from US.
- 5) **Russian Civil War (1918-20):** After the Bolsheviks came to power, they tried to export the communist revolution to the rest of the world by sending their agents to support communists in other countries. This earned Russia, the hostility of most countries having democratic regimes. In Russia, Lenin had dissolved the assembly formed through the democratic elections after the revolution and usurped power by establishing a Communist regime. This became the major cause of resentment among other groups who wanted a democracy. The Western nations and Japan sent forces to fight Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War which was being fought between Bolsheviks and other groups (known as Whites). The communist revolution failed in rest of the Europe but it was successful in Russia as the Bolsheviks won the Civil War (1918-20)

## 35. Attempts after the World War I to improve International relations

- 1) **League of Nations:** It was setup in 1920 to preserve world peace via resolution of disputes through negotiations. The principle of Collective Security entailed use of military and economic sanctions against an aggressor nation. It was only successful in disputes which were minor in nature and failed to check aggression by major powers.
- 2) **Anglo-Russian Trade treaty (1921):** After the Russian Civil War (1918-20), there was an atmosphere of reconciliation between Britain and Russia. The communist revolution had failed in rest of Europe, the Western powers had failed to defeat Bolsheviks in Russian civil war and Russia was exhausted from the civil war. It now desired investment and reconciliation with British.
- 3) **Washington Conference (1921-2):** The Washington Conference was held by US to check increasing Japanese influence in the Far East. During the World War I, Japan fought on the side of Allied Powers and it had seized Kiaochow island and Shantung Province of China. It had also occupied all the German Pacific islands. Thus, after World War I Japan had emerged as a rival of US in the Pacific and it had developed a strong navy which could have threatened the US interests. Through Washington Conference the US wanted to prevent a war and a naval race with Japan. After this conference it was agreed that Japan would withdraw from the Kiaochow island and the Shantung province of China. In return, Japan was allowed to retain the German Pacific islands. Also Britain, France and US agreed not to build a naval base within the striking range of Japan. Neutrality of China was guaranteed by US, Japan, Britain and France. Also these powers agreed to respect each other's possessions in the Far East. The agreement placed limits on the naval fleet of US, Britain and Japan whose navy was to be in the ratio of 5:5:3 i.e. Japanese navy would be three-fifth the size of Britain and US.

### **Impact of the Washington Conference:**

- Japan emerged as the supreme power in the Pacific because although the size of its navy was to 3/5<sup>th</sup> of Britain and US, the Japanese navy was concentrated in Pacific while the navies of Britain and US were spread out across all oceans.
- When US refused to intervene against Japan when the latter invaded China in the 1930s, the Britain and France also did not act as they realized that without US they would suffer huge losses by getting involved in a war with Japan.

**4) Genoa Conference (1922):** It was called by Britain to solve the following problems:

- a) **France-Germany hostility:** Germany was threatening to stop payment of war reparations to France.
- b) **War debt to US:** US had doled out loans to the allied powers during the World War I and due to weakened economy after the war, Britain and France were finding it difficult to pay back.
- c) Britain wanted establishment of diplomatic ties Russia.

**Result of Genoa Conference:** The Genoa Conference failed to resolve the above problems as the French demanded full reparations from Germany. Also, US refused to attend the conference and demanded full payment of all the loans. Germany withdrew from the conference due to lack of flexibility shown by France on the question of war reparations. Russians left the conference because Britain demanded that Bolsheviks pay the war debt incurred by the Czarist regime during World War I.

### **Impact of the Genoa Conference:**

- a) Germany and Russia signed a separate agreement (**Rapallo Agreement 1922**) through which they canceled any war reparations they had to pay each other.
- b) **France occupied Ruhr in 1923** and seized goods worth 40 million pounds. Through the occupation of Ruhr, an important industrial area, France further wanted to force Germany to pay war reparations. The Germans in the Ruhr, responded with passive resistance by stopping all work in the industries. This not only made the French occupation a failure but also impacted German economy. Due to lack of supply of goods there was huge inflation in Germany and the German Frank depreciated, literally becoming valueless.

**5) Dawes Plan (1924):** This plan was aimed at solving the problems of French occupation of the Ruhr and the consequent galloping inflation & huge depreciation of German Frank. US took lead here and under the Dawes Plan it was agreed that Germany pay annually whatever she could afford until she became prosperous enough. But there was no decrease in total amount Germany was required to pay. Germany also got US loan to rebuild its economy. Also, France agreed to withdraw from the Ruhr. The Dawes Plan was successful and the German economy started recovering because of the US loans. International relations improved after the Dawes Plan and this laid the ground for Locarno treaties of 1925.

**6) Locarno Treaties (1925):** The main players involved were Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The minor players were Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. These treaties were seen as a dawn of a new era of peace and friendship in Europe. Under the Locarno treaties the signatory nations agreed to recognize the frontiers set by the peace treaties after World War I. This meant that the nations promised to not attack each other and if one of the nation attacked then the other nations would come to rescue of the victim against the aggressor. Germany reaffirmed that it would continue to keep Rhineland demilitarized as per the Treaty of Versailles.

### **Impact of Locarno treaties:**

- i. The treaties were celebrated in Europe as Locarno Spirit or Locarno honeymoon between France and Germany. Germany was allowed to enter the League of Nations in 1926. There was economic prosperity in Europe and an environment of friendship. Stresemann (Germany), Briand (France) and Chamberlain (Britain) met frequently till 1929.
  - ii. **Weaknesses:** Britain and Germany did not guarantee the German frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia, the area which was prone to maximum trouble. By ignoring this problem, Britain gave an impression that it may not intervene if Germany attacked Poland or Czechoslovakia. Locarno Spirit was an illusion because so much depended on economic prosperity which when evaporated in 1929, the old hostilities resurfaced.
- 7) **Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928):** It was a US-France led initiative and was joined by 65 nations who signed an agreement denouncing war as an instrument of national policy.
- **Impact:** It did not mean much because there was no mention of sanctions against an aggressor. Japan had signed the pact but soon attacked Manchuria in 1931.
- 8) **Young Plan (1929):** It was aimed to settle the question of German reparations. As per the plan, the total amount to be paid was decreased to 2000 million pounds from earlier figure of 6600 million pounds. Also this newly agreed amount was to be paid over 59 years. The reason for the Young Plan piloted by US was that the Dawes Plan had left the total amount to be paid by Germany unchanged and Germany wanted a decrease in the amount. Also France was more ready to negotiate due to the Locarno Spirit.

## **36. Events after 1929**

The year 1929 was a turning point in the history of world and after 1929, Europe started to drift towards the second World War. The Locarno Spirit was ended due to events during and after 1929 viz death of Stresemann (1929), Wall Street Crash (1929) and rise of Hitler to power in 1933 (he became Chancellor).

### **36.1. Economic Crisis of 1929**

The **Economic crisis of 1929** resulted in high unemployment in Germany. By 1932, there were 6 million unemployed men in Germany. This resulted in boost to the growth of Nazis and fall of Weimar Republic. With the rise of Nazis, the French attitude towards Germany hardened as the Nazis thrived on an extreme nationalist propaganda. They wanted to bring all German areas into the Reich.

### **36.2. Lausanne Conference (1932)**

Here, Britain and France freed Germany from paying most of the remaining reparations. This was done so because due to the Great Depression, there were six million people unemployed Germans by 1932.

### **36.3. World Disarmament Conference**

The **World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932-3**. Under League Covenant all members had agreed to decrease armament, but it was only Germany which had to disarm following the Treaty of Versailles. Germany demanded that either all should disarm or it should be allowed to at least have parity with France in terms of armament. Britain and Italy sympathized with Germany. Finally, when the French did not budge, Hitler withdrew Germany out of the conference and also from the League of Nations (both in 1933).

## 37. France-Germany relations (1919-33)

France insisted on a harsh treaty during the Treaty of Versailles negotiations.

**France followed three strategies to prevent a German attack in future**

- i. **Keep Germany economically and militarily weak.** This included following elements:
  - a) France stressed that Germany pay full reparations.
  - b) Occupation of Ruhr (1923) to force Germany to pay reparations: The occupation of Ruhr was strongly opposed by Britain because the British favored a lenient way of dealing with Britain. Britain felt that a prosperous Germany would be better for stability of Europe and its exports.
  - c) Use of SAAR's coal for 15 years.
  - d) Disarmament of Germany and demilitarization of Rhineland were stressed by France during drafting of Treaty of Versailles.

France was disappointed by Britain when it withdrew from Geneva Protocol and the USA which had reverted to Policy of Isolation and thus refused to promise in advance any support to France in case of war.

- ii. **Signing alliances:** France signed treaties with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania from 1921 to 1927, to check any future German aggression. These treaties collectively are known as **Little Entente**. But the Little Entente did not amount to much because of weak partners. France desperately needed an ally like Russia because it allowed to engage Germany on two frontiers simultaneously. But, Russia was now under the Communists who were seen by many in France as greater threat than Germany. USSR had tried to export its communist revolution after 1917 by sending secret agents to help communists in France.
- iii. **Reconciliation/Friendship:** via Dawes Plan (1924), Locarno Treaties (1925), Young Plan (1929) and Lausanne Conference (1932). Stresemann was the German foreign minister from 1923 to 1929. He was a very important leader and steered the German foreign policy during the difficult decade after the World War I. The relationship between France and Germany remained bitter until the Dawes Plan (1924). After the Dawes Plan there was economic recovery of Germany under Weimar Republic and consequently, the tensions between the two decreased. The problem with the reconciliation approach was that even the man behind Locarno Spirit, Stresemann wanted fulfillment of the German desires and redressal of German grievances after the World War I. Under Stresemann, Germany still desired, though it did not take an aggressive stand:
  - a) Polish Corridor and Danzig port.
  - b) Union with Austria
  - c) Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia
  - d) Revision of Treaty of Versailles i.e. a decrease in German reparations, annulling of disarmament clause and Rhineland's rearmament.

After the 1929 crisis, the Nazis influence increased and so did the extreme nationalism in Germany. The French attitude hardened against Germany and it began approaching possible future allies like USSR:

- **Austria Germany Custom Union (1931):** It was proposed by Germany and made economic sense. France appealed to the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Hague which ruled against the custom union.
- **World Disarmament Conference (1932-3):** At the conference Germany wanted equality of arms with France if all nations do not agree to disarm. France disagreed and Germany, under Hitler, withdrew from the conference and also the League of Nations.

## 38. Britain-USSR Relations (1919-33)

The relationship can be summarized in following points:

- 1) 1907 Britain-Russia agreement led to reduction in bilateral tensions and greater trade and investments.
- 2) **Left-Right divide:** It can be said that the relationship was good whenever the Labor party was in power and sour when the Conservatives came to power. This was so because of the difference in the ideology of the Leftist Russia and Right wing conservatives in Britain.
- 3) British involvement in **Russian Civil War (1918-20)**
- 4) **Trade Agreement (1921):** Lenin wanted trade and investment to boost Russian economy. Also this agreement the communist government got recognition in a way from Britain.
- 5) **Genoa Conference (1922):** Here the rift between the Russians and the British widened on question of war debt incurred by Czarist regime.
- 6) **On-off Diplomatic ties:** 1927- British Conservative government broke off diplomatic ties with Russia when it came to know about Comintern activity in India and Britain. 1929-Labor Government resumed diplomatic ties with USSR.
- 7) **Rise of Hitler:** After Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, there was increase in positivity among the two nations. Hitler's Germany threatened the Russian frontiers and also the Nazi propaganda was very radical in its criticism of the communists. This was so because the communists in Germany were a major opposition group of the Nazis and after 1917, Bolsheviks had tried to incite a communist revolution in Germany.

## 39. USSR-Germany Relations (1919-33)

The relations between the Russia and Germany were generally good till 1930, thanks to the leadership of Stresemann. On the other hand, USSR wanted good relationship with at least one capitalist country. Following were important landmarks in the relationship:

- 1) **Trade Treaty (1921):** a trade treaty was signed between USSR and Germany in 1921 and subsequently the German industrialists got trade concessions in Russia.
- 2) **(Rapallo Agreement 1922).** It had following provisions:
  - a) Full diplomatic relations were resumed between Russia and Germany
  - b) Special relationship between Russia and Germany.
  - c) cancelled any war reparations they had to pay each other
  - d) German armament began: Germany was allowed to build factories in Russia for manufacturing of airplanes and ammunitions. This allowed Germany to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles clause dealing with disarmament. German officers began training in Russia with learning to use weapons which were forbidden in Germany due to Treaty of Versailles.
    - The reason for this bonhomie between Russia and Germany were manifold. Russia and Germany both wanted to keep Poland weak. Russia wanted Germany to act as a buffer state against any attack in the future from the West. This was because the Western powers were antagonistic to a communist Russia. Also, Russia wanted to have good relations with at least one capitalist country.
- 3) **Treaty of Berlin (1926):** It renewed the Rapallo Agreement till 1931. Germany promised to remain neutral if USSR attacked by any other power. Also both agreed that neither of them would use economic sanctions against one another.
- 4) **After 1930s:**
  - a) There was negativity in the relationship because the Russians were against the increasing influence of the Nazis in Germany who were radically opposed to communists.

- b) Russia opposed the idea of the **Austria-Germany Custom Union (1931)** as it saw it as a sign of increasing German nationalism which could threaten Russian frontiers in the future.
  - c) Stalin gradually drifted towards Poland, Britain and France.
  - d) After 1934, Hitler tried to better the relationship with Russia. He signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939.
- 5) **Non Aggression Pact (1939):** This was signed by Russia and Germany and both of them promised not to attack each other. This agreement included a clause to divide Poland in half between USSR and Germany, if USSR remained neutral when Germany attacks Poland. This was a strategic victory for Hitler as this prevented Britain from signing an alliance with USSR. Such an alliance would have allowed Britain to better protect Poland whose safety Britain had guaranteed.

## 40. USSR-France Relationship (1919-33)

The relations were sour till 1930 due to following:

- 1) **Treaty of Versailles:** Russia was not invited in Treaty of Versailles negotiations due to French opposition. This was so because after 1917, Bolsheviks had tried to incite communists for revolution in France.
- 2) **Russian Civil War (1918-20):** France sent troops in favor of Whites who were fighting Bolsheviks.
- 3) **Russia-Poland War (1920):** France sent troops in aid of Poland which then was able to push back the Russians from Warsaw (Polish capital).
- 4) **Little Entente (1921-7):** France-Poland Alliance (signed in 1921) under the Little Entente was as much directed against Russia as against Germany.

After 1930, there was increase in positivity in Franco-Russian relationship due to the rise of the Nazis in Germany.

### KEY THEME 1: The Treaty of Versailles hurts German pride and spurs the growth of Nazism.

#### *The Treaty of Versailles*

The Treaty seemed to satisfy the "Big Three" viz. US, Britain and France, since in their eyes it was a just peace, as it kept Germany weak, yet strong enough to stop the spread of communism; kept the French border with Germany safe from another German attack and created the organization, the League of Nations, that would end warfare throughout the world.

However, it left a mood of anger throughout Germany as it was felt that as a nation Germany had been unfairly treated. Above all else, Germany hated the clause blaming her for the cause of the war and the resultant financial penalties the treaty was bound to impose on Germany. Ordinary German citizens felt that they were being punished for the mistakes of the German government in August 1914 as it was the government that had declared war, not the people.

The humiliating conditions of the treaty rankled Germans for years and in many ways led to the rise of Nazism in Germany.

### KEY THEME 2: The US adopts a policy of isolation, turning a blind eye to European political affairs. The Great Depression in the US goes on to become a world economic crisis, which engulfs Europe and influences European political decision-making for years to come.

## 41. US Foreign Policy (1919-23)

- **Washington Conference (1921-22):** The Washington Conference was held by US to check increasing Japanese influence in the Far East. Through Washington Conference the US wanted to prevent a war and a naval race with Japan. After this conference it was agreed that Japan would withdraw from the Kiachow Island and the Shantung province of China. In return, Japan was allowed to retain the German Pacific islands. Also, Britain, France and US agreed not to build a naval base within the striking range of Japan. Neutrality of China was guaranteed by US, Japan, Britain and France. Also these powers agreed to respect each other's possessions in the Far East. The agreement placed limits on the naval fleet of US, Britain and Japan whose navy was to be in the ratio of 5:5:3. This resulted in tensions between US and Britain because the British were not pleased at the limits placed on the British navy. In 1930, Japan reaffirmed commitment to Washington agreement but it soon breached the limits placed on its navy.
- **Policy of Isolation:** US was deeply involved in World War I. After the war, the Republicans came to power and adopted the Policy of Isolation. US under Republicans decided not to join the League of Nations. It also did not ratify any of the peace treaties and also refused to guarantee the French frontiers. The reasons for the Policy of Isolation were that the people of US were tired of war and were suspicious of the European nations remaining peaceful. They did not want US to be involved in a military conflict and rejected the idea of League of Nations as they viewed it as a supra-national government to which they refused to submit a part of their sovereignty. It was on these lines that it had opposed the Geneva Protocol devised by France and Britain which would have provided for collective security as it entailed the member nations to "consent to important limitations of their sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations".
- The Policy of Isolation resulted in inaction by US against various acts of aggression in the 1930s by the Fascist regimes. In case of Manchurian invasion (1931) by Japan, when US showed lack of resolve to act against Japan, even Britain and France did not take any action. The League of Nations could not do anything when Japan refused to pull out from Manchuria.
- **Reasons behind Wall Street Crash becoming the World Economic Crisis:**
  - **EU war debt:** European nations were finding it difficult to pay back the war debt. Britain and France expected a loan waiver from US as US had gained a lot from the World War I. It had taken over former European export markets. But US insisted on full payment. Until the French occupation of the Ruhr, US rejected the connection between ability of Allies to pay back US loans and the German reparations to Allies. Also US kept high tariffs in external trade. These factors hurt recovery of European economy.
  - Although US sought to revert back to Policy of Isolation after the WWI, it soon realized that it could no more shy away from the events taking place outside its borders as these events had consequences for its economy. The second decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century was a prosperous one for the European economy and thus US tried to increase trade and investment in Europe. The economic health and the political stability of Europe was crucial to US interests of trade, investments and for recovery of loans given to Allied powers and US could not ignore events affecting the European nations. The French occupation of Ruhr industrial region in 1923 resulted in galloping inflation in Germany as the German workers stopped work as part of their passive resistance. This consequent demand-supply imbalance in the German economy caused rapid depreciation in the value of Frank and the German economy was in turmoil. The French found it difficult to pay back US loans. It was after this event that US realized the connection between German reparations and Allies' ability to pay back US loans. Thus US came to aid of Germany through the Dawes Plan (1924) which allowed Germans to

pay reparations and the French agreed to withdraw from Ruhr. In Mexico, a crisis situation arose when due to a dispute Mexico threatened to takeover oil wells owned by US companies. US government intervened and a compromise was reached. Thus, due to increasing economic interests outside its borders, US had to deviate from its Policy of Isolation.

- **Web of Loans:** As discussed earlier, US had loaned out money to the Allies during the World War I. The Allied Powers themselves depended on the war reparations from Germany for paying back the loans taken from US. Thus when Germany started to default on the payment of war reparations, the US had to bailout Germany by extending loans in form of Dawes Plan(1924) and Young Plan (1929). Thus a web of loans was created where US gave loans to Germany, which paid war reparations to Britain and France, who then paid back US loans. This web of loans was a major reason for the crisis in the USA steamrolling into the Great Economic Depression. Once the US was no more capable of extending loans to Germany and demanded immediate repayment of its loans to European nations, the whole European Economy started to crumble. Thus US was responsible for the Great Economic Depression of 1929.

**KEY THEME 3: The 1930s witnesses a rise in acts of aggression by fascist regimes of the would-be axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. Through a clever mixture of blatant aggression and clever diplomacy, the axis powers expand by chipping away at the territories of neighbouring countries, while increasing their military strength at the same time.**

## 42. International Relations (1933-9)

**Introduction:** The period of 1933-9 was a period of aggression by Fascist regimes viz Italy, Germany and Japan. It was a period when Germany started to violate the Treaty of Versailles. The Locarno Spirit, which was a mark of positivity in relations between Britain, France and Germany, had faded away after the Great Depression and death of Stressemann (German foreign minister who brought about reconciliation between Germany and France) in 1929. The third decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century saw rise in extreme nationalism in Japan, Italy and Germany.

**Following can be a summary of events:**

1. Japan invaded Manchuria (1931) and the League of Nations failed to force Japan to withdraw.
2. In 1933, Germany withdrew from the World Disarmament Conference. It was in 1933 that Japan and Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. Gradually the authority of the League of Nations declined and by 1939 it had become a defunct body.
3. Germany introduced Conscription in 1935
4. Stresa Front (1935) between Italy, Britain and France against introduction of Conscription by Germany.
5. Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935 which allowed Germany to build submarines and brought an end to Stresa Front.
6. Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (1935)
7. Remilitarization of Rhineland in 1936
8. Rome-Berlin Axis (1936)
9. Hitler signed Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan in 1936.
10. Spanish Civil War (1936)
11. Japan began full invasion of China in 1937
12. Anschluss- Hitler annexed Austria in 1938

13. Munich Conference (1938) - Hitler got Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia on promise of not laying claim to anymore territory of Czechoslovakia.
14. Hitler breaks Munich Pact and annexed Czechoslovakia
15. Hitler demanded the Free city of Danzig. Poland was against it. Britain and France agreed to support Poland in case of German attack.
16. Hitler signs Non-Aggression Pact with USSR in 1939 and attacks Poland
17. Britain declares war on Germany and World War II began.

**Japanese Aggression:** There were three important acts of Japanese Aggression in this period. It invaded Manchuria in 1931, attacked the North Eastern part of China in 1933 and ordered full invasion of China in 1937 which led to Second Sino-Japan war (1937-45) that merged into the World War II that lasted till 1945.

**Invasion of Manchuria (1931):** It is important to understand why Japan attacked Manchuria (1931). Japan was under economic stress due to the Great Depression. Its exports had declined dramatically and there was decline in price of rice due to bumper harvest. The Japanese population was under great economic hardships. Also Chiang Kai Shek's influence was increasing in Manchuria. This threatened the Japanese interests in Manchuria. Japan had invested a lot of money in the industry and infrastructure development projects in Manchuria (especially in South Manchuria) since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 when Japan had got privileged position in South Manchuria and the Port Arthur. (\*By 1931, Japanese controlled Manchurian Railways and the Banking system.) Thus the military attacked Manchuria ignoring the reservations of the Japanese government.

**Result of invasion of Manchuria:** Japan declared Manchuria as an independent state of Manchukuo and installed its puppet government. The League of Nations had opined that the territory of Manchuria should be brought under its administration but Japan ignored the League. The League could not act because US did not want a war with Japan and without US backing, Britain and France also refused to act. Thus it became an act of appeasement of Japan by the Western powers.

**Invasion of the North East China (1933):** Japanese advanced into the North Eastern regions of China in 1933. This act had no justification and was purely an act of aggression. Japan was able to occupy a large area by 1935 by taking benefit of the civil war between the Kuomintang Government (KMT) of Chiang Kai Shek and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of Mao Zedong.

**Full scale invasion of China (1937):** After signing the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in 1936, Japan planned the full invasion of China. Japan took a minor incident between Chinese and Japanese troops in Peking as an alibi to begin the invasion. By 1938, Shanghai and Nanking (Chiang Kai Shek's capital) was under Japanese control but it had not achieved full victory. This was so because by 1936, there was a truce between CCP and KMT to jointly resist the Japanese aggression. Earlier, Chiang Kai Shek had concentrated more on defeating the Mao instead of tackling the Japanese which explains greater success of Japan till 1936. Also Russia helped the Chinese but it did not get fully engaged because it itself did not want a full scale war with Japan.

**Conclusion:** On the eve of World War II, Japan controlled most of East China while Chiang Kai Shek and Mao controlled the central and the western parts. It can be argued that although the League of Nations condemned Japan but it was not strong enough to take a firm action because of

- US Policy of Isolation
- USSR did not want full scale war with Japan
- Britain and France were too busy coping with Hitler

### Mussolini's Foreign Policy:

**1919-24:** Mussolini came to power in 1922 and soon after he started to implement an aggressive foreign policy. He bombed Greece over the **Corfu incident in 1923** (\*discussed earlier) where Greece was forced to pay full compensation demanded by Italy. It was here that the Conference of Ambassadors overruled the opinion of the League of Nations. **Fiume:** In 1924, Italy invaded and took over the independent state of Fiume. After 1920, the territory of Fiume was a bone of contention between Yugoslavia and Italy. As a compromise a **Treaty of Rapallo (1920)** was signed that provided for a Free City of Fiume to be used jointly by Italy and Yugoslavia. It existed as a free state from 1920-4 till Italy sent its troops and Yugoslavia agreed to Fiume's annexation by Italy.

**1924-34:** Two concerns dominated the Italian foreign policy in these years. First, the Italy-France rivalry because France was an ally of Yugoslavia (recall *Little Entente*) and Italy also had competing interests with France for influence in Mediterranean and the Balkans. Second, Italy feared Germany for it might annex Austria, which lay in the north-east of Italy and, acted as a buffer state between Italy and Germany.

**Locarno Treaties and Italy:** Italy participated in the Locarno Treaties of 1925. Under the Locarno treaties, which were signed outside the ambit of the League of Nations:

- Germany reaffirmed the demilitarization of Rhineland.
- Also Germany, France and Belgium promised to respect each other's frontiers. Italy and Britain acted as guarantors. In the event of aggression by any of the three (France, Belgium, Germany) all others would help the victim of aggression.
- There was an agreement between Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia that allowed for arbitration of disputes with respect to boundary issues in Arbitration Tribunal or in Permanent Court of International Justice. But Germany did not guarantee her frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia. France agreed to help Poland/Czechoslovakia if any of them was attacked by Germany.

But Italy was disappointed because the Italy-Austria frontiers were not guaranteed by the Locarno treaties.

**Italy in the Balkans:** During this decade, Italy tried to increase its influence in the Balkans by having good relations with Albania, Bulgaria and Greece. Albania which was a southern neighbour of Italy came under economic control of Italy due to the economic and defence pacts signed between the two. Albania was against Yugoslavia. This was so because Serbia, which was now part of Yugoslavia, had desired the territory of Albania after the first Balkan war (1912) but Albania was made an independent state during the peace settlement. The influence over Albania provided Italy with control in the area around Adriatic Sea.

**Italy and Britain:** Italy also tried to develop good relations with Britain especially on the question of colonies. It supported Britain's claim over Mosul province of Iraq which Turkey also desired. The League of Nation favoured Britain in the dispute and Turkey agreed to the decision in 1926. In return, Britain gave a part of Somaliland to Italy. Further, Italy signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with USSR** in 1933. With this development Italy recognized the government of USSR. Thus during this decade, Italy engaged more in diplomacy than in aggressive foreign policy.

**After 1934:** Mussolini after initial opposition to Hitler gradually drifted towards Germany and Italy committed many acts of aggression.

**Austria, Germany and Italy:** Mussolini tried to strengthen Austria against Nazi Germany by supporting the anti-Nazi government of Austria by signing trade agreements. In 1934, the Austrian Chancellor was murdered by the Nazi protesters. Thereafter, Mussolini sent troops to

Italy-Austria frontier to pre-empt any German attack to annex Austria. With this, the first attempt of Hitler to take control of Austria failed and the France-Italy relations improved.

**Stresa Front (1935):** Its aim was to reaffirm the Locarno Treaties and to declare that the independence of Austria "would continue to inspire their common policy". The signatories also agreed to resist any future attempt by the Germans to change the Treaty of Versailles. Italy joined with France and Britain to condemn Hitler's decision to introduce conscription (compulsory military service) in 1935, which was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Also, Britain, France and Italy guaranteed Italian frontiers. This was a great relief to Mussolini, who was wary of German ambitions in Austria.

**Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935)** allowed Hitler to build submarines. After this event, Mussolini lost trust in Britain. France was also disappointed with Britain and the Anglo-German Naval agreement broke the Stresa Front. It was a diplomatic victory for Hitler. After this, impressed by Hitler's successes Mussolini gradually became pro-Hitler.

**Invasion of Abyssinia (1935):** Soon after, Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Following were the major reasons for the invasion:

1. Mussolini wanted to avenge the loss of Italy in the 1896 war with Abyssinia. The victory would increase his prestige at home.
2. Mussolini wanted to divert public attention from the local problems and bring him popularity. It is to be remembered that Italy was still facing the impact of the Great Depression.
3. Italy would get an export market and help it tide over the economic problems.

In an attempt to revive the Stresa Front, Britain and France did not condemn Italy for the Abyssinian crisis in the media. Also, only half hearted measures were taken against Italy as the economic sanctions did not bar export of coal, steel and oil to Italy. These goods formed the major imports of Italy and without banning the trade in these goods, the sanctions failed to make Italy weak enough to force its exit from Abyssinia. Both Britain and France were economically and militarily unprepared for a war that may result from sanctions banning oil and coal export to Italy. Thus a Policy of Appeasement was followed by Britain and France. The League of Nations failed to ensure independence of Abyssinia. The League and its notion of Collective Security were discredited. Despite the fact that the sanctions were not too harsh, they angered Mussolini. The Stresa Front became a dead letter and Mussolini drifted more towards Hitler who had seized upon the opportunity to find an ally in Mussolini by not condemning the Italian aggression. In return, Mussolini did not object to annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938.

**Italian role in Spanish Civil War (1936):** The Spanish Civil war was fought between the right wing and the left wing factions. The leader of the Right wing faction was Franco. Mussolini sent troops to Spain to fight on the side of Franco. The excuse used by Mussolini was that he wanted to limit the spread of communism in Europe. But the real motive behind supporting Franco were:

1. Mussolini wanted naval bases in Spain to threaten France.
2. Mussolini desired another Fascist state in Europe which would act as an ally and shift the balance of power in favour of Italy.

**Rome-Berlin Axis:** In 1936, Mussolini joined hands with Hitler to declare the notion of a Rome-Berlin Axis. This implied that all the peace loving nations in Europe would revolve around the axis formed by the imaginary line between Italy and Germany. Thus Italy and Germany intended to form an Alliance system by bringing as many states as possible under their influence.

**Anti-Comintern Pact:** In 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact which now comprised of Japan, Italy and Germany. By signing the Pact the popularity of Mussolini among the Italians decreased as the public viewed it as a sign of aggressive posturing in international affairs. The masses in Italy feared that Mussolini would push Italy towards another war.

**Munich Conference (1938):** It resulted in Germany getting the German populated territory of Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia). The participation in the Conference resulted in temporary increase in Mussolini's popularity at home as the conference symbolized avoidance of war.

**Invasion of Albania (1939):** Mussolini invaded Albania in 1939. This was an unnecessary act of aggression as Albania was already under economic domination of Italy, the two countries had friendly relations and the annexation would not bring any more tangible profits. The motive here was to match the successes of Hitler who had recently annexed Austria (1938). Mussolini did not want to be left behind in the race for popularity with Hitler and wanted to be seen as an equal.

**Pact of Steel (1939):** This was signed between Italy and Germany. By this pact, Italy entered into full alliance with Germany and promised full military support in case of war.

## 42.1. Adolf Hitler & The Nazis

Some of the important events that characterized Hitler's conduct in International affairs from 1933-9 have already been highlighted in the text above. Before detailing those events further, it is pertinent to answer the question that "What were the aims of Hitler?"

**Hitler's Aims:** Hitler became the Chancellor in 1933. Before that he had articulated the aims of the Nazi Party if it were to come to power. Hitler desired to make Germany a great power and to restore its glory. Following can be described as the first set of his aims:

- 1) Destroying the Treaty of Versailles.
- 2) Building up a strong Army
- 3) Bring all Germans inside the Third Reich by annexing Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia & Poland, both of which had significant German minority population.
- 4) Recovery of Saar, Danzig and the Polish Corridor.

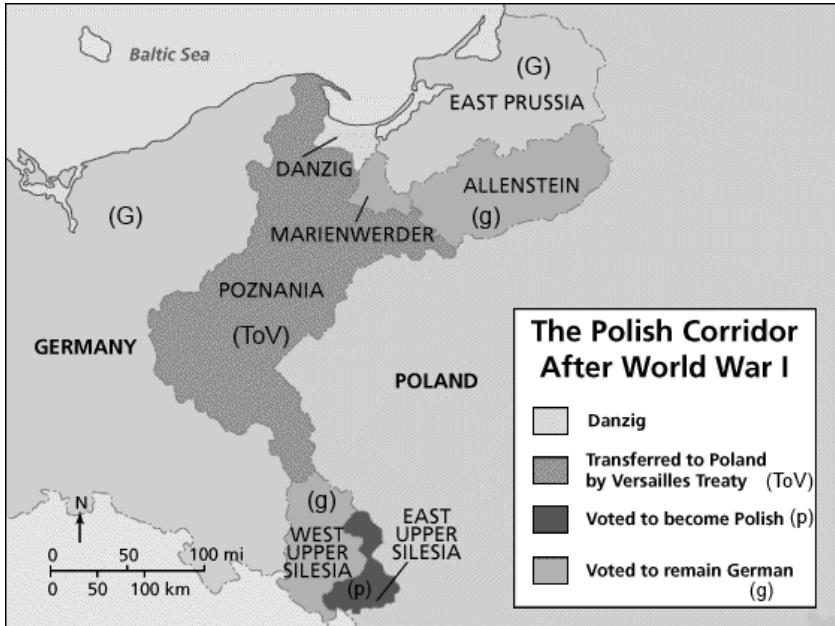
Now most of these aims were achieved by 1938 without war and therefore the question arises that why the World War II could not yet be avoided. This leads us to the second set of aims on which there is some disagreement among the scholars. These aims were:

- 1) **Lebensraum (Living Space):** Some scholars argue that Hitler's aim of annexation of Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland was just a beginning and he intended to follow it up with seizure of the whole of Czechoslovakia and Poland. He also aimed to occupy Russia as far as the Ural Mountains. Russia fearing German intentions had shifted many factories to the east of Ural Mountains. Annexation of these areas would give Germans the *Living Space or Lebensraum*. It would ensure the food security for the Germans and would serve as an area where the excess German population in the future could settle in and colonize. An additional advantage of such a plan would be the destruction of Communism.
- 2) Next stage will be the conquest of the African colonies of other European powers and setting up of bases in the Atlantic Ocean.

Some scholars argue that Hitler did not want a World War but only a limited war with Poland. Hitler did not know that Britain was serious with regards to its promise of protecting Poland. Poland was militarily weaker than Czechoslovakia and Britain had followed the Policy of Appeasement when Hitler annexed Czechoslovakia. Earlier at the Munich Conference (1938) Britain had literally gifted Sudetenland to Hitler. If Britain wanted to check German expansion then Czechoslovakia would have formed a better ally than Poland, so why would Britain risk going to war with a weaker ally.

### Hitler's successes:

- 1) **World Disarmament Conference (1932-3):** Hitler withdrew Germany from World Disarmament Conference (1932-3) when France did not agree to German condition of parity in armament. Britain was sympathetic to the German stand as it saw it as a just demand. The diplomatic victory was that Hitler got an alibi for rearmament of Germany.
- 2) **Ten year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland (1934):** Poland was always anxious of the German designs. It feared that Germany would try to take back the Polish Corridor which included the following areas:



As it can be seen from the map, the Polish Corridor separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany and this served as a grievance for Germany. Polish Corridor provided Poland with access to the Baltic Sea, as promised by the war aims of the Allies, under the Treaty of Versailles. After getting the Polish Corridor there was an exodus of the Germans, who were a minority, from the area due to Polish oppression. The majority of the population in the area was Polish. Polish Corridor, since it provided with access to Baltic Sea, was very crucial for economic independence of Poland. The Free city of Danzig was separate from both Poland and Germany. The **Non-Aggression Pact** had the following impact:

- a) Britain took it as an evidence of peaceful intent of Hitler.
- b) The pact ruined the Little Entente which was a group of alliances signed between France and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Poland. Little Entente depended very much on Poland for being a significant deterrent to German aggression.
- c) The Pact guaranteed Polish neutrality if and when Germany decided to move against Czechoslovakia and Austria. Thus it was a strategic victory by Germany. He intended to first annex Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and then Austria. By keeping Poland out of the conflict, it strengthened its position for accomplishing these aims.
- d) The Pact improved France-Russia relationship because both were threatened by German ambitions.
- 3) **SAAR (1935):** The Plebiscite in Saar was promised to be held after 15 years (from 1920) under the Treaty of Versailles. Till then its coal mines were to be used by France. The League's Mandate Commission held the plebiscite successfully and the territory was handed over to Germany after 90% of the people voted in its favour. Hitler, in an attempt to pacify France after the Non-Aggression Pact with Poland (1934), said that the transfer of Saar has removed all grievances between France and Germany.

- 4) Conscription (1935):** Conscription is the compulsory military service. The Treaty of Versailles had barred Germany from introducing it. Hitler introduced conscription in 1935. His excuse was that Britain had just increased the strength of its Air Force and France had increased the tenure of conscription from 12 to 18 months. Thus it is evident that France and Britain were also preparing militarily to deal with possible future aggression from Germany. With the introduction of Conscription, Hitler announced that he would raise an army of 6 lakh men. This was again a violation of Treaty of Versailles which had put a limit of 1 lakh men. Britain, France and Italy now wary of Hitler's intentions organized themselves into Stresa Front (1935) that condemned Hitler's move to introduce conscription and guaranteed Austrian Frontiers to pre-empt any German plan to annex Austria.
- 5) Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935):** This was again a strategic victory for Hitler as it resulted in breaking of the Stresa Front (1935). Britain went ahead with the agreement without consulting the Stresa Front allies. Under the agreement Hitler offered to limit German navy to 35% of British Navy. The reason for the British action was that it felt that it would be able to control the German armament after it had already introduced conscription. As Britain did not want a war, it felt this was the best way to ensure a non-threatening Germany. The impact of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement was that it led to a great increase in German rearmament. By 1938, Germany had 8 lakh men and the reserves, 5000 airplanes, 47 U-Boats (submarines) and 21 large vessels that included Battleships, Cruisers and Destroyers.
- 6) Rhineland Remilitarized (1936):** Hitler took advantage of preoccupation of Britain and France in the Abyssinian crisis to send troops to Rhineland. This was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and the commitment given by Stressemann at Locarno Treaties (1925).
- 7) Rome Berlin Axis (1936):** It was an alliance between Italy and Germany. This implied that all the peace loving nations in Europe would revolve around the axis formed by the imaginary line between Italy and Germany.
- 8) Anti-Comintern Pact (1936):** This was an act of alliance formation. Germany and Japan were the original signatories. In 1937, Italy also joined the Anti-Comintern Pact. The alliance was targeted against the spread of Communism in respective countries. This was also a signal to the France and Britain that the aggressive stance of the members was more targeted towards Russia rather than them.
- 9) Spanish Civil War (1936):** Germany participated in favour of Franco. Hitler ordered bombing of Spain which resulted in huge casualties for innocent civilians. This terrified the Britain and France and they were inclined to appease Hitler in order to prevent such a devastating war that would exact a huge toll on the civilians.
- 10) Anschluss with Austria (1938):** Anschluss means union. Austria had millions of ethnic Germans. The Treaty of Versailles had barred the union between Germany and Austria. In 1931, Germany made its first move towards the union by suggesting Austria-Germany Custom Union. France appealed at the Permanent Court of International which decided against the custom union even though the idea made an economic sense. Russia and Italy were also against the custom union as it symbolized growing German nationalism. Hitler made the first attempt at annexing Austria in 1934. This attempt was foiled by Italy as it sent troops to the border with Austria at the Brenner Pass when the German attack seemed imminent after the Austrian Nazis had killed the Austrian Chancellor. Hitler did not make any move fearing a war with Italy. But soon he made attempts at neutralizing the Italian opposition. When Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (1935), Hitler did not object. Also in 1936, he made an ally out of Italy by forming the Rome Berlin Axis in 1936. Italy withdrew its objections to annexation of Austria in return for Hitler not putting sanctions against Italy for annexation of Abyssinia. In 1938, the Anschluss finally happened. The Austrian Nazis held huge demonstration in Austria against the government. Germany gave 10 demands to

Austria of which one was to put a Nazi in the post of Interior Minister. The Chancellor soon called for a Plebiscite on the question of Austria uniting with Germany. The Chancellor was somewhat confident of getting a negative verdict. Hitler unsure of the results threatened to invade Austria. He said that he would "make Vienna, the Spain of Austria". The Chancellor resigned and the consequent Nazi government invited Hitler to annex Austria. Britain and France only verbally protested. They feared war with Germany and wanted to prevent the possible huge civilian casualties as Hitler had bombed innocent civilians in the Spanish Civil War (1936). The impact of the Anschluss was that :

- a) It was a severe blow to Czechoslovakia which could now be attacked from three sides viz. from the south (Austria), west and north (Germany).
- b) Germany soon demanded and got Sudetenland at Munich Conference (1938) and thus Czechoslovakia lost much of its industries to Germany.

**11) Munich Conference (1938):** It resulted in Germany getting the German populated territory of Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia). Hitler hated Czechoslovakia for their democracy and because it was created by the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler desired Czechoslovakia to fulfill his dream of a Lebensraum for the Germans. He specifically wanted Sudetenland because it was industrially rich and had huge German population. Hitler began to argue that the Germans in Sudetenland are being discriminated by the government. This was based on the argument that the Germans had more unemployment than other groups. Nazis began to organize huge protests in Sudetenland. It was felt that Hitler might attack Czechoslovakia to annex Sudetenland and thus a conference in Munich was organized. In the Munich Conference, Italy, France, Britain and Germany participated. USSR and Czechoslovakia were not even invited. The decision of the conference was that Germany can annex Sudetenland but he would not lay claim to any more of Czechoslovakia. The Czechs were told by Britain and France that if they do not accept the Munich pact then Britain and France would not come to its aid in event of a German attack. This was against the Locarno Treaties where even though Germany had not guaranteed its frontiers with Czechoslovakia, the French did commit to aid Poland and Czechoslovakia if Germany attacks them. Czechoslovakia agreed to the Munich Pact. With the loss of Sudetenland, it lost 70% of its Heavy Industry and most of her fortifications against Germany. Soon due to the decreased authority of the government and the economic problems, Slovakia started demanding secession. Law and Order problems soon emerged on the ground.

**12) Annexation of Rest of Czechoslovakia (1939):** Under the circumstances that prevailed after Munich Conference, Hitler forced the President of Czechoslovakia to request German troops for restoring order. Soon the German troops marched in and Czechoslovakia was annexed. Britain and France protested only verbally. Britain said that the guarantee to the rest of Czechoslovakia does not apply since the latter itself had requested the German troops and thus technically it was not an invasion.

**13) Invasion of Poland (1939):** After the annexation of Czechoslovakia, Britain decided that there would not be any more appeasement of Germany. The annexation of Poland was unjustifiable. Till now Hitler had justified his claims of territorial expansion on the argument of Ethnicity and on the Treaty of Versailles. The annexation was the first act of taking over non-German populated territory. Britain and France reiterated their commitment to protection of Poland when Hitler announced that he wanted Danzig. Hitler also desired access to the Rail-Road Connectivity through Polish Corridor so the rest of Germany could connect to East Prussia. Although these demands were not unreasonable since Danzig had 95% German population and economic connectivity to East Prussia made sense, but they came so soon after the Czechoslovakia debacle that the Poles feared full invasion soon after. Britain tried to pressure Poles but they did not agree to German demands. Hitler signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939** to keep it neutral and moved ahead with full invasion of Poland. **With this act the World War II began.**

## **KEY THEME 4: Britain, and to a lesser extent France, adopt a policy of appeasement towards a resurgent Germany. Italy and Japan also get away with aggressive acts as the League of Nations proves to be a resounding failure in addressing the threat of expansionist tendencies.**

**Policy of Appeasement** was one of the most important reasons for German success in violating the Treaty of Versailles and Japan and Italy being able to escape sanctions for their aggressive acts. Why was such a policy followed? There are multiple reasons:

- **Avoid War:** The other powers wanted to avoid war because they could not win such a war as they were not economically and militarily strong. Such a war would in all probability result in a stalemate. Britain and France feared bombing of cities and the civilians as demonstrated by the bombing of Spanish cities by Germany in the Spanish Civil War (1936).
- **Economic Crisis (1929):** Other European powers could not afford rearmament or bear huge war expenses. They had not fully recovered from the economic crisis.
- **Public Opinion:** The people in Britain were against war. After the World War I the public opinion towards war had changed dramatically. The businessmen were also against a war as it would hurt their economic interests. A war orients the whole economy towards military production and the shelling results in loss of infrastructure that hurt industrial interests.
- **Sympathy:** Many groups felt that Germany and Italy had genuine grievances. This prevented formation of a firm public opinion in favour of militarily tackling Germany and Italy. Especially in Britain, many leaders favoured a sympathetic attitude and called for revision of the harshest clauses of the Treaty of Versailles to remove the reason for war itself. Thus, British viewed the Treaty of Versailles as the real cause of a possible war and thus agreed to the German demands which were targeted towards nullifying the harshest of the clauses in the treaty. Thus they followed a policy of appeasement.
- **Failure of League of Nations:** League of Nation had proved to be ineffective and thus the British Prime Minister Chamberlain who was elected in 1937 believed that a personal contact among the leaders of different countries was important to make them respect international law through negotiations. He favoured the path of diplomacy rather than of war to resolve conflicts with Germany.
- **Economic Cooperation:** Germany was an export market to Britain and thus the British felt that the economic cooperation would be good for both the countries. Britain believed that if it helps in German economic recovery then Germany would be friendly to Britain.
- **Fear of Communist Russia** was greater than the fear of the Nazis. This was especially true among the conservative groups in Britain and France. They viewed the Nazi Germany as a buffer against the Communist expansion westward. Thus they favoured or allowed for the German rearmament.
- **To buy time:** Some scholars argue that British followed the policy of appeasement to buy time of self-rearment. Because of economic problems due to the economic crisis and the earlier toll taken by the World War I, some leaders in Britain and France felt that the longer the appeasement process, the more time they would get for self-rearment. Chamberlain increased rearment alongside the Policy of Appeasement. He felt that the dual sword of Rearmament and Appeasement would act as a deterrent.

## **KEY THEME 5: The policy of appeasement helps the fascist powers but also leads to miscalculation by them, which ultimately leads to World War II. The attempt of European powers to check Germany ultimately comes to nothing.**

### **Other aspects of Appeasement:**

1. It created a perception among the Fascist powers which led to miscalculations. Hitler was convinced about the complacency and weakness of Britain and France. He thought that no one will act even if Germany invaded Poland (whose protection had been guaranteed by the British).
2. **Attempts of other powers to check Germany:**
  - a) France was against Appeasement. It had dragged Germany to the Permanent Court of International Justice over the proposal of Austria-Germany Custom Union (1931). It formed the Stresa Front (1935) against the German conscription (1935). The Stresa Front guaranteed the Austrian frontiers to check German aggression.
  - b) In 1934, Italy had prevented the first attempt at Anschluss.
  - c) France ensured that USSR enters the League of Nations in 1934. This was directed against the Germans. France wanted to build an anti-German alliance of Italy-France-USSR.
  - d) Italy had signed a **Non-Aggression Pact with USSR** in 1933. France signed an alliance with Russia in 1935. But the Russia-France alliance had no provision for military cooperation because the leadership in France distrusted the communists. This was so because Moscow for a long time had instructed the communists in France to not cooperate with other left wing parties in France.
3. **Hoare-Laval pact (1935):** It was a secret pact between Britain and France. It entailed partition of Abyssinia and giving most of it to Italy. The pact failed because the information was leaked and caused public outrage in Britain and France.
4. **Why did France follow Appeasement:** France failed to check appeasement and at times followed the policy of appeasement itself because in the 1930s, France got deeply divided into Left and Right wings. The right wingers favoured Hitler as a buffer against the Communist Russia.

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# WORLD HISTORY

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# 1.What were the factors that caused the Second World War?

The question can be answered by describing two set of factors- the necessary but insufficient factors and the precipitating factors.

The necessary but insufficient factors include:

1. Treaties such as the Versailles Treaty and the Munich Agreement, which either caused resentment among European countries or tried to unsuccessfully appease the aggressive powers.
2. The failure of the League of Nations and the concept of 'Collective Security'.
3. The global economic crisis spurred by the Great Depression in America, as it led to the rise of Hitler and other Fascist powers.

The factors which proved to be the precipitating causes for the war included - Hitler and Germany's imperialistic tendencies, the Policy of Appeasement followed by UK& others and the role of USSR. These are detailed in the following text:

## 1) Hitler's Role

- a) He attacked Poland on all fronts, rather than just capturing the Polish corridor and Danzig, which were parts of his demands to Poland. This act of Hitler showed that he desired destruction of the whole of Poland and not just restoration of the territory lost after the Treaty of Versailles.
- b) Hitler wanted to destroy Russia and use its territory for his Lebensraum or 'Living Space for the Germans'. The concept of Lebensraum has been explained earlier. Capturing Poland was an important prerequisite for an eastward march towards Russia. The Non Aggression Pact of 1939 with Russia was just for keeping Russia neutral, while Hitler took Poland. He did not want a war on two fronts viz. against the Western powers (who would come to the aid of Poland) and Russia. The evidence of Hitler's desire for occupying Russia comes from the Mein Kampf (My Struggle) and an unpublished secret book that he wrote in 1928. If this theory is right, then Appeasement cannot be blamed. It can be said then, that the appeasement only made Hitler's goal achievement easy. Also then the German people cannot be blamed and responsibility for the World War II lies only with Hitler.
- c) Yet, it can be said based on general opinion of various scholars that Hitler cannot be blamed for the World War II. He only wanted a localized war. He did not think that Britain and France would honour their guarantee of Polish frontiers when they had abandoned Czechoslovakia, where too, Hitler's actions were unjustified. He thought that Poland and Russia being weak, would be quickly defeated through the German Blitzkrieg i.e. a swift and violent military offensive with intensive aerial bombardment.
- d) Also, it can be argued that Hitler was an opportunist and went ahead with occupation of the Czechoslovakia (minus Sudetenland) in 1939 only because there existed an opportunity in form of poor law and order situation due to demand for semi-independence by Slovakia.

- 2) **The Role of Appeasers:** The appeasers share the blame equally with Hitler. The Policy of Appeasement raised Hitler's prestige at home. After Hitler was offered Sudetenland on a plate in Munich Conference (1938), Hitler was convinced of British and French inaction when he invaded Poland in 1939. Also, it can be argued that the British Prime Minister Chamberlain picked a wrong issue to act militarily against Germany. Danzig and Polish Corridor were more genuine demands than Sudetenland. This was so because in Danzig the Germans formed 95% of the population and the Polish corridor was important for connecting East Prussia with the rest of Germany. The British justification for Munich

Conference (1938) - that it chose to appease Hitler because it needed time for rearmament - is hard to digest since Czechoslovakia was militarily strong and had excellent fortifications in Sudetenland against a Germany invasion. Thus, Czechoslovakia would have formed a better ally when it had Sudetenland than Poland. Also, the inaction during annexation of the rest of Czechoslovakia is condemnable.

- 3) **The Treaty of Versailles and the German People:** It can be argued that without the support of the German people, the rise of Hitler would not have been possible. Hitler did not do any coup to come to power and rather he came to power through a democratic process of elections. He headed the Nazi party that fought elections and won a good number of seats. It can be said that Hitler said those things, which the Germans wanted to hear. His propaganda against the Treaty of Versailles capitalized on the anger among the Germans against the humiliation the treaty brought. The German public thus approved of Hitler's action. But it can be said that the public was responsible for the rise of Hitler but it cannot be blamed for the atrocities Hitler committed. There was a Department of Propaganda, which continuously brainwashed the Germans and fed them with antisemitic views. The school curriculum was changed accordingly. Hitler stoked the public phobia towards communism and thus manipulated them in his favor. The weak politicians before the rise of Hitler who worked only in self interest and did not stand up against Hitler are also to blame. The German capitalists contributed monetarily to the Nazi party as it helped restore law and order. The people and businessmen supported Hitler because he ensured law and order stability and because they were against communism in general.
- 4) **Non-aggression Pact between USSR & Germany:** It can be argued that USSR made world war inevitable by signing the Non Aggression Pact of 1939 with Germany. Had this not happened, the German aggression would probably have been nipped in the bud. The activities by Comintern in India and other British colonies were also responsible for the distrust. In their defence, the Russian scholars argue that Russia knew that it would be attacked in future and thus needed the pact to buy time to bolster its defences.
- 5) **Distrust between USSR and the would-be Allied Powers:** This was also a reason. The conservatives in France and Britain were more suspicious of communists in USSR than the Nazis. The right wingers in France were sympathetic to Hitler and in awe of his achievements. The conservatives in France prevented addition of a clause for Military cooperation in the agreement signed by France and USSR in 1935. If the military alliance between the two had materialized then Germany would have been defeated in a localized war in Eastern Europe or it might have not ventured into a war at all.

## 2. Summary of Events during the World War II

As against the World War I, which was a war of trenches (trench warfare is a form of land warfare using occupied fighting lines consisting largely of trenches, i.e. ditches, in which troops are significantly protected from the enemy's small arms fire and are substantially sheltered from artillery) to a great extent, the World War II was a war of rapid movement with troops moving in mechanized divisions aided by tanks, trucks etc. But, not all the participants in the war had this technological advantage to aid their military. Poland used cavalry for moving their troops when Germany and USSR invaded it in 1939. Similarly, France was slow in deploying its troops, which became a major cause of its defeat to the Germans. The war was fought in the Pacific Ocean, the Far East, the Atlantic Ocean, North Africa, the Russian heartland, and Central and Western Europe, thus making it a World War.

The war could be divided into four phases:

### **Phase I: Opening Moves:** (September 1939- December 1940)

- Germany and Russia occupied Poland.

- Russia invades Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.
- Phoney War: Germany occupies Norway and Denmark.
- Holland, Belgium and France invaded by Germany.
- Battle of Britain fought between the German and British Air Force.
- Mussolini invaded Egypt and Greece

#### **Phase II: Increase in Axis Offensive:**

- Russia invaded by Germany in 1941.
- Pearl Harbour bombed by Japanese Air Force leading to the entry of USA into WW II.
- Japanese occupation of important areas in South East Asia. It had under its control Philippines, Burma, Malaya and Singapore.
- Germany and Japan seemed unstoppable while Italy was less successful.

#### **Phase III: Three major defeats of the Axis Powers:**

- USA defeats Japan in Battle of Midway Island.
- Germany attacks Egypt to help a struggling Italy. Soon Germany is driven out of North Africa by Britain and New Zealand.
- In Russia, the German forces had reached Stalingrad by 1942 but struggling against the harsh winter, they lost the Battle of Stalingrad.
- The two sides were engaged in aerial bombardment of each other's key cities and installations.
- USA and Britain had been able to curb the German submarine menace.

#### **Phase IV: Final Axis Defeat**

- Italy was the first to be defeated.
- Britain and USA invaded Normandy. The day Allied forces landed on beaches of Normandy is known as the D-Day and the operation is called as Operation Overlord. The US paratroopers played a major role in this battle. The US air-dropped its tanks into the battlefield. The battle resulted in the liberation of France. Soon, Belgium and Holland were also liberated from German control.
- Allies crossed the Rhine river in Germany.
- Russia drove out Germany after victory in Battle of Stalingrad (1942) and thereafter, invaded Germany via Poland. It was able to reach Berlin before US and Britain.
- By 1945, Germany had lost the war.
- 1945- To force Japan to surrender, USA dropped nuclear bomb on Hiroshima. When Japan still did not surrender, Nagasaki was also nuked.

### **3. Important Events and Analysis**

We would deal with some of the important events of the war and try to answer some of the important questions incidental thereto.

**Why was Germany very successful in the initial phases of the war?** Germany was very successful initially due to the technique of Blitzkrieg whereby the forces would move quickly in mechanized divisions, tanks would march upon destroying the enemy on their way and most importantly the land based action would be preceded and supported by destructive air strikes. The superiority of German Air Force was an important factor in the battles Germany won. Also, the support of local Nazi groups in invaded countries, proved handy for the German forces. For example, during the invasion of Norway, the local Nazis helped the Germans and although Britain and France did send troops, the absence of air support proved fatal.

### Opening Moves (September 1939-December 1940)

**Defeat of Poland:** As per the Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, Russia and Germany were not to attack each other. USSR was promised parts of Poland, and the Baltic States. USSR was to remain neutral when Germany would attack Poland. While Germany attacked Poland from the west, the Russians attacked from the east. Poland could not stand the attack. The German Blitzkrieg destroyed the Polish railways and airforce. Poland had no motorized divisions and they used cavalry (troops trained to fight on horseback) for troop movement. Britain could not help much and France failed to act in a timely manner due to slow and out of date troop mobilization procedures. The result was that Poland was divided among USSR and Germany with East Poland going to the former and the western half to the latter as agreed under the Non-Aggression Pact (1939).

**The Phoney War:** It was a 6 month period, coined as the Phoney war, during which Germany did not attack any parts of the Western Europe in the hope that Britain and France would call for negotiations for peace. The German Generals were happy with the period of lull as they felt that Germany was not strong enough to fight a war of bigger scale at that time.

In the East, when **Finland** was attacked by USSR in 1939, the League of Nations expelled the Russians. Finland had gained independence from Russia during the Russian Revolution and the Russian Civil War (1917, 1918-20 respectively). Russia did not occupy the whole of Finland but forced it to cede a large part of its territory. Only those areas were taken away from Finland which would help the Russians deal with an attack from the West. In 1940, Russia invaded and occupied the **Baltic States** of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were taken away from it by the Germans under the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917) and then made independent states under the Treaty of Versailles (1920). Stalin wanted them back under the Russian fold.



### **Invasion of Denmark and Norway (1940):**

This battle is important because it led to important developments. Norway was important to Germany because the Norwegian Fjords could serve as good sites for naval bases.

- Germany could now ensure unrestricted import of Swedish iron ore, which was important for its Armament factories, from Norwegian ports. Thus after winning the battle, Germany got assured supply of iron and good sites for naval bases.
- In Britain, Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister as Chamberlain resigned. Churchill proved to be very successful in leading Britain during the war.

### **Holland, Belgium and France invaded by Germany simultaneously:**

Holland, Belgium and Northern France were occupied. The German victory over Belgium and Northern France was important because the surrender left British and French troops in these

areas exposed and vulnerable. Britain and France were faced with the challenge of evacuating these troops from Dunkirk, a port town, which was the only territory in Northern France under the Allied Powers. This successful evacuation from Dunkirk of 3,38,000 allied troops by British Navy under shelling by German Luftwaffe (German Air-force) is famously known as the Operation Dynamo or the Battle of Dunkirk. It also proved crucial for the surrender of France. The British could not help France because under the pressure of evacuation and Luftwaffe shelling, the troops at Dunkirk lost all arms and equipments. After Operation Dynamo the Germans captured Paris and France surrendered (also known as Battle of France (1940)). Germany made France sign the armistice (ceasefire) in the same rail coach that was used for the ceasefire of 1918 during World War I. The French army was demobilized i.e. France was disarmed, the same way Germany was disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany occupied Northern France and the Atlantic coast which gave Germany important bases for submarine attacks. The unoccupied France was put under a Puppet government and this came to be known as Vichy France that existed from 1940 up till 1944 when the Allies liberated France. Vichy France was an authoritarian regime and with it the Third French Republic (1870-1940) came to an end. After liberation, the Fourth French Republic (1946-58) was proclaimed.

### FRANCE OCCUPIED BY AXIS POWERS 1940-1944



**It is important to discuss the reasons why France was defeated so quickly by Germany.**

Following are some of the reasons:

- The French were psychologically not prepared for a war. Although the French were aware of the German threat, the split between the Left and the Right wings resulted in lack of unity

and preparedness. Even though there was a split between the Left and the Right wingers, yet both were against a war with Germany. The Left was not in favour of war after the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, while the Right wingers admired Hitler's achievements and wanted truce. They argued that since the Poles had been defeated, there was no reason to fight a war against the Germans as France had a role in the war only because of its guarantee of Polish frontiers.

- b) The slow troop mobilization: The mechanized divisions were slowed down by infantry that moved along them. This gave an advantage to the Germans who were faster in troop movements.
- c) France neglected air support for its troops, while the German air support was very effective.
- d) Most importantly, in the First World War, Germany was fighting the battle on two fronts simultaneously viz. against Russia in the east and France in the west. The genius of Hitler was the Non Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939 which allowed him to concentrate all his forces on a single front against France. Thus France missed the ally in Russia which had served it well during the First World War.

**Battle of Britain (1940):** This was fought in the air between the German Luftwaffe and the Royal Airforce of Britain. It is crucial because it was a turning point and served as the first defeat for Germany. Although Britain served huge loss of infrastructure in its cities due to bombing by the Luftwaffe, yet Germany could not defeat the British Airforce. Germany lost 1400 airplanes while Britain lost only 700. The answer to why Britain won the war lies in the early warning of the airplanes given by the British Radar stations. Also German Airplanes focused on bombing London and during this the British airfields got time to mobilize the air-force.

**Mussolini's invasion of Egypt & Greece (1940):** Libya was Italy's colony. Italy attacked Egypt from Libya and Greece was attacked from Albania which was under Italian occupation since 1939. This event is crucial as it led to huge loss for Italy in form of arms, vessels, tanks and soldiers. Britain drove back Italy from Egypt and Greece was successful in capturing Albania. Another important point here is that Hitler had to send his troops in aid of Italy after its defeat. These troops could have been well used in German operations elsewhere. Thus Mussolini was starting to be an embarrassment to Hitler.

#### Axis Offensive widens (1941-2)

- 1) **North Africa and Greece:** Hitler sent forces to help Italy. German forces drove British out of Libya and partially from Egypt. They also invaded Greece and forced out the British troops. Yugoslavia and Greece were attacked simultaneously by Germany. The effect of German victory was:
  - a) There was a decline in the morale of Allies who suffered huge loss of troops.
  - b) It also proved to be a blessing in disguise for the Allies because it delayed the German attack on Russia as Hitler had to get involved in aid of Italy.
- 2) **Operation Barbarossa (1941):** Here Germany invaded Russia breaking the Non Aggression Pact (1939) which was signed for 10 years. Why did Germany attack Russia? There can be multiple reasons:
  - a) Some scholars argue that the Germans feared an attack from Russia when Germany was involved in the west. They wanted to pre-empt such an adventurism by Russia.
  - b) Germany hoped that Japanese would attack the Russians simultaneously from the Far East, making its defeat quick and certain.
  - c) Hatred of communism could also have been a reason.
  - d) Some argue that Hitler always wanted to attack Russia. Occupation of Russian territory till the Ural Mountains was part of the strategy to create a living space or Lebensraum for the Germans.
  - e) Another reason is that the Germans wanted to catch the Russians off-guard.

Germany attacked from the north, south and centre, and marched towards Leningrad, Ukraine and Moscow respectively using Blitzkrieg tactics which involved simultaneous and rapid attacks by airplanes, tanks and men.

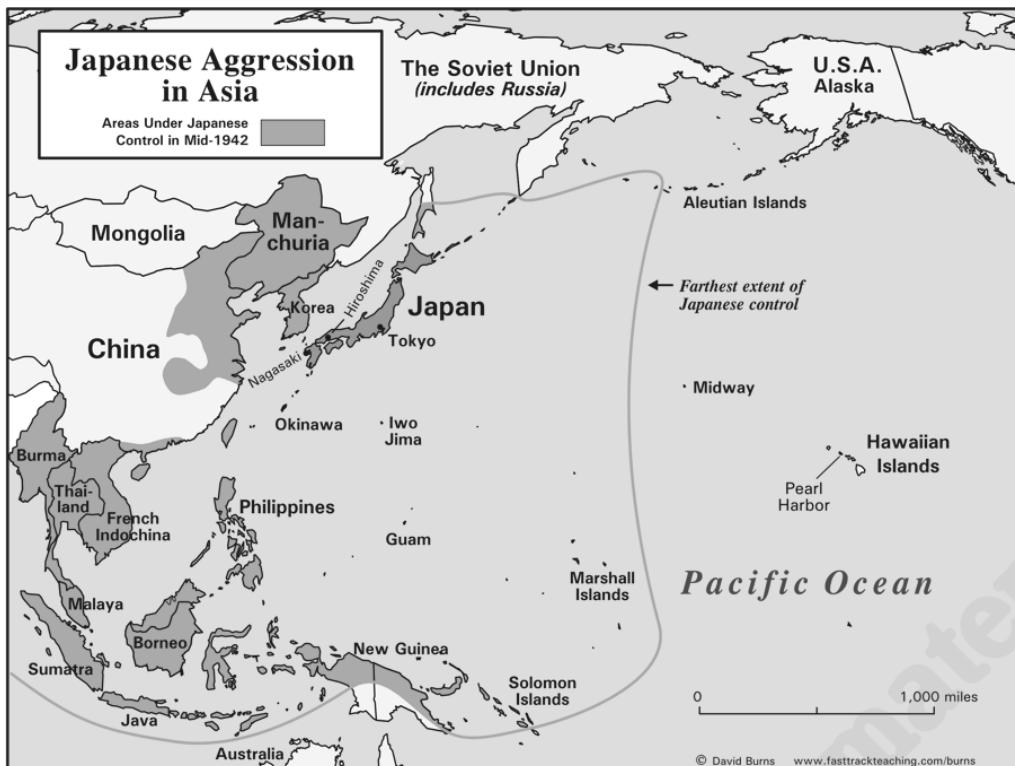


Germans were highly successful initially as they faced an inexperienced Russian army. The Stalin purges of 1937 had led to inexperienced young officers replacing the experienced Generals. Slow mobilization procedures were also a reason. But Germany failed to capture Moscow and Leningrad (now called St Petersburg) in 1941. This was due to high rains in October that turned the Russian roads to mud and then the frost during November-December (temperature as low as minus 38 degree Celsius) also limited the forward march by the Germans. German army was short of winter clothes as they had expected to defeat Russia by November. In 1942, the Germans lost the Battle of Stalingrad.

- 3) US enters the War (December 1941):** Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and with this attack the US ended the Policy of Isolation and joined on the side of Allies. Although through the Lend-Lease Act (April 1941), the United States of America had already been supporting the Allies with massive financial aid to Britain and war material to Russia. Pearl Harbour was a Naval Base in Hawaii islands. At the Washington Conference, Japan had reached an agreement on the naval limit with Britain, France and the USA. In 1930, it had reiterated its commitment to the naval limit but it soon breached it, thus breaking its Washington conference pledge. It had also agreed to maintain the neutrality of China under the Washington Conference (1921-2) but in 1931 it invaded Manchuria. By 1937, Japan had begun the full invasion of China and this 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Japanese war merged into the second World War. The reasons for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour are as follows:
- a) Japan wanted domination of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. This was an imperial concept and implied all the Asian nations in East Asia under the Empire of Japan and free of western powers.
  - b) Japan wanted raw material and thus desired British possessions of Malaya and Burma which were rich in rubber, oil and tin. It also wanted to colonize the Dutch East Indies which was rich in oil.
  - c) Japan did not want a war with US but the latter was proving to be a hurdle in the Japanese plans. US was helping China in the war against Japan. The US had also placed

oil embargo on Japan because Japan would not heed to the US demand of withdrawing from the French Indo-China (Indo China is the region comprising of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia). The Japanese had got Indo-China from Vichy France which was a puppet government installed by Hitler after Battle of France (1940). The negotiations had reached a deadlock when US continued to demand withdrawal of Japan from Indo-China and China.

- d) Also war became inevitable when the aggressive General Tojo became the Prime Minister of Japan.



After the attack on Pearl Harbour:

- Japan got control of the Pacific.
  - It captured the British colonies of Malaya, Singapore, Burma and Hong Kong.
  - It captured the Dutch East Indies, Philippines, Guam and Wake Island, the latter three being US colonies.
- 4) The attack on Pearl Harbour made Hitler declare war on USA. This was a second serious mistake after the first mistake of attacking USSR. Had Hitler not declared war on USA, the latter might have just concentrated on the Far East i.e. on the Pacific War with Japan. This act of Hitler positioned Germany against the vast resources of USSR, USA, British Commonwealth and thus after this event, a situation came to exist where - the longer the war continued, lesser were the chances of Axis powers emerging as victorious.
- 5) The natives in Asia and elsewhere were poorly treated by Japan and Germany respectively. Had they not done this, the natives tired with oppression of the pre-existing powers might have cooperated with Axis powers. Example, the natives of Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and Ukraine were under oppression of Stalin's regime. Japanese treatment of natives in colonies was unwise as the latter had welcomed the former with open arms as they saw the Japanese as liberators. The poor treatment resulted in natives organizing resistance movements often under the leadership of Communists. In Indonesia though, the Japanese recognized Sukarno as a leader of nationalist movement and promised independence in order to gain Indonesians support in the Japanese war effort.

**Three Defeats of the Axis:** These were the US victory over Japan in Midway Island, the loss of Germany in Egypt at the hands of Britain and New Zealand (also known as Battle of El Alamein) and the defeat of Germany at hands of Russia in the Battle of Stalingrad.

The **Battle of Midway (1942)** served as a turning point as during this battle the US bombers destroyed Japanese Aircraft Carriers. It is almost impossible to win naval battles without aircraft carriers. After this Battle, the US started, what came to be known as, 'Island Hopping' whereby between 1942-44 it won back from Japan the Pacific islands one by one, via a strategy of aerial bombing of islands followed by ground assaults on them.

The defeat in Egypt [**Battle of El Alamein -October 1942**] was a turning point because this prevented the important Suez Canal from falling under the control of Germany. It also ended the possibility of an alliance between the Axis powers and the Middle East. The war in desert drained Germany of its resources which could have been better utilized against USSR. Thus Italy's non-performance hurt Germany. Most importantly the Battle of El Alamein led to complete exit of Axis powers from North Africa. This allowed the Allied forces to land in Morocco and Algeria to attack the Axis troops from the West. After this Libya and Tunisia were won back and Italy was invaded.

**The Battle of Stalingrad (1942)** was fought in Southern Russia. Germany had reached Stalingrad by August 1942 and destroyed the infrastructure. But Russians refused to surrender and started a counter-offensive in November. By February 1943, the Germans were trapped, their supply lines were cut and they surrendered. Battle of Stalingrad was a turning point because had Germany won then it would have been able to cut oil supply lines of Russia which transported oil from the Caucasus. With Stalingrad under its control, Germany would have been able to attack Moscow from the south-east. The victory boosted a morale of Russian troops and soon Germany was ousted from Leningrad and eventually from Russia.

## 4. Role of the Navy in WWII

The Navy played an important role in the defeat of the Axis powers. The US navy played a crucial role in the defeat of Japan. The British navy also served the Allied cause to a good extent:

- a) The navy protected the Merchant ships of Allies. This ensured continuous supply of food. The British navy, especially, was important in maintaining the supply of arms, aircraft and meat to Russia by escorting the convoys via the Arctic.
- b) The navy of the allied forces played important role by sinking German U-boats (submarines) and surface raiders.
- c) The allied navy was successful in blockading the Axis supply.
- d) It played important part in troop movements by transporting troops to North Africa and then to Italy.
- e) Sea and air power proved to be crucial during the invasion of Vichy France in 1944.
- f) British Navy was most known for its victory in the **Battle of Atlantic (1939-45)**. The Battle of Atlantic was a struggle between the German U-boats which were depriving the British of food and raw material supply by sinking merchant vessels. The Allies won the Battle of Atlantic due to multiple reasons:
  - i. By 1943 the Allies could produce ships at a faster rate than German U-Boats could sink them.
  - ii. Air protection to Allied convoys which were themselves protecting the merchant vessels supplying rations- helped in defeating the Germans.
  - iii. A new radar technique was deployed in airplanes by British which allowed Britain to detect U-Boats even during night and low visibility conditions.

## 5. Role of Air-force in Allied victory in WWII

- a) Battle of Britain (1940)- The Royal Air Force defeated German Luftwaffe, which was essential for British survival.
- b) Use of new technology in Airplanes for detection of U-Boats in low visibility conditions helped in winning the Battle of Atlantic (1939-45).
- c) US Air-force aided the US navy in winning the Pacific War (1941-5). It had an important contribution in the Battle of Midway and the consequent 'Island hopping' by US. Also, the US airplanes ensured a vital flow of supplies to allies during winning back of Burma.
- d) Royal Air Force bombed supply ships in Mediterranean during the war in North Africa.
- e) The airplanes allowed dropping of paratroopers and gave air protection to them in Normandy (1944) and Italy (1943).
- f) Allied Strategic Air Offensive: It was the bombing of cities of the Axis powers especially the military and industrial targets. But this did not have an effect on German industrial production till 1944 but it did result in oil shortages for Germany after 1944.

## 6. Axis Defeated (July 1943-5)

It included four events viz. the fall of Italy (1943), the Operation Overlord (1944) for liberation of France, the invasion of Germany (1944-5) and the defeat of Japan (1945) by nuking it.

**Fall of Italy (1943):** This happened quickly after the US and British troops were air-dropped in Sicily. The King dismissed Mussolini and Italy joined the Allies. Germany sent troops but they lost. The fall of Italy forced Hitler to send troops to Italy which could have been better utilized against Russia. Also the Allied powers got air bases for bombing the German troops in central Europe and Balkans.

**Operation Overlord (1944):** This was the invasion of France that began on the so called D-Day to liberate it from German occupation. The operation was carried out due to multiple reasons. The Russians had been demanding to open this second front since 1941. By now the German U-boats were down and out. Also the Allied air superiority had been established and Italy had been brought on Allied side. Thus the Allied powers could now focus on liberating France, Belgium and Holland.

**Invasion of Germany (1944-5):** There was disagreement over this, between US and Britain. While Britain wanted to reach Berlin before the Russians, the US demanded to practice caution due to an earlier failed attempt at German invasion in 1944. The Battle of Bulge was fought in December 1944. It is named so due to the fact that German troops were able to break through American lines and advanced 60 miles leading to a huge bulge in the front line between the two forces. US and Britain pushed them back. The result was that Hitler had spent all resources in this battle and they could not be replaced. The fall of Germany was now certain. Russia captured Berlin in April, 1945 and Hitler committed suicide.

**Defeat of Japan (1945):** The nuclear bomb was used in Japan because US wanted to end the war as soon as possible so that Russia could not make further territorial gains in the Pacific. USSR had promised to join the Allies in invasion of Japan but US did not want Russia to gain any territory in Japan. There is also a view that the US wanted to threaten USSR by displaying the power of the new bomb and wanted to establish itself as a military super power.

## 7. Why Axis Powers lost the World War II

This can be summed up in the following points:

- 1) Shortage of Raw Material: Italy and Japan were dependent on imports and even Germany was short of rubber, cotton and oil.

- 2) The Axis success depended on quick victories, which did not come. The Blitzkrieg strategy designed for this purpose was successful earlier but failed later due to British air power.
- 3) Allied soon learned the importance of air power and aircraft carriers at sea and focused on their production and use in the battlefield.
- 4) The Allies had huge resources in form of resource rich US, USSR and British Commonwealth. The USSR moved its factories to the east of Ural Mountains, which ensured continuous production away from the theatre of war. Also, the axis powers could not match the US in the production of arms.
- 5) Axis powers opened too many fronts at the same time.
- 6) Mussolini proved to be an incompetent general, as he was unable to deliver victories and Hitler had to come to his rescue twice, in North Africa and then Italy.
- 7) Also, there were certain tactical mistakes. Japan failed to understand the importance of Aircraft carriers and continued to produce battleships. Similarly, Hitler did not plan for the Russian winters and neither did he retreat from Stalingrad at the opportune time.

## 8. Impact of World War II

1. **Destruction:** More than 40 million people were killed of which half were Russians. Many people were uprooted from their homes. The German industrial areas and cities were devastated. Similarly, cities in France and West Russia were devastated by air strikes. Holocaust was another feature of the war. Hitler engaged in systematic execution of six million Jews in the concentration camps. The nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed and disabled countless Japanese and continued to affect the health of succeeding generations for years to come.
2. **Peace Settlement:** Multiple separate treaties were signed. Italy lost all of its African colonies along with Albania and Ethiopia. USSR took East Czechoslovakia, parts of Finland and did not free the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were captured in 1939. Trieste came under United Nations administration. Japan (1951) surrendered all territories acquired in the past 90 years and thus completely withdrew from China. USSR refused any settlement over Germany and Austria except that they would remain under the occupation of Allied troops, while East Prussia would be divided between Poland and Russia.
3. **Migration:** Many Germans migrated to Germany from their homes in Allied occupied areas outside Germany. This was done to ensure that no future German government claimed these territories.
4. **Nuclearization:** World War II led to production of nuclear weapons.
5. **Balance of Power:** The European domination of the world ended with the World War II and the balance of power shifted in favour of the USSR and US. Due to high war costs, Italy, Germany, Britain and France were on the verge of bankruptcy. Britain was under high US debt which it acquired due to the US aid provided under the Lend-Lease Act (1941). After the war, Britain was forced to ask for another US loan. Also, the European exports declined. The US was economically strong while the USSR had the largest army. The world after the World War II was a bipolar world, which became engulfed in a Cold War rivalry between the two super powers.
6. **Third World Concept emerged:** The Third World meant to be non-Aligned to any of the two world powers. In 1973, the leaders of the independent states that emerged after the war gathered at Algiers and declared themselves as the Third World. The Third world was suspicious of both Communism and Capitalism.
7. **Decolonization:** The defeat of European powers at the hands of Japan decreased their prestige upon which their colonial rule depended. It was said that the British was able to maintain its colonial empire not through military but through prestige. The war was fought

against oppression and for freedom from fascist regimes. Also many soldiers from colonies fought in Europe where they got exposed to the ideas and the prosperity of the West which was in stark contrast with the poverty at home. All this led to rise of nationalism in the colonies. Also the European powers were militarily and economically weak. USSR was now a world power. Communist ideology was against colonialism. Many erstwhile European colonies which came under Japanese rule during the war witnessed rise of nationalist struggles under Communist leaders. India was the first colony to gain independence after the war. Thus, decolonization first began in Asia which led to demands for independence in Africa and Middle East. The decolonization process led to emergence of many new nation states in the 1960s.

8. **United Nations** was established in 1945 for maintenance of world peace, protection of rights of individuals and for socio-economic development across the world.

## 9. Different Socio-Economic Systems

Terms like Capitalism, Socialism and Communism are frequently used in general parlance, but it is important to understand the underlying meaning and philosophies behind these terms. These terms collectively denote the different socio-economic systems in use across the world. For greater clarity, general principles of these political philosophies have been explained below.

### 9.1. Capitalism

The Capitalist system of organizing the state and society is based on the principles that- there should be private ownership of country's wealth, the economy works on the principle of Laissez Faire i.e. the market forces determine the economic policies and there is no command economy. The State does not tell the industry what to produce, when to produce and how to produce. Also, under the Capitalist system, there is no special protection provided to the working class. The worker is just another factor of production like capital and land (Factors of production are the inputs required for producing the finished goods). The driving forces of the Capitalist system are focus on private enterprise (entrepreneurship), security of private wealth and production for profit motive.

### 9.2. Communism

Communism is an economic system characterized by the collective ownership of property by the community, with the end goal being complete social equity. The Communist system of organizing the state and society is based on the ideas of Karl Marx where three things are of importance viz ownership of wealth, economic planning and protection of working class. The wealth of the country should be collectively owned. The economy should be centrally planned (command economy) and the state should take affirmative action for protection of interests of the working class. The driving forces of the communist system focus on equality, collective ownership and production for social good. Both Communism and Capitalism have been adopted differently by different countries as per their own specific requirements.

### 9.3. Socialism

Before we move on to discuss the rise and evolution of socialism, it is important to clearly understand the meaning of the term. Most generally, **socialism refers** to state ownership of common property, or state ownership of the means of production. Alternatively, socialism is any of the various systems of social organization in which the means of producing and distributing goods can be privately or collectively owned or dictated by a centralized government that often plans and controls the economy. Although, socialism does not always co-exist with only communist or fascist governments, the implementation of socialism in many countries generally requires that a strong central government exist to implement this philosophy.

Socialism has the following characteristics:

- a) An Egalitarian society: It means no class, caste or color should be discriminated against. *"There can be no genuine liberty without equality"*
- b) Satisfaction of basic needs: Motive of profit should be replaced by motive of service. The state should focus distribution of resources not where it will fetch the highest value, but where it is most needed.
- c) Common Ownership: Common ownership of all the means of production. For them, an industry which is collectively owned is more efficient and from the moral point of view more satisfying.
- d) Ideal of service: Socialism advocates the idea of general welfare or common good. It protests against the harsh materialism and individualism of classical liberals.

A purely socialist state would be one in which the state owns and operates the means of production. However, nearly all modern capitalist countries combine socialism and capitalism. Some economies are highly centralized, while some others completely decentralized. They all stand for equality but differ on meaning attached to it.

## 10. Forms and Shades of Socialism

Socialism is not a straightforward concept and several forms of it have emerged since its existence. **Communism** is a closely related concept, which we have already discussed in brief before. Russia was the first Communist state in the world. Soon, communism (Marxism) spread outside Europe into Asia, South America and Africa, with each country adopting its own style of Marxism as per their specific needs, conditions and history. For example, China adopted the Russian Model till 1958, but then Mao introduced the Great Leap Forward (1958) to get rid of weaknesses of the earlier model and bring in a model of communism/socialism that would be more relevant to the Chinese situation and more effective in solving the specific Chinese problems. Thus, it is to be understood that there is no one perfect model of Communism and which features are to be imported as it is, which features are to be excluded totally and which features are to be modified and then adopted - the answers to these questions vary from country to country and from time to time. The Communist China adopted **Market Socialism** under Deng Xiaoping (leader from 1978-1992), who was a more liberal, relatively less antagonistic to capitalism and thus was a right wing communist. Thus, under Deng, the People's Republic of China moved towards Market Economy as per needs of the time. Market Socialism is a brand of socialism, which has a Socialist Market Economy, which is achieved through Open Door Economic Policies, whereby the local economy is more integrated to the global economy through decrease in investment and trade barriers. Market Socialism has features of decentralization of economic power (as it entailed withdrawal of communist party from decision making in management of economy), more private ownership of land and other features of capitalism. But, it does not lose sight of equality, which is the primary goal of a communist state.

To clearly understand the concept of socialism and communism it is important to draw contrasts between the two.

**Marxism vs Socialism:** Marxism is also known by the name of Scientific Socialism or Marxist Socialism, which was a philosophy of Marx and Engels as given in the Communist manifesto (1848). The contours of this relationship can be understood through the following points:

- a) Marxism talks about how to bring about socialism in the society.
- b) Socialism is an umbrella term and Marxism is just a part of it like other methodologies suggested by other thinkers to bring about socialism.
- c) Socialism as a concept is older than Marxism. The Utopian socialists like Robert Owen and

other socialists had worked before Marx gave his version of Socialism.

- d) Marxism is socialism as desired by Marx.
- e) Marxism is Socialism in an industrialized setting i.e. in an industrialized economy.
- f) Marxism talks about Dictatorship of Proletariat (i.e. Working Class). Thus Marxism's focus is upon workers only and thus narrow. But focus of Socialism is wider as it does not bind itself to just workers and includes peasants and all population working in whichever sector of economy. For example Socialism has been applied in non-Industrialized countries viz by Russia, China, India, Vietnam, Cuba and African countries like Angola.
- g) Marxism is anti-State and wants a stateless society while there is no such compulsion on Socialism which is more general concept and does not demand abandonment of State. Socialism is not anti-state but just focusses upon equality of all. The Indian Socialism rather used the institution of State to bring about more equality in the society.
- h) Method: Marx argued that the violent revolution is the only way but there is no such compulsion on Socialism. For example, countries like Chile under Allende witnessed a peaceful revolution for socialism and under a democratic polity.
- i) Ends: Aims of socialism are broader in nature. A version of Socialism may aim for mere decrease in domination of the Capitalist system while Marxism aims for complete annihilation of capitalism.
- j) The similarity lies in the fact that Marxism aims Socialism which implies an equality based non-exploitative society. Both concepts are just philosophies and lack operational details about how to actually organize such a society. Thus both concepts have scope for being further elaborated in form of their operationalization.

**Fabian Socialism** is yet another form of socialism and has been discussed below in brief: The origin of term Fabian Socialism can be traced back to the formation of the Fabian Society (1883) in Britain. The Fabian society set the foundation principles of the Labor Party in Britain. The Fabianism mandated evolution rather than Revolution to bring about socialism. Here two things are of importance: One, *to bring about socialism* and two, *evolution*. The Fabian Socialists did not advocate overthrow of democracy and establishment of a one-party communist state. They believed that a representative democracy is the best political system. Also, they rejected the use of violence to bring about revolution and believed in gradual reforms achieved through negotiations, petitions and a democratic process to move the society towards a socialist order. Their goal of equality was similar to that of proponents of Communist states but their means were different. Prominent names who are generally referred to as Fabian Socialists include Annie Besant and Jawaharlal Nehru.

**Democratic Socialism and Social Democracy** are two really important terms associated with Socialism. The origin of these two terms can be traced to the split between the Reformists and the Revolutionary Socialists at the time of 2<sup>nd</sup> International. For now students can understand 2<sup>nd</sup> International as an organization of socialist and labour parties across the world. The Reformists are also referred as Social Democrats. The main issue of debate in the Democratic Socialism is Democratic vs Authoritarian Socialism while the main thrust in the Social Democracy is on the reformist non-violent means against the revolutionary violent means to achieve a socialist order.

- i. **Democratic Socialism:** The propounders of Democratic Socialism argue for a socialist order which is truly democratic. In their view in a true Socialist society, the masses would have the power to take decisions regarding the management of economy. Their thrust is therefore on "**Socialism from Below**" which has been further explained below:
  - a) It favours active participation of population as a whole and workers in particular in the management of economy. This is the fundamental feature of Democratic Socialism or Socialism from Below. The means are secondary in nature and such a socialist order

may be achieved through reformist or revolutionary means. Within the Democratic Socialists there are sub-groups who support one set of means over another with most favouring revolutionary means, yet their real stress is on ends rather than means.

- b)** Socialism from below is an anti-Authoritarian view of Socialism in contrast to Stalinism and Social Democracy, both of which are forms of Authoritarian State Socialism. *Authoritarian* here implies concentration of power as against decentralization of power. Stalinism, among other things, implies concentration of power in the hands of a paramount leader who rules the state. The economy is centrally planned with top down decision making in management of economy. In a Social Democracy also, the economic decision making is concentrated in the State and the Capitalists. Here also the real producers of wealth i.e. the workers do not get to make decisions. Thus according to Democratic Socialists both Social Democracy and Stalinism are against the notion of decentralization of power in the hands of the masses.
  - c)** Democratic Socialism is against State Socialism which includes nationalization of industries and command economy (centrally planned economy where the state commands the industry what, when, how much and how to produce). In capitalism the decision making power on the questions of economic production is in the hands of Capitalists. Democratic Socialists argue that through nationalization the capitalists are replaced by the State and the worker is again left out.
- ii. Social Democracy:** It is a political ideology where the main thrust of Social Democrats is on the means to achieve ends of a socialist society. They oppose violent revolutionary means and believe that a socialist order which is equitable should be achieved through gradual reforms in a non-violent manner. Some important features of Social Democracy can be listed as below
- a)** The goal is similar to that of Democratic Socialism viz achievement of a Socialist society where there is less concentration of wealth and more equality.
  - b)** The means are reformist - gradual methods rather than violent means. . They favour peaceful and evolutionary change towards a socialist economy from a capitalist economy.
  - c)** Social Democracy can also be defined as a political ideology that aims a welfare state with socialist policies and where workers have the power of collective bargaining within the framework of a Capitalist Economy and Democracy.
  - d)** The form of polity preferred is Democracy with rule of law. Democracy stressed here is both political and economic.
  - e)** They favor a mixed economy but are against excess intervention by the State. They are equally against 100 per cent free market economy and 100 per cent planned economy.

Two Political ideologies	Democratic Socialism	Social Democracy
Vote Bank	Workers and poor peasants	Middle Class
Degree of Radicalism	Much more radical	Less Radical
System of Economy preferred	Fully socialist economy	Mixed Economy. Not fully socialist economy but a capitalist economy with socialist features like collective bargaining and a welfare state.
Means	Two groups- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Reformist Democratic Socialists- prefer peaceful gradual reforms.</li> </ul>	Gradual; reformist; peaceful; evolution rather than revolution.

	2) Revolutionary Democratic Socialists- prefer violent immediate revolution. They criticize the Reformist Democratic Socialists of supporting "Socialism from Above" because the latter do not want an instantaneous end to Capitalism.	
Role of State	Minimum role of State. Even a welfare state should only be a temporary measure	Some role of State. Against 100 per cent free market economy as well as against 100 per cent state planned economy.
System of Polity	Decentralization of Power is main focus be it under a democracy or a communist state.	Democracy with rule of law.

*Till now we have learnt about various politico economic systems and various forms of socialism. Now, we would try and understand the evolution of socialism through various important events in the history of world.*

## 11. Evolution of Socialism as a Politico-Economic System.

The rise of socialism can be traced back to the negatives of Feudalism and Capitalism. The societies guided by these two concepts were ripe with inequality and wide disparities. The thinkers before the French revolution started envisioning a society where there was less inequality in terms of social relationships and rich-poor divide. Socialist thinkers attacked the system of Feudalism where the society was divided into rigid hierarchical structure with the Nobility and the Clergy dominating the peasant masses. The French revolution of 1789 had a major focus on equality and the success of French revolution gave a big boost to the ideas of Fraternity and Equality. Also in the post-Industrial revolution (1750 onward) England, the workers had a poor socio-economic status. Soon the workers began to organize themselves and movements for welfare of workers began. Thus Socialism with its focus on equality began to emerge against Feudalism and Capitalism in Europe.

The feudal structures in France were attacked while voices were raised against the capitalist oppression of the workers in England. As industrialization was taking place in Europe in 19<sup>th</sup> century, socialist ideas came more in conflict with capitalism. This was more pronounced in England which had begun industrialization after 1750. In 19<sup>th</sup> century Socialism began to take more concrete shape and it was here that Socialism was promoted by Socialist thinkers as an alternative to the system of Capitalism. It was in this century that Karl Marx (1818-1883) gave a comprehensive critique of capitalism. Thus in conclusion it can be said that Socialism rose due to inequality in society and mainly due to negatives of Industrial Capitalism in the post-Industrial revolution Europe (18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> century), although the socialist ideas had also began to take shape in France which was a Feudal society in 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Let us now focus specifically on the rise of workers against the capitalists, which hastened the rise of socialism in Europe.

### Beginning of the Rise of Workers:

After industrial revolution there was an increase in the number of workers in towns where the factories were located. The workers were exploited by the factory owners and the management. They had unsafe conditions of work, working hours were as long as sixteen hours, child labor was rampant, provisions of social security were lacking and their wages were paltry. Trade Unions (organization of workers), began to emerge but they were illegal for a long period of time as the capitalists had influence in the law making bodies of the State. In the French

Revolution (1789), workers were a major force and they had organized themselves into secret societies for overthrow of Feudalism. In England and other countries, the governments were forced to pass laws against some of the worst features of capitalism due to the pressure of working class. For Example, laws against unsafe conditions of work were passed in many countries and limits were placed on the maximum hours of work.

Let us now discuss some of the movements and scholars associated with the rise of socialism in Europe. All of these had a significant impact in some or the other way on the philosophy of socialism.

**Luddites (1811-7):** They were the group of workers in England under the leadership of Ludd who believed that the machines were the cause of their misery. They launched a movement to break the machinery in the factories. This was a naive idea and they soon realized that their agitation was futile.

**Chartist Movement (1830s-40s):** This movement began in England for demand of Right to Vote to the workers. The movement died down by 1850s but had a considerable impact and enthused the workers for demanding their rights and made them more aware. Britain moved gradually on the question of right to vote and through four acts of Parliament, by 1929 all adults got the Right to Vote.

**1848 revolts in Europe:** The most of Europe was engulfed in protests and revolts in 1848. The Communist League (discussed later) published the Communist Manifesto (1848) authored by Marx and Engels and thus inspired the workers. The workers participated enthusiastically and their demands included not just an end to the Autocratic regime but also of Capitalism. The middle class fearing a takeover of the state by workers made a compromise with the autocratic rulers at the end moment and the revolts failed to establish democracy.

**Early Socialists:** Generally we tend to identify the Socialist movement with Karl Marx but significant work was done in development of socialist ideas by early thinkers, revolutionaries and their organizations like Babeuf; Utopian Socialists like Saint Simon, Charles Fourier & Robert Owen; Auguste Blanqui; and the League of Just. Workers, their leaders and many thinkers tried to improve the conditions of the working class. Gradually, a belief took root that Capitalism itself is evil and therefore there is need for a new socio-economic system where the means of production would be collectively owned by the society and not by handful of capitalists.

**French revolution and Workers movement:** Before the French Revolution (1789), many thinkers wrote about a society which would have equality but this was thought of as an impractical dream until the French Revolution happened. The French revolution had stressed a lot on equality and its success in ending Feudalism gave a boost to the idea of equality. It is to be noted that French Revolution was not against capitalism as such, rather it favoured Laissez Faire and Capitalism. Yet the idea of equality was central in French Revolution's attack on Feudalism. (The American Revolution's Declaration of Independence had described individual's right to property as an inalienable right while French Revolution's Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen had argued that individual has a right to property but it can be overruled in favor of public welfare). But the French Revolution failed to provide for a stable republic. It could only end the autocratic rule of Louis 16 and did not result in a more equitable society. The workers did not benefit from the revolution, only peasants did as they got lands confiscated from the Nobility and the Clergy. Immediately after the French Revolution the government was under the domination of the Bourgeois (middle class). The workers did not get the right to vote due to the minimum income criteria in the constitution. This discontent resulted in the rise of Jacobins to the power, but they failed to provide for rule of law and France drifted into the Reign of Terror where Guillotine was used for mass slaughter of every dissenting voice. Afterwards, the Bourgeois again came to power. Thus there was wide gap in the actual results of the French Revolution and its ideas. This discontent led to Babeuf's Conspiracy (1796).

**Babeuf's conspiracy and Babeuf's Manifesto:** The Babeuf's conspiracy was an attempt by Babeuf to overthrow the French government and to build a society based on principles of Socialism. Babeuf had participated in the French Revolution and had formed a secret society named "Society of Equals". Babeuf failed because the government repressed the movement and he was killed in 1797. **Babeuf Manifesto** stressed the idea of equality in society. It argued that everyone was born with equal rights to enjoy all goods in the economy. A true society has no room rich and the poor. Therefore another revolution is must for removing the rich-poor divide.'

**Utopian Socialists:** These included thinkers like Saint Simon, Charles Fourier & Robert Owen. They desired a new collective society. Saint Simon gave the slogan "from each according to his capacity and to each according his work". They are known as Utopian Socialists because the methods they proposed to establish such a society were impractical and ineffective.

**Auguste (1805-81):** He was a propounder of the **idea of a violent revolution** as a tool for establishment of a Socialist order. Auguste was very active in the uprisings in Paris from 1830s to 1871 when the Third French Republic was established. He advocated the idea of revolutionary conspiracy for establishment of socialism. He was very popular and nearly two lakh workers gathered to pay their respects during his funeral in 1871.

**League of Just:** It was one among the many socialist organizations. Its major contribution was the idea of Internationalism. Internationalism implied unity of all the workers in all the countries and rejection of borders as a source of disunity among workers. It had members from all across Europe. It gave the slogan "all men are brothers".

**Communist League:** The League of Just adopted the new name -the Communist League in 1847. It gave the slogan of or had the goal of "Rule of Proletariat". The goal implied the downfall of Bourgeois and establishment of the rule of the workers. It aimed overthrow of a society dominated by the middle class and characterized by class distinctions. It wanted to establish a classless society without any provision for private property. It furthered the notion of Internationalism and gave the slogan "Proletariat of all lands unite!".

The terms Socialism and Communism are often used interchangeably. A major reason for this is the influence of a scholar called Karl Marx. It is therefore, important to study the ideas of Karl Marx separately to develop a better understanding of these terms.

## 12. Ideas of Karl Marx

Karl Marx (1818-83), founded the doctrine of Marxism in the Communist Manifesto (1848). Karl Marx formulated his ideas by studying the society around him during his stay in England. It was an industrial setting which he analyzed and thus his work is more relevant to an industrialized society. He focused on the negatives of the Capitalist system, as he analyzed it in post-Industrial revolution England, and tried to provide an alternative form of system which would ensure the welfare of the masses (which were workers). His important works include the **Communist manifesto (1848)** and the **Das Kapital (1867)**. The ideas of Karl Marx were published in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century which also a time of protests against Feudalism and Capitalism in Europe.

Marxism is also known as **Scientific Socialism** because Marx did an empirical scientific analysis before arriving at his theory. He demonstrated that the Profit of Capitalist = (Value created by Workers) minus (Wages given to Workers) and this is the primary source of conflict in the society.

**Communist Manifesto (1848)** was authored by Marx and Engels on instructions by the Communist League. It changed the slogan "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work" to "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need".

This was so as to have a more inclusive society which would care for those who cannot contribute enough due to old age, disability etc.

**Das Kapital (1867):** It was Marx's study of Capitalism and in this publication he cited features of Capitalism which would lead to its own demise.

- **What is the basic conflict in a capitalist society?** - The basic conflict in society is that the workers produce more value in the society than they get back in form of wages. The difference between the wages and the produced value forms the profits of the capitalist. The capitalist tries to increase the profits at the cost of wages and therefore there exists an irreconcilable conflict between the worker and the capitalist.
- **Why Economic crisis is inevitable in a Capitalist society?:-** This is so because the wages are far less than the value of goods produced. There exists a discrepancy between the purchasing power of majority of the population (i.e. Workers) and the total value of goods to be purchased from the market. Thus an economic crisis is inevitable. The solution to this problem is in ending the private ownership of the means of production and an end to profit motive. This will lead to production for social good rather than for profits for few. A classless society would come to exist where there would be no difference between what is good for an individual and what is good for the society. End of private ownership would also lead to end of exploitation. But Marx argued that this can be only done by the working class because it is the most revolutionary class in an industrialized society.

His ideas can be further discussed under following heads:

- 1) **Capitalism, conflict and classes:** Karl Marx tried to analyze why there is conflict in the society. He concluded that the conflict is result of division of society into classes. Further, he blamed Capitalism for division of the society into classes. Thus Capitalism is responsible for conflict which in turn is responsible for stratification of society into classes. According to Karl Marx, it is natural for people to come together for production of goods. Thus originally, there exists a harmony among people for joint production but Capitalism ruins this harmony and results in conflict in the society. To put it in another way, the classes do not lead to conflict but it is the conflict that pushes people to organize themselves into classes to seek superiority of "us" vs "them". This is how a classless society changes into a class based society. Karl Marx desired a society without conflict, without Capitalism, and without classes. [No Capitalism-->No Conflict-->Classless society].
- 2) **Exploitation of Workers:** Karl Marx argued that the workers (i.e. the proletariat) are the real producers of value in the economy and they are exploited everywhere by the Capitalists (i.e. the middle class or the Bourgeois). Thus eventually they would rise against this exploitation and there will be Dictatorship of Proletariat. By this he meant that when a society becomes "fully industrialized", the workers will eventually revolt to take control and run the government/society in their interest. This is what Marx referred to as "Dictatorship of Proletariat".
- 3) **Industrialization:** It is to be noted that Marx was not against Industrialization but only against Industrial Capitalism dominating an industrialized society.
- 4) **Means for Ends:** Marx believed that since the State controls all the power and is itself a tool of the Bourgeois, a violent revolution is the only way ahead to destroy capitalism.
- 5) **Communist Society:** Marx argued for a stateless society. He was against all the existing institutions viz the army, the government and bureaucracy as he viewed them as institutions on which the State relies for its existence. State only protects the interests of the Bourgeois. Bureaucracy was not neutral according to Marx. It gradually develops its own class interests. It has interests in secrecy and derives power by concealing information.

In place of Capitalist society, Marx desired a Communist society. Commune means a body of people living together in harmony and sharing everything. Marx argued that in a Communist Society "*each would contribute according to his ability and get according to his need*". But, Marx did not give a detailed view of how a communist society would be organized. His proposition was to a great extent ideological without a comprehensive implementation plan for operationalizing this Communist ideology.

- 6) **Anti-Rule of Law:** Democracies thrive on and advocate the principle of Rule of Law. Marx believed that laws are always the product of human will and, more specifically, the arbitrary will of the ruling social class. He sought, therefore, to displace the ideal of the rule of law. "*Law, Religion, Art, Morality and Literature are the opium of the masses, a mere construct devised by the bourgeois class to subjugate the proletariat*" – Karl Marx. Marx viewed the state and the law as mere instruments of the elite to subjugate and oppress the lower class, thus hindering the capacity of human evolution to peak at its finest in prime. Thus, Marx sought to dispel the Rule of Law and put in its place a secular utopia where there would be equality in wealth and power. Thus while liberalism insists that the law is neutral and non-partisan, Marx opposes it as a cloak used by the elites to oppress the masses.
- 7) **Internationalism:** The aim of all workers in all countries was overthrow of Capitalism. He argued that free development of each is a precondition for free development of all. Thus every worker should be seen as a comrade or brother.
- 8) **Inevitability of Socialism:** Marx believed in inevitability of socialism because Capitalism doesn't serve the needs of man and therefore like Feudalism, the Capitalism will also come to an end.
- 9) **Surplus Production:** Marx was against surplus production because for him it was the reason for colonialism and exploitation of natural resources.

### Impact of Communist Manifesto (1848)

It gave a boost to the morale of workers who participated along with the middle class in the revolts all across Europe in 1848. The aim of these revolts were-

- 1) to end the domination of Aristocratic class
- 2) End the rule of the autocratic government and establishment of democracy
- 3) In case of Italy and Germany the protesters desired unification of their respective countries.
- 4) Specifically, through these revolts, the workers desired an end to Capitalism itself.

Among all the ideas of Marx, internationalism was of prime importance. So students should get the understanding of this idea before proceeding ahead.

### Internationalism

Internationalism is a Marxist social class concept based on the view that capitalism is now a global system, and therefore the working class must act as a global class if it is to defeat it. The unity among all workers irrespective of nationality forms an important feature of the socialist movement. In 1846, the **Society of Fraternal Democrats** was formed in Britain. Similar other societies existed in other European countries. All of them had links with each other and all stressed upon the global unity of workers. They even stressed upon uniting the workers with the peasants.

The concept of internationalism can be better understood through the study of organizations like 1<sup>st</sup> International, 2<sup>nd</sup> International etc.

**1<sup>st</sup> International (1864):** The trade unionists who formed the International Workingmen's Association (IWA), sometimes called the First International, recognised that the working class

was an international class which had to link its struggle on an international scale. The aims of the 1<sup>st</sup> International was the total abolition of all 'class rule'. It also stressed international unity of the working class and the socialist leaders. The 1<sup>st</sup> International influenced and aided the worker's movement in Europe and North America. It arranged aid for helping the workers of one country by collecting funds from workers of other countries. It took up an anti-war stance. Workers of both Prussia and France were opposed to initiation of the Franco-Prussian war (1870) and the consequent secession of Alsace Lorraine by France to Germany.

**Paris Commune (1871):** During the Franco-Prussian war (1870) the Monarchy rule came to an end and the Third French Republic was established. The new government was dominated by the propertied class and it continued to fight Prussia even after removal of the Emperor. The workers had opposed the French attack on Prussia which started the war. But once the war had started they were opposed to French surrender to an imperialist Prussia which wanted to capture French territories. The workers captured Paris after the newly formed French government agreed to Bismarck's terms for truce which included ceding Alsace Lorraine to Prussia and payment of huge war reparations. The workers formed an elected council which is also known by the name of Paris Commune (1871). Under the Paris Commune:

- a) Officials to all public offices were to be elected through a Universal Adult Franchise
- b) The people had a right to recall against all public servants.
- c) The elected council or the Paris Commune had representation from the workers and the lower middle class of Paris.

The **aims of the Paris Commune** were to end the stock market speculation, the monopolies and all privileges that were responsible for oppression of the workers. Subsequently, the French government which was in control of parts of France other than Paris asked for Prussian help to crush Paris (1871). The French army along with Prussian troops stormed Paris and brought down the Paris Commune. More than 30,000 workers were killed in the struggle. The 1<sup>st</sup> International supported the Paris Commune and helped the escaping refugees after Commune's fall. Due to this all the governments in Europe turned against the 1<sup>st</sup> International and tried to curb its activities.

#### **Why 1<sup>st</sup> International collapsed?**

The 1<sup>st</sup> International witnessed a split in 1872 over the methods and aims of the organization. It was finally disbanded in 1876. But by 1876 it had played an important role in awareness among the workers. They had become more politically assertive. By 1876 socialist parties in many countries were strong and had a healthy membership.

**2<sup>nd</sup> International (1889-1916)- Aims, work & collapse:** The 2<sup>nd</sup> International was more stronger than the 1<sup>st</sup> International due to the following reasons:

- 1) At the time of 1<sup>st</sup> International (1864) there were no well-organized socialist parties in Europe. But during 1870s and 1880s, all European nations had socialist parties. Some of these socialist parties were very strong having lakhs of members. Some Socialist Parties even won some seats in the respective Parliaments. Example the German Socialist Party won roughly 7 lakh votes in 1887 elections and it was the largest socialist party in Europe. Similarly, Britain had many organizations of the workers e.g. Fabian Society and Socialist League. Fabian Society was setup in 1883 (the same year as Marx died).
- 2) Trade Union membership had grown by manifolds by the time 2<sup>nd</sup> International came into being and they held many strikes in their respective countries.
- 3) The Socialist movement was spreading even outside Europe. In Japan the Socialist movement started in 1890s. In India, 1<sup>st</sup> organized strike by workers was the Signalers Strike in 1899.

Thus by the time of 2<sup>nd</sup> International the Socialist Movement had become a mass movement with its chapters in and outside Europe. The aim of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International was to unite all socialist parties in all countries. It was against imperialism and wanted equality between the natives of colonies and the colonists. It was also against war and against militarization of Europe that was happening before the First World War.

**The important work done by it include the following:**

- a) May Day (1890): The 2<sup>nd</sup> International on behalf of all workers put forward the demand of limiting the maximum working hours per day at 8 hours and in this context it declared 1<sup>st</sup> May (1890) as the International Workers Day as a symbol of unity and solidarity of all workers.
- b) The 2<sup>nd</sup> International enthused the workers to join their movement. Soon, the membership of Trade Unions and Socialist parties increased in most countries.
- c) The 2<sup>nd</sup> International was in favor of independence of the colonies and supported their nationalist struggles. Dadabhai Naoroji, an eminent leader of the Indian National Congress, addressed the 1904 Conference of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. The organization opposed the Scramble for Africa and other colonies during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and condemned the subsequent militarization that happened as a result of this scramble. The European nations in pursuit of empire building were increasing their military expenditure. The organization was against this militarization of Europe in the run up to the WW I.
- d) Prevention of war became a major aim of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International, along with bringing a war to a speedy end if it breaks out. During 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War, as a symbolic gesture against the war, the leaders of the socialist groups from Japan and Russia were made the joint Presidents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International's Conference of 1904.
- e) It blamed Capitalism as the root cause of war, imperialism and colonialism.
- f) The 2<sup>nd</sup> International made efforts to prevent the WW I. It gave the call for a general strike to prevent the respective countries from participating in the war. It asked the workers, socialist parties and their leaders to make use of the economic and political crisis created by the war to bring down capitalism and the governments that supported it. The governments were thus opposed to the socialist leaders who supported the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. Jean Jaurès, a French Socialist leader, was killed on the eve of the World War I for opposing the war.

**Weakness of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International:** The weakness of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International can be listed as follows:

- a) Unlike the 1<sup>st</sup> International, the 2<sup>nd</sup> International was a loose federation of socialist parties from different countries. The 1<sup>st</sup> International was in contrast a well-knit close group, more united, smaller and thus easier to coordinate and manage.
- b) There were some internal differences which weakened the 2<sup>nd</sup> International.
  - i. It was divided on the question of the method of struggle to bring about socialism. Some preferred the method of a violent revolution while others favored gradual reforms by pressuring and lobbying with the governments. Those who favored gradual reforms supported their governments.
  - ii. Some sections within the 2<sup>nd</sup> International favored colonialism, their respective countries engaged in.
  - iii. On the issue of war, the different groups within the 2<sup>nd</sup> International had unanimity of opinion over the basic principle of opposition to war but they differed over what actions to take. For example, some socialist parties feared repression from their governments if they opposed the war. Also some socialist parties were unwilling to use the crisis created by the war to promote their revolution.

- iv. When the World War I broke out-most socialist parties supported their governments. This led to an end to the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. Thus it can be argued that Nationalism was a reason for downfall of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. The rift between Internationalism and Nationalism played out during the last years of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International and the latter prevailed.

## 13. Socialism in Russia: Social Revolutionaries, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

**Social Revolutionaries Party:** This was a party with voter base of peasants. It was against pure Marxism. It opposed a purely Proletariat (Working Class) Revolution because such a revolution would leave out the peasant interests and would focus on rapid industrialization. The party on other hand desired an Agrarian economy based on cooperatives of peasants (i.e. Farm collectivization). They were against furthering Industrialization. Since peasants formed the majority of the Russian population, the Social Revolutionaries Party won more than twice the seats won by Bolsheviks in the election held after the 1917 revolution. But the Red Guards (of Bolsheviks) disbanded the constituent assembly which led to a civil war (1918-20).

**Bolsheviks Vs Mensheviks:** The Social Democrat labor Party in Russia was the father organization from which Bolsheviks and Mensheviks originated. Both these factions had grown out of this party which was Marxist in outlook. During an elections to the Editorial Board of a newspaper run by the party, there was a split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Bolsheviks means “majority” and Mensheviks means “minority” in Russian language and thus the majority group came to be known as Bolsheviks and vice-versa. Lenin was the leader of Bolsheviks.

Bolsheviks	Mensheviks
Bolsheviks argued that the party must work with not just the industrial workers but also with the peasants to get them involved in the revolutionary activity.	Mensheviks had little faith in peasants cooperating in the revolutionary activity because peasants were the most conservative group in the Russian society. Thus Mensheviks were more strict followers of Marxism in terms of a purely Proletariat revolution.
Bolsheviks believed that the party should be a small disciplined group of professional revolutionaries who would work full time to bring about the revolution. This should be the major criteria for membership irrespective of the applicants being from working class or peasants.	Mensheviks wanted a bigger party with membership open to all who wanted to join irrespective of the time members can devote and the level of their commitment to the activities of the organization.
They wanted an immediate start to the revolution.	Believed that the revolution cannot take place until Russia is fully industrialized and workers are in big majority over peasants. This was so because they did not expect support from the peasants.

### Russian Revolution

The Tsar or Czar means Emperor of the Romanov Dynasty (a dynasty of Slavs).

**Situation in early 1900s:** Russia was ruled by Nicholas II who was an autocratic ruler. It was a one man rule with the Czar having high discretionary powers without any responsibility to a Parliament (rather there was no Parliament in Russia).

**Public Grievances:** The rule of Nicholas II was resented by the masses and there was high public dissatisfaction. The working conditions in the factories were poor and thus the workers had a miserable life. Similarly, the peasants were also under a lot of stress. Although, Serfdom was ended in 1861 by Alexander but after being freed the Serfs were under high debt and lived in dire poverty. This was because they had to pay redemptions, which were the annual payments the peasant serfs had to pay the Government in return for their freedom and the land they had got after abolition of Serfdom (1861). There was no freedom of press and no freedom of speech and expression. The economic growth was also lagging. Thus, the people desired transition to a representative form of government i.e. Democracy.

**1905 Revolution:** The public unrest reached its peak in 1905. This was because the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) had led to further degradation of Russian economy. The defeat in the war had eroded any public confidence in the Czarist regime. The public responded with a general strike and attempted a revolution to overthrow Czar and establish a democracy. The revolution of 1905 failed due to following reasons:

- a) The army remained loyal to the Czar.
- b) Czar made concessions in time in form of October Manifesto (1905).
- c) Lack of unity among opponents.
- d) Lack of a central leadership among the revolutionaries as the movement had erupted spontaneously without any plan and a leader.

**October Manifesto (1905):** The concessions by the Czar took the form of a promise named October Manifesto (105) declaring the future intent of the Emperor.

- a) Czar promised to establish an elected Parliament called Duma in Russian.
- b) He promised a pay hike to the workers and an improvement in the working conditions at factories.
- c) He promised cancellation of redemption payments by former Serfs.
- d) He promised greater freedom to the press.
- e) He promised a genuine democracy where there would be an important role of the Duma in governance of the country.

**Implementation of the October Manifesto:** Czar did setup Duma and redemption payments were abolished but he did not fulfill many promises he made in the October manifesto. The demands and the views of the Duma for reforms were ignored. The first two Dumas were disbanded by Czar's troops. The 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Duma completed their five year term only because they were constituted by members who were pro-Czar. This was so because Czar had changed the voting system after disbanding the second Duma. The new voting system deprived the peasants and urban workers of their right to vote which resulted in election of conservative members from Aristocracy who were pro-Czar.

#### 1917 Revolutions:

In 1917, there were two revolutions in Russia - the February Revolution and the October Revolution. The February Revolution led to end of the rule of Czar and establishment of a Provisional government. The October revolution resulted in overthrowing of the Provisional government in a coup by Bolsheviks and consequent establishment of a communist state in Russia.

**February Revolution (1917):** The non implementation of October Manifesto (1905) was the reason for this revolution. Also it is important to address two questions here -one, why the revolution against Czar was a revolution by peasants & workers; and two-why there was no revolution immediately after 1905 Revolution when Czar did not earnestly implement the promises made in October manifesto (1905).

### **Why the revolution against Czar was a revolution by peasants & workers?**

The first Duma was constituted in 1906. In the elections, all classes had the Right to Vote but the elections were rigged, which led to majority of landowners and middle class in the Duma. Yet, the 1<sup>st</sup> Duma tried to push forward the demands of the masses. Its demand to the Czar included:

- a) Land Redistribution
- b) a genuine Democracy
- c) Right to strike to the workers
- d) Abolishment of death penalty
- e) Power to the Duma to approve Czar's minister.

1<sup>st</sup> Duma was soon disbanded. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Duma (1907) also had a similar fate.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Duma, 1907-12 and 1912-17 respectively, had no powers and were conservative. With no right to vote, the interests of the workers and peasants were neglected and thus the revolution was led not by middle classes but by peasants and workers. Also, the Czar controlled the secret police and the appointment of ministers and thus continued to remain powerful.

### **Why there was no revolution immediately after the October Manifesto's non-fulfillment?**

This can be explained by the following factors:

- a) The economic recovery after 1906 pacified the peasants and the workers.
- b) The leaders who opposed the Czar and wanted a revolution were short of money. Many of them were either in prison or in exile. For example, Lenin went into exile to later return in 1917, with help of the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmerman (Germany wanted Russian withdrawal from WW I or at least some internal unrest so Russia become weak).
- c) Czar's Prime Minister Stolypin introduced some reforms.
  - i. He tried to win peasant support as redemption payments were abolished.
  - ii. Land Reforms were introduced: Peasants were encouraged to buy their own land. For example, the peasants were encouraged to migrate to Siberia where they could buy the uncultivated lands at cheap prices. But, this led to emergence of a new class of wealthy peasants or Kulaks, who were pro-government.
  - iii. He tried to win workers support. Inspectors were deployed to ensure that working conditions in the factories are improved. The greater industrial growth after 1906 allowed the capitalists to increase wages of workers. In 1912, a sickness and accident insurance scheme was floated.
- d) Disunity among opposition leaders: The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks differed on various issues. Mensheviks did not want an immediate revolution until the Russian economy was not fully industrialized and thus unless the workers form the majority of the population. On the other hand, Bolsheviks under Lenin wanted immediate revolution with support of both - workers and peasants.

**Reason for February Revolution (1917):** Following can be listed as the reasons for the revolution:

- a) Longterm grievances:
  - a) Halfhearted fulfillment of the October Manifesto (1905). There was no fulfillment of the promise of a genuine democracy.
  - b) Land reforms failed by 1911: Land reforms aimed at improving the life of peasants by making them landowners and also at bringing down food inflation that hurt the poor the most. The land reforms failed because the population of peasants grew faster than the growth in Agriculture sector, which along with inefficient farming methods -

resulted in failure to check food inflation. The population of peasants grew faster than the pace of reforms introduced by Czar's Prime Minister Stolypin.

- c) The welfare programme for the workers was not good enough to end all of their grievances. Industrial unrest and strikes happened for three years (1912-14) before the start of WW I. The unrest started in 1912 after a group of gold miners who were on a strike were shot at.
- d) Government repression through use of Secret Police: This led to alienation of three important sections of the society viz peasants, workers and the intelligentsia (educated class). The revolutionaries from among the students, teachers etc were either imprisoned or killed by the secret police. Another example of brutality includes mass deportation of Jews from Russia. Thus, many sections became anti-Czar by 1917.
- e) Revolutionary parties joined hands after 1912 and this led to decrease in disunity among the sections of opposition witnessed earlier. Example, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries Party- the three main groups came together and at least temporarily resolved their differences to become united in their opposition to Czar.
- f) The Royal Family lost credibility due to number of scandals. Example, there was a controversy on whether the Czar was behind execution of reformist Prime Minister Stolypin in 1911. Also it was alleged that a priest, who used to help the sick child of the Czar, had become important in the decisions taken by the Czar.

**b) Immediate Cause:**

- a) The participation in the WW I accelerated the overthrow of Czar because the war led to high expenditure and worsened the economic conditions of the masses. Example during the war years there was a rapid increase in food inflation and Bread Riots broke out in St Petersburg (then called Petrograd). The failures in the WW I and the inefficient leadership of Czar in running the war (example slow transport of arms to the fighting units) led to a mutiny among the troops as well as the police. Thus in contrast to 1905 revolution, in 1917- the army and the police were not loyal to the Czar.
- b) The February revolution was a spontaneous outburst. Nicholas II sent troops who soon refused to fire and the whole Petrograd Garrison mutinied. Soon, the mobs seized the public buildings. The 4<sup>th</sup> Duma advised the Czar to setup a Constitutional Monarchy but he refused and sent even more troops who failed to dispel the mobs. The senior army generals then tried to convince Nicholas II to abdicate throne to save the Monarchy. Nicholas II agreed but the next heir (Czar's brother) refused the throne and thus the Romanov Dynasty's rule ended because of a poor transition plan.
- c) The February Revolution was a spontaneous outburst and the privileged class (Duma members, industrialists, aristocracy and senior army generals) turned against Czar only to save its own skin.

**October Revolution (1917):** The failures of the provisional government led to the October Revolution where the Bolsheviks did a coup and overthrew the government. Following are the failures of the Provisional Government that was formed under Kerensky:

- a) It did not withdraw Russia from the WW I. The morale of the army was low because of losses in different battles.
- b) It did not fulfill two important promises of land redistribution and immediate elections for a Constituent Assembly that would frame a new constitution. The Bolsheviks used the discontent among the peasants over delay in land redistribution to increase their support base by starting a programme for forceful land eviction of Kulaks. The government argued that the elections could not be held because the nation was at war.
- c) The rise of Soviets degraded the authority of the government. Soviets propped up in all cities. A Soviet was the name given to an elected committee of soldiers and workers formed for city governance. Petrograd Soviet that governed Petrograd after February 1917,

asked the Petrograd soldiers to only obey the Soviet and not the government. Thus the Provisional Government began to lose army's support.

- d) Germany helped Lenin return from exile in Switzerland in April, 1917. Lenin in **April Thesis** demanded that all power be vested in the soviets, that there should be no support to the Provisional Government and that Russia should immediately withdraw from the WW I.
- e) Kornilov affair: Kornilov was an army general. He decided to send troops against the Soviets but the Petrograd troops and many troops of Kornilov as well mutinied. After this, the public opinion swung against participation in WW I and in favor of Soviets.
- f) Lenin offered attractive reforms for bringing the masses on his side- viz- Land Redistribution, decreased food inflation and withdrawal from WW I if the public supported his revolution.

#### **1917-24: Consolidation of Power by Bolsheviks**

The elections were held after overthrow of the Provisional Government and the Constituent Assembly was formed. Although Lenin knew that the Bolsheviks would not be able to get majority in the elections, but he had made elections an important agenda of October Revolution (1917). Before elections Lenin had started Land redistribution to please the peasant voters but Bolsheviks came only second in the elections. The Social Revolutionaries Party, which had peasants as their core voter base and promised an economic programme that aimed at an Agricultural economy won the twice the seats won by Bolsheviks. When the Bolsheviks were targeted in debates in the constituent assembly and their vision for running the state were criticized, Lenin ordered the Red Guards to disband the constituent assembly. He argued that "we don't need a Parliament to tell what to do. We know what to do". **This led to the Civil War (1918-20)**, which was fought between the Bolsheviks and the Whites (Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries Party; and Cadets who wanted genuine democracy). Britain, USA, France and Japan sent troops in favor of the Whites because they feared the spread of communism outside Russia if the Bolsheviks came to power. Also, they wanted Russia to re-enter the WW I (Russia had quit the war via Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917) signed by Bolsheviks after the October Revolution). Some sections of workers and soldiers were also against Bolsheviks because of highhanded treatment of Soviets by the Bolsheviks after October Revolution. Bolsheviks with their Red Guards forced out Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks from the Soviets and made a Commissar (appointed by the Centre) the head of a Soviet. Thus soviets were brought under total control of Bolsheviks. In August 1918, there was an assassination attempt against Lenin after which the Red Guards of Bolsheviks started what came to be known as Red Terror where many Whites were shot dead. During the civil war, Ukraine and Georgia were forced to re-unite with Russia. Russia had lost these territories under Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917) with Germany. The movement for independence in Armenia and Azerbaijan was crushed during the civil war. These two had declared themselves independent using the opportunity provided by the ongoing crisis.

Finally, the **Bolsheviks emerged as victorious due to following factors:**

- a) Whites were not well organized and did not have a single central leadership.
- b) The Red Army had more troops and a very able leader in form of Trotsky.
- c) The Whites lost support of peasants because of the brutalities the whites engaged in during the civil war.
- d) Lenin was able to present Bolsheviks as nationalists fighting against a foreign army.
- e) The war communism helped Bolsheviks to save resources for fighting the war. Under War Communism - all factories were nationalized and all private trade was banned so the resources came directly to the party. Further, all grains were seized from the peasants to feed the troops and the workers who formed the support base of the Bolsheviks.

Thus, the communist revolution in Russia was successful and reached stability by 1920.

## 14. Lenin and Marxism

Lenin led the Bolsheviks in the communist revolution in Russia in 1917 and had a significant impact on Russian system. We can compare the policies he followed and the principles vouched for by Marxist ideology through following points:

- a) **Question of when to start the communist revolution:** Marx argued that eventually there will be a communist revolution by the workers when the country is fully industrialized. This was so because one, Marx considered the working class as the most revolutionary class to carry out the revolution and two, the workers would form the majority of the population when a society becomes fully industrialized. Thus the more radical Marxists (**Mensheviks**) argued for delaying the revolution till the society is fully industrialized. Lenin on other hand was in a hurry in 1917. He was against the rigid notion that full industrialization is a necessary pre-requisite for commencement of the communist revolution. He wanted the revolution immediately by compensating for lack of workers majority by including peasants in the fold of communist revolution. Thus Lenin vouched for land reforms for land redistribution during the revolution of 1917. His New Economic Policy (1921) favored private ownership of land and agricultural produce.
- b) Thus, Marx argued for Proletariat (working class) revolution while Lenin desired revolution by a united peasant and working class.
- c) **Pragmatism:** Marx was against the State and its institutions viz Army, Judiciary and Bureaucracy because they protected Capitalism. Lenin on other hand used state machinery for protecting communism. Lenin was not against temporary use of capitalist methods and private enterprise in limited manner. For example, he introduced the New Economic Policy in 1921.
- d) **War Communism:** This was initiated by Lenin during the Civil War (1918-20) to save and garner resources to fight the civil war. All factories were nationalized and all private trade was banned so the resources came directly to the party. Further, all grains were seized from the peasants to feed the troops and the workers who formed the support base of the Bolsheviks. War Communism led to food shortages after the Civil War because there was no incentive for the peasants to produce since their produce was taken away without paying them any compensation. Thus the farmers began to produce only for self-consumption. Lenin and Marx both argued that Capitalism was the real cause of war, imperialism and colonialism.

*Let us now understand the New Economic Policy of Lenin, political changes introduced by him and criticisms of his ideas and policies.*

**New Economic Policy or NEP (1921) of Lenin:** The Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917) signed by Russia with Germany to exit World War I had resulted in huge economic loss to Russia. Through this treaty, Russia lost one-third of its farming land, one-third population, two-thirds of coal mines and half of heavy industry. This was so because it had lost Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and parts of Poland. (It was able to seize back Georgia and Ukraine from a weak Germany during the Civil War and got back Baltic States and parts of Poland in WW II). After the end of Civil War (1918-20), Lenin wanted to achieve two things. One, economic recovery and two, reconciliation between the workers and the peasants, who were hurt by war communism. The workers formed the core support base of the communists while the peasants fought against the Bolsheviks in the civil war because Lenin had disbanded the constituent assembly formed to frame a constitution after the democratic elections held after 1917 revolution. The elections had returned the Social Revolutionaries Party (with peasant support base) with maximum number of seats and the Bolsheviks were target of their criticism in the assembly debates. This was so because the peasants, and not the workers, formed the majority of the population. The reason for this was that the Russian economy in 1920 was still

predominantly agricultural. The war communism further alienated the peasants. Thus to achieve the two aims, Lenin took following steps

- a) Lenin signed a trade agreement with Britain in 1921 for getting British investment (FDI) that would spur growth.
- b) Lenin introduced the **New Economic Policy (1921-27)** with following features:
  - i. Broadly the policy focused on Peasant welfare and boosting growth.
  - ii. The NEP was to be a temporary measure to boost growth.
  - iii. Allowing for private ownership of land and using capitalist incentives to increase production of food. Peasants were allowed to keep surplus produce after payment of tax (which was a percentage of the surplus produce).
  - iv. Private ownership of small scale industries with Heavy Industries like coal, iron, steel, chemicals remaining under State ownership. Similarly, Power, Transport, Banking continued to remain under the State control.
  - v. Private ownership in trade of goods produced by the small factories.
  - vi. Lenin allowed introduction of capitalist measures like bonus, piece wage rates etc.
  - vii. Lenin brought back old managers who were removed after the revolution of 1917. This was done to improve factory output.
  - viii. The left wing members of party opposed the NEP as they felt that this will lead to rise of Kulaks (wealthy peasant landlords).
  - ix. Long term solution of Lenin was state control of economy, collectivization of farms to bring about economies of scale in agricultural production. Collectivization (1929) could only be brought after death of Lenin who died in 1924.
  - x. NEP had moderate success. The ordinary people were better off but the food shortages continued.

#### **Political Changes introduced by Lenin:**

- a) Banned factionalism in 1921. This was to check disagreement within the party. Free discussion was allowed until a decision was taken. But post-decision all party members had to support the decision and work with full commitment for its implementation.
- b) Purgung (forceful expulsion from party): During 1921 about one-third members were purged with help of secret police while many resigned because of the NEP.
- c) Trade Unions were not 100 per cent free under Lenin's rule: Lenin rejected the demand of trade unions that they should run the factories (as the old managers were brought back under the NEP). (Student should link the anti-Democratic Socialism spirit present here). The work of Trade Unions as per Lenin was only to help in increase of production and to strictly follow the government orders.

#### **Criticisms of Lenin:**

1. He prevented democracy from taking root when he disbanded the Constituent Assembly after the elections post-1917 revolution.
2. The Red Terror during civil war whereby many opponents were killed.
3. He left in place tools & precedents which were to be misused by Stalin viz
  - a) One Party State,
  - b) Ban on factionalism which implied curbing dissent within the party,
  - c) Use of secret police against opponents and
  - d) Decreasing the power and voice of the Trade Unions.

After death of Lenin in 1924 there was a debate on future course of action and some other approaches to achieve equality in society - the main goal of Socialism- were suggested:

- 1) **Rapid Industrialization:** One approach was to abandon the pro-peasant NEP and focus on rapid industrialization. The proponents of this approach argued that a communist state

thrives on the support base of workers and not peasants. They feared that the NEP would lead to rise of Kulaks (wealthy peasant landlords) who would threaten not just the goal of equality but the communist revolution as well. This idea was similar to what Mensheviks proposed earlier -focus on workers and focus on industrialization.

- 2) **Socialism in One Country:** This was the approach of the right-wing communist leaders who were- pro-peasant and pro-NEP. They were advocates of limited private ownership of wealth and use of feature of capitalism to spur growth. This approach mandated:
  - a) **Prosperity of Peasants:** Consolidate power of Soviets in Russia by focusing on the prosperity of peasants by allowing private ownership of property because it were the peasants who formed the majority of population and their support is necessary for strengthening the Communist party. [Soviet is the Russian word for Council. The soviets were the councils created for governance at local level. They had membership from workers as well as the peasants (the peasants had to be included because they formed the majority of population especially in hinterland). The Soviets, as per Marxist thinkers and Lenin, are the bodies that represent the democratic will of the workers and thus are essential for bringing about the Dictatorship of Proletariat.]
  - b) **Gradual Industrialization:** A very gradual industrialization as opposed to rapid industrialization. An approach similar in principle was followed by Mao through his Great leap Forward (1958) as we will discuss later.
- 3) **Permanent Revolution:** This approach was advocated by Lenin's confidante Trotsky. It implied working for the communist revolution outside Russia and once this is achieved there would be no threat to communist revolution in Russia. Thus the revolution would be 'permanent' as the whole world or at least the immediate neighbourhood of Russia would be communist. Once this is achieved, then the countries of Western Europe, which have already industrialized, would help Russia industrialize.

## 15. Socialism in India

What is the Indian model of Socialism is not defined in the constitution but from Article 43A, which was introduced by the 42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment (1976) it is clear that Socialism as envisaged by the Preamble will include participation of the workers in the management of industry and consequently profit sharing with the workers.

The Supreme Court in **Nakara vs Union of India (1982)** had adjudicated that the goal of Indian Socialism is to have a blend of Marxism and Gandhism, leaning heavily towards Gandhian Socialism.

The Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization after 1991 economic reforms have led India to drift away from the concept of collective ownership of means of production. Yet, Socialism continues to impact the national debate. The following can be listed as some of the important aspects of Indian Socialism:

- 1) Equal opportunities for all.
- 2) Reduction of inequalities through state legislation and through state implemented welfare schemes. Indian constitution has tried to incorporate protective measures to check the major negative features of capitalism. Child Labor in factories, mines and other hazardous employment for children below 14 years of age is banned by Article 24 and the Minimum Wages Act 1948 is in place to ensure security of livelihood of the workers.
- 3) Prevention of concentration of wealth in the society through state regulation and laws.
- 4) Public control over important areas of economy. A strong public sector especially in Heavy Industry and other capital intensive areas.
- 5) Focus on Heavy Industries and mechanization.
- 6) India tried to implement a programme for land redistribution after banning Zamindari. Also we tried to implement collectivization of agriculture through cooperative farming. Under,

cooperative farming the peasants voluntarily organize themselves into cooperatives of farmers by submitting their land for collective farming. They continue to retain the legal right to the land but jointly cultivate the land. The cooperative body provides the farmers with credit, better seeds and fertilizers which otherwise are not affordable for the individual farmers. But cooperative farming in India was a voluntary drive unlike USSR which forced the peasants to give up their lands in favor of collective farms. India was only partially successful as some sections were suspicious that in time the farmers would lose their land ownership. Also since Agriculture is a state subject, so different states implemented different versions of cooperative farming and with different success rates.

- 7) Indian Socialism can be termed as evolutionary and reformist.
- 8) It focuses on harmony between individual interest and collective interest. We adopted a mixed economy i.e. an economy with features of both public and private ownership of wealth. Thus it can be said that India has a socialism that coexists with capitalism and democracy.
- 9) Indian Socialism is often referred to as Democratic Socialism. It is pertinent to note that what is called as Social Democracy in Europe has more in common with the form of Socialism in India.
- 10) The Indian Socialism is inspired by French Revolution's ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.
- 11) There were many shades in Indian Socialist Movement ranging from Marxism, Social Democracy, Democratic Socialism, Anarchism to Gandhism.
- 12) The major stream before the Stalin's Purges was Marxism. In Meerut Conference the Indian socialists had adopted Marxism as their creed. But after Stalin's Purges the Indian socialists rejected Marxism because it calls for a violent revolution. This disenchantment with the violent means made the Indian socialists adopt Democratic socialism with focus on non-violence and they argued that "Socialism is impossible without democracy".
- 13) In 1931 Karachi Session, the National Economic Programme mentioned 'Nationalization of key industries' and other measures to bridge the rich-poor divide. Also in the session, the socialist pattern of development was set as the goal for India.
- 14) We adopted command economy through Five Year Plans. In the Haripura Session (1938), Indian National Congress President S.C. Bose had setup the National Planning Committee with Jawaharlal Nehru as its head.
- 15) Prime Minister Nehru used the term "socialist pattern of society". It can be argued that Indian Socialism is difficult to categorize and is unique since:
  - a) It aims not just for a classless society but also a caste-less society. Thus we have adopted the policy of reservation to decrease inequality in the society. It can be said that because of features specific to our society, we have targeted both type of inequality-class based (we banned Zamindari) and Caste based (we banned untouchability and introduced reservation in public employment).
  - b) It aims at decreasing poverty, increasing communal harmony and equitable economic development.
  - c) Gandhism has an impact on Indian Socialism in form of non-violence, decentralization of power and specifically the ideas of Trusteeship and Arbitration. The concept of **Trusteeship** argues that the Capitalist is the trustee and he holds wealth only on behalf of the workers who are the real producers of value in the economy. Since the capitalist is the trustee, he should take care of workers interests and work for their welfare. The concept of **Arbitration** has been implemented through the Industrial Disputes Act 1947 which aims at using the method of Arbitration to reconcile the differences between the capitalist and the workers.

### Critical Analysis of Indian Socialism

India adopted Socialism right after the Independence. Most of the Indian Freedom movement leaders like J.L Nehru, J.P Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia were strong advocates of socialism. Therefore socialistic pattern of society was declared as one of the goals of planned economy. At that time India tried to combine democracy with Fabian kind of collective controls leading to regulations of imports and exports. Curbs on production of consumer goods and licensing of industrial set-up. Removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance were accepted as the two major tasks before the Indian state. Nehru tried to promote the collective sector by greater state interference in economic life to mobilise resources and enhance employment opportunities. However, after 1991, India has liberalized its economy under the compulsions of globalization.

Post-Independence steps were also taken to nationalise basic industries like Coal, Steel, Banks and Power. Government also took up programmes for housing, education, public health etc. But this kind of socialism was socialistic only to the extent that State redistributed some resources and therefore, cannot be called as socialistic in the classic sense of the term.

There is no doubt that socialism is necessary but mere provision of services and government regulations on economy doesn't lead to socialism. Centralized planning, which has been adopted in India creates a uniform system of economic development, which does not fully take into account local variation of individual aspirations. Decentralization of political power is therefore important to achieve the goals of socialism in country. It has also been realised that public ownership and economic subsidies only help big corporations in increasing their profits. They reduce the risks of business competition. Even the system of progressive taxation is alleged to favour the super-rich over the wage earner. This kind of system has contributed very little to redistribution of the wealth of the super-rich among the masses.

In India, therefore the socialism would have to transform itself before it sets out to achieve its goals in reality. Perhaps, socialism would have to be a balance between liberalism on one hand and Marxism on the other.

**Key Theme 1: Stalinism was a policy on how to develop a communist society, conceived and implemented by Joseph Stalin, while officially adhering to Marxism-Leninism. Stalinist policies in the Soviet Union included: rapid industrialization with focus on heavy industries, centralization of state and collectivization of agriculture. Due to the repressive political actions undertaken by Stalin, "Stalinism" is often used in a negative or pejorative sense.**

## 16. Stalinism

Joseph Stalin was appointed general secretary of the party's Central Committee in 1922, but Stalinism began from 1929 onwards when Stalin consolidated his power by defeating Trotsky and other leaders in the power struggle that took place after Lenin's death in 1924.

### 16.1. Challenges before Stalin & his Solutions

When Stalin came to power, Russia faced four major challenges, viz. food shortages, poor military, poor industry and countering the increasing influence of the capitalist west. Stalin tried to deal with these challenges in the following manner:

1. He introduced the Five Year Plans with focus on heavy Industries.
2. Nationalization of industries.
3. Abandoning the New Economic Policy in 1929.
4. Collectivization of Agriculture by violent eviction of Kulaks (big & rich peasants).
5. Introduction of a totalitarian regime, which was characterized by greater use of secret police and killing any voice of dissent. Trotsky, an important ally of Lenin, was deported out of Russia.

6. Remilitarization
7. Focus on science and technology development.
8. An aggressive foreign policy which viewed the Western powers, especially USA as hostile.

## 16.2. Why Stalin focused on heavy industrialization?

Stalin focused on heavy industrialization. USSR invested more capital in heavy industries like coal, steel, oil, iron etc. and neglected light Industries. Light industry is less capital intensive than heavy industry and more consumer oriented than business oriented. Thus, consumer durables and non-durables were in shortage in USSR and this hurt the daily needs and life of the common man. Heavy Industry, on the other hand, creates basic infrastructure in the economy and provides a base for economic growth.

USSR adopted this policy of heavy industrialization because:

- a) Stalin believed that a war with the capitalist west was inevitable for communist Russia. He was vindicated when Germany attacked Russia in 1941.
- b) Greater Industrialization would lead to more number of workers and less number of peasants in the workforce. It was the industrial workers who supported communism and Stalin viewed peasants, especially the Kulaks (wealthy peasants) as enemies of socialism. (Maoism drifts away from Russian model on this point). Thus, Stalin believed that heavy industrialization would lead to stability of the communist state.

## 16.3. Introduction of the Five Year Plans

Both the first (1928-32) and the second plan (1933-7) achieved their targets a year ahead of schedule. During the First Plan, foreign investment was unavailable because Russia had declined to payback the war debt incurred by the Czarist regime and also because the industrialized nations were themselves facing the Great Depression during the 1930s. Thus, Stalin chose to rely on internal savings and investments. He decided to use agricultural sector as a source of capital. In other words, he chose the agricultural sector as a source of capital accumulation. Collectivization of agriculture was introduced during the First Plan. Ruthless re-investment of all profits was focused upon to boost industrial production. Thanks to the huge investments made during the First Plan (1928-2), industry expanded in the Second Plan (1933-7). The world depression thus brought the capitalist system into disrepute and drew attention towards Marxism, socialism, and economic planning. Consequently, socialist ideas began to attract more and more people even in countries such as India, where Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose urged the Congress to accept socialism as a goal.

During the Third Plan (1938-41), special focus was on the armament sector as Europe drew ever closer to a continental war. The Fourth Plan (1945 onward) focused on reconstruction after the war with the aid of German war reparations and minimal focus was laid upon creating new facilities. The Fifth Plan (1951-5) continued its focus on heavy industrialization and transportation.

The general aspects of these plans were:

- a) They focused on heavy industries and were quite successful. Hundreds of factories were setup in the area, east of the Ural Mountains, in order to
- b) Impressive growth was recorded in the heavy industries sector but other sectors including agriculture sector under performed.
- c) Many hydro power plants were setup.
- d) Oil refineries were setup in the oil-rich region of Caucasus.
- e) Domestic sources of investment were deployed.
- f) Promotion of education skilled workers.

- g) Extra focus on efficiency by using Taylor-ism principles which argued for breaking the work into specific parts and executing each part with maximum efficiency. The workers who achieved record outputs were known as Stakhanovites.
- h) Social security was available to the masses by mid-1930s.

## 16.4. Collectivization of Agriculture (1929)

The aims of collectivization of agriculture were three fold:

- a) Improve agricultural efficiency and divert excess workers from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector.
- b) Ensure food security and boost agricultural production through economies of scale that would come from consolidating fragmented landholdings and subsequent mechanization of farming.
- c) Ensure supply of raw material (e.g. cash crops) for the industries.

Collectivization was forced upon the peasants and was not voluntary. It was brutal because the farmers who refused to be part of the program were often brutally suppressed. Initially, the harsh implementation of forced collectivization resulted in much hardship for the rural population and productivity declined because the Kulaks retaliated by slaughtering their cattle and burning crops rather than allowing the state to take away their produce. So many cattle were killed that it was not until 1953, that the same population figures could be reached. There was a famine in Ukraine in 1932-3 and millions died of starvation. ***By 1932, 60 per cent of peasant households had joined the collectivization program but the agricultural output had declined by 23 per cent.*** During the Second Plan (1933-7), agriculture output improved.

**Success of Collectivization:** Collectivization of farming was successful in the sense that by 1937, 90 per cent of the land was collectivized. The mechanization had resulted in descent increase in production of food by 1937.

## 16.5. Result of Stalinism

Stalinism was in contrast with both Leninism and Marxism as both- workers and peasants- were as much exploited as they were during the Czar's regime. The State took the place of capitalists in oppressing the masses and thus, there was no real classless society. It is famously argued that under Stalin's rule 'all were equal but some were more equal than others'.

- 1) **Purges:** Another feature of Stalin's rule was the 'Purges'. It implied sending to exile, putting to trial and imprisonment or even assassinations of any member of the party who opposed Stalin or his policies.
- 2) Leon Trotsky was the most prominent leader who was purged from the Soviet Union. Trotsky's ideas were the basis of Trotskyism, a major school of Marxist thought that is opposed to the theories of Stalinism. He was exiled and deported from the Soviet Union in 1929. Later in 1940, he was assassinated on Stalin's orders in Mexico. Most of his family members were also killed in separate attacks.
- 3) The result of Stalin's policies was a brutal regime characterized by authoritarian socialism and one man rule (rather than the one-party rule as all dissent was crushed). Stalin promoted the cult of his personality. He took the title of 'Man of Steel' which translates as Stalin in Russian. His real name was Iosif (Joseph) Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili. The party's defacto power declined under Stalin's rule. Although all decisions were taken by the Party (on paper), in reality all decision making power was concentrated in the hands of Stalin.
- 4) **No freedom of speech and expression:** Writers, artists, musicians were expected to produce work glorifying the soviet achievements. Education was made a tool of indoctrination of students by making it free and compulsory.

- 5) **Social Services:** Social services in form of education, healthcare and social security increased during Stalin's rule.
- 6) **Forced Labour:** Under Stalin's rule the prisoners were made to do forced labour. Gulag was a government agency under Stalin which managed the Soviet forced labour camps. The Gulag became a major tool of political oppression as the opponents of Stalin were also put into these camps.
- 7) **Clampdown on Orthodox Church:** Stalin clamped down on the Orthodox Church. Many churches were closed and the clergy prosecuted. This was part of consolidation of political power by Stalin.
- 8) **Zero tolerance against separatism:** Stalin had no sympathy towards demands for autonomy or independence by a non-Russian part of USSR. Stalin played an important part in the Russian success in bringing back territories of Ukraine and Georgia during the Civil War (1918-20). Stalin had also ensured that Azerbaijan and Armenia, who had declared independence during the Civil War, continued to remain a part of Russia. Stalin continued this policy of iron hand rule under his term. The real problem lay in the fact that 47 per cent of USSR had non-Russian population.
- 9) **Economic front:** On the economic front, there was some improvement. Heavy industries grew the most but other sectors witnessed a poor performance. Food shortages continued for a long time. Also the basic consumer goods, which are essential to the daily life of common man, were in shortage.
- 10) **Cold War:** Under Stalin, Russia also got heavily involved in the Cold War with USA. Thus deep suspicion towards USA and worsening ties between USA & USSR were a feature of Stalin's rule. USSR spent a lot of money on arms build-up.

Stalin argued that '*peaceful coexistence with the west was impossible until a final victory over Capitalism*'. We will discuss cold war in detail as a separate topic, yet we can mention the important aspects of the Cold War during Stalin's rule (1929-53). Under Stalin, USSR was embroiled in an arms race with USA. Stalin's policy of isolating USSR's zone of influence from the west resulted in, what is famously known as an Iron Curtain in Europe. The iron curtain divided Europe and specifically Germany into two parts, one under Russian influence and the other under western influence. The iron curtain signified reduction in all sorts of interaction between the nations on either side of the curtain. The cold war involved building a network of allies. Under Stalin, USSR piloted the Warsaw Pact (a NATO like military alliance), Molotov Plan (to give aid to soviet allies), Cominform (a group of all communist parties in Europe formed to ensure USSR has a firm grip on them) and Comecon (an organization to coordinate economic policies of Cominform). US and USSR never fought a direct war but supported opposite sides in wars between other nations e.g. the Korean War (1950), first phase of Vietnam War (1946-54) etc.

**Key Theme 2:** *Nikita Khrushchev emerged as the top leader in 1953. He renounced Stalin's purges and ushered in a less repressive era in the Soviet Union. However, his domestic policies, aimed at bettering the lives of ordinary citizens, were often ineffective, especially in the area of agriculture. He declared peaceful coexistence with the West as his goal but his rule saw the tensest years of the Cold War, culminating in the Cuban Missile Crisis.*

## 17. De-Stalinization

Stalin died in 1953 and the Fifth Plan ended in 1955. De-Stalinization referred to the process of political and economic reforms that were started after the death of Stalin. It was in 1956 that Nikita Krushchev, the First Secretary of Communist party (1953-64), gave a landmark speech that condemned Stalin. **In the 1956 speech,**

- a) Khrushchev condemned Stalin for promoting the cult of personality instead of allowing the party to rule.

- b) Khrushchev revealed the details of Stalin's purges carried out during 1930s.
- c) Khrushchev criticized Stalin's leadership during WW II.
- d) Khrushchev claimed that socialism can be achieved in ways different from those used by Stalin and by non-violence.
- e) Khrushchev argued that "peaceful coexistence with the West was not only possible but essential for avoiding a nuclear catastrophe".

Following can be argued as some important features of a general policy of De-Stalinization followed by Nikita Khrushchev, which is regarded as a major turning point in the history of Soviet Union:

**1) Political reforms:** The primacy of the Party was restored and the cult of personality was abandoned. Places named after Stalin were renamed. Also, the use of secret police was decreased. Tourism was promoted and the common man was given more freedom. Also the controls on the press were reduced, and thus relatively more freedom of speech and expression could be enjoyed. Khrushchev tried to reduce tension with the West by arguing for peaceful co-existence, although the cold war still continued due to incidents like Cuban Missile Crisis where USSR had placed nuclear missiles in the US backyard of Cuba in response to missiles the western powers had placed in Europe (Turkey and Italy) to target Russia.

## 2) Industry

- a) The five year plans continued but for the first time the light industry that produced basic consumer goods was focused upon, with an aim to raise the standard of living of the common man.
- b) Decentralization in management of economy was attempted. For example, 100 Regional Economic Councils were formed for making decisions with respect to the respective local industries falling under their jurisdiction.
- c) To increase factory output, the managers were given incentives to make profit rather than just meeting the quotas given to them by the headquarters.
- d) The Gulag labour camps that were used for making prisoners do forced labour were disbanded.

**3) Agriculture:** Virgin Lands Scheme was introduced in 1954. It implied cultivating for the first time, the huge land tracts in Siberia and Kazakhstan. The scheme failed by 1963 because of poor quality of land and the fact that the dust storms resulted in soil erosion (top layer of soil is the most fertile). Further, to increase agricultural output, the government paid more to the collective farms for the harvested crops it procured. This incentivized the collective farms to produce more. Also, farmers on collective farms were allowed to keep or sell crops grown on their private plots. But there still remained too much centralization in the agriculture sector which continued to remain backward. USSR had to import grains from the USA.

**4) Revisionism:** Khrushchev was accused by radical Marxists of revising the basic tenets of Communism. This was so because, Khrushchev had argued that there existed different roads for reaching the goal of socialism. He had allowed the satellite countries to follow their own methods to attain the goal of Socialism. (Satellite state means a state which is formally independent but is politically, economically and militarily under heavy influence of a foreign power. In case of Soviet Union, the term was used for countries in central and Eastern Europe like Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Sometimes countries outside Europe like Cuba were also included in the list of Soviet Satellite States). Also, Khrushchev had vouched for a peaceful co-existence with the capitalist west rather than supporting a violent revolution for communism in the whole world. Critics also lamented the introduction of capitalist measures and promotion of the managerial class- the methods Khrushchev used to boost factory output. The critics felt that

these measures are against the basic principles of Communism. Mao in China was a prominent critic of USSR from 1956 onward and he did away with the Russian economic model that China had followed so far.

## 18. Brezhnev Era (1964-82)

Brezhnev came to power after Nikita Khrushchev. He remained in power from 1964 to 1982. There was a Brezhnev Doctrine which argued that USSR's intervention in the internal affairs of any communist country is justified if socialism is threatened in that country. The doctrine was implemented when USSR intervened in Afghanistan (1979) and Poland (1981). In Poland, the Solidarity Trade Union had led protests demanding a multi-party system and transition to democracy. Under Brezhnev, USSR increased aid to Cuba and African nations like Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola.

**Key Theme 3:** *Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika (restructuring) and his reorientation of Soviet strategic aims contributed to the end of the Cold War, removed the constitutional role of the Communist Party in governing the state, and inadvertently led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, communism in one form or the other continues to exist in Eastern Europe and Russia.*

## 19. Fall of Communist States

Mikhail Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. In December 1991, the USSR disintegrated and this brought an end to 74 years of communist rule in USSR.

### 19.1. Domino Effect

Fall of communism in Poland (1989) had a domino effect and one by one communist regimes in Eastern Europe and finally USSR fell.

- **Poland:** In August 1988, Solidarity Trade Union's huge anti-government strikes forced the government to hold free elections in 1989 in which the Communists were defeated.
- Subsequently, revolutionary public protests spread to all Russian Satellites. **In Hungary**, free elections were held and communists were defeated. **In East Germany**, in 1989 the communist government was forced to resign and the Berlin Wall (setup in 1961) was breached. In the summer of 1990, USSR agreed to the unison of East and West Germany (the reason was that Gorbachev wanted aid and investments from West Germany to boost Russian economy). **In Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania** the communist governments were overthrown at the end of 1989. Free multi-party elections were held in **Yugoslavia** (1990) and **Albania** (1991). In December 1991, USSR itself disintegrated.

### 19.2. Economic Failure of Communism in Eastern Europe and USSR

This became a major reason for disintegration of USSR. The economic system was over-centralized and high restrictions were put on businesses by the State which resulted in continued inefficiency. In these communist countries, there was very slow improvement in the standard of living of the masses because of inefficient resource utilization. For example, in USSR there were shortages in basic consumer goods despite USSR being the highest producer of steel, fuel and energy. Then there were trade restrictions on the satellite states of Soviet Union who were allowed to trade only with fellow communist countries. This hurt their economic growth. It can also be argued that communism failed the workers as the working class lived in relatively poorer conditions in the communist world in contrast to the workers of Western Europe. Also the social indicators of health, education, housing and social services were better in the capitalist Western Europe as compared to the communist Eastern Europe. In 1980s, due

to greater contact between the people of the Eastern and Western Europe, people of Eastern Europe saw the huge contrast in the prosperity of the west and the poverty of east; they blamed communism and their leaders for this.

The economic conditions of the USSR have been discussed earlier in detail. Nikita Khrushchev did try to revive economy but after him there was slow economic growth. Nikita's agriculture reforms had failed. The Cold War, the space race, the arms race, involvement in conflicts of other nations and the pressure to dole out aid to allies- had negative effects on USSR's economy. USSR continued to be marred by over-centralization, state monopoly, neglect of light industry and inflation in basic consumer goods.

### 19.3. Mikhail Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev recognized the failures of the Soviet economic system and the role played by the regressive hard-line communism in public dissatisfaction and low standard of living. He tried to improve the situation by taking following reform measures:

- 1) He tried to improve relations with the west and China. This led to detente in the USSR's relationship with US, Europe and China. Detente means a relatively permanent decrease in tensions. He wanted to reduce military involvement of USSR, especially at a time when the economy was underperforming. In 1986 he began the process of withdrawing from Afghanistan. He also chose not to intervene militarily in Soviet satellite states if and whenever there were protests for political reforms.
- 2) **Glasnost (Openness):** This was a policy of openness in areas of politics, human rights and cultural affairs. The aim of the Glasnost was to use the media to publicize the inefficiency and corruption and to not just prepare people for the new policies but to also educate the public opinion and mobilize public support for the new policies. Glasnost (openness) was encouraged provided there was zero criticism of the Communist party.
  - a) **Politics:** Glasnost involved giving amnesty to erstwhile dissidents who were now released from prisons. Important leaders who were in exile due to the 'purges' in the past were allowed to return to Moscow. More transparency was introduced in the party's functioning. For example, the 1988 party conference was televised. A new law was brought in 1988 to prevent the political dissidents from being sent to mental hospitals/institutions.
  - b) **Cultural Affairs:** The radical heads of organizations like Union of Soviet Film Makers, Union of Writers etc were removed and independent minded people were brought in through democratic elections. Also the ban on anti-Stalin movies and novels was removed. Poetic works which were critical of the system were allowed to be published. Freedom in media reporting was allowed. Example, the 1986 Chernobyl Nuclear disaster in Ukraine, was discussed very frankly in the media.
- 3) **Perestroika (Socio-economic reforms):-** It was the reforms for which Glasnost was introduced to create an enabling atmosphere.
  - a) **Economic changes under Perestroika:** 1987 was declared by Gorbachev as the year of 'new economic management'. With Perestroika, Gorbachev wanted to create competition for the PSUs and the government services so they came under the pressure to improve efficiency. Another aim of Perestroika was to create alternative employment opportunities for the people so the market could share the employment burden with the state. Thus private MSMEs like family restaurants, family business, and handicrafts were allowed. Similarly, private services like giving tuitions, car repairing, selling paintings etc. were allowed. For improving the quality of factory output, Perestroika reforms included bringing the quality control function throughout the industry under the independent bodies rather than being the prerogative of the factory management. Public sector companies were sought to be revamped through a

1987 Law on public enterprises under which the market demand was to determine what and how much to produce. Earlier the factories were now allowed to directly take orders from customers but post the enactment of the law, central planners' control over decision making regarding raw material procurement and production was removed.

**b) Political Changes under Perestroika:**

- i. **Democracy within the Soviets:** Members of local soviets were to be elected by the people rather than being appointed by the local communist party. Thus there was now to be a choice of candidates (though not of the party).
- ii. **Democracy in Factories:** Elections were introduced for the factory management posts.
- iii. **Changes in Supreme Soviet (Parliament):** Supreme Soviet was made a much smaller body of 450 members as against 1450 members earlier. It was to sit more frequently (i.e. For 8 months instead of earlier sessions of 2 weeks per year) so as to function as a real Parliament. Earlier the Supreme Soviet used to appoint two smaller bodies that used to function as the defacto policy making bodies. Now, the Chair of Supreme Soviet was to be the Head of State. A new Congress of People's Deputies (having 2250 members) was setup and its function was to elect the new Supreme Soviet.

## 19.4. Why Mikhail Gorbachev's Policies led to fall of USSR?

First, it can be argued that USSR disintegrated due to weaknesses embedded in the system by the policies followed by previous leaders and thus Gorbachev cannot be solely blamed. His policies probably just accelerated the demise of a union which was destined to fail. Alternatively, it can be argued that Gorbachev was indeed to be blame as his counterpart, Deng Xiaoping, in China was able to preserve one-party communist state, despite initiating a wave of market-friendly reforms in post-Cultural Revolution China.

The first proposition can be supported by the text discussed so far. The second proposition, i.e. Gorbachev's policies led to the demise of the USSR, could be argued for by citing five major factors- viz- opposition faced by Gorbachev from the radicals as well as the conservatives; the failure of economic reforms to bring about quick results; nationalist sentiments among the Soviet Republics; the rivalry between Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin; and the Coup of 1991.

**1) Opposition from Radicals and Conservatives:** When Gorbachev started implementing his reforms, the radicals in the party opposed him while the liberals in the party condemned him for not doing enough. The time when a repressive regime starts reforms is most dangerous for the regime. The people who desire reforms are never satisfied and want more concessions while the radicals turn against the regime itself. The same thing happened with Gorbachev. Boris Yeltsin was right wing member within the party. He was the leader of the party in Soviet republic of Russia and became popular for combating corruption. Yeltsin wanted a western style market economy as soon as possible. Soon, there was a split in the party between the left wing conservatives and the right wing liberals. Taking opportunity presented by the Glasnost, Yeltsin led public demonstrations for more radical reforms and criticised the conservatives in public. Clearly, Gorbachev could not satisfy both the left and the right wingers in the party.

**2) Economic Reforms did not yield quick results:** In the 1980s, USSR was going through economic problems of the kind US faced during the 1930s. The national income was falling continuously over the years and one-fourth of the population was living below the poverty line. There were also some problems due to the 'Law on State Enterprises (1987)'. After this law, the wages were a function of the output of the factories. The aim was to make factories focus on increasing the output. But the problem was that the output was

calculated in terms of value of goods produced i.e. in roubles (Russian currency). Thus the factories focused on producing expensive goods at expense of cheaper goods like soap, cups etc. This led to a shortage of basic consumer goods and inflation. There were long queues at stores. **Siberian Coal Miners Strike (1989)** was a result of this. The workers were enraged when they did not have soap to wash themselves and they went on strike. Soon they were joined by other mine workers from Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Siberia totalling half a million miners. This was the first such major strike after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Gorbachev accepted the miners' demands like giving full control of the factories to the workers. This event is important because one of the major demands of the striking miners was an end to the one party system. They wanted to form a party of their own to contest elections on the lines of the Solidarity Trade Union of Poland. Thus pressure was clearly building on Gorbachev to think about an end to Multi-Party System.

- 3) **Nationalist sentiments among the Soviet Republics:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federation of 15 Soviet Republics with each having its own Parliament. Moscow was the seat of Federal Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. Because of Glasnost and Perestroika, the Soviet Republics began demanding more powers and autonomy for their own Parliament. Gorbachev was sympathetic to their demands provided the Communist Party of Soviet Union remained overall in-charge. But small concessions led to a domino effect and the republics went out of control:
  - a. **Azerbaijan and Armenia:** A small section of Christians in Azerbaijan (majority population was Muslim) demanded transfer of their territory to Armenia (majority were Christians). But the conservatives in the party were against border changes among Soviet Republics and Gorbachev refused the demands of the Christians in Azerbaijan. Soon fighting broke out between the two Soviet Republics and Moscow seemed to have lost control.
  - b. **Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania:** In 1990 these three Soviet Republics declared independence and troops were sent by USSR to check the protests.
  - c. Soon Boris Yeltsin who was a proponent of a voluntary union among the Soviet Republics, was elected President of the Soviet Republic of Russia (Gorbachev was President of USSR).
- 4) **Rivalry between Gorbachev and Yeltsin:** These two were the major figures and had they been able to work together, USSR might have been able to remain intact but their differences were many. Yeltsin was of the view that the Union should be voluntary and if a Soviet Republic wanted independence/secession then it should have it. Yeltsin had lost confidence in the communist party which was dominated by the conservatives and turned against the one party system. On other hand, Gorbachev wanted to balance the two forces within the party. Although he was not against the idea of multi-party system, he practiced caution and wanted gradual reforms. Also, while Yeltsin wanted a shock therapy or a quick transition to a market economy, Gorbachev wanted gradual transition because the market economy would lead to massive unemployment and high inflation (only price control kept inflation in check because there was otherwise shortage in supply of goods).
- 5) **1991 Coup:** Yeltsin resigned from the communist party in 1990. The conservatives on other hand attacked Gorbachev for he was open to a discussion on the idea of a multi-party system. Already Soviet Republics had started to demand secession. Georgia declared independence in 1991. In a last effort to preserve the Union, Gorbachev proposed the idea of a voluntary union to the 15 republics. At this point, the left wing radicals led by Yanayev led a coup against Gorbachev before he could sign the agreement on voluntary union. In response, Yeltsin began organizing huge public rallies and the government failed to arrest him. Under pressure, the coup leaders resigned and were arrested. After this, Yeltsin banned the communist party in the Soviet Republic of Russia (not USSR). Now Yeltsin had become a hero in public eyes and Gorbachev had been sidelined. Yeltsin quickly moved the

Soviet Republic of Russia to a market economy. Yeltsin negotiated a voluntary union of the republics called Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in which the members were to have full political independence but would coordinate their defence and economic policies. Initially, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia joined and later 8 other republics also agreed to join CIS. In December, 1991 Ukraine voted to be independent, Gorbachev resigned from the post of President on Christmas Day (December 1991) and the USSR came to an end.

## 20. Communism after USSR

What ended in 1991 was not communism but Stalinism. Soon, reformed communist parties emerged strong, sometimes under different nomenclature, in a multi-party system such as in Lithuania, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia and South America. Russia after 1991 faced economic hardships due to the shock therapy. Yeltsin's market economy failed in the short term. (Yeltsin had foreseen it. He had argued that Russia would face difficulty in short term but would benefit in the long term). When Chechnya declared independence, Yeltsin sent troops. In the 1995 elections to the Duma, the reformed communist party under Zyuganov made a comeback and won many seats. Economic recovery began after IMF gave \$10 billion loans to Russia to prevent the communists winning the 1996 presidential elections and Yeltsin was elected as president by a small margin. Thereafter, Russia has continued to have some socialist features in its policies. Thus, it could be said that communism still survives and did not come to an end in 1991.

**Key Theme 4:** *The early Communist Party in China adhered closely to the Russian political philosophy in the initial years. However, Mao realised that China was a society of peasants and a peasant revolution along and an agriculture-based economy was more suited to Chinese needs. Hence, Mao refocused the goal of Chinese communism towards the concept of a peasant revolution. Despite these differences, the two nations shared fairly similar values until the 1950s, when a major ideological rift developed. During this time, the Soviet Union under Khrushchev advocated peaceful coexistence with capitalism and introduced some so-called capitalist features in Russia's command economy. On both these fronts, the doctrinal differences proved intractable and the Communist Party of China formally denounced the Soviet variety of Communism as a product of revisionism, i.e. a dangerous departure from the teachings of Marx.*

## 21. Chinese Communism vs. Russian Communism

### 21.1. Problems of China in 1949

- a) China was devastated by a long period of war. The warlord era prevented any development during the years from 1916-28. Then soon it was embroiled in a war with Japan in 1931. Simultaneously, the civil war between Kuomintang (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was raging on and it lasted till 1949 when the latter, under Mao Zedong emerged victorious. However, there was no respite from war as China had to again intervene in the Korean War (1950) on the side of North Korea. China had cautioned US to not invade North Korea but in its enthusiasm to unite the two Koreas, US-led and United Nations sanctioned forces crossed over into the territory of North Korea and came very close to the Chinese border. China, threatened by the possibility of a pro-capitalist Korea in its immediate neighbourhood pushed back the UN forces. Finally the frontier between North and the South Korea was restored to its original position along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel north. (38<sup>th</sup> parallel north is the 38 degree North latitude).
- b) China was in dire need for infrastructure development.
- c) It also had to deal with inefficiency in agriculture and industrial sector.
- d) The poor agricultural output was failing to meet the need for food security of the huge population and thus China faced the dual challenge of food shortages and the consequent food inflation.

- e) China in 1949 was an inequitable society. The Kuomintang had supported wealthy landlords and industrialists. Thus land reforms were part of the immediate agenda of the Chinese Communist Party.

The model adopted by China was similar to that of Russia till 1958. The **100 Flowers Campaign (1957)** was launched by Mao to allow people to express their views towards the system. After the 100 Flowers Campaign, Mao realized that there was simmering discontent among the masses and thus he launched the Great Leap Forward in 1958 which thereafter became the basic program for socialism in China.

## 21.2. Why was there a shift from the Russian Model?

Mao abandoned the Russian model because:

- The focus on heavy industrialization was starting to result in creation of a new class of technicians and engineers. The conflict between the party cadres and the new class of technicians and engineers was growing. The work of the party cadres was to mobilize people politically and economically. For example, during collectivization of farms and during the land redistribution programme it was the party cadres who conducted land eviction.
- 100 Flowers Campaign (1957):** The government wanted to resolve the class conflict in Chinese society. Happy with the result of the 1<sup>st</sup> Plan (1953-58), the Government decided to hold open discussion for conflict resolution between the cadres and the experts. Mao said "*let 100 flowers bloom and 100 school of thoughts contend*". Thus through the 100 Flowers Campaign, Mao called for "constructive criticism", but what he got was an aggressive vocal criticism that targeted - incompetence and over-enthusiasm of the party cadres; over-centralization by the government; and the Chinese Communist party was criticized for being undemocratic. Some critics even suggested a multi-party system. The result was that, Mao called off the campaign immediately and clamped down on his critics. The 100 Flowers Campaign showed how much opposition was still there against communism. Thus he abandoned the Russian model and launched the Great leap Forward (1958) to protect the revolution and consolidate the advances of socialism.

Following can be argued as **basic differences between Russian Model and the Chinese Model of communism:**

- Innovation of Communes** was specific to China. Communes were much more than agglomeration of collective farms. They acted as units of local self governance, provided welfare services and allowed the party to remain in touch with masses.
- Less focus on heavy industries** and increased focus on basic consumer goods. This addressed the basic daily needs of the common man by preventing shortages of daily life goods and by keeping inflation under control. Russia on other hand suffered from shortages in the basic consumer goods.
- Decentralized industrialization** instead of centralized Industrialization was focused upon by the Great Leap Forward. Mao talked about 6 lakh backyard steel furnaces to be organized and managed by communes. These were much smaller factories to provide farm machinery.
- Focus on developing an agricultural-centred economy rather than an industrial economy:** Mao under GLF decided that China would mainly be an agricultural economy with small scale industries scattered in the countryside. Also the industries were to be labour intensive with less dependence on machines. This prevented unemployment which was a basic feature of highly industrialized western economies and was thought to be the best strategy given the huge population of 600 million in China. The agricultural economy also allowed for improving the position of women in the society.

## 21.3. Similarity with the Russian Model till 1958

The 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan (1953-8) was drafted with help of Russian advisers. Russia also gave aid to China in its quest for industrialization. Like the Russian model, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plan focused on heavy industry and relatively less focus was laid upon production of the consumer goods. China, like USSR, adopted command economy model through the adoption of the Five Year Plans. Thus like Russia, China adopted centralized economic planning.

### 21.3.1. Russia like Agricultural Changes (1950-56)

China followed two stage land reforms. **First**, it introduced the programme for **land redistribution** among the peasants. This included use of some violence for its implementation, as the wealthy farmers opposed the confiscation of their lands. **Secondly**, cooperatives were introduced. The formation of **cooperatives** involves bringing together fragmented landholdings into collective farms. But China's adopted the method of persuasion rather than violent methods used in Russia. Each cooperative of peasants was to be a group of 100 to 300 families with joint ownership of farms and its equipments. By 1956, 95 per cent of Chinese peasants were a part of the cooperatives.

### 21.3.2. Russia like Industrial Changes (1953-8)

In the first five year plan, China nationalized most businesses and also Russia made huge investments in the heavy industries like coal, steel, iron etc.

The result of the first plan was good as industry grew by 120 per cent more than the target. Chinese economy began to improve. All communications were restored and inflation was brought under control. But there were associated negatives as well. The government was criticized for its policies by the people during the 100 Flowers Campaign of 1957 and thus Mao doubted if special focus on heavy industry was good for China. Also, when Mao accused Russia of revisionism (a dangerous departure from the teachings of Marx), it decreased aid to China and thereafter the relations between USSR and China took an adverse turn. China sought to replace the USSR as the leader of the global socialist camp.

## 21.4. Differences with Russian approach under Khrushchev

- 1) Mao was against the policy of peaceful co-existence with the West, spelled out by Khrushchev in his 1956 speech. He was also against the use of capitalist measures by USSR and argued that USSR was becoming soft towards capitalism. Mao was against following a capitalist road being taken by Russia. For example, Russia under Khrushchev favoured creation of an expert and technically superior managerial class to manage the factories. This as per Mao would lead to inequality between the classes and subjugation of the workers in the factories. Mao was against the use of differential piece wage rate, performance linked incentives and increase in private ownership of land (though he was not totally against small private plots for the farmers). According to Mao, Russia was modifying the basic tenets or ideas of Marx and Lenin (i.e. of communism) to suit its own needs. Mao was in favour of violent revolution as a means for achieving communism instead of peaceful co-existence with capitalism.
- 2) **Great Leap Forward (1958):** Maoism manifested in the form of the Great Leap Forward initiated by Mao after the criticism he faced during the 100 Flowers Campaign. During the 100 Flowers Campaign initiated to allow people to elicit their views, many people began to criticize the party and demanded transition to a democracy. Mao realized that he needed to take steps to protect the communist revolution and increase economic prosperity of the common man to rouse their belief in communism. The majority of the population in China were peasants. Thus the Great Leap Forward aimed at focusing more on agricultural growth without abandoning Industrial growth and at saving the communist revolution. With the

Great Leap Forward, Chinese Communism drifted away from the Russian model:

- a. GLF implied that China would focus on having a largely agricultural economy with gradual industrialization. It desired a labour intensive economy and reduced use of machinery in the factories so that more employment could be provided to the masses. The model of industrialization to be followed was of small scale industries scattered in the countryside rather than focusing on heavy industries located at a few nodal points.
- b. GLF included the innovation of ***Communes***.
  - i. It aimed at prevention of over-centralization of power, which stifles initiative, by using Communes. A commune was a unit larger than the collective farms. It included multiple collective farms (each collective farm had 100 to 300 peasant families) and thus a commune had people numbering from anywhere between 30,000 to 75,000. Each commune included in its fold peasants, elderly people, women, children, workers and a science team comprising of 30-40 graduates and 30-40 technicians.
  - ii. **The communes were not just simple agglomeration of farms but they were supposed to act as institutions of local self government.** The Communes had the functions of planning and implementing small infrastructure development projects like dams, irrigation projects and construction of roads- as per the local needs. They ran their own factories (model of small scale industries in the country-side) in the form of backyard steel furnaces. Mao had talked about setting up of 6 lakh backyard steel furnaces i.e. Small scale industries/factories to provide farm equipment to the commune farmers.
  - iii. Role in provision of social services: The Communes ran crèches, schools and primary health centres to provide basic services to commune members and help in spread of education, providing better opportunities for women and providing other welfare services.
  - iv. The political structure within a commune included an elected council, brigades and work teams. In other words, people in communes were organized into brigades and work teams with an elected council.
- c. **Evaluation of the Great leap Forward**
  - i. The people faced hardships in the short term but the GLF definitely benefited China in the long term.
  - ii. There were problems in the short term because of inexperience of the party cadres in the tasks they were given to perform. Also there were series of bad harvests from 1959 to 1961. The withdrawal of Russian aid after 1956 led to economic hardships that China faced during 1959-63. Nearly 20 million people died prematurely because the hardships caused by the GLF. Also the opposition to Mao increased.
  - iii. In the long term, the GLF proved to be an important milestone for China
    - The efforts began to reap benefits and agricultural and industrial production increased significantly in the long term.
    - The GLF, through its innovation of communes prevented over-centralization that stifles initiative. Communes were much more than simple tool for collective farming. They allowed for participation of the masses in local governance and thus helped pacify their grievances. They were able to act as efficient units of LSG and allowed the Chinese Communist Party to keep in touch with the local opinion and aspirations of the masses.
    - GLF was able to check unemployment due to the scattered and labour intensive industrial model.
    - Spread of education, improved status of women, better welfare services - were some other benefits of the GLF.

## 21.5. Cultural Revolution (1966-9)

This is also known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a massive propaganda campaign launched by Mao to renew revolutionary fervour in his quest for saving the communist revolution, for mobilizing public support in favour of the Great Leap Forward and for keeping the GLF on pure Marxist-Leninist lines.

- 1) To protect the communist revolution & to keep GLF on Marxist lines-** It was Mao's attempt to save the communist revolution, which was under the threat of right wing leaders within the communist party who advocated in favour of introducing capitalist features along Russian lines (Russia under Khrushchev had allegedly chosen the Capitalist road to socialism). Thus, the Cultural Revolution was aimed at countering the right wing leaders who demanded introduction of incentives like greater wage differentials and larger private plots to farmers which they felt were necessary for improving the efficiency of communes. They also argued for the creation of an expert managerial class on the Russian lines for giving a push to heavy industry instead of relying on the inexperienced party cadres. The debate that the 100 flowers campaign aimed to resolve was obviously continuing. But such measures were characteristic of the capitalist road adopted by Khrushchev, which Mao had criticized as Revisionism. According to Mao, such an approach would lead to emergence of affluent classes in form of wealthy peasants and managers who would soon exploit the weaker sections, effectively ending the communist revolution.
- 2) To garner support for Great leap Forward-** Mao's experiment of the Great Leap Forward was characterized by hardships in the short term and in its early phase, from 1959 to 1963, the GLF was yet to show results. Thus the opposition to Mao had grown within the party and there was a great debate over the GLF and many advocated that capitalist measures should be introduced. Thus, Mao needed a propaganda programme to garner public support for his programme of GLF.
- 3) Features of the Cultural Revolution:** Mao in his capacity as Chairman of the Chinese Communist party launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966. The Mao supporters were the Red Guards (most of them students who had recently quit schools and colleges in support of Mao's Cultural Revolution) who toured across the length and breadth of China arguing Mao's case. During the Cultural Revolution - four 'olds' were criticized viz -old culture, old habits, old ideas and old customs. Also, intellectuals were sent to the countryside to understand the rural life and the challenges and opportunities it offered.
- 4) Criticism of Cultural Revolution:** The Cultural Revolution brought caused a certain degree of chaos and a civil war like situation developed in China. Initially the Red Guards (mostly students) targeted their violence against the critics of Mao, but soon in their enthusiasm, they began to attack anybody and everybody. Teachers, professionals, the local party officials -all were targeted. Once the student masses had been roused, they were difficult to control. The infamous '**Gang of Four**' which included important leaders and Mao's wife were responsible for inciting the Mao supporters for committing excesses. It is said that the Gang of Four were more Maoists than Mao himself. Many lives were ruined and huge disruptions were caused. The economic growth stagnated during the Cultural Revolution due to the chaos it brought. Millions of people were harassed and ruined. Within a year, i.e. by 1967, the extremists among the Red Guards were out of control and Mao had to call in the army, which brought the situation under control. Mao blamed the Red Guard leaders and the Defence Minister for the situation spiralling out of control. Consequently, many Red Guard leaders were tried and executed for committing excesses. In 1969, the Cultural Revolution was formally ended with Mao being cleared of all blame.
- 5) Positive Impact of Cultural Revolution:** Even though the Cultural Revolution held up the economic growth by approximately 10 years, some economic recovery did happen in mid 1970s. By the time of Mao's death in 1976, China was on path of economic recovery.

- a. Thanks to focus on light industry, consumer goods were not in shortage unlike the situation in Russia.
- b. A high percentage of population lived in the rural areas and this population was well educated, skilled and well organized in form of Communes.
- c. There were no famines in China and the grain production was able to keep pace at least with the pace of population growth.
- d. Industrial development tripled China's steel production and a good foundation had been laid for a significant petroleum industry. China had been able to create a machine building industry from scratch. The industrial development provided the base for China to become a nuclear power.

**Key Theme 5:** *Mao's successor Deng Xiaoping was instrumental in China's economic reconstruction following the crisis caused by the Cultural Revolution. His economic policies stood at odds to the political ideologies of Mao. Under Deng, China developed into a socialist market economy, via a series of reforms such as opening China to foreign investment, decentralisation of administration and introduction of limited private competition. Deng's iron-fisted handling of the Tiananmen protests and other pro-democracy protests led to the continuance of communism in China at a time when the global communist order was in crisis in the late 80s.*

## 22. Communism in China after Mao's death in 1976

- 1) **Power Struggle:** After Mao's death a power struggle ensued within the communist party. The anti-Mao lobby emerged stronger and from within them -Deng Xiaoping emerged as the leader (1976-89). The Gang of Four who were led by Mao's wife were put to trial for excesses during the Cultural Revolution. This was an anti-Mao gesture by the party leadership which like De-Stalinization wanted to reduce the cult of personality of Mao. From mid-1978 onward, Deng Xiaoping became the paramount leader of China. During the Cultural Revolution, Deng had been forced to retire from all his positions in the party because of his pro-capitalist policy advocacy. Deng Xiaoping had been beaten by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution and his son was tortured. He was sent to countryside to work as a regular worker for four years.
- 2) **Dramatic Policy Changes under Deng:** After coming to power, Deng Xiaoping in 1978 began implementing dramatic policy changes which were pro-capitalism and against Maoism and his Cultural Revolution. In the economic domain, China adopted policies which culminated in adoption of market socialism.
  - a) The changes brought during the Cultural Revolution were reversed.
    - i. All confiscated property was returned to their original owners.
    - ii. More freedom of expression and freedom of religion were given to the masses.
    - iii. Greater freedom was given to the intellectuals to express themselves in literature and other art-forms.
    - iv. The revolutionary committees which were setup to run local government were replaced with more democratically elected groups.
  - b) **4 Modernizations** viz. agriculture, industry, science & technology and defence were targeted by Deng by adopting capitalist and 'Open Door' economic policies. The four modernizations were sought to be achieved by
    - i. Taking loans from foreign governments and foreign banks.
    - ii. China joined the IMF and World Bank in 1980.
    - iii. Contracts were signed with foreign companies to import modern equipments.
  - c) **Decentralization was increased** as State controlled farms were given more control over planning, financing and utilization of profits.
  - d) **To stimulate efficiency and factory output:-**

- i. Capitalist measures like bonuses, piece wage rates and profit sharing schemes were encouraged.
  - ii. The state now paid higher prices for the procurement of produce from Communes.
  - iii. Taxes levied on communes were reduced to encourage them for producing more.
- 3) Deng Xiaoping's goals for the future:** In 1986, Deng listed his ideas for the future. The main goals of Deng's vision for the future can be listed as follows:
- a) He wanted the people to get richer and believed that being rich is not a crime.
  - b) He was of the belief that in future the industry would need even more freedom and decentralization of decision making power.
  - c) He believed that only capitalist investment can help create a modern China.
  - d) He argued that the party must withdraw from administrative tasks; it should issue fewer instructions to the field level and allow greater initiative at the lower levels.
  - e) He argued that China needs to lead an alliance of peace loving nations to counter both the USSR and the USA.
- 4) The result of Deng's policies** were dramatic:
- a) There was a record grain output in 1979 and peasants were now more prosperous.
  - b) However, reforms in the economic domain by the government led to demands for radical reforms even in the political domain. This is highlighted by the *Democracy Wall* (November 1978) where people posted anonymous posters demanding an end to one party system and transition to a democracy.
- 5) Democracy Wall (1978):** In 1978, there were poster campaigns (on walls) and marches in China in praise and support of Deng Xiaoping. These poster campaigns and marches were soon banned by the government when there was a massive demonstration demanding more radical reforms. But the wall in Beijing, which was Deng's constituency, was allowed to continue since it was till now used by the people to attack the Gang of Four. Problems began when in 1979, when the posters on the wall became more daring. They started to attack Mao and demanded more rights in the form of- (a) right to criticize government, (b) representation of non-communist parties in the National People's Congress (the Parliament), (c) abolition of communes and (d) freedom to change jobs and travel abroad. Deng's response was ruthless. He was a strong believer in one party system. The dissidents were detained and put in prisons and the Democracy Wall, as it came to be known, was demolished in 1979.
- 6) Market Socialism:** Britannica defines market socialism as: *market socialism, also called liberal socialism, is an economic system representing a compromise between socialist planning and free enterprise, in which enterprises are publicly owned but production and consumption are guided by market forces rather than by government planning.* With market socialism, China gradually moved towards market economy and adopted open door policies for greater interaction with the world in the economic domain through reduction of trade barriers and promotion of international trade. The transition to market socialism can be analyzed into two phases- (a) policies followed by Deng till demolition of Democracy Wall in 1979 (already discussed) and (b) the policies followed by Deng thereafter with 1984 being the year of significant changes. In the second phase some important economic reform measures were introduced:
- a) Communes were broken up and the resultant land was distributed among the peasants so they could have larger private plots. This meant that, land in the communes (although still owned by the State) was divided up and given to individual peasant households who were allowed to keep most of the profits. This led to increase in their standard of living.
  - b) In 1984 significant changes were made in favour of transition to market Socialism
    - i. Compulsory state purchase of crops was abandoned.

- ii. It was decided that state would continue to buy staple products but would buy in much lesser quantity. Thus farmers were encouraged to sell in open market.
  - iii. Price control over commodities like pork, grain, vegetables, cotton etc. was ended and it was allowed to fluctuate in the open market as per the demand-supply forces.
- c) **Negative effects of Market Socialism:** By 1984, negative effects of market socialism were visible. Imports grew much faster than exports and thus the Current Account Deficit increased. There was a sharp fall in foreign exchange reserves. Although the government tried to check imports by increasing custom duties but this led to an increase in inflation (inflation was at 22 per cent in 1986).
- 7) **Tiananmen Square Protests (1989):** It was a moment of crisis for communism in China and communism emerged as a victor and survived.
- a) **Background:** The policy of Deng Xiaoping was to balance the right wing (reformers) and the left wing (hardliners) factions within the communist party. Thus, he allowed criticism from students and intellectuals only to the extent where they were useful in garnering public support for his reforms aimed at removing inefficiency and corrupt bureaucrats. He clamped down on critics beyond this threshold level (example in Democracy Wall incident) to preserve this left-right balance. Similarly, in 1986 Deng allowed demonstrations supporting his 4 Modernizations but when the demonstrators started demanding more radical reforms and violated a ban on poster campaigns, he again clamped down on them.
  - b) **The Dilemma:** The dilemma Deng and his associates faced was whether it is possible to bring economic reforms without simultaneous political reforms. Would the people be satisfied simply with choice in market and would it be possible for the state to resist giving choice in political domain (read multi-party system). The Western thinkers and Mikhail Gorbachev in USSR believed that both kinds of reforms-economic and political must be brought simultaneously and economic reforms alone are not possible because economic reforms depend on demolition of centralized politics and people tend to view poor economic health as a result of the system of polity.
  - c) **Tiananmen Square (1989) events:-**
    - i. **What were the reasons for the protests?**-The protests were sparked by the death of Hu Yaobang, a reformist official backed by Deng but forced to exit by the conservative officials of the politburo. But they soon became a conduit for public anger against slow pace reforms, perceived nepotism of the government and ouster of Hu. In 1988-9, the economic reforms had run into problems. Inflation increased and wages, especially of public employees, lagged behind the prices of commodities. In USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev had shown readiness to introduce political reforms. Encouraged by Gorbachev's reforms in neighbouring USSR and taking advantage of the upcoming visit of Gorbachev to China in 1989, the students began to demonstrate in Tiananmen Square and the protests continued even during Gorbachev's visit.
    - ii. **What were the demands of the protesters?** The students demanded political reforms and transition to democracy along with an end to CCP's corruption.
    - iii. **Why was the movement so brutally crushed?** The protests were crushed by troops. Even tanks and paratroopers were sent in to disperse the students and death toll clocked 3000. The protests were totally peaceful. Despite worldwide condemnation of the way government acted, Deng was unmoved because he completely believed that One Party System was necessary for transition to a socialist-market Economy. The decision of the government helped in preservation of communism and one party system in China.

## 23. Why Communism survived in China and failed in USSR?

Mao died in 1976. After Mao, Deng Xiaoping adopted policies which culminated in the form of market socialism. His policies included capitalist measures and opening up of the economy by reduction in trade barriers. Thus, under Deng China “gradually” moved towards a market economy model.

- 1) It is important to note that **China implemented the economic reforms before going for the political reforms** that would give more political freedom to the masses. The implementation of economic reforms without initiating political reforms helped China preserve Communism. Deng gave choice in the market to the people i.e. choice to buy and sell and to have private ownership of goods and businesses but without giving them a choice in politics as China continued to have a one party system. Economic prosperity and independence pacified people's demands for political freedom. In contrast, Mikhail Gorbachev tried to introduce political reforms and economic reforms through Glasnost and Perestroika in 1991 simultaneously. The people blamed poor economy on the political system of USSR and this led to disintegration of USSR.
- 2) The **Left-Right split** within the Communist party never deepened to the critical level of splitting the party. In contrast, the left-right divide in Russia was very strong. Boris Yeltsin openly criticised the socialist policies of the party in the last years of USSR.
- 3) **Deng Xiaoping vs. Mikhail Gorbachev:** Both of them favoured a capitalist road and both were pro-economic reforms. But Xiaoping executed his policies much before from 1976 onward while Gorbachev came late to power (in 1985). Deng was ready to use force and believed firmly in one party system, but this was not the case with Gorbachev. Example, Deng used force during the Tiananmen Square (1989). Gorbachev even began to give in to the demands of a multi-party system after which the conservatives removed him in a coup. Also Gorbachev was not ready to use force and was sympathetic to the demands for autonomy of the Soviet republics.
- 4) Ethnically and culturally China was a much more homogeneous society as compared to Soviet Union where around half the population was non-Russian. The soviet republics had different cultures and different languages. Thus demands for secession were much more in USSR.
- 5) The **100 Flowers Campaign (1957)** acted as an early warning for China and Mao took timely corrective measures in form of the Great leap Forward (1958) to save the revolution and adopted a model of communism relevant to the needs of China. On other hand, the policies of Stalin, Khrushchev and other leaders failed to evolve to address the many problems being faced by the Russian economy.
- 6) Chinese leadership emphasized **“contact with the masses”** more strongly than USSR. The innovation of Communes helped in putting the party in touch with masses.
- 7) **Chinese Communism was flexible** and there was unity among the party leaders which enabled it to survive. It changed with changing needs. Example, Russian Model was followed till 1958, after which Maoism in form of Great Leap Forward influenced Chinese Communism. Deng Xiaoping from 1976 onward adopted market friendly economic policies which gradually culminated into adoption of Market Socialism.
- 8) Russia was much more involved in the Cold War, which hurt its economy by diverting precious resources

## FASCISM

### 24. Italy: Rise of Mussolini and the Fascists

**Background:** After the 1870 unification, the new state of Italy was politically and economically weak. Further, WW I led to great strain on the economy. Italy had returned empty handed from the Paris Peace Conferences (held after WW I for discussing peace terms against the Central Powers). After the war there was huge unemployment and real chance of a communist revolution.

#### 24.1. March on Rome (1922)

It was led by Mussolini and after this the King invited him to form the government. There was high suspicion in Italy in those times of a communist takeover of the government. The communists had already attempted a general strike in 1922. This gave Mussolini a chance to project himself as a saviour of capitalism as well as Italy against communism; and Mussolini capitalized on this opportunity by leading the March on Rome. 50,000 Black shirts (Italian Fascist Party squads) converged on Rome, while others occupied important towns in the north. The Prime Minister wanted to resist Mussolini, but the King instead invited Mussolini to form the government.

However, explaining the political atmosphere of 1922 will not be enough to account for the rise of Mussolini to power.

**Following are some reasons that throw light on the aspects, which contributed to Mussolini's ascendancy to power:**

- 1) **Disappointment with the Treaty of Versailles:** Italy was not given all the territory she was promised in 1915, in exchange of entering the WW I on side of the Allies. For example, some of the territories promised to Italy were given to Yugoslavia. Also, Albania, which was promised to Italy, was made an independent country. This decreased the prestige of the government and the public sentiment turned against the government.
- 2) **Poor Economy:** This was a major reason for the rise of Mussolini. The economic conditions worsened due to high war expenditure. Also, Italy had incurred huge debt from US to fund its war effort. This debt was now to be repaid in dollars. Also there was massive unemployment as heavy industries had to cut down their wartime production levels. Because of the cost of World War I, the post-war economic crisis and the debt from US which was now to be repaid- Italy's currency "lira" depreciated (as there was outflow of dollars and decline in production) and consequently there was inflation that hurt the common people who were already under the stress of unemployment. The 2.5 million ex-servicemen were having problems in finding a job.
- 3) **System of Proportional representation:-** In the 1919 elections, voting for all "men" and the system of proportional representation had been introduced (women got right to vote in 1945 to elect constituent assembly after WW II). Under the System of Proportional Representation the parties were allocated seats in the Parliament in proportion to the votes each party got in the elections. This system resulted in a large number of parties coming to Parliament (the Liberals, the Nationalists, the Socialists, Communists, Catholic Popular Party and Italian Fascists Party). Thus, only weak coalition governments could be formed as no single party could get the majority of seats. These governments were unstable (five governments from 1919-22- all incapable of decisive action) and this led to a decline in the credibility of the Parliamentary form of government among the masses who felt that the system was incapable of providing a decisive government.
- 4) **Violence by Communists:** There were a wave of strikes led by the communists during 1919 and 1920. From 1919 onward, there were violent strikes, rioting, looting of shops and

occupation of factories by the workers. Soviet like organizations began to prop up and wealthy landlords were evicted from their lands. Thus there was a real danger of communist revolution in 1920. But thereafter the threat of revolution declined because the suppliers stopped supplying raw materials to the workers and thus the factory occupation began to fail. Also the formation of Communist party in 1921 decreased the chances of revolution because it implied a split in the left wing (Socialists Party and Communists party). Yet the fear of a revolution existed among the Italians. In 1922, the communists had attempted a general strike. The credibility of the government declined because it was unable to provide for the security of property. It was in such an atmosphere that Mussolini led the March on Rome.

- 5) **Popularity of Mussolini:** Mussolini was famous as a journalist and began as a socialist but turned against them because they were against Italy's participation in WW I. He then found his own newspaper. He had a socialist outlook and in 1919 found the Italian Fascist Party with a 'socialist and republic programme'. He had supported the occupation of factories by workers during 1919-20 but when the occupations began to fail he changed course. From 1920 onward, he increasingly adopted a radical stand against the communists and his Black Shirt squads began to attack the socialist headquarters. The propertied class began to view him as a saviour by the end of 1921, especially after formation of Communist Party in 1921. He made pro-Church speeches in 1921-22 to reach out to the Catholic Church. In 1922, he dropped the republican part of his party programme and thus the King's attitude towards Mussolini softened. Thus, Mussolini's policies from 1920-22 made him popular among the conservative and right wing sections like the army, the church, the industrialists and the landlords. The socialists are also to be blamed as they failed to work with the government to check violence by Fascist squads.

## 24.2. The Acerbo Law helped Mussolini in Consolidating Power (1923)

- a) This law ended the system of proportional representation.
- b) The party with maximum votes was to be automatically assigned two-third seats in the Parliament.
- c) In 1924, the Fascist Party won the elections with huge margin because the people wanted a stable government and thus majority of them voted for one party and that was of the Fascists.

## 24.3. Further movements towards a Totalitarian State

Under Mussolini, Italy moved towards a totalitarian state through changes in the constitution. These included the following:

- a) Prime Minister would be no more responsible to the Parliament, but only to the King.
- b) New laws would no more require Parliament's approval.
- c) The electorate was decreased from 10 million to just 3 million, as now only the wealthy sections of the society were allowed the Right to Vote.
- d) Through constitutional amendments, Mussolini took the title of Il Duce (the leader).

## 24.4. Corporate State or Corporative State

Under Mussolini, Italy moved towards being a corporate state. Following are some of the features:

- 1) The concept of the corporate state was aimed at cooperation between the workers and the employers with an aim to end the class warfare.

- 2) Worker's trade unions and employers associations were grouped into "corporations" where members of both the groups were expected to work together and amicably resolve their disputes.
- 3) Strikes by workers were not allowed and similarly the employers could not enforce a lockout of the factories. Only, the fascist-controlled trade unions were allowed to negotiate on behalf of the workers.
- 4) To compensate the workers for loss of their freedom, schemes were introduced where they were given free holidays. Their wages were increased and some measures were taken to provide them with social security.

## 24.5. Lateran Treaty (1929)

Both, the Church and Mussolini feared Communism. But the Church was also against the government since 1870, when during the Unification of Italy, the Papal states (which had their capital in Rome and were under direct rule of the Pope) were forcefully integrated into the Kingdom of Italy.

Lateran Treaty was the treaty through which Mussolini reached an understanding with the Pope and thus further consolidated his supremacy in the domain of political sphere:

- a) Italy recognized the Vatican City as a sovereign state.
- b) The Pope was paid a large amount of money for all his losses on account of loss of territory and property after 1870.
- c) Mussolini accepted the Catholic faith as the state religion.
- d) The treaty made religious instructions compulsory in all schools.
- e) In return, the papacy recognized the Kingdom of Italy.

## 24.6. Changes

### Local Government

Elected town councils and mayorships were abolished. The towns were to be run by officials appointed from Rome. The local fascist party bosses (also known as *ras*) were as powerful as these officials.

### Censorship

The anti-Fascist newspapers and magazines were either banned or their editors replaced by pro-fascists. The media was under instruction to glorify war and popularize the achievements of the Fascist Party. The media was used to propagate a cult of personality of Mussolini, the Il Duce.

### Education System

Education was closely supervised by the secret police. The focus was on promoting the idea of "believe, obey, fight" as everything was viewed in terms of a struggle. Anti-fascist teachers were removed from the system and children were forced to join youth organizations which indoctrinated them in favour of the Duce and extreme nationalist ideology.

## 24.7. Evaluation of Mussolini's Rule in Italy

It is worthwhile to assess the positive and the negative impact of Mussolini's rule on the people of Italy.

### 24.7.1. The Positives of Fascism for Italians

Mussolini's rule did bring some positives to Italians. He took various measures to improve the economy and the life of people. Following can be listed as the positives of Mussolini's rule:

- 1) **Industry:** Mussolini's government promoted industry by giving them subsidies where they were required. By 1930, iron and steel production had doubled from 1922 levels. The improvement in the textile sector was significant. Production of artificial silk had increased ten folds by 1930. Similarly, improvements were seen in the energy sector. Many hydropower projects were initiated and hydropower production doubled by 1937.
- 2) **Agriculture:** Italy under Mussolini won the "battle of wheat" which was initiated by Mussolini for achieving self sufficiency in food. The farmers were given many incentives to grow wheat but the negative side to this success story was that the increase in wheat production came at the expense of dairy farming and production of other crops as farmers found these less attractive and more land was diverted to wheat production (not unlike wheat and rice production driven by rising MSP in India).
- 3) **Land Reclamation Programme** was launched. It undertook many activities to bring more land into productive use. It included activities like planting forests in mountainous areas and draining marshes. The programme had partial success as by 1939 as only 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the plan target was achieved.
- 4) **Public Works Programme:** It was a very impressive programme and was successful in tiding over the challenge of unemployment and building infrastructure.
- 5) **Public Morale:** The stress on nationalism in propaganda, the economic recovery, the reduction in unemployment and better crop production boosted the morale of the public. Mussolini's regime was also able to provide for law and order stability.
- 6) **"After Work" Organization:** This organization was created for providing leisure activities for workers. For example, the organization organized cruises and workers were given allowances to go for holidays. This helped in boosting the morale and the general happiness quotient and work satisfaction among the workers.
- 7) **Foreign policy successes:** Mussolini was also successful in his foreign policy at least initially in case of Corfu incident (1923), annexation of Fiume in 1924 and invasion of Abyssinia. These events raised the prestige of Italians as they began to view themselves as citizens of a strong power.

#### **24.7.2. Negatives of Fascism in Italy**

Despite all these successes, many problems still remained unresolved under Mussolini's rule. Some of these were inherent in the physical geography while others were either due to administrative inefficiency or international events.

- 1) **Economic issues:**
  - a) Italy continued to have shortages of important raw materials like coal and oil. Thus energy security was always a challenge for Italy. More effort should have been made for capacity creation in hydropower.
  - b) Exports were hurt as Mussolini pegged lira too high from its real value in an attempt to show that Italy had a strong currency. Thus, state control of market had negative effects on foreign exchange earnings.
- 2) **Economic Crisis of 1929:** The Great Depression had negative impact on Italy's economy. The Italian exports began to fall as the export destinations in Europe and US were undergoing a depression and put up trade barriers. Yet, Il Duce did not allow lira to depreciate which made the exports uncompetitive. Instead, Mussolini cut wages and salaries that hurt the common man. The economic crisis led to unemployment and the buying power of people further decreased. Although the cost of living was decreasing because of "depression", the wages fell faster than the prices of commodities resulting in "real" inflation experienced by the people.
- 3) **Inequity:** There was regional disparity in economic prosperity in Italy. The north was rich and had most of the industries while the south was poor and had agricultural economy. It

is important to note that today also the Italian south lags the northern part in terms of economic development.

- 4) **Social Services:** Mussolini failed in the provision of social services. For example, there were no schemes for government health insurance until 1943 and thus Mussolini's Italy was not a welfare state.
- 5) **Corruption:** The regime was inefficient and corrupt and much money went into official's pockets.
- 6) **Over-centralisation of administration:** A major issue was that Mussolini did not delegate work which left him overburdened. He gave a lot of orders and the officials would take those orders but not do anything as Mussolini had not put in place a comprehensive mechanism to monitor the implementation.

## 24.8. Reasons that led to the fall of Mussolini

Mussolini's term came to an end when the King dismissed him. His biggest mistake was of entering into the WW II despite knowing that Italy could not afford participation in another war. The majority of the public was against Italy's participation in the war given the post-WW I hardships they had suffered in the past. Also, Mussolini lost popularity when he adopted anti-Semitic policies in 1938 and sacked Jews from government jobs. This created a public perception that Mussolini had made Italy a satellite state of Germany. The participation in war led to a lot of hardships for the general public. There were food shortages and public faced increased burden of taxes which were raised to fund the war. There was a 30% fall in real wages after Italy's entry into the war. During WW II, Italy's military performance was poor after a few initial successes. A major embarrassment came when Italian troops surrendered to British forces in North Africa (1943). Soon Allies captured Sicily (1943) but Mussolini would still not surrender. After this the Grand Council turned against Mussolini and the King dismissed him (1943).

But after this Hitler rescued him (1943) and he was setup as a ruler in Northern Italy with protection from German troops. In 1945, as the Allies (Britain and USA) forces advanced northwards, Mussolini tried to escape to Switzerland but was captured and shot dead by his enemies (also known as the Partisans).

## 24.9. How totalitarian was Mussolini's System

Despite his best efforts, Mussolini did not succeed in creating a completely totalitarian system in the fascist sense of either there being "no individuals or groups not controlled by the State" or like the Nazis did in Germany. Mussolini never completely eliminated the influence of the King Victor Emmanuel or the Pope. The Pope became highly critical of Mussolini when he began to attack Jews in the late 1930s. The masses only tolerated Fascism till it brought them benefits. The corporate state did not lead to complete state control over businessmen as they only made gestures of submission and rather bought their freedom by making big contributions to the funds of the Fascist Party.

# 25. Germany: Weimar Republic and the Rise of Hitler

## 25.1. German Revolution (November 1918-August 1919)

This was a period of conflict lasting from November 1918 to August 1919 which led to end of the rule of Monarchy and establishment of a Republic.

At the end of the WW I, as Germany drifted towards a defeat, the public opinion turned against the Kaiser. In November 1918, there was a revolution and Kaiser Wilhelm II was forced to abdicate and exiled to Holland. The left wing Social Democrat Party came to head the government after the January 1919 democratic elections. (Social Democrats: They had some

Marxist ideas but believed that socialism is best achieved by peaceful means and through a Parliamentary democracy rather than violent revolution). At the same time the **Spartacist Uprising** (January 4, 1919 - January 19, 1919) was taking place in Germany. It was a violent revolution (including general strike and street battles) by the more radical communists who were inspired by Russian Revolution (1917) and they took over many cities including Berlin. The Spartacist Uprising degraded the authority of the government because the government had to take the help of Freikorps (a private army raised by anti-communist ex-army officers) to crush it. A new constitution was adopted at Weimar in August 1919 (because Berlin was in turmoil in 1919 so the Constituent Assembly met at Weimar and therefore the name "Weimar Republic"). Thus Weimar Republic came into existence and it lasted from 1919 to 1933.

## 25.2. Attempts against Weimar Republic that Failed

Some sections of the German society were disenchanted with the Weimar Republic and they made several attempts to overthrow it. Weimar Republic government had agreed to the Treaty of Versailles and this was resented by the extreme right wing sections. The radical leftists wanted a communist Germany.

- 1) **Spartacist Rising (1919)** by communists.
- 2) **Kapp Putsch (1920)** by right wing sections: Putsch means a sudden overthrow of government illegally or through force. It happened because the government tried to disband the Freikorps who refused to disband and declared Dr Kapp, the Chancellor. The German army was sympathetic to the right wing nationalists and thus took no action. The government was finally helped by the communists who paralyzed Berlin by a general strike. Kapp had to resign and the Freikorps were disbanded and the Weimar Republic survived.
- 3) **Hitler's Munich Beer Hall Putsch (1923):**
  - a) **About Ludendorff:** Ludendorff was a very important general during the WW I and was responsible for German victory in the Battle of Liege in Belgium. He was a supporter of unrestricted submarine warfare. He also played a key role in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk negotiated on very harsh terms with Russia in 1917. Ludendorff was forced to resign after WW I. He was of the opinion that Germany lost the war because the leftist elements in government stabbed the army in the back. He was highly critical of the social democrat government.
  - b) The Beer Hall Putsch was an attempt by Hitler with the help of Ludendorff to overthrow the Bavarian state government in Munich and then lead a national revolution overthrowing the national government in Berlin. The Putsch was launched in the background of the French occupation of the Ruhr and the consequent depreciation of the German currency. The Putsch failed and Hitler was tried for treason. Hitler utilized the platform provided by the trial to propagate his ideas. The failure of the putsch brought Hitler national publicity for the first time. He got a 5 year jail term but served only 9 months since the authorities in Bavaria were sympathetic to his goals. The lasting outcome of the putsch was the development and furthering of Nazi propaganda.

## 25.3. Three Phases of Weimar Republic

1. **Instability (1919-23):** During this phase, the Republic was struggling to survive due to various attempts to overthrow it viz. Spartacist Uprising, Kapp Putsch and the Beer Hall Putsch. The harsh clauses of the Treaty of Versailles weakened the economy of Germany, degraded the image of the government and hurt the self esteem of the people.
2. **Stability and Economic Growth (1923-9):** Under the able leadership of its foreign minister Gustav Stresemann, Germany eased tensions with the Britain, France and USA. Germany got US loans under the Dawes Plan (1924) and its economic recovery began.

**3. Instability (1929-33):** Due to the Great Depression of 1929, US economy was down and thus no more US loans were available. This hurt the German economy. Its exports declined and the currency depreciated. Also there was high unemployment. Simultaneously, the Nazis had been carrying on an anti-government propaganda blaming the government for all the ills of Germany.

## 25.4. Collapse of Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic collapsed due to the following reasons:

**1) Lack of Credibility of the Government:**

- a) **Treaty of Versailles:** The government had accepted the Treaty of Versailles which was very humiliating due to its harsh clauses and the nationalists could never forgive them.
- b) **Anti-Democracy sentiments:** Unlike France and Britain, democracy as an ideology had not entered the mainstream consciousness in Germany. There was a traditional lack of respect among the public towards democracy as German people had been accustomed to viewing the officer class and the army as the rightful leaders of the country. Many sections like teachers, lawyers, civil servants and judiciary were against the Weimar democracy.
- c) **Instability:** Weimar Republic failed to provide a stable decisive government. Instable coalition governments kept coming and going because Weimar Constitution had adopted the system of proportional representation, leading to all political groups (Social Democrats, Communists, Catholic Centre Party, National Socialists or Nazis) getting seats in proportion to the votes polled by them. This led to a situation where no single party was in a majority ever. Thus no party in power could fully implement its programme.
- d) **Inexperience:** Lack of experience among the political parties in running the government resulted in lack of smooth conduct of Reichstag (Parliament). Before Weimar Constitution, the real power was vested in the office of Chancellor and the Reichstag had less powers. This system had run for many years. But the Weimar Constitution vested more powers in the Reichstag and the Chancellor's powers were decreased. The Chancellor was now made responsible to Reichstag which had the final decision making powers. But there was continuous chaos in Reichstag due to lack of consensus among the parties and thus Reichstag failed to get the admiration of the people.
- e) **Private Armies:** Private armies of political parties decreased the authority of the government. The disagreements among the parties had become so bitter that they organized their own private armies to get done what they wanted and for their protection from rival parties.
- f) **Communists and Nationalists** did not believe in the Republic anyway and refused to cooperate with the Social Democrats. The Communists wanted a violent overthrow of capitalism while Nationalists were in favour of a dictatorship or military rule.

**2) Increase in violence** on the streets as private armies fought each other (especially after 1929) and workers organized violent strikes. Other events included the Spartacist Uprising, the Kapp Putsch and the Munich Beer Hall Putsch. Also there were a series of assassinations, especially of the Communist leaders by the ex-Freikorps men. The government could not crack down on perpetrators due to opposition from the right wing parties. The courts also let off ex-Freikorps men on easy sentences because even the judiciary was sympathetic to the right wing nationalists. The violence was low during the prosperous years of 1923-29. But it increased after the 1929 economic crisis, especially between the Nazis and the Communists.

**3) Economic Problems of Weimar Republic:**

- a) Due to high war costs a situation of bankruptcy existed in 1919. Thus, Weimar republic inherited a very poor economy.

- b) WW I costs: High costs of war reparations imposed by the Treaty of Versailles resulted in the depreciation of German Mark.
  - c) War Reparations: By 1921 Germany had to request temporary suspension of annual instalments. In 1922, Germany defaulted on annual payment. In 1923, France occupied Ruhr, an important industrial area. The Germans responded with passive resistance by refusing to produce anything for the French. This led to galloping inflation in Germany and the Mark collapsed.
  - d) 1923-29: were the years of prosperity characterized by Dawes Plan (1924) and Young Plan (1929). Through Dawes Plan, Germany got US loans, it was to pay whatever it could annually and the French agreed to vacate Ruhr. Consequently, economic recovery began in Germany. By Young Plan (1929), the total war reparations to be paid by Germany were reduced to 2000 million pounds instead of 6600 million pounds.
  - e) The Impact of the 1929 Economic Crisis on Germany:
    - i. US stopped giving loans and demanded repayment on many short term loans.
    - ii. German exports were hurt because of low demand from export markets.
    - iii. US actions led to a crisis of confidence in German currency and there was a run on the banks.
    - iv. Stresemann, the best man to deal with the crisis, died in 1929.
    - v. Many factories closed down and nearly 4 million Germans were unemployed by 1931.
    - vi. The new Chancellor Brüning's (1930-32) solution to crisis was decreasing pensions, wages and unemployment benefits. This led to loss of working class support to the Weimar Republic and right wingers were already against it. Thus by 1932 Weimar Republic was on the verge of collapse.
- 4) Hitler's propaganda was constantly targeted against the government. Hitler became Chancellor (1933) under the Weimar Republic but did not believe in the Weimar Republic and its constitution. He constantly referred to the politicians who had agreed to the terms of Treaty of Versailles as the 'November Criminals'. Hitler argued in his propaganda that Germany was "stabbed in the back" by the November Criminals because they signed the Treaty. (It was in November 1918 that Social Democrats seized power in German Revolution and signed Armistice with Allies).

## 25.5. Reasons that led to the Rise of Hitler and made Nazis Popular

The factors behind rise of Hitler can be listed as follows:

- 1) **Economic problems faced by Germany:** Hitler's propaganda increased in effectiveness because of economic problems and inefficiency of the Reichstag. The number of seats won by Nazis in Reichstag increased with increase in economic problems because public began looking towards the Nazis for maintenance of law and order and for a solution to economic problems. Germans felt that the discipline of the Nazis would help their country in achieving higher economic growth.
- 2) **Fear of Communism:** The fear of communism spreading in Germany led to mass support for Nazis not only among the lower middle class but also among the workers who went on to support Nazis rather than Social Democrats. The fear of communism also led to support from wealthy landowners and Industrialists who funded Hitler especially after his ascendancy to power.
- 3) **Nazi Propaganda:** The Nazis were master propagandists and it was their modus operandi for shaping and influencing public perception. Following were the elements of their propaganda:
  - a) Nazis blamed the government for all social, economic and political ills and also for signing the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. They popularized the "stabbed in the back"

notion- that Germany need not have surrendered in WW I and could have won the war.

- b) Nazis promised national unity, prosperity and full employment by ridding Germany of the 'November Criminals' (the Marxists, the Social Democrats who signed Treaty of Versailles, the Communists, the Jews and Jesuits). Nazis promised overthrow and reversal of Treaty of Versailles by promising that they would not pay war reparations and would bring all Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria together into the Reich.
- 4) Hitler had extra-ordinary political abilities and the gift of swaying public emotions through his oratory. He seemed to have unending energy and was said to possess a very strong will power.
- 5) Nazi Private Army i.e. Sturmabteilung or the SA (Storm Troopers) offered the unemployed youth a small salary and more importantly a uniform. Thus, a lot of unemployed youth were attracted to the SA.
- 6) There was a striking contrast between the governments of Weimar Republic and of Nazis. While the Weimer governments were indecisive and prone to disunity and factionalism, the Nazis ensured law and order, a decisive government and restoration of national pride.
- 7) Nazis were successful in crushing any political alternative or opposition from the communists or the Catholic Centre Party.

## 25.6. Why Hitler was made Chancellor (1933)

In 1932, the right wing (Nationalists) came to power. They invited Hitler's Nazi party into a coalition government by offering him first the post of Vice-Chancellor but later on agreed to confer upon him the Chancellorship, upon his insistence. The right wing politicians wanted Hitler to join them because:

- a) They were afraid of a violent overthrow by a Nazi-led Putsch
- b) The inclusion of Nazis could provide them with a more comfortable majority which would provide not just stability but also pave way for a return to pre-Weimar situation when the Reichstag had fewer powers.
- c) It would help them to check the popularity of the communists.
- d) Many felt that Hitler could be best controlled by co-opting him.

## 25.7 Hitler Consolidates Power

After getting Chancellorship in 1933, Hitler called for general elections in hope of winning a single party majority for the Nazis.

- a) He used the State machinery before elections to benefit Nazis. The police was asked not to act against violent SA and SS when they killed communists. He also appointed Nazis to top police posts.
- b) **Reichstag Fire (1933):** There was a fire in the Reichstag started by a few radical communists but it was not a planned act by the communist party. Nevertheless, Hitler blamed the fire on communists and used the incident to stir up the fear of communism and thus gain mass support in the elections.
- c) In the 1933 elections, Hitler won 44 per cent of the total votes.
- d) **Enabling Law (1933):** This law gave unfettering powers to Hitler and brought an end to the Weimar Constitution. Under this law:
  - i. Government's laws would not need the approval of Reichstag for four years. This implied that Hitler from now on became a dictator and Weimar Republic came to an end as the Chancellor's or Government's law can be against the constitution and still be valid since no parliamentary approval was required for these laws to come into effect.

- ii. This law needed 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority which was achieved by force. During voting, the SA troops manned the Reichstag and the SS troops chanted "Bill or Fire/Murder" outside, thus creating a highly intimidating atmosphere.
- e) After the passage of Enabling law, Hitler followed the **policy of "Gleichschaltung"** (Forceful Coordination) that turned Germany into a totalitarian/fascist State. He used the notorious Gestapo (Secret Police) to crush any opposition.

## 25.8. Hitler's Rule or Nazism in Practice

Following were the features of Hitler's rule in Germany:

- 1) Germany became a one party state as all other parties were banned.
- 2) A Nazi Special Commissioner (an appointed dictator) was appointed in each state and state legislatures were stripped of their powers. There were to be no more state or municipal elections.
- 3) Civil Services were cleansed of Jews or anyone who was opposed to Nazis.
- 4) Trade Unions were abolished and were replaced by a single German Labour Front which was under the strict control of Nazi Party. All workers were to be members of this front. Strikes were banned and government was responsible for the redressal of all grievances.
- 5) Education system was closely monitored for indoctrination of children-
  - a) Stereotypes about gender, anti-Jewish propaganda, racial superiority (i.e. Aryans are the sole master race), pro-Hitler propaganda- were features of this indoctrination.
  - b) Gestapo closely monitored teachers and children could complain to the Gestapo about anti-Nazi teachers.
  - c) Jewish children were taken out of schools.
  - d) Hitler Youth (for boys) and League of German Maidens (for girls) - all German children were required to join these organisations when they turned 14 years of age.
  - e) Slogans like "Führer is always right", "must obey Führer" etc. were made popular.
- 6) Media was controlled by the Ministry of Propaganda.
- 7) Economic life of country was closely organized with two main aims of decreasing unemployment and decreasing Current Account Deficit (CAD) by increasing exports and minimizing imports in order to make Germany self-sufficient. Features included:
  - a) Telling industry what to produce
  - b) Price control on food prices
  - c) Control on foreign exchange rate to avoid inflation i.e. Currency was pegged.
  - d) Big schemes of Public Works for activities like sanitation, road construction and slum clearance.
  - e) Tried producing biofuel for reducing oil imports.
  - f) Forced trade partners to buy German goods in exchange for imports. This was done by refusing to pay in cash and seizing bank accounts of foreigners in Germany.
- 8) Religion was brought under State control and Hitler cracked down on nuns, priests by arresting them and sending them to concentration camps.
- 9) Euthanasia campaign: here Nazis killed the mentally ill. It was based on the Nazi Party's policy of 'racial hygiene'; the belief that the German people needed to be 'cleansed' of 'racially unsound' elements, which included people with disabilities. It was an example of the Nazi's belief in Social Darwinism, a theory which seeks to apply biological concepts of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest' to politics and sociology.
- 10) Germany became a police state under Hitler.
- 11) Concentration Camps were introduced in 1933.
- 12) Anti-Semitic Policy:
  - a) Jews were blamed in Nazi propaganda for every German problem.
  - b) Jews were removed from jobs.

- c) The campaigns were given legal status by the **Nuremberg laws (1935)** which:
- Deprived Jews of German citizenship
  - Forbade Jews from marrying non-Jews to preserve purity of the Aryan race.
  - Person with even one Jewish grandparent was to be classified as a Jew.
- d) The “Final Solution” was the Holocaust with an aim to exterminate all Jews by starving them to death or to put them in poison gas chambers in the concentration camps after making them work to death.
- 13) Ostentatious display of state power through grand processions, parades and rallies every year.
- 14) Hitler was successful in eliminating unemployment by 1939 because of:
- Public Works Schemes
  - Large party bureaucracy provided additional employment opportunities.
  - Jews and anti-Nazis removed from jobs. This created vacancies.
  - Conscription introduced in 1935 which provided additional jobs.
  - Rearmament introduced in 1934 gave boost to employment in industry.
- 15) Hitler got support from all sections viz.
- Farmers- reasonable prices were fixed for produce. Also sops were given with an aim of attaining self-sufficiency in food.
  - Workers- the “Strength Through Joy” organization gave subsidized holidays, free movie tickets etc.
  - Businessmen supported Hitler because he provided them safety from communists and banned trade unions.
  - Army- was happy with Hitler as he introduced rearmament and conscription. Hitler using SS killed Rohm in the “Night of Long Knives”. Rohm was the SA head who was opposed by Army Generals due to his insistence on merging SA with Army and wanted to be a General. Army Generals were aristocrats and they considered SA as a bunch of gangsters. Moreover, they did not want Rohm to be seen as an equal, as he was allegedly a homosexual.
- 16) Hitler’s foreign policy was a brilliant success as discussed earlier. Example- Introduction of Rearmament and Conscription, breaking up Stressa Front (1935) by signing Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935), Anschluss with Austria (1938), Munich Conference (1938), annexation of Czechoslovakia (1939), Non-Aggression Pact with USSR (1939) etc.

## 25.9. Assessment of Hitler's Reign

- 1) **Positives:** He had successes in the domain of economy, unemployment, law and order and if Hitler could have prevented WW II then he would have been a total success.
- 2) **Negatives:**
- Economic success was achieved only through
    - Violent means
    - Employment at expense of removing Jews from jobs.
    - Measures like - employment creation through Public Works schemes, increasing wages of workers and giving them subsidized holidays & other benefits, introducing rearmament (1934), conscription (1935) and paying high price to farmers for their produce-- led to increase in government expenditure and unsustainable fiscal deficit. Thus war became inevitable because war was the only solution to meet the costs of above measures as a victory would have allowed Hitler to source raw material from conquered territories and helped in creating the Lebensraum (living space) for getting farm land to sustain the rapidly expanding German population.

## 26. Japan: Military Fascism

Fascism in Japan lasted from 1931 to 1945. It was characterized by ruthless repression of Communists, assassination of all leaders who opposed the military, tight control of education with focus on extreme nationalism, rearmament and following an aggressive foreign policy of war to capture Asian territory for getting raw material and export markets.

Japan turned into a military dictatorship in early 1930s which gave a boost to its imperialistic campaigns in China. Economic and political problems plunged Japan into control of the Army. Japan had enjoyed economic boom till the middle of 1921. It had greatly benefited from World War I (1914-19) as after the war European powers were weak economically and were involved in quarrels over Treaty of Versailles. Economic weakness of European nations made their exports less competitive. Also they were militarily exhausted and thus not in a position to check Japanese aggression. The only nation powerful enough to check Japan's imperialist march was USA but it had followed a policy of isolation which entailed non-interference in world affairs and avoidance of military conflicts with other nations at all costs. Thus, Japan took benefit of this whole situation. By 1918 it had profited economically by exporting shipping and other goods to the Allied Powers during WW I. It had replaced European companies in export markets, especially in Asia, and got supply orders which Europeans could not service. During World War I, Japan's cotton exports had tripled and its merchant ships doubled.

The social conditions in Japan were also responsible for its Imperialist tendencies. The influential sections of the society like the Army and the conservatives were against Democracy and frequently criticized the government. The Army was against Government's soft and conciliatory approach to China as it failed to take advantage of the Civil War in China to expand the colonial empire.

The economic conditions also played a role. The economic boom ended by 1921 because the European nations had recovered economically and had to some extent recaptured their lost export markets. In Japan, unemployment increased and the peasants were hit by rapid decrease in prices of rice due to bumper harvests. The protests of workers and peasants were suppressed brutally and thus they also turned against the government. The World Economic Crisis served as the turning point as Japanese exports were hurt badly as the importing nations were not in a position to pay for imports. In Manchuria, the Chinese companies were trying to replace the Japanese companies and the Japanese trade and businesses were at risk. This was unbearable in the background of the Economic Crisis of 1929. The Army invaded Manchuria in 1931 without government's knowledge and the Prime Minister was killed in 1932 when he opposed the invasion. Till 1945 it was the Army which ran the country on Fascist lines. The Emperor enjoyed high prestige but he also failed to control the Japanese imperialism because he was afraid of his orders not being followed. Thus, in Japan it was the Army and not the elected government which was responsible for Imperialism in 1930s. Also, the economic problems and the small size of Japanese territory motivate it to increase its imperialism.

## 27. Spain: Franco's Fascism

Spain was a constitutional monarchy under King Alfonso XIII since 1885. It was never able to provide an efficient administration and the defeat by the Moors of Spanish Morocco in 1921 served a blow to the prestige of the regime. In 1923, General Primo came to head the government in a bloodless coup and won the war for Spain in Spanish Morocco in 1925. But Primo had to resign in context of the mass protests that happened after the Great Depression (1929). The economic crisis had led to unemployment, depreciation of Peseta and withdrawal of support from the Army finally made Primo (who wasn't a Fascist) to quit office. Even King Alfonso XIII had to abdicate in 1931 to prevent bloodshed and Spain became a Republic. A coalition government of Socialists and Middle Class radicals came to power.

## 27.1. Situation on the eve of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9)

Following conditions existed on the eve of Spanish Civil War that happened after formation of Republic:

- 1) There was much hostility between the Church and the new Republican government.
- 2) Two provinces wanted independence from Spain.
- 3) The 1929 economic crisis led to an economic depression in Spain. Prices of agricultural commodities fell, wine and olive exports decreased and land went out of cultivation.
- 4) There was also a threat of a coup by the army generals.
- 5) The Spanish Civil war was result of a conflict between the left wing and the right wing factions. The left wing in general included trade unions (anarchists and syndicalists), the socialists and the communists while the right wing factions included the church, the army, the landowners and the industrialists.
- 6) The right wing and the left wing both opposed and thus weakened the Republic which was trying to follow a middle path (as the government was a coalition of left wing socialists and the middle class radicals, thus trying to balance the demands of both the sides). Example right wing opposed government decisions like:
  - a) Granting self government to one of the two provinces that were demanding independence.
  - b) Implementation of Secularism: The Church and the State were separated. The Priests were removed from the payroll of the government. Church's control of education was removed. Thus the powers of the Church were reduced and thus Church and other Right Wing factions were opposed to the government.
  - c) To remove the threat of coup, many important Army Generals were removed.
  - d) Nationalization of large private estates (land) to meet demands of the left wing sections.
  - e) Increase in wages of the workers which antagonized the industrialists.
- 7) The left wing opposed the socialists for cooperating with middle class radicals. They wanted a violent revolution against capitalism for establishing a communist state and started general strikes, riots and assassinations of the right wing leaders.
- 8) In 1933, a right wing government came to power and reversed most of the steps taken by the former coalition government. This angered the left wing factions who now organized themselves into **Popular Front** that increased revolutionary activity. The Popular Front was repressed brutally by the right wing government and the army under **General Franco**. For example, Franco ordered shooting on striking miners. Meanwhile, the right wing fascists organized themselves into a new Falange Party.
- 9) Due to severe repression, the Popular Front came to power in 1936. One of the right wing leaders was murdered and this triggered the Civil War which was begun by the Army and the Falange Party with an aim to overthrow the government and establish a Military Dictatorship.

## 27.2. Spanish Civil War (1936-9)

- 1) The civil war was fought between the right wing and the left wing forces. The Right Wingers called themselves the Nationalists while the Left forces called themselves the Republicans.
- 2) The trouble began when the Nationalists under General Franco began a revolt in Spanish Morocco.
- 3) During the Civil War, Italy and Germany supported the Nationalists with tanks, troops, air shelling, food supplies and raw material. Germany bombed the town of Guernica in 1937 and 1600 innocent civilians died.

- 4) Russia supported the Republicans while Britain and France refused to intervene. Also, anti-fascist volunteers came to Spain from US and Europe to support the Republicans. **Jawaharlal Nehru** with his daughter Indira Gandhi, visited Barcelona in 1938. Later in his autobiography Nehru wrote "*It was the Europe of 1938 with Mr. Neville Chamberlain's appeasement in full swing and marching over the bodies of nations, betrayed and crushed, to the final scene that was staged at Munich. There I entered into this Europe of conflict by flying straight to Barcelona. There I remained for five days and watched the bombs fall nightly from the air. There I saw much else that impressed me powerfully; and there, in the midst of want and destruction and ever-impending disaster, I felt more at peace with myself than anywhere else in Europe. There was light there, the light of courage and determination and of doing something worthwhile.*"
- 5) The Nationalists won the civil war due to:
- Able leadership of Franco.
  - Disunity among the left wing (example Anarchists and Socialists fought against each other in Barcelona).
  - Support from Italy and Germany who aided Franco with a hope of creating another Fascist state in Europe.

### 27.3. Fascism in Spain (1939-75)

The end of Civil War resulted in establishment of Fascist state in form of Spain which existed till death of Franco in 1975. Following are some important points in this regard:

- 1) Franco was shrewd enough to keep Spain out of the Second World War disappointing Hitler.
- 2) The rule of Franco was similar to that of Hitler and Mussolini with features of repression, military courts and mass executions. He took the title of "Caudillo" (the Leader) like Il Duce and Führer like Mussolini and Hitler respectively.
- 3) During 1960s, Caudillo took steps to reduce repressiveness of the regime. Example, military courts were abolished, workers got a limited right to strike and elections were introduced for Parliament.
- 4) Franco's Spain was not truly fascist. For instance,
  - a) Franco supported the Church and restored its powers (for example, education was brought back under the control of the Church). This would not ever happen in a Fascist state where all control and power rests with only the government.
  - b) Anti-War stand: Franco refused to enter WW II and Spain remained neutral during the war. This is against fascist policy of using war as an important policy tool for rebirth of a great nation.
- 5) In 1977, first free multi-party elections were held to establish a democracy with constitutional monarchy. Spain joined the European Economic Community in 1986 and its tourism industry grew by leaps and bounds.

### 28. The Philosophy of Fascism

There is no clear definition of Fascism because there has been no great fascist writer like Marx for Communism who had deeply studied and provided a theory of fascism. Thus there exist no clear tenets of Fascism. There is a tendency among the left wingers to label anyone with right wing views as a fascist. (Many a times the radicalism of the majority group in a country is termed as Fascism while radicalism of a minority is termed as separatism). We can only arrive at the answer to the question of what is fascism by studying the actual actions taken by the leaders who came to be labelled as fascist (as discussed under the case studies above). Some leaders that have been called fascist include Hitler (Germany), Franco (Spain), Mussolini (Italy), Salazar (Portugal) and Peron (Argentina).

The term Fasces means a bundle of rods with a protruding axe, which symbolized the authority and power of ancient Roman consuls. The figure can be analyzed as coming together of all the people from all classes to work in unity towards building a great nation.

**Mussolini** kept changing his aims before 1923. He was initially pro-working class but later turned against communism. Therefore it can be argued that his main goal was to attain power rather than spreading Fascism. Yet, Fascism as Mussolini put it in practice has following basic tenets:

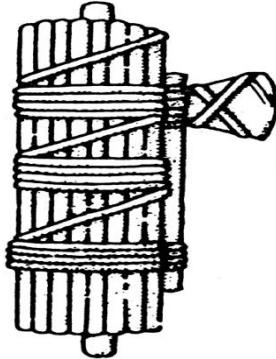
- 1) **Extreme Nationalism** was stressed with focus on rebirth of the nation in ruins into a great nation. This also included propagating the belief of superiority of one's nation over other nations.
- 2) **Totalitarian Government:** The state controls and organizes as many aspects of people's life as possible. This is because it is necessary to ensure greatness of the state, which is much more important than an individual's interests.
- 3) **One party system:** Mussolini's Fascist state had no place for democracy and it was especially hostile to communism. The hostility to communism was also a reason due to which the Fascist regime gained popularity as it stoked the fear of communist takeover among the middle class. There was only one party—that of the Fascists. The members of the fascist party were elites of the nation.
- 4) **Charismatic Leader:** There was very high emphasis on charisma of the leader who deployed thrilling speeches and skilful propaganda for building a strong image among the masses. He was to be projected as the supreme leader or Il Duce.
- 5) **Autarchy:** Autarchy means having economic independence as a national policy. Elimination of unemployment would be possible once a country is economically self-sufficient as all production would be done within the country. If all economic production is taking place within the country then the country is utilizing its full potential to provide employment to every citizen. The focus is on reducing Imports and promoting exports so the country is able to provide for its own needs. Thus, economic self-sufficiency of the nation was stressed and to achieve this—the complete control of the State over the market and the economy was advocated.

**Why did fascism grow?** Many thinkers argue that fascism was essentially a movement of the middle class for the purpose of having more economic prosperity. Thus, some do argue that capitalism may lead to fascism because the former has the basic feature of economic prosperity of the capitalist class.

## 29. Nazism (National Socialism)

Nazism or National Socialism has nothing to do with Communism. It is term used for Fascism as it was witnessed in Hitler's Germany. Thus Nazism is nothing but a type of fascism. Following can be listed as some of the basic tenets of Nazism:

- 1) **Against Socialism/Marxism/Communism:** Although Hitler after coming to power was able to improve the conditions of workers, the term socialism in National Socialism was used by the Nazis only to attract the workers to their party.
- 2) **Extreme Nationalism:** Nazism was described as a way of life dedicated to the rebirth of the nation. Nazism requires that all classes must be united to restore nation's greatness or pride. Thus the class differences must always be secondary to the national interest.
- 3) **Single Leader:** There is need for a single leader in which the whole nation believes so he is able to lead the country to glory. The cult of personality is thus promoted through systematic propaganda. The leader makes thrilling speeches and promotes a heroic public



- image. The education system is used as a tool for indoctrination of children to submit themselves to the service of the Führer (the leader).
- 4) **One Party System:** This was so because only the Nazis can restore the German pride and therefore all parties especially the communists must be eliminated.
  - 5) **Totalitarian Government:** A Totalitarian government with high focus on efficiency in organization of all aspects of life of the masses. The interest of the individual was to be always second to the national interest. A high role of propaganda was recognized to popularize this message among the masses.
  - 6) **Military Strength:** The nation must be strong militarily. The entire state must be organized on a military footing. This was so because the war was viewed as a tool for restoring greatness of the nation.
  - 7) **Race Theory:** This was a unique and a very important part of Nazism. It argued that the whole mankind can be divided into two groups viz the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. The Aryans were the Germans. They were tall, blue eyed, handsome and a master race who were destined to rule the world. The Non Aryans like Slavs, Asians, Coloured and especially the Jews were destined to be slaves. They were inferior and greedy.
  - 8) **Economic Self Sufficiency:** The nation must be economically self-sufficient. The aim was to decrease unemployment. It should not be dependent on imports as far as possible. The state should aim for import substitution by developing the indigenous industry and even annex foreign territory to meet its raw material requirements.

## 30. Commonality between Nazism and Italian Fascism

Nazism as Hitler put into practice and Fascism in Mussolini's Italy had following similar principles:

- a) Both focused on Extreme Nationalism for rebirth of the nation.
- b) Totalitarian government, supremacy of State and one party system were other common features.
- c) Economic independence as a national policy (This would help achieve the goal of reducing unemployment)
- d) Glorification of war, focus on building the military strength of the country and the perception that war was a tool for restoring greatness of the nation.
- e) Radically Anti-Communist.
- f) Unity among all classes for achievement of national goals.
- g) Promotion of the Cult of the Leader through systemic propaganda.

## 31. Differences between Nazism and Fascism

Fascism can be called as vague compared to Nazism as there is more clarity with respect to principles espoused by Nazism. Another point of difference is regards to the policy towards Jews. Italian Fascism was not anti-Jewish or racist until 1938 when Mussolini adopted Hitler's anti-Semitic policy.

There were also some differences in how Hitler and Mussolini put Fascism into practice and the growth of fascism in respective countries. These differences can be listed as:

- 1) Nazism spread much more deeply and widely in Germany than Fascism in Italy.
- 2) The German Nazi system was more efficient and successful with respect to the goal of economic self-sufficiency and Hitler was able to eliminate unemployment. In contrast, unemployment increased in fascist Italy and thus failed to achieve economic self-sufficiency.
- 3) Nazis were more brutal in their oppression and violated the human rights to a much greater extent. The concentration camps were setup by Hitler for systemic execution of Jews and even non-Jewish population of Poland was sent to these camps. In the camps the people

would labour for free and were not given food. Many died of starvation and many were sent to poison gas chambers. In contrast, there were no such mass atrocities in Italy.

- 4) Mussolini was more successful in his policy towards Church. He was able to reach an agreement with the pope in 1929 to withdraw the Church from political domain and in return enjoy freedom in religious domain. Hitler on other hand was impatient for such diplomacy and did not want any influence of the Church in the society. He followed a very harsh policy towards the Church and many members of the clergy were killed in the Nazi attempt to suppress the church.
- 5) Constitutional positions of Hitler and Mussolini were different. In Italy, the monarchy had continued exist and the King played an important role in the end of Mussolini's rule by ordering his dismissal in 1943. In contrast, there was no authority above Hitler in Germany to constitutionally dismiss or arrest him.

## 32. Commonalities between Communism and Fascism

Although the two concepts are at extreme opposite ends of the Left-Right continuum, yet as they were put into practice in different countries, we can try to arrive some commonalities.

- 1) One Party system.
- 2) Focus on self sufficiency (example stressing on food security and reduction in imports).
- 3) Stress on building a great nation or rebirth of the nation.
- 4) Totalitarian regime i.e. every aspect of social and economic life of the people organized by the state. The state tells industry what to produce and controls the economy of the country.
- 5) Aggressive foreign policy- The Fascists believed in using war as a tool for restoring nation's glory. The communists believe in violent revolution and export of this revolution by stressing on internationalism. Stalin followed an aggressive foreign policy. He brought Eastern Europe into his sphere of influence and also supported other nations like Cuba, Angola, and Vietnam etc in their struggle against external powers.

## 33. Differences between Fascism and Communism

These are many but to list a few:

- 1) The difference in ideology- i.e. communism follows a left wing ideology while fascists follow a right wing ideology.
- 2) The leader is treated as supreme and the cult of personality is promoted in fascism. For example Hitler took title of Führer and was promoted as a Messiah who would bring Germany out of its misery. In contrast, communist system, as it came to exist in Russia and China, establishes the communist party as supreme. When communist leaders like Mao and Stalin promoted the cult of personality, they were criticized for subverting the party. Thus they were the exceptions and outliers. In an ideal communist system, it is the collective will of the Party which is supreme and not one leader.
- 3) Communism is in principle against war. Socialist leaders opposed the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1), Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the WW I etc as they view war as a by-product of capitalism. Although, earlier USSR and today China follow an aggressive foreign policy stand- they do not recognize war as necessary for restoration of a great nation. Stalin justified his aggressive foreign policy stance to defend the communist revolution from capitalism. In contrast, the fascist powers during WW II viewed war as an unavoidable tool for restoration of nation's glory.
- 4) The economic system followed by the two forms a major point of difference. The Communists believed in collective ownership of wealth whereas the Fascists were in favour of private ownership of wealth (even though the State's control on economic policy of the country is a common feature among the two systems).

## 34. Cold War

### 34.1. Introduction

Cold war was a sequence of events after the World War II (1939-45) till the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, whereby the two super powers, USA and USSR, competed for hegemony in domains of economy, science and technology, politics and military. Each side adopted policies to strengthen itself and weaken the other falling short of an actual war. **It is called as the “Cold” War because** US and USSR did not fight directly in a war and all the wars fought among third countries remained localized and there was no general widespread war. During the cold war the world was divided into two blocs- the **communist bloc led by USSR** and the **capitalist bloc led by the USA**. Europe was itself divided into communist Eastern Europe and capitalist Western Europe.

### 34.2. Why Cold War

Before we begin to explore its various facets, it is important to understand the underlying reasons behind the Cold War.

Cold war was made possible due to presence of various factors viz:

- 1) **Bipolar World:** Presence of two equal super powers with two very different ideologies of state/society/government clubbed with competing military, political and economic interests.
- 2) **High role of old suspicions:** After the **Russian Revolution (1917)**, Bolsheviks had tried to export the communist revolution to the rest of Europe and USA including the colonies of Britain and France, by sending their secret agents in aid of the local communist revolutionaries. Thus capitalist states were distrustful of USSR. Consequently, Russia was not invited to the **Treaty of Versailles** and capitalist western countries refused to recognize the government in USSR for a long time. During the **Russian Civil War (1918-20)**, the western powers (US, France, Britain) and Japan sent troops to fight on the side of the “Whites” (Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries Party, Cadets) against the Bolsheviks. During the WW II, Britain and France delayed opening of the **Second Front** against Germany until 1944 (i.e. attack Germany from the West so it is forced to fight on two fronts) which Stalin had been demanding since the German attack on USSR in 1941. Stalin believed that Britain and France deliberately delayed opening of the Second Front because they wanted to exhaust USSR and destroy communism.
- 3) **Clash of interests of classes** in each country was also responsible because each class had stakes in one form of economic system rather than the other. Thus workers supported communism while the propertied class supported capitalism. They feared that the spread of communism will result in an end to private wealth and loss of political power by the wealthy class. Without local support, USSR and US wouldn't have been able to interfere so frequently and successfully in internal affairs of a third country.
- 4) **As a Defensive Approach:** Cold War was followed as a defensive approach rather than as an offensive approach. The intention was to preserve one's own system (capitalism or communism) and one's frontiers. The two super-powers tried to create as many buffer capitalist/communist states as possible in this process.
- 5) **Role of Leaders:** **Stalin** tried to occupy as much territory as possible in Finland, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Germany during the WW II. This alarmed the Western powers. **Truman** was more suspicious of USSR than Roosevelt. **Roosevelt** gave arms, raw material, food supplies etc to USSR during the WW II under the Lend Lease Act of 1941. After death of Roosevelt (April 1945), Truman became the President of USA. He dropped Nuclear bomb on Japan (1945) without taking Stalin into confidence. Stalin was not told

about the exact nature of the atom bomb before its use on Japan (while Churchill was duly informed). Truman also did not allow Russia to participate in sharing of Japanese territory and its colonies after WW II. Statements by leaders like Stalin and Churchill aggravated the tensions in international relations. For example, Stalin had argued that "peaceful coexistence with the west is impossible until a final victory over capitalism". Truman doctrine has been cited as one of the key reasons for Cold War (*discussed later in the document*)

- 6) **Domino Effect:** Communism was a threat to the governments of the Capitalist countries and thus the leaders of these countries feared communism. Eisenhower (1953-61) feared a Domino Effect whereby if one country was allowed to become communist then the neighbouring countries would soon follow the suite, thus threatening capitalism, democracy and US economic & military interests. It was the fear of Domino Effect that forced US participation in the Vietnam war (1961-75) because after China and North Korea, turning of Vietnam into a communist state would have put Japan under threat of communism (where US had pumped in a lot of aid after WW II to make Japan a thriving capitalist economy in a region which was coming under greater influence of communism).
- 7) **Psychological fear** of communism among the public due to massive anti-communist propaganda brought the public in support of the actions taken during cold war.
- 8) **Failure of UN:** Lack of confidence of major world powers in United Nations to provide a solution to the important problems, lack of impartiality in functioning of UN and lack of powers available to UN- all these weaknesses added to reasons for causing the cold war.

### 34.3. Who is to be blamed for the Cold War

There are three views- Traditional, Revisionist and Post-Revisionist.

- 1) **Traditional View:** Under the traditional view, Stalin is blamed for the Cold War. He wanted to spread communism outside USSR and destroy capitalism. Formation of NATO (1949) and US actions like intervening on the side of South Korea in the Korean War (1950-53) were only in self-defence of "Free World" (as the capitalist bloc called itself) against communism.
- 2) **Revisionist View:** This view became prominent due to criticism of the aggressive foreign policy followed by US in Vietnam war (1961-75) and US support for brutal regimes like that of Pol Pot in Cambodia (1975-79). It was now argued that, Stalin acted only in self-defence and it was Truman (1945-53, American President) who is to be blamed as he provoked Russian hostility unnecessarily. As per this view Russia had suffered huge losses during the WW II and therefore it was in self-defence that USSR tried to ensure formation of friendly governments in Eastern Europe. US and the West should have accepted Eastern Europe as a Russian sphere of influence (as was agreed to by Churchill in 1944).
- 3) **Post-Revisionist view:** This view is based on the evidence that came to light after declassification of government documents. As per this view, both US/West and USSR share the blame for the Cold War. US economic policies like Marshall Aid (under Marshall Plan of 1947) were deliberately designed for increasing US influence in Europe at expense of USSR. Stalin did not have long term plans to spread communism outside USSR but he was an opportunist and took advantage of any opportunity that presented itself to increase Soviet influence. Further, both the super powers failed to develop mutual trust and due to high mutual suspicion, any action of one side was viewed as having an aggressive intent by the other.

***Let us now look at the evolution of Cold War through some important events in the European History.***

## 34.4. Evolution of Cold War (1945-53 Stalin era)

**Yalta Conference (February 1945):** It was held before the end of WW II, when the victory of the Allied Powers was assured, to decide how to deal with the Axis Powers and was attended by Roosevelt (US), Churchill (Britain) and Stalin (USSR). **Following agreements were reached during the conference:**

- 1) Stalin promised conduct of free elections in all Eastern European nations. This is also known as "**Declaration of Liberated Europe**". According to this, the three Allied powers were to assist the liberated countries of Europe to establish democratic institutions through free elections.
- 2) **United Nations** will be formed (established October 1945) to replace the League of Nations.
- 3) **Occupation Zones:** Austria, Vienna, Germany and Berlin would be divided into occupation zones of Britain, US and USSR (occupation zones for France were carved out later). This was so because there was no agreement over the future system of government (capitalist or communist) in Austria and Germany and Stalin only agreed to presence of Allied troops here.
- 4) **On Poland:** Russia had setup a provisional Polish communist government after driving out the Germans, but there was also a Polish government in exile in London. It was agreed that some members of the Polish government in exile in London would join the Polish Communist government. But the demand of Stalin that Poland gets all German territory east of River Oder & Neisse was rejected by Britain and US.
- 5) **On Japan:** Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan on condition that it would get the whole of oil-rich Sakhalin Island (half of Sakhalin Island was taken by Japan after Russo-Japanese war 1904-05. India's OVL has invested here), Kuril Islands and some parts of Manchuria in China.



### Potsdam Conference ( July-August 1945):

The conference was held in occupied Germany and witnessed the participation of Stalin, Truman and Churchill. Churchill was later replaced by Clement Attlee as Labor Party came to power in Britain. At the time of the conference, Germany had lost the war but the nuclear bomb on Japan was not yet dropped. **Following agreements were reached during the Potsdam conference:**

- 1) **German Disarmament:** It was agreed that Germany would be disarmed. The war potential of Germany was to be destroyed by destroying or bringing under control all industrial installations producing military equipments.
- 2) **German Economy:**
  - a) It was to be ensured that the standard of living in Germany should not exceed the average standard of living in Europe, and the type and amount of German industry to

be dismantled for this purpose was to be decided later. This included putting a cap on German steel production, reducing German Heavy Industry to 50% of 1938 levels and other such measures. But later the Allies gave up this policy and worked for a prosperous East Germany through Marshall Plan (1947) to increase capitalist influence in Europe.

- b) Most of the German reparations were awarded to USSR since it had suffered the maximum damage. USSR was given the right to take away non-food goods from its occupation zone in Germany as well as from Western zone, provided that USSR fulfilled food supply needs of the western zone.

### 3) German Frontiers:

- a) **Occupation Zones:** Germany and Austria and their respective capitals (Berlin and Vienna) were divided into 4 occupation zones. This was agreed in principle at Yalta and implemented by Potsdam conference.
- b) **Oder-Neisse line:** Germany's eastern border was to be *temporarily* shifted westwards to the Oder-Neisse line. Thus the Oder-Neisse border was temporary and it was agreed that final delimitation of Germany's eastern frontier would take place later (this happened under *Treaty of Final Settlement with respect to Germany* (1990)). Thus defacto, the size of Germany was reduced to three-fourth of its 1937 borders. The territories east of the new border were to be given to Poland and comprised East Prussia, Silesia, West Prussia, and two thirds of Pomerania. These areas were mainly agricultural, with the exception of Upper Silesia which was the second largest center of German heavy industry.



- c) **Reversing German Annexations:** Territory annexed by Germany before and during the WW II was taken back, including, Sudetenland, Austria and western parts of Poland.
- 4) **De-Nazification:** Nazi Party was to be disbanded and Nazis would be tried as war criminals. These trials became famous as Nuremberg trials.
- 5) **Altering the Demography:** Orderly and humane expulsion of Germans living beyond the new eastern border of Oder-Neisse line (i.e. from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia).

*But on many issues there was dissatisfaction and disagreement:*

- 1) There was a lack of agreement on the possibility and the timing of unification of four zones of Germany.
- 2) The German territory east of Oder-Neisse line had been occupied by Russian troops and was being administered by communist Polish government. Britain and US were unhappy over this, although they agreed shifting of German frontier westward to Oder-Neisse line for the time being.
- 3) **Over Japan:** During the Potsdam conference, Stalin was not told about the US plan for dropping nuclear bomb although Churchill was taken into confidence. The bomb was dropped two days after the conference.

Europe After 1945:**Communism established in Eastern Europe:**

- 1) **War of words:** In February 1946, Stalin gave the infamous speech where he argued that "peaceful coexistence with the west is impossible until final victory over capitalism". This meant that future wars were inevitable between USSR and capitalist western nations. In response, Churchill gave his **Iron Curtain speech** in March 1946 while on a trip to US. He said that "an Iron Curtain has descended over Europe". He called for a western alliance to counter the communist threat. Churchill was criticized by Stalin and Labor party Members of Parliament in Britain for being a warmonger.

**What was Iron Curtain?**

*It symbolized non-interaction between Eastern and Western Europe in all domains viz economic and trade ties, political relationship and people to people contact. Churchill had referred to it in his 1946 speech in US in response to Stalin's speech in 1946. The Iron curtain seemed a reality when Stalin prevented Eastern Europe nations, especially Czechoslovakia from accessing the Marshal Aid (1947). When the only democratic state in Eastern Europe-Czechoslovakia became communist through an armed coup, the iron curtain seemed firmly in place. Further events like West Berlin Blockade (1948-9) and Berlin Wall (1961-89) were validation of existence of an Iron Curtain in Europe.*



*Figure: Central and Eastern Europe during Cold War*

- 2) **Stalin consolidates communism:** After Potsdam and use of Nuclear bomb on Japan, Stalin politically interfered in Eastern Europe and pro-communist governments were established in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania. In some cases the opponents were imprisoned and even murdered. By 1947, all states of Eastern Europe, except Czechoslovakia, had communist governments. Elections were rigged, non-communist members of coalition governments were expelled and parties except the communist party in these states were dissolved. All this happened under watchful eyes of secret police and Russian troops. The capitalist west was antagonized as Stalin had breached the promise of "free elections" in Eastern Europe made during Yalta conference. But it is to be mentioned in the defence of Stalin that in 1944, Churchill had agreed to the notion of Eastern Europe being the Russian sphere of influence.
- 3) **In Yugoslavia, it was Tito who had led the communists while defeating the Germans and not the troops from USSR. He was a popular leader and was elected in 1945 in free and fair elections. The government thus formed under Tito was a communist government but Tito was against Soviet interference in internal affairs and foreign policy of Yugoslavia.**

### **Truman Doctrine (March 1947):**

Disturbed with the events in Europe, US adopted what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine through which US made it clear that it would not revert back to the Policy of Isolation after the WW II as it did after the WW I. Rather, Truman Doctrine implied adoption of the **Policy of Containment** whereby US would be committed to 'containment' of communism not just in Europe but throughout the world. **Following are some aspects dealing with the Truman Doctrine (1947):**

- 1) It was aimed to "contain" communism from spreading to the Free World (as the capitalist bloc liked to call itself).
- 2) It was introduced because of the events in **Greece** where Britain had restored Monarchy after defeating Germany in WW II, but now a civil war led by communists had broken out with support from communist governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Britain was exhausted fighting the Greek communists. It appealed to US for help and withdrew from Greece in 1947. Consequently President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine which said that "*US will support the free people against subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures*". The US took over the burden and thereafter supported the Greek government in its fight against communists. *The US intervention in Greece in 1947 was the formal beginning of the Cold War.*
- 3) **The Policy of Containment** in the coming years took the following form:
  - a) Use of economic measures like aid under Marshall Plan (1947).
  - b) Military bloc building like NATO (1949).
  - c) Aiming military superiority by trying to lead in arms and space race.
  - d) Politically interfering and rigging elections in third countries to ensure that pro-capitalist governments come to power. The aim was to protect economic and strategic interests of US.
    - i. **In Italy:** CIA officially accepted giving \$ 1 million in aid to Christian and other anti-communist candidates, who favored a capitalist multi-party democracy, in 1948 elections. By all estimates, the Italian Communist Party was well poised to win the elections but with help of CIA aid the Christian Democratic Party emerged victorious with a comfortable margin.
    - ii. **In Central America:** In Nicaragua, from 1981-90, US through CIA helped rebels to overthrow a leftist government. In El Salvador, in 1980s, US helped an authoritarian regime that was under threat of leftist guerrillas.
    - iii. **In South America:** the US support to brutal right wing governments led to much violence and instability.
    - iv. Around late 1950s, the anti-West sentiment among the Arab countries was high because of western support to the state of Israel and the Suez War (1956). US and Britain sent troops to **Lebanon and Jordan** to prevent the pro-Western governments in these countries from falling.
    - v. **In Iran,** Mohammed Raza Pahlavi was the ruler since 1941. In 1951, the Parliament of Iran (Majlis) ordered nationalization of Anglo Iranian Oil Company, a British controlled company and Mohammed Mussadeq was made the Prime Minister of Iran. CIA played an important role in the coup against the democratically elected Prime Minister Mussadeq and thereafter helped Shah of Iran, Pahlavi, establish his despotic rule. The coup was done because the US felt that Mussadeq was aligned with USSR. Thereafter, the Shah became closely aligned with US. He made Iran enter the **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and US. He gave US oil companies concessions to develop oil reserves of Iran. The Shah was finally overthrown in 1979 Islamic Revolution because he fell out with the Shia clerics who were against the reforms initiated by Shah for western style modernization of Iranian society.

### ***Marshall Plan (June 1947):***

This was officially called the European Recovery Programme. It was aimed at helping Europe economically to increase its prosperity, increase US influence in Europe and thus to contain communism. Officially it sought “removing hunger, poverty and chaos” but it had the hidden political aim of containment. From 1947-51, \$ 130000 million were given in Marshall Aid to Western Europe. Following was the **impact of Marshall Plan:**

- 1) It led to quick recovery of western Europe from devastation caused by the war.
- 2) It led to prosperity of West Germany and West Berlin that was in stark contrast to poverty in the East Germany under USSR. The Soviet Union did not work enough for prosperity of its occupied zone in Germany and exploited it to fund growth of USSR. The long term result of the Marshall aid was the fall of the Berlin Wall (1961-89) and finally of communism in Eastern Europe.
- 3) It led to boost in US exports as the growing standard of living, rise in incomes and economic development of Western Europe provided a market for US businesses.

### ***Stalin's response to Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan:***

The Marshall Aid, or the aid available under the Marshall Plan, was technically available to all interested European nations but Stalin forbade the Soviet Satellite states (i.e. Eastern European nations) to access aid under the Marshall Plan. Stalin denounced the Marshall Plan of US as “**Dollar Imperialism**” devised to increase US influence over Western Europe and interfere in Soviet sphere of influence (i.e. Eastern Europe). Stalin instead announced **Molotov Plan (1947)**, **Cominform (1947)** and **Comecon (1949)** as a response to the US Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan:

- 1) **Molotov Plan (1947):** to provide aid to Soviet satellite states.
- 2) **Cominform (Communist Information Bureau 1947-56):** It was a successor to Comintern (1919-43) and included communist parties of Europe. The aim of Cominform was to increase the Soviet control of its Satellite states in Eastern Europe. To be communist was not enough, it had to be Russia style communism i.e. The communist parties had to follow diktats of Soviet Union:
  - a) Eastern Europe was to be industrialized, collectivized and centralized.
  - b) Member nations were expected to trade primarily with other Cominform members and all contacts with non-communist countries was discouraged.
  - c) Yugoslavia was expelled in 1948 when it objected.
  - d) The Cominform was disbanded in 1956 when Nikita Krushchev came to power. He had argued in his famous 1956 speech that there existed different roads to socialism and thus no need to impose the Russian way on other communist countries.
- 3) **COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance 1949-1991):** This was formed to coordinate economic policies of Cominform.

**Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia (1948):** Czechoslovakia was the only multi-party democracy in Eastern Europe. The government here was a coalition of communists and other left wing parties elected in the 1946 elections. Czechoslovakia hoped to act as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Europe. In 1948, elections were due and the communists had no chance of winning because the public opinion was very much against the government for rejecting the Marshall Aid under Soviet pressure. The communists did an armed coup before the elections. Meanwhile USSR had sent its troops from its occupation zone in Austria to the Austrian frontier with Czechoslovakia so as to ensure that coup went ahead without a problem. Elections were held but only communists were allowed to contest. United Nations protested but could not act because was unable to prove the Russian involvement (Coup was an internal affair - USSR had argued). Thus it was clear, that USSR would intervene if a satellite state tried to become pro-capitalist.

### Division of Germany:

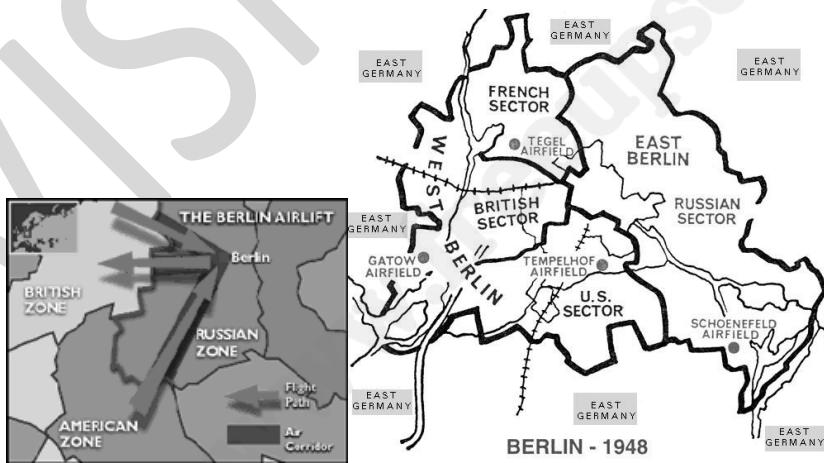
Germany and Berlin were divided into 4 occupation zones (Britain, France, US, USSR) after Yalta Conference (1945).



### **West Berlin Blockade and Airlift (1948-49):**

US, France and Britain tried for economic recovery of their occupation zones in Germany while USSR did the opposite. The result was that:

- 1) This difference in policy led to a stark contrast between the prosperity of the western zones and Russian zone in Germany. This put pressure on USSR as discontent among the natives of its zone increased.
- 2) US, Britain and France introduced a new currency in the western zones. USSR found it impossible to have two currencies in the same city (Berlin). Soon US, Britain and France started putting pressure on USSR to merge the four zones into a united Germany. East Germany seemed to be slipping out of Soviet hands. The USSR responded with the infamous **Blockade of West Berlin (1948-9)**:



Let us understand this blockage by USSR in greater detail.

- a) **What?:** In 1948, USSR closed all links (rail, road, canal) between West Berlin and West Germany and this came to be known as the West Berlin Blockade.
- b) **Intent?:** With the Blockade, USSR wanted to starve West Berlin and therefore force US, Britain and France to withdraw so USSR captures the whole of Berlin which lay in its occupation zone.

- c) **Why?**: USSR took this action because it was facing difficulties in keeping control over East Berlin due to contrast in prosperity of the East Germany/East Berlin and the West Germany/West Berlin which was a result of the different economic policies followed by the West and USSR in their respective zones and the substantial aid under Marshall Plan. When Western powers introduced a new currency, USSR found it impossible to have two currencies in the same city.
- d) **Airlift**: To nullify Berlin Blockade, the western powers especially the US, airlifted and dropped food supplies into West Berlin for one year. Thus the Blockade failed and USSR was forced to remove the blockade.
- e) **Brink of War**: US placed its Bomber planes in British airfield to deal with any emergency.
- f) **Impact**: After the West Berlin Blockade (1948-9)
  - I. The relationship between US and USSR became bitter. It was certain now that Germany was to remain divided in foreseeable future.
  - II. US, Britain and France united their zones into **German Federal Republic (1949)**. USSR also followed suit by declaring its zone as **German Democratic Republic (1949)**. This completed the division of Germany into two nation states.
  - III. **US formed NATO (1949)** after the West Berlin Blockade because the capitalist bloc found itself unprepared for a military conflict. The Brussels Defence Treaty (1948) was the precursor to NATO and it included Britain, France, Holland, Luxembourg and Belgium. **Under the North Atlantic Treaty (1949)** which included Britain, France, US, Canada, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Ireland- the members placed their defence forces under a joint NATO command organization. It worked on the principle of collective security- that if one nation was attacked then all others would jump into its defence. No member country was to allow a non-member military base on its territory. In 1952, Greece and Turkey became part of NATO while West Germany joined in 1955.
  - IV. **Formation of NATO was a turning point** because with NATO, US abandoned its policy of “no entangling alliances” and US for the first time pledged for a military action in advance.

*As discussed above West Germany was far more prosperous when compared to its Eastern counterpart. It therefore becomes important to understand the reasons for economic prosperity of West Germany:*

- 1) **Policy of Western nations in West Germany**: US, Britain and France tried for economic recovery of West Germany & West Berlin via following measures:
  - a) US introduced Marshall Aid in 1947.
  - b) In 1948, the three powers united their occupation zones in Germany into a single economic unit.
  - c) In 1949 after the failed West Berlin Blockade (1948-9), US, Britain and France took the lead and politically merged their three zones into united West Germany or German Federal Republic (1949).
- 2) **USSR's economic policy in East Germany**: Stalin was determined to make Germany pay war reparations for destruction of Russia during the WW II :
  - a) He treated the Soviet zone as a satellite and drained all of its resources to Russia.
  - b) Stalin laid no focus on economic recovery of East Germany. It was treated only as a source of raw material and as an export market for Russian goods.
  - c) Another problem was that USSR was not as rich as US to dole out massive aid and needed resources for its own recovery. The Molotov Plan could not have matched the Marshall Plan.

Communism finally came to an end in East Germany in 1989 December and Germany was reunited in 1989.

*The phase of cold war we are going to study now was perhaps the most crucial one as it created a lot of tensions between nations.*

### **The beginning of the Arms Race**

Arms race began in earnest when USSR developed the Atomic Bomb in 1949. Thereafter, US planned and produced the much more powerful Hydrogen Bomb. By 1953, USSR also caught up and developed the Hydrogen Bomb.

**USSR in Far East:** Three months after surrender of Germany and three days after dropping of nuclear bomb on Hiroshima, Stalin invaded Sakhalin and the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in August 1945 as agreed during the Yalta Conference (February 1945). This came to be known as Soviet Japanese War (1945). USSR prevented KMT from entering Manchuria, reserving it for Mao's CCP. Later USSR kept the Sakhalin and the Kuril islands but gave full control of all territories in mainland China to Democratic People's Republic of China. Today, Kuril islands are a bone of contention between Russia and Japan. The San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan (1951) states that Japan must give up all claims to the Kuril islands, but it also does not recognize the Soviet Union's sovereignty over the Kuril Islands. Russia maintains that the Soviet Union's sovereignty over the islands was recognized following agreements at the end of the Second World War.

USSR and China supported the independence struggle of Indochina against France (1946-54) while US supported the French with economic and military aid.

**China:** In 1949, China emerged as a Communist State after Mao Zedong's CCP defeated Chiang Kai Shek's KMT in the civil war. Chiang who fled to Taiwan and setup a government in exile claiming sovereignty over whole of China. USSR and China signed a **Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship** in 1950. These developments alarmed the USA. When North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, US did not want emergence of another communist state. It intervened in favor of South Korea after UNSC approval. China on other hand militarily intervened on side of communist North Korea.

**McCarthyism (1950-4):** McCarthyism has its origin in the controversy that followed after USSR successfully tested the atomic bomb in 1949 and continued during the Korean War (1950-3). Some analysts argued that USSR had been able to get the technology for atomic bomb through collusion with people in the US administration. McCarthy was a US senator who became the lead figure in promoting the spy angle. He got heavily engaged in the anti-communist propaganda after the WW II and suspected presence of Soviet spies in US administration and everywhere. He got so much obsessed with the communists that he began to promote the spy angle behind every problem of the US.

McCarthyism is a term used to describe the era after the WW II when there was high suspicion among many sections in US that Stalin's spies have been able to penetrate the US government. Anyone who would prescribe socialist policies or argued for caution in foreign policy against the communists was branded as a communist or a USSR sympathizer. Every failure and any inefficiency of the US administration was attributed to the Soviet spies. McCarthy condemned every critic of his as a communist and even accused the army generals of communist sympathies during questioning in the Senate to investigate the possible nuclear proliferation to USSR. The Senate condemned McCarthy by passing a resolution against him with a significant majority. McCarthy committed the grave mistake of criticizing President Eisenhower (1953-61) when the latter supported Senate's action and by 1954, McCarthy was discredited in US. The 1956 speech by Nikita Krushchev and the consequent improvement in US-USSR relationship ended McCarthyism. The spy scare although, continued throughout the cold war and varied in intensity in inverse proportion to the goodwill in US-USSR ties. USSR was also wary of US spies. In 1960, USSR shot down a U2 spy plane of US in Russian mainland territory and this incident deteriorated the US-USSR relationship.

Today, **McCarthyism** is referred to as the practice of making accusations of disloyalty, subversion, or treason without proper regard for evidence. It also means "the practice of making unfair allegations or using unfair investigative techniques, especially in order to restrict dissent or political criticism."

#### **Partial Thaw in Cold War post-Stalin (1953):**

There was a partial thaw in the US-USSR relationship after the death of Stalin in 1953.

#### **Reasons for Thaw:**

- 1) Emergence of new leaders in USSR like Nikita Krushchev and Bulganin who wanted a better relationship with US.
- 2) By 1953, both US and USSR had a Hydrogen Bomb. Thus to avoid a nuclear war, both sides desired a better relationship.
- 3) Under Krushchev, Russia changed its policy for spread of Communism. Communism was still to be promoted but not by defeating capitalist nations in a war but by proving the superiority of Soviet economic system. Krushchev increased aid to neutral states to turn them towards communism.
- 4) McCarthy was discredited in US by 1954. The decline in the anti-communist propaganda, helped create an environment for improvement in relationship.

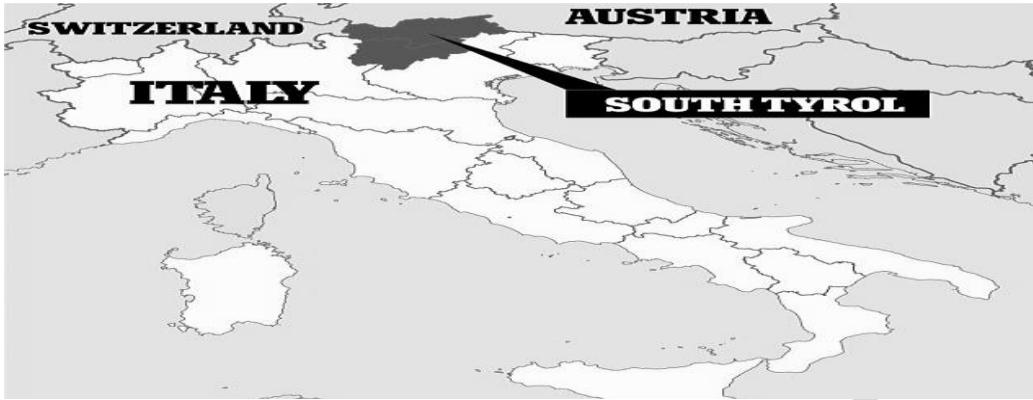
#### ***Events that characterized the Thaw:***

- 1) The Korean War had ended by 1953. Also the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina War (1946-54) between Vietminh and France had ended by 1954.
- 2) Russia made some concessions in 1955:
  - a) USSR gave up its military bases in Finland.
  - b) It lifted veto and this allowed 16 new nations to enter UN. USSR was not allowing entry to Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Sri Lanka and other countries because these countries were pro-West. Ireland did not have diplomatic relations with USSR. US was vetoing Mao's People's Republic of China taking the permanent seat in UNSC. In 1955, a deal was struck in which pro-West countries and also the Soviet satellite states got UN membership.
  - c) Krushchev tried to improve relations with Yugoslavia by paying a visit to Tito. Yugoslavia had objected to trade restrictions placed on Cominform countries and had been expelled from Cominform in 1948.
  - d) In 1956, Cominform was disbanded, therefore giving more freedom to Soviet Satellite countries in trade and economic policies. This was in line with the Krushchev's speech in 1956 where he had argued in favor of each communist country following its own brand of socialism.
- 3) **Agreement on Austria (1955):** Austria, like Germany was divided into four occupation zones. Unlike Germany, Austria was allowed to have its own government because it was treated as a victim of Nazi aggression rather than as an aggressor. The economic situation was same as in Germany with the West trying for economic recovery of its zones and USSR draining its zone of resources.

USSR and the West were able to resolve their disputes regarding Austria through the **Austrian State Treaty of 1955**. USSR agreed to the treaty because of two reasons. One, the Austrian government was able to persuade a more flexible USSR after Stalin's death. Two, USSR was afraid of a possible merger between West Austria and West Germany and thus to prevent such a course of events USSR agreed for creation of a united Austria. **Under the Austrian State Treaty (1955):**

- a) Austria was made independent with 1937 frontiers except that the South Tyrol was to remain with Italy (this made Austria unhappy). (\*South Tyrol, then in Austria, promised to Italy in 1915, annexed by Italy in 1919. Germany did not annex it even when had

majority German speaking because Italy was an ally. Later allied powers did not take away because Italy joined them in 1943.)



- b) As a concession to USSR, Austria was not allowed to join NATO or European Economic Community (a precursor to European Union formed in 1958 by a treaty signed in 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany).

#### **"Partial" in the Thaw:**

As we have discussed the "partial" thaw in US-U.S.S.R relations earlier this thaw was only partial in nature as illustrated by following events:

- 1) Hungarian uprising (1956) by the Hungarian people against their communist government was crushed by Russian tanks.
- 2) Warsaw pact (1955) was initiated by USSR in response to NATO admitting West Germany. It was signed by USSR and all satellite states except Yugoslavia. Under Warsaw Pact, the members promised to defend each other against any attack from outside and the armies of all members came under overall control of Moscow.
- 3) USSR continued building nuclear warheads and delivery systems.
- 4) Berlin Wall was erected in 1961.
- 5) Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) when the world came at the brink of a nuclear war. (*discussed in detail later*)

**Berlin Wall (1961):** In 1960, a U2 spy plane of US was shot down in Russia but Eisenhower refused to apologize. In 1961, Krushchev asked the new President elect J.F. Kennedy to withdraw the Western powers from Berlin. This was a time when USSR was being continuously embarrassed by the fact that a high number of people were escaping to West Berlin from East Germany. Thus, when US refused the Russian demand, USSR erected the Berlin Wall to block the escape route into West Berlin from East Germany.

#### **Tensions in the Communist Bloc in Eastern Europe:**

Russia at times used force to clamp down on dissent among the communist bloc in Eastern Europe.

- 1) **Yugoslavia:** It was first to stand up against Russia. Tito was a popular leader and he was determined to follow his own brand of communism, not Stalin's. He was opposed to Stalin's interference in internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Tito wanted freedom of trade with the west as well as USSR. Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from Cominform in 1948 and stopped giving economic aid. He did not invade Yugoslavia because Tito was too popular a leader. Thus Tito stayed in power and implemented his own brand of communism by trading freely with the west and accepting aid from IMF. Tito began decentralization of industries and instead of State control the factories were brought under workers control by giving powers to Workers organizations. The Agricultural policy focused on primacy of communes. There was an

elected Commune Assembly that acted as an institution of local self-government dealing with matters of education, health, and local economy. The system was extraordinary as it gave powers to ordinary people to take decisions with respect to their factories and community. It can be cited as an example of Democratic Socialism. Many Marxists believed that this was a more genuine way of running a communist government rather than over centralization being followed in the USSR. The capitalist elements like wage differentials and free market helped overcome some negatives of a Marxist economic system like workers paying themselves too much salary and not sacking their colleagues which led to higher cost of production and inflation. Later, many African states, like Tanzania, adopted this system. Krushchev restored good relations with Tito after 1953.

- 2) **Stalin acted against other leaders who tried to follow independent policy:** In Hungary, the Foreign Minister and Interior minister were hanged (1949). In Bulgaria, the Prime Minister was arrested and executed (1949). In Czechoslovakia, some cabinet ministers were executed (1952). In Poland, the communist party leader was imprisoned and in Albania the communist premier was executed because they both supported Tito.
- 3) **Poland (1956):** Here workers held anti-USSR demonstrations and protested against poor living standards, wage reductions and high taxes. Soon, Russian tanks surrounded Warsaw and finally, Russians arrived at a compromise. Poland was allowed to choose its own way of communism while Poland in return aligned with USSR in foreign affairs.
- 4) **Hungarian Uprising (1956):** People rose against the government in October 1956 because of many reasons
  - a) The regime here was repressive and brutal.
  - b) Living standards were getting worse.
  - c) There was an intense anti-Russian feeling
  - d) Krushchev's 1956 speech encouraged Hungarians to resist their government.

The communist leader of Hungary was overthrown and a more moderate leader Nagy came to power. Russians were ready to compromise like in Poland but lost patience when Nagy announced the plan to have a government with members from other political parties and talked about withdrawing Hungary from Warsaw Pact. Soon Russian tanks surrounded Budapest, the Hungarian capital. Hungarians fought and resisted but couldn't stand up to the might of USSR. After this Nagy was executed and Hungary brought under control.

- 5) **Czechoslovakia (1968):** After Hungarian uprising, Russia did not intervene directly until 1968. It had allowed the satellite states to follow their own road to socialism. The government in Czechoslovakia was pro-Moscow but the opposition escalated because Czechs opposed the Russian control of their economy for example, Russia dictated to Czechoslovakia-from where it could import iron ore. Also the Czechs resented curbs on their liberty like lack of freedom of speech and expression, censorship of media etc. Peaceful protests were crushed brutally by the police. In 1968, the communist leader was forced to resign in the favour of a liberal leader Dubcek. He proposed a new programme which he called "**Socialism with a Human Face**". Some of the aspects of this program were as follows:
  - a) Communist party would no longer dictate policy.
  - b) Industry would be decentralized and brought under workers councils instead of party officials. Trade Unions would have more powers.
  - c) Farms would not be collectivized, rather they would become independent cooperatives.
  - d) More trade with the west and freedom to travel abroad. The border with West Germany, closed since 1948, was thrown open immediately.
  - e) There was to be freedom of speech and of press. Criticism of government was encouraged.

Dubcek assured USSR that it would remain in Warsaw Pact and continue to be a staunch ally. Thus the programme was implemented in 1968. But the freedom of speech clause irked USSR and Russians soon became anxious and invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Czechoslovakia did not resist USSR to prevent bloodshed (like in Hungary 1956), the new programme was abandoned and Dubcek was replaced by a Russian puppet. Soon, Brezhnev (1964-82) announced **Brezhnev Doctrine** which said that Russia has the right to intervene in internal affairs of a communist country if socialism was threatened.

### **Why Detente began in 1970s?**

The relations between the communist bloc and the Free World (as the capitalist bloc liked to call itself) began to improve in the 1970s. **SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) treaty** was signed in 1972. The reasons for this relaxation in tensions was:

- 1) Western European nations agreed to West Germany's OSTPOLITIK ("new eastern policy" in German) that was aimed at better relations between Eastern and Western Germany in particular and East and West Europe in general. The reason was that Europe would be at the frontline of any nuclear attack by Russia and having a non-confrontational relationship within Europe was thought as being wise.
- 2) China was unhappy on the account of worsening ties with Russia and was nervous of US involvement in Vietnam. Thus it felt a threat of being isolated and therefore sought to improve relations with the US.
- 3) Both US and the USSR feared a nuclear war especially after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. They were both sickened by horrors of Vietnam War (1961-75) where Napalm Jelly and Chemical weapon were used.
- 4) After its failure in Vietnam, US realized that war was no solution to communism and talks of reverting back to Policy of Isolation started.
- 5) Arms race (discussed below) was proving a drain on the resources of USSR. In early 1970s, there was unrest in Poland due to worsening economic situation and thus USSR feared for stability in the communist bloc countries.
- 6) USSR was at bad terms with China and thus wanted good US-Russia relationship when China was moving closer to US after 1971.

### **Arms Race**

Arms race is as old as rivalry among international powers and was prevalent during Colonialism, Imperialism and New Imperialism but it took a crucial turn in the two World Wars. The 1<sup>st</sup> World War witnessed use of poison gas, machine guns, tanks etc on a massive level while shelling was used for the first time via German Howitzers in the Battle of Liege against Belgian forts. The World War II had the spectacle of Blitzkrieg where there was sudden onslaught on the enemy by tanks, mechanized divisions of troops along with massive air support. Use of Atomic Bomb on Japan at the end of WW II marked another landmark.

During the Cold War, arms race reached horrifying proportions. After the Korean War (1950-53), US foreign policy was dominated by the US Secretary of State Dulles whose propositions in form of Policy of Rolling Back Communism, MAD, Brinkmanship and Nuclear Deterrence along with Eisenhower Doctrine gave a boost to the arms race.

During the Cold War, there was several dangerous started to be developed including the Atomic Bomb, Hydrogen bomb, Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABMs), Cruise, Trident and Pershing Missiles. The development of MIRVs (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles) and SS20s further made thermonuclear race reach another level. The Star Wars concept of US where it wanted to launch missiles from space was another landmark. A timeline of development of weapons has been given below.

Timeline	Weapons
1949	US and then USSR developed the <b>Atomic Bomb</b> .
1952-3	US developed <b>Hydrogen Bomb</b> at end of 1952. This bomb was much more powerful than the Atomic Bomb. By 1953, even USSR was able to develop the Hydrogen Bomb.
1957	USSR was first to develop ICBMs ( <b>Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles</b> ) in 1957. ICBM was a nuclear warhead carried by a rocket so powerful that it could reach US from USSR itself. Soon US developed its American counterpart called <b>ATLAS</b> missiles.
Also in 1950s and early 1960s	US developed and placed Short Range Nuclear Missiles named <b>Jupiter and Thor</b> and placed them in Turkey which threatened USSR.
1958 onward	<b>Disarmament:</b> There were public protests in Britain under a campaign for Nuclear disarmament but Britain took a stand that there should only be Multilateral Disarmament and discarded any unilateral disarmament.
1961-75	Here in general USSR was able to take the lead in arms race because US expenditure was targeted toward the Vietnam War.
1962	Cuban Missile crisis where Russians placed nuclear missiles in US backyard in Cuba.
1963	<b>Disarmament:</b> Russia, Britain and US signed the <b>Nuclear Test Ban Treaty</b> where they agreed that from now on only underground nuclear tests would be conducted and no tests would be conducted underwater, in air or in outer space. US agreed to remove <b>Thor &amp; Jupiter</b> (short range Nuclear missiles) from Turkey after the Cuban Missile Crisis.
1967	<b>Disarmament:</b> An agreement banned the use of Nuclear Weapons in outer space.
1970s	As discussed earlier, a relaxation in US-USSR tensions began in 1970s. <b>Disarmament:</b> In 1970 the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty ( <b>NPT 1968</b> ) came into effect. It allowed only the existing Nuclear Weapon States to have nuclear weapons and the signatory nations were barred from assisting non-Nuclear Weapon States in getting the technology to develop nuclear weapons. As a carrot to NNWS, they were to be assisted and were to have the right to develop nuclear technology for civilian purposes like power generation, use in labs etc. <b>NSG:</b> Nuclear Supplier Group was setup in 1974 when India conducted nuclear tests in the same year. The NSG is a group of nations which have the nuclear technology and the aim of NSG is to prevent nuclear proliferation. <b>SLBMs</b> (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles) were developed first by US (e.g. Poseidon and Polaris missiles). The SLBMs could be launched from submarines stationed in East Mediterranean sea. Soon Russia also started stockpiling SLBMs and ICBMs. <b>ABMs</b> (Anti-Ballistic Missiles) that could shoot down ballistic missiles in flight were first developed by USSR. <b>MIRVs</b> (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle) was first developed by US. These vehicles carried multiple missiles which could be independently launched when in flight towards multiple targets

	<p>located in different directions. USSR developed its own version named <b>SS-20</b> missiles but they were inferior as they could only be used against three targets.</p> <p><b>Disarmament:</b> An important step was taken in 1972 towards Nuclear Disarmament. <b>SALT-1 treaty</b> (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) limited the number of ICBMs, ABMs and SLBMs each side could stockpile but there was no agreement on MIRVs which hurt the spirit of disarmament.</p> <p>To overcome the shortcomings of SALT-1, the negotiations for <b>SALT-2</b> started through summit level talks between Brezhnev and Nixon with an aim to limit MIRVs and SS-20s but due to USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the SALT-2 treaty was rejected by the US Senate.</p> <p><b>Helsinki Agreement (1975)</b> was signed by Brezhnev from USSR and Gerald Ford from US along with Canada and many European nations (totaling 35 signatory nations). Here Russia promised to respect Human Rights, Right to Speech and Right to Leave the country in the communist states. The member nations recognized the existing frontiers in Europe (and thus accepted division of Germany). But the accord was non-binding as it did not have treaty status.</p> <p><b>Cruise Missiles</b> were developed by US in late 1970s. These missiles could fly at a low height and thus could evade detection by Russian radars.</p> <p><b>Afghanistan was invaded</b> in 1979 by USSR which increased tensions between US and USSR.</p>
1979-83	<p><b>During 1979-83</b> the west and the Soviet Union seemed to be on the <b>brink of a war</b>.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) West was suspicious of USSR due to Afghanistan's invasion by USSR in 1979 and this led to increase in stockpiling of nuclear warheads by both sides.</li> <li>2) NATO deployed Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe against USSR's deployment of SS-20 (which were Soviet counterparts of MIRVs). The US Senate rejected SALT 2 which would have led to reduction of MIRVs by both sides.</li> <li>3) Ronald Reagan (1981-89) began in 1983, the Star Wars or the Strategic Defence Initiative programme which would have given US the capability to launch missiles from Space.</li> </ol>
1985-91	<p>In 1980s, there were public protests in Europe against nuclear weapons development.</p> <p><b>Detente between US and USSR:</b> Gorbachev tried to improve relations with the US in a more stable manner.</p> <p><b>Disarmament: INF Treaty (1987):</b> The Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty was signed in 1987 by US (Reagan) and USSR (Gorbachev). It aimed at complete denuclearization of the world in a step-by-step manner over a 15 year period. Under the INF treaty, US and USSR agreed for destruction of all intermediate range 'land based' nuclear weapons i.e. Russian missiles placed in Czechoslovakia and East</p>

	<p>Germany and US Cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe. The treaty established a strict procedure of mutual verification of progress made by each country.</p> <p><b>Criticism of INF Treaty:</b> The land based intermediate range missiles of Russia and US amounted only to 4% of total nuclear weapons in the world at that point of time. Also, Britain and France were not part of the treaty. In fact <b>Margaret Thatcher</b>, the then Prime Minister of Britain was against denuclearization of Britain. Under her, Britain began developing the <b>Trident Missiles</b> which were better than the US Cruise missiles.</p> <p>Under the <b>NATO-Warsaw Agreement</b> (1990) both sides agreed that they would use their weapons against each other only for purposes of self defence.</p> <p>After <b>disintegration of USSR in 1991</b>, Russia inherited the nuclear stockpile of USSR. The fall of USSR led to new concerns of proliferation because now USSR and US ceased to operate as a policemen and thus there was a fear that nuclear, chemical and biological weapons may fall in hands of irresponsible states like Iran, Iraq, Libya and North Korea.</p> <p>Through the <b>1994 Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances</b>, Ukraine agreed to give its Nuclear weapons to Russia in return for assurances of territorial integrity by US, Britain and Russia.</p> <p><b>Megaton to Megawatt (1993)</b> was an agreement between US and Russia whereby the enriched Uranium from the Russian nuclear warheads was to be transported to US for degradation to enrichment levels suitable for use in civil nuclear power generation.</p> <p><b>CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty)</b> was established in 1996 and it bans all nuclear explosions in all environments, for military or civilian purposes. But it has still not been able to come into force because it has not been ratified by the required minimum number of nations. CTBT requires ratification by 44 nations before it can come to force. Recently, Indonesia has ratified it and now 8 more ratifications are left. India along with US, North Korea, China, Egypt, Iran, Israel and Pakistan has not ratified it.</p> <p><b>Other efforts at Nuclear Disarmament</b> include START I (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 1994-2010) , SORT (Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty was in force from 2003-11), START II (failed), and NEW START (will be in force from 2011 to 2021).</p> <p><b>International Bodies:</b> Many international weapon control regimes were setup in the process. The include, Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group, Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), CTBTO (UN), NSG, World Nuclear Association, OPCW (UN).</p> <p><b>Wassenaar Arrangement:</b> Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies</p> <p><b>Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG):</b> A group of countries that controls nuclear related technology and global nuclear commerce.</p> <p><b>Australia Group (AG):</b> Informal forum of countries that aims to harmonize export controls to ensure that exports do not contribute to the development of chemical or biological weapons.</p>
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	<b>Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR):</b> Informal and voluntary association of countries that share the goals of non-proliferation of unmanned delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction.
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Thus it can be said that during the Cold War, the Arms Race saw expansion in respect to quantity, quality and launch sites:

- a) **Quantity:** The quantity of nuclear, chemical and conventional warheads increased.
- b) **Quality:** Accuracy, precision and range of missiles increased.
- c) **Flexible launch sites:** now missiles could be launched not just from land but from under water, space and mobile trucks. Missiles were now characterized as
  - a. Surface to surface
  - b. Surface to air
  - c. Air to Air
  - d. Air to Surface
  - e. Submarine launched

The negative impact of arms race was on the development of the poor. The money could have been well spent on uplifting millions of people from poverty especially by focusing on development among the Third World nations which would have laid firm foundations of a North-South cooperation. The Arms Race drained the USSR of its resources and was an important reason for the fall of USSR. The arms race led to nuclearization of the world and it has led to the present day situation where there is a threat of nuclear warheads landing in the hands of non-state actors.

**Brink of War:** The world reached at the brink of war many a times during the Cold War:

- a) **West Berlin Blockade & Airlift (1948-9):** Here US placed its Bomber planes in Britain to deal with any contingency.
- b) **Cuban Missile Crisis (1962):** There was a chance of direct military conflict between the US and the USSR. It was averted by UN mediation.
- c) **1979:** In context of the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan, the tensions between the Capitalist and the Communist Bloc increased. NATO deployed Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe after Russia deployed SS-20 missiles.
- d) **1983:** US was holding war games in 1983 but Russia believed that US had launched the first nuclear strike. This brought the world at the brink of a nuclear war until the misperception was dealt with.

There is a view among experts that the Arms race did not end with the end of the Cold War and it still continues. India has become the largest arms importer in the world. Japan is gradually adopting a more aggressive stance along with Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam, Philippines etc due to increased assertiveness of China. Russia and US continue to compete, and in recent years Russia has become more assertive, be it in the case of Iran or Syria. Fears of non-state actors getting access to a nuclear warhead remain strong. Even economically weak countries like Lebanon are highly militarized. In recent years, efforts at non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament have failed as new Nuclear Weapon States like India, Pakistan, North Korea have emerged.

#### **Spread of Communism outside Europe:**

By the end of 1940s, Cold War began spreading outside Europe as communism spread to Asia, South America and Africa with each country adopting its own brand of Marxism.

**China:** The Chinese Communist Party (formed in 1921, encouraged by Russian Revolution of 1917) emerged victorious in the civil war against Kuomintang. Its pro-peasant programme and

its resilience in fighting the invading Japanese made it immensely popular among the masses. China tried to nullify the threats to communism by intervening in the Korean war (1950-3). It expanded its frontiers by invading Tibet in 1951 and then crushed the 1959 uprising (during which the Tibetans declared independence from China). After end of the 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan that ran on Soviet lines with focus on heavy industrialization, Mao introduced the Great Leap Forward (1958) with focus on Agricultural economy, gradual and decentralized industrialization. GLF was the Chinese brand of Marxism different from Soviet style socialism.

#### Korean War (1950-53):



**Background:** Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910 and remained under Japan till the end of WW II after which Korea was divided so that US and USSR can jointly organize Japanese surrender and withdrawal of US-USSR troops. North Korea was occupied by Soviet troops while the South Korea came under the domination of US. The division was not to be permanent. **United Nations and US** wanted free elections for the whole of country. The reason behind the stated position of US was that South Korea had 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Korean population and US was sure of victory of the capitalists in the elections post-unison of Korea and because of this Korea became a part of Cold War like Germany. In 1948, independent **Republic of Korea (South Korea)** was created and elections held under UN supervision. Soon after, USSR created a **Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1948)** under a communist government of Kim Il Sung.

In 1949, Russian and US troops were withdrawn but amidst a volatile situation where the Koreans resented partition and leaders of both, North and South Korea, claimed the right to rule over whole of Korea.

**Korean War begins:** The Korean War began when North Korea invaded South Korea in a bid to unite the country. The reason why North Korea took the drastic step is unclear but following aspects encouraged it:

- 1) USSR had supplied it with tanks with an aim to increase Soviet influence in the Pacific and to consolidate communism in the newly created North Korea after recent failure at Berlin Blockade. Thus North felt militarily superior.
- 2) US Secretary of State in a speech mentioned areas US will defend in the Pacific but did not mention South Korea.
- 3) China was mobilizing troops in the province facing Taiwan island which gave an impression as if China is preparing to attack Taiwan. This encouraged North Korea as it hoped that newly emerged communist China will support North Korea.

- 4) North Korea blamed South Korea for starting the war as North Korea alleged that South Korea's troops had crossed 38<sup>th</sup> parallel first.

**Role of UN:** US got alarmed at the prospect of emergence of a new communist state. North Korea was on the verge of victory when US decided to send its troops. A day after this decision US tried to get UN sanction for the military intervention. But USSR at that point of time was abstaining from meetings of UNSC and there was a debate if abstention means veto. It was during this time that UNGA adopted historic "Uniting for Peace" resolution and overruled any possible veto percolating from Russian abstention. This led to passage of UNSC resolution. It is to be noted that US had decided to intervene a day before UNSC meet and thus UNSC resolution saw light of the day only because USSR was abstaining. It was a US intervention under the cloak of UN. Also, the UNSC resolution was only to restore frontiers along 38<sup>th</sup> parallel north but the after achieving its goal, the US extracted the UNSC approval for invading North Korea. Thus UN was being dictated by US.

US was successful in pushing back North Korean forces but it now desired to unite Korea. US crossed over into the territory of North Korea and reached the Yalu River near the Chinese border.



China, had warned US not to invade North and limit itself to the restoration of original border along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. Threatened by the possibility of a pro-capitalist Korea in its immediate neighbourhood, China intervened militarily and captured Seoul. McArthur (US commander) suggested use of nuclear bomb on China and was subsequently removed from his post. The UN forces bounced back and finally the frontier was restored along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel north. The Korean war came to an end with an armistice and no peace treaty was signed. Thus the Korean war has not ended yet officially.

#### Impact of Korean War:

- 1) Both NK and SK were devastated by the war that resulted in nothing and the division seemed permanent. Both developed high mutual suspicion and an arms race began that culminated in North Korea becoming a full fledged nuclear power in 2009 (first nuclear tests in 2007). South Korea did not itself develop nuclear weapon but has umbrella protection from US. Efforts are still on for peace and creation of a united Korea.
- 2) Korean War was the first instance where US (under Truman) used military action instead of economic measures under the Policy of Containment (Truman Doctrine 1947).
- 3) Radicals in US were against not invading China and considered it as a loss of opportunity.
- 4) UN begun to be perceived by the communist countries as a tool of capitalist powers.
- 5) The Korean War improved China's image in the world as a military power and many sections

- began to view it as legitimate claimant of permanent seat in UNSC (finally attained in 1971 until which it was occupied by Chiang Kai Shek's government)
- 6) **Policy of Rolling Back Communism, MAD, Brinkmanship, Nuclear Deterrence:** The Korean War intensified the Cold War. The US foreign policy was dominated by the US Secretary of State Dulles who remained in office from 1953-59. He believed that the policy of "containment" of communism was inadequate and suggested a more aggressive **policy of "rolling back" communism** by "liberating" people from communist tyranny. He proposed some dangerous doctrines like
- a) **"Massive Retaliation"** which meant us of nuclear weapons.
  - b) **Doctrine of "Brinkmanship"** which meant creating situations which would bring the country on the verge of a war with USSR without ever actually fighting a war. The aim was to push USSR to the brink of the war after which it would be forced to grant concessions to US. By 1953, both US and USSR had Atomic and Hydrogen bombs and the brinkmanship doctrine threatened the existence of humanity itself.
  - c) **Doctrine of MAD:** This was used to justify the arms buildup. According to the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction, a Nuclear Weapon State wont risk using nuclear weapons against another Nuclear Weapon State because in such a situation both would end up destroying each other.
  - d) **Doctrine of Nuclear Deterrence:** This meant development of nuclear weapons to ensure that no other country would risk a war with a Nuclear Weapon State for fear of a retaliatory nuclear attack. This policy justified the development of nuclear weapons in world on pretext of maintaining peace in world. This doctrine led to Britain developing its own nuclear weapons in 1957. China, France and more recently India, Pakistan and North Korea have developed their own deterrent.
- 7) Cold War became intense because Korean War led to strained relations between China-US and USSR-US. Also several military alliances began to appear in Asia and the Pacific:
- a) China supported communist Vietminh in Indochina's struggle for independence against France. China offered aid to underdeveloped nations in Asia, South America and Africa. With India and Burma, China signed agreements for "peaceful coexistence". China wanted to capture Taiwan but US had setup a military base in Taiwan and committed itself to Taiwan's protection.
  - b) After the end of Suez War (1956), the Arab countries drew closer to Soviet Union. This prompted President Eisenhower to propose **Eisenhower Doctrine** which implied giving economic and military aid to countries of this region to check "international communism".
  - c) US began encirclement of China by setting up military bases. Example, US signed a defence agreement with Australia and New Zealand in 1951. **SEATO** (South East Asia Treaty Organization 1954-77) was formed by Manila Pact in 1954 and led by US, Britain, France, New Zealand and Australia. US was disappointed when only three Asian nations joined SEATO viz Pakistan, Philippine and Thailand. It was intended to check spread of communism and was to be a NATO like organization. It failed due to internal differences and was dissolved in 1977.
  - d) Soon after formation of SEATO, the **Baghdad Pact** was signed which brought Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan into a military alliance with US. When Iraq, left the Baghdad Pact after a revolution which overthrew the monarchy, the Baghdad Pact was renamed as the Central Treaty Organization (**CENTO**). These military alliances were used to support many undemocratic regimes in Asia. US armed these regimes to their teeth and this led to tensions between the members of these alliances and the neighboring countries who refused to join these alliances. It was in this context that NAM (1961) was born. Example, India did not join SEATO and followed policy of Non-Alignment culminating in **Non Aligned Movement (1961)**.

**Cuba:**

Cuban revolution served as a precursor for the Cuban missile crisis. Therefore, it is important to understand the Cuban revolution and history behind it.

**Causes of Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) or of resentment against US:**

- 1) **Interference in internal affairs:** In 1898, US helped Cuba gain independence from Spain (Spanish American War, 1898). Since then there was resentment among many Cubans over excessive influence of US in Cuba. US troops were deployed frequently to restore order. Also Cuban economy came under US domination.
- 2) **US control over Cuban economy:** US companies invested a lot in Cuban economy. They owned more than 50% of land in Cuba, 3/5<sup>th</sup> of railways and all electricity production. US companies had controlling shareholding in all Cuban industries (nickel, copper, sugar, tobacco, iron etc) and monopoly over Cuban oil refineries. US influence may not have been resented, had it brought some prosperity to the Cubans.
- 3) **Poor Social Indicators:** There was concentration of wealth and of ownership of land in the country. There was huge contrast between the poverty of the masses and the wealth of the corrupt officials. Thus increasing the social tension. Cuba had poor social indicators and lack of any unemployment benefit. Seasonal unemployment became a serious problem as unemployment varied from 8% during months of sugarcane harvest to 30% during rest of the year. The trade unions were dominated by sugar mill workers who had all-year-round jobs and they failed to do enough for workers from other sectors.
- 4) **Weaknesses of Economy:** Cuba was over dependent on sugar exports and the economy did not witness sufficient industrial diversification. Cuba depended heavily on US for its exports (especially sugar) and US aid.
- 5) **Lack of good governance:** No effective political system was developed. There was lack of institutions that could ensure good governance. In 1952, Batista, a former army sergeant, seized power illegally and began to rule like a dictator. His government was readily recognized by US. Batista's regime was brutal and corrupt. The students were especially opposed to Batista.
- 6) **Violent revolution became necessary:** In 1952, elections were supposed to happen and anti-corruption protests by students were happening simultaneously. Fidel Castro, a lawyer activist from middle class background, emerged as a leader. Batista did a coup preventing Anti-Corruption Party of Castro winning elections. Castro started protests against Batista and made a failed attempt in 1953 to overthrow Batista. Castro was released after 2 years as public pressure mounted on Batista who then had to grant amnesty to political prisoners. Castro toured US to gather support among US Cubans & to gather funds. He went to Mexico as well and there he met Che Guevara and formed a revolutionary group with Che as 1st commander of Castro's Guerrilla force. Castro came to Cuba with 82 men via sea to attempt another coup. Many were captured by Batista's forces & only 21 escaped including Che & Castro. Castro & Che trained the villagers in warfare and they even raised a women battalion. Fidel Castro implemented land reforms in mountain areas that came under his control and this made him gain popular support of the masses.
- 7) **Batista's repression:** It was brutal and many suspects were tortured and killed and this shifted the public opinion (especially of the middle class which was crucial for Batista) further against Batista. The morale of poorly paid army (which formed the main support base of Batista along with businessmen & middle class) was down by 1958 because of failure to defeat Castro's forces. US had supported Batista earlier but stopped supplying arms after the gross violations of human rights. This was a big blow for Batista and the guerrilla's victory seemed certain.
- 8) **Success of Revolution (1959):** Che Guevara, an Argentinian, gave crucial support to Castro's campaign. In 1959, at age of 32, Castro overthrew Batista who flew to Dominican Republic.

Many of his supporters fled to Miami in US (thus till today Miami has a strong anti-Cuba lobby). A liberal government was established in Cuba with Castro at its head.

**9) Fidel in Power (1959-2010):** Batista's supporters who didn't flee Cuba were tried. Some CIA members were also among these people and thus US was opposed to these trials. Then Castro went to US to build better understanding. Eisenhower was President and Nixon the Vice President. Eisenhower refused to meet Castro and Nixon labeled him a Communist. During his visit, a hotel in Harlem had refused to allow Castro to stay. Then a black owned hotel named Theresa invited Castro to stay. In this hotel, many world leaders including Nikita Krushchev came to meet him. Nikita said "I don't know if Castro is a Communist but I am a Fidelist". Leader of Black Americans, Malcolm also visited Theresa Hotel. Some of the important landmarks in Cuba during Castro's regime were:

**a) Fidel's Reform Programme:** Back home disappointed, Fidel began his reform programme:

- i. **Land Reforms:** Fidel began by redistribution of land to reduce concentration of land ownership. 70% of land belonged to foreigners in Cuba, especially US, and thus US government was opposed to Castro's land reforms.
- ii. **Social Reforms:** After Land Reforms, Cuba targeted education & health. Many young people went to remote areas to teach the farmers kids.
- iii. **Nationalization:** Castro next wanted US Oil Refineries to process Soviet Crude but they refused & Castro began nationalization of Oil Refineries. In response US put sanctions on Cuba. Angered, Castro responded by nationalization of all utilities.
- iv. **US trade embargo:** As a response, US put Trade embargo on Cuba (US stopped import of Cuban Sugar from 1960). Cuban economy was always heavily dependent on sugar exports and US was its main export market. The embargo hurt Cuban economy and it was now that USSR promised to buy Cuban sugar.
- v. Castro always supported Sports. With many Cubans being descendants of African immigrants, Cuba has consistently been in top 10 ranks of Olympic medals.

**b) Bay of Pigs:** It was a US supported invasion of Cuba by Cubans in exile in US. The attack was planned under Eisenhower and executed during Kennedy's term. Kennedy vetoed use of US forces and thus the Bay of Pigs was carried out by Cubans in exile (particularly in Miami). Fidel Castro himself led the Cuban defence and won the battle in 72 hrs. The perpetrators were captured & later exchanged with US for baby food.

**c) Cuban form of Socialism:** After 1961 Bay of Pigs, Cuba became communist state and cemented the One Party System. (It is to be noted that the term "**Communist State**" is used in the west and not by communist regimes themselves because the latter consider Communism to be phase that would begin after consolidation or full maturation of socialism in the society and thus they prefer to use terms like "Democratic People's Republic", "Republic", "Socialist Republic" etc e.g. Cuba is called Republic of Cuba).

In Cuba, only one party, the Communist Party, is allowed and even this party cannot campaign for candidates or field candidates for election. Candidates are elected on an individual referendum basis without formal party involvement and thus the elected assemblies can consist of candidates who are not members of Communist party.

**Fidel's declaration came after Bay of Pigs (1961)** because Fidel wanted Soviet support to protect the Cuban revolution and to sustain his Universal Health & Education reforms. Thus Castro wasn't a communist (was a liberal nationalist) to begin with but he became one. He declared that *he was a Marxist & Cuba a socialist country. His is a policy of Socialism.*

**d) Cuba and USSR:** As Cuba-US relations worsened, Cuba-USSR relations improved and so did the Soviet aid. Fidel constantly strove for Cuban independence in foreign policy

from Soviet Union and to balance Cuban dependence on USSR with Cuban autonomy and sovereignty. He joined NAM (1961) in the first year of its formation. But ironically, he soon got embroiled in Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962).

e) **Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962):** Here Cuba agreed to keep Soviet nuclear surface-to-surface missiles (surface to surface missiles are for offensive while surface to air missiles are for defence). The reason behind Nikita's action who had espoused peaceful coexistence with the west in 1956, lay in the events like

- i. shooting down of U2 spy plane of US (1960),
- ii. Tensions in Berlin (Berlin Wall erected in 1961. Krushchev probably wanted to use missiles in Cuba to pressurize US, Britain and France to withdraw from West Berlin.)
- iii. Vietnam War had begun in 1961 where US was militarily intervening against the communists while China and Russia were supporting the communists.
- iv. USSR wanted to show solidarity with Fidel Castro who was at receiving end of US. In 1961 US had ended diplomatic relations with Cuba and the trade embargo by US was hurting Cuban sugar exports. The Bay of Pigs event happened in 1961.
- v. USSR had lost lead in ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) to ATLAS missiles.
- vi. The more important reason was presence of Jupiter and Thor missiles in Turkey (Russian backyard) and USSR wanted to teach a lesson to US about how it feels to have enemy missiles in one's backyard and to bargain for removal of these missiles.

US soon detected Soviet missiles. This was a time when the world reached on the brink of a nuclear war. US began blockade of Cuba to keep out Russian ships bringing missiles to Cuba. Finally, in 1963, UN negotiated a compromise between J.F Kennedy and Krushchev whereby:

1. USSR took the decision to remove the missiles. But the decision was taken without taking Fidel into confidence. Fidel was furious but later Krushchev invited him to USSR & the old good relationship was restored. Some argue that US-USSR agreement involved a secret clause of US promising not to attack Cuba again.
2. US removed Thor & Jupiter (short range Nuclear missiles) from Turkey
3. A hotline was established between Washington and Moscow.
4. Russia, US and Britain signed a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Now only underground Nuclear tests were allowed to prevent any environment pollution from nuclear tests.

f) South African Border War (1966-89): This war was part of the Cold war and was fought in Angola and South-West Africa (now Namibia). On one side was South Africa aided by US while on other side was Angolan government, South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and allies (mainly Cuba). During WW I, South Africa had invaded and took control of German South West Africa on behalf of allied powers and then the League of Nations had given it to South Africa as a mandate. SWAPO was fighting for freedom in South-West Africa. In 1975, Angola gained independence from Portugal and the Marxist MPLA government (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) came to power. MPLA had fought the Angola war of independence from 1961-75. From 1975 onward, MPLA provided safe havens for SWAPO guerrillas and USSR also supported SWAPO through aid and training of fighters - which led to South African invasion of Angola.

Cuba sent troops to prevent South African troops from invading Angola. They defeated the South African forces and this served as an important event in progress towards end of Apartheid in South Africa. It was a big moral defeat and enthused Blacks in their movement in South Africa.

- g) South American Revolutions:** Then some Latin American nations witnessed violent revolutions e.g. Bolivia.
- h) Death of Che (1967):** After 1959, Che held important offices like finance minister, head of the National Bank and he was responsible for military training of Cuban soldiers. Che could not fight in Bay of Pigs 1961 as one day before the invasion he was sent to deal with an attack (turned out to be fake) by US warships on the west coast. Later Che left Cuba in 1965 to support other communist revolutions unsuccessfully first in Republic of Congo (in favor of anti-American guerrilla groups). He blamed the corruption among African revolutionary fighters for failure) and then in Bolivia (against the military dictatorship) where he was captured by CIA assisted Bolivian forces & executed in Bolivia (1967).
- i) Peaceful 2nd phase of Communist Revolutions in South America:** Later revolutions in Latin America were through peaceful means (e.g. Chile under Salvador Allende 1970-3). Castro agreed that arms have less efficacy in changing the society as the masses become more aware and intellectual.
- j) Cuba after USSR:** Fall of USSR put Cuba into a crisis and everyone thought the government will fall in a year or so. But Castro leadership helped preserve Cuban revolution. Castro signed trade agreements with EU & Canada which led to some JVs & agreements in Tobacco & Sugarcane sector. After this many MNCs like Bayer & DHL set shop in Cuba. All this led to good forex earning.
- k) Castro** is one of the greatest symbol of 3rd world resilience. If David is remembered for fighting Goliath, then Cuba will be remembered as a much smaller David fighting with a much bigger Goliath.
- l) UN for Cuba:** Many resolutions were passed many times asking US to end Trade Embargo.
- **Socialism in Cuba today:** Under Raul Castro (2010), Cuba has moved towards China type model of Socialism with presence of market forces. As later as 2013, Raul Castro has defended the essentiality of One Party system in preserving socialism. He argued that Multi-Party democracy eventually gets hijacked by the capitalist class and threatens socialism. Raul Castro has issued a diktat that limits the term of important leaders to two terms. Thus, like China, Cuba has for economic reforms without going for political reforms. Following were some of the reform initiatives introduced by Raul Castro (2010):
    - a) Slimming down of State operations. Lay offs from government companies to check Fiscal Deficit and encourage laid off government employees to start small businesses.
    - b) Government also released many political prisoners
    - c) Still Socialism/Communism is not given up by Cuba. There is a thrust to the private sector without giving up Communism. Planned development will continue to be paramount rather than a free market economy. Thus, Cuba under Raul aims to have a mixed economy.

### Vietnam

Indochina refers to a region in South-East Asia comprising of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. It was part of French colonial empire. Indochina had come under Japanese occupation during the WW II as Vichy France had agreed to Japanese control of Indochina. During the WWII the struggle for independence in the colonies was many a times led by communist organizations. Vietminh or League for Vietnamese Independence under Ho Chi Min was leading the independence struggle in Vietnam. After Japanese defeat in WWII, the French refused to decolonize Indochina. Thus Vietminh fought against the Japanese during the WW II and then against the French. Vietminh declared independence from France in 1945 and this led to beginning of first phase of struggle in Vietnam or what is also known as the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina war(1946-54).

USSR supported Ho Chi Min. China supported Vietminh with arms and equipments after 1950. This led to US helping the French with arms and economic aid as they viewed China's intervention as part of the Cold War. In the neighborhood Korea was also under the communist threat (Korean War 1950-3). Thus Vietnam became part of the Cold War. But the French were weak after the WW II and they could not deal with the guerrilla war tactics of Vietminh. The French were economically weak and could not afford a long drawn military engagement. Finally, **Geneva Agreement (1954)** was signed after the French suffered a debacle where the Vietnamese besieged 12000 French troops at a place called Dien Bien Phu. According to this agreement, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia were given independence and Vietnam was divided along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The division was to be temporary and elections were to be held after which the country was to be united.

### **Why Civil War in Vietnam after Geneva Agreement (1954)?**

Elections were to be held in 1956 for formation of a government for united Vietnam. Ho Chi Min (who had formed a temporary government in North Vietnam) was confident of victory in the elections. But Vietnam suffered from the same fate as in Korea. The government in South Vietnam refused to hold elections fearing a communist victory. This resulted in a civil war in South Vietnam with an aim for uniting the country. The Ho Chi Min government in North Vietnam actively supported the revolutionaries in South Vietnam while the US was determined to prevent emergence of a united Vietnam under communist rule.

### **Vietnam War (1961-75)**

US President Eisenhower (1953-61) was a supporter of the **Domino Theory**. He feared that a domino effect was in play. After China, North Korea had emerged as communist and if South Vietnam also goes the communist way then sooner or later the communist revolution would reach all other Southeast Asian nations and entire Asia would come under communism. In Japan, this would threaten the huge US investments (US had invested a lot in Japan after the WW II to make it a thriving capitalist country to contain the spread of communism in the Far East).

The government of Diem in South Vietnam was unpopular due to rampant corruption and inefficiency in governance. He neglected all criticism of his government as communist propaganda. Also, 3/4<sup>th</sup> of Vietnamese population was comprised of Buddhist peasants who felt discriminated against under the government of President Diem who belonged to a wealthy Roman Catholic family. The peasants in South Vietnam demanded Land reforms on line of China and North Vietnam but this demand was not fulfilled. Also Diem was seen by the people as a US puppet.

All this led to all opposition groups, the former Vietminh communists and the non-communists, forming the National Liberation Front in 1960. The NLF demanded a coalition government which would peacefully negotiate with the North Vietnam for forming a united Vietnam.

The demand of NLF being rejected, the **Vietcong**, the communist organization in South Vietnam, began guerrilla warfare. Many Buddhist monks self-immolated to protest against the government. Diem rejected every criticism as a communist propaganda. In 1963, Diem was murdered in an Army coup and till 1975, South Vietnam was ruled by military generals. Meanwhile the guerrilla war by Vietcong continued.

From 1961 to 1975, under Presidencies of Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, US got militarily involved in South Vietnam against the Vietcong which was being actively supported in form of troops, arms and aid by Ho Chi Min's North Vietnam. USSR and China also got involved and supported the communists.

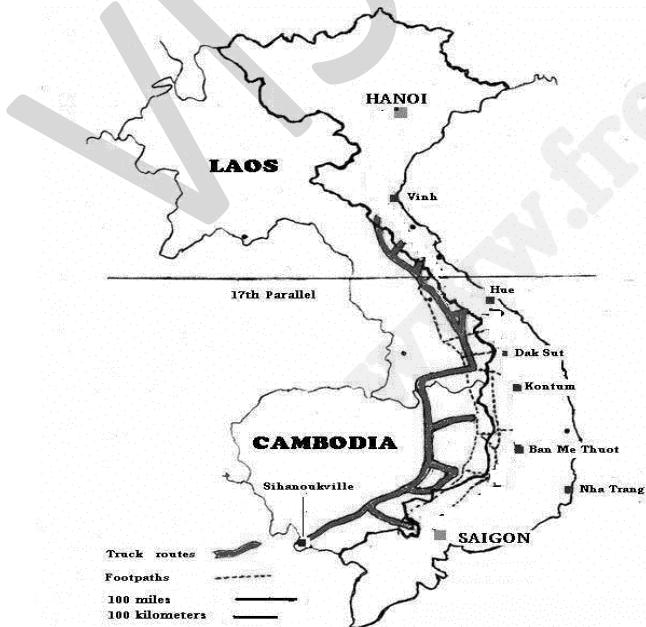
**US efforts in Vietnam:** US used brutal power in the Vietnam war including heavy bombing, use of Napalm jelly that burnt people alive and use of chemical gas that destroyed all vegetation

and forests (this was done to expose the guerrillas who would seek refuge in agricultural fields and forests to escape.).

- 1) **Under Kennedy (1961-3):** Safe Village Policy was initiated. It entailed moving peasants into safe or fortified villages and thus isolate and freely attack the Vietcong cadres. Kennedy kept US role to minimum and limited to anti-guerrilla campaign. He sent helicopters and 16000 "advisers" to aid South Vietnam government.
- 2) **Under Johnson (1963-69):** He bombed North Vietnam from 1965 to 1968 as he believed that Vietcong and NLF had no local presence/control in South Vietnam and to win the war in South Vietnam requires destroying North Vietnam. Under Johnson, US dropped more bombs on North Vietnam than were dropped on Germany during the WWII. Under him US got heavily involved and sent a million US troops to South Vietnam. Johnson had to stop bombing North Vietnam due to high public opposition within US. In 1968, US troops had shot 500 people at point blank.
- 3) **Under Nixon (1969-74)** US did not send more troops. He followed a policy of Vietnamization which entailed withdrawal of US troops in a gradual manner and to simultaneously rearm and train South Vietnam's army to make it solely responsible for the defence of South Vietnam. Nixon also restarted bombing North Vietnam and began bombing the Ho Chi Min trail. Thus Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia all came under US shelling. The government in Cambodia was overthrown and a pro-US military dictatorship was installed. So what actually led to the failure of US troops in Vietnam.

#### The US failed in Vietnam because:

- 1) There was wide public support for Vietcong and the National Liberation Front. Within the NLF, the communists were only of the groups and not the only group. Had US focused its energies on pushing the government for solving the public grievances against inefficient governance, US would have been in a better position to contain communism but by not doing so it indirectly encouraged communism.
- 2) **Guerrilla tactics and Camouflaging:** Vietcong, like Vietminh, was very efficient in its guerrilla campaign. The members of Vietcong easily mixed up with the peasants evading US military campaigns. This camouflaging technique helped the Vietcong guerrilla to defeat the US Safe Village Policy that entailed vacating peasants from villages to isolate and then freely attack Vietcong.
- 3) **Ho Chi Min Trail:**



- 4) It was a supply route used by Ho Chi Min's North Vietnam and Vietcong to supply food, arms, aid etc to South Vietnam from the North Vietnam. The route followed was - from North Vietnam move parallel to Laos Vietnam frontier, then cross Laos Cambodia border and move parallel to Cambodia Vietnam border to finally enter South Vietnam at its southern most edge. The US heavily bombed the Ho Chi Min trail but still it failed to cut the trail and thus the Vietcong got continued supply from North Vietnam, USSR and China.
- 5) **Support of USSR and China** in form of arms and other supplies was crucial. Especially after 1970, Russian military aid in form of anti-aircraft missiles, tanks and machine guns proved vital for Vietcong's victory.
- 6) **Resilience of North Vietnamese:** They suffered high casualty yet continued to resist the US. They built factories outside the cities and evacuated people from the cities to minimize casualties from US shelling.
- 7) **End of the War:** By 1973, the public opinion in US was heavily in favour of ending the US involvement in the war. Many US soldiers had lost their lives, US forces had used inhumane means like Napalm Jelly and chemical weapons and yet the victory was nowhere in sight. Also USSR and China were tired of the war. In 1973, Nixon signed a ceasefire agreement. All US troops were withdrawn but the division along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel was to be respected by North and South Vietnam. In 1975, Vietcong brought South Vietnam under its control and North Vietnam and South Vietnam were united under a communist regime. Laos and Cambodia also emerged as communist states in 1975. Thus by 1975, US policy of containment had failed in the South East Asia.

### Chile

Chile became the first multi-party democracy where a communist leader was elected to power and this came to be known as the first peaceful communist revolution. The Marxist leader was Salvador Allende ruled Chile from 1970-3. The election of Allende made Fidel Castro to remark that as the society become more intellectual, the violent means begin to lose their efficacy for bringing about a communist revolution.

Salvador Allende believed that communism can be brought about without a violent revolution. Chile had a tradition of a thriving democracy unlike most other South American nations that had brutal right wing governments supported by US.

**Frei** was the leader before Allende and his government lasted from 1965 to 1970. During his regime, US had supported Chile with aid and investments even when Frei had attempted socialist reforms in form of land redistribution and nationalization of some US owned copper mines. Copper was Chile's most important industry. This was because Frei's government did some good work. It was able to decrease inflation and it invested a lot in building housing infrastructure and schools. Moreover, the US companies were fairly compensated for their losses due to nationalization.

### **Why Allende won 1970 elections?**

Despite good work by Frei, Allende was able to win the 1970 elections. This was because:

1. Both the left and the right wing leaders were against Frei. The left wing parties wanted complete nationalization of copper mines while the right wing leaders felt that the government has already went too far with the socialist reforms.
2. In 1969 Chile witnessed a serious drought and there was high food inflation. High amount of food imports had to be made. The industry was also stagnating and there was high poverty. In such a scenario, when miners called for a strike demanding higher wages, many of them were shot dead in police repression. This led to Allende coming to power in 1970.

### **Allende's policies:**

- 1) He imposed price caps on companies.

- 2) Implemented all round increase in wages.
- 3) Went ahead with nationalization of banks, copper and textile industry.
- 4) Hastened the program of land reforms.
- 5) Restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, China and East Germany.

### **Why Coup?**

There was a fear among the right wing parties that Allende would bring in constitutional amendments to be able to run for 2<sup>nd</sup> term as President. Also some other reasons were:

- a) Land redistribution led to decrease in agricultural production that led to food shortages and consequent food inflation. This was so because farmers whose land was due to be confiscated stopped sowing and slaughtered cattle like the Russian Kulaks during collectivization in Stalin's USSR.
- b) The socialist reforms frightened away the private investors and thus government was short of funds for its social reform programme.
- c) Nationalization of Copper industry, which was mainstay of Chile's economy, led to frequent strikes by the workers that led to decrease in copper production which further hurt government revenues.
- d) The communists grew impatient with Allende's caution and themselves began violent programme of land redistribution.
- e) US and the right wing governments in rest of South America feared a spread of communist revolution in the continent.

**The Coup:** The Right wing political leaders and the military was responsible for the coup. The CIA and the repressive military government in Brazil played an important role in preparation of the coup. In 1973, Allende was removed in a military coup by General Pinochet with help of US support and later killed. Pinochet's military dictatorship regime (1973-89) was brutal and was characterized by gross violations of human rights. It was ironical that the flag bearer of democracy and human rights, the USA, supported Pinochet's rule in Chile. In 1989, Pinochet allowed elections and his candidate was defeated heavily. Pinochet allowed the winner to become President but continued to remain the Army Chief.

**Africa:** Mozambique and Angola came under governments with strong Marxist connections after their independence.

### **China-Russia relations during the Cold War:**

- ❖ **Good relationship till 1956:** Stalin maintained a good relationship with Mao's China.
  - 1950: China and USSR signed a Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship.
  - USSR gave economic aid to China and Russian advisers helped China in preparation of its 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan (1953-8).
  - China sided with USSR in the Cold War. It invaded Korea in favor of communist regime in North Korea. USSR had aided North Korea in its rearmament.
- ❖ **Why did relations deteriorate post 1956:**
  - China was against Revisionism of USSR under Nikita Krushchev. Mao opposed the soft approach of peaceful existence adopted by Krushchev towards the capitalist west. Under Krushchev, Russia aimed at spread of communism not by violent means but by showing supremacy of Soviet economic system. In response of Chinese criticism, USSR decreased aid to China.
  - **Boundary dispute (1970s):** China demanded back the huge area taken by Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1858, Russia had forced China to hand over huge territory north of the River Amur establishing much of the modern border between Russian Far East and Manchuria (China).
  - **Vietnam, USSR and China:** In 1970s, USSR and China were both competing amongst each other for leadership of the communist world. Things became complicated when

Vietnam supported USSR. China had been embroiled in a territorial dispute with Vietnam over Paracel and Spratly islands in South China sea since 1940s and in 1974, China took over whole of Paracel islands from Vietnam in the Battle of Paracel Islands.



In 1988, there was a naval conflict between the two over Spratly islands and Chinese naval vessels sunk Vietnamese transport ships killing 64 Vietnamese soldiers. The China-USSR relations hit the rock bottom when China invaded Vietnam (February 1979) in opposition of Vietnamese invasion of Pol Pot's Cambodia. Vietnam had invaded communist Cambodia in December 1978, overthrew the Khmer Rouge government of Pol Pot who was a Chinese puppet and installed a pro-Vietnam government. [\***Khmer Rouge** was the name given to the followers of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in Cambodia. It supported North Vietnam and Vietcong in the Vietnam War (1961-75). Cambodia emerged as a communist state in 1975. The party was formed in 1968 and ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 under Pol Pot]. Vietnam did this under considerable provocation, as the Pol Pot regime was extremely hostile to Vietnam, carried out a major ethnic cleansing of Vietnamese within Cambodia, and mounted a series of cross-border attacks that cost many Vietnamese lives. There was a border dispute between Vietnam and Cambodia and the latter invaded an island of Vietnam. There Cambodian forces engaged in a massacre. Vietnam's invasion was therefore based on, and a response to, serious Cambodian provocations. China withdrew from Vietnam after three weeks after "teaching a lesson" to Vietnam but actually China had lost as it failed to capture Hanoi. In 1989, Vietnam withdrew troops from Cambodia and China-Vietnam relations improved thereafter until recently when disputes over islands in South China Sea resurfaced.

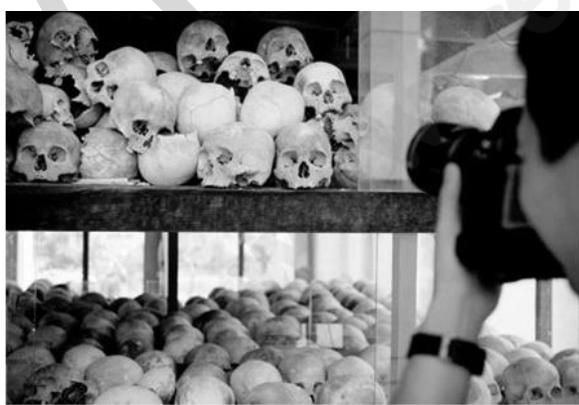


Fig: The skulls of Khmer Rouge victims are displayed in a memorial to the genocide at the Killing Fields Museum outside of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. In 2012, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen said Vietnam had saved his country in the 1970s, not invaded it.

- In 1984 China listed its grievances against Russia:
  - ◆ Presence of Russian troops in Afghanistan since 1979.
  - ◆ Russian support to Vietnam troops in Cambodia (1978 onward).
  - ◆ Russian troops buildup at Chinese borders along Mongolia and Manchuria.
- ❖ Detente post 1985:
  - Gorbachev tried for improvement in relations with China. Both countries signed agreements on Trade and Economic cooperation. Gorbachev began troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1986.
  - In 1989, Vietnam withdrew troops from Cambodia and this eased tensions between China and Vietnam & Russia.

### China-US relations during the Cold War

#### Mutual hostility till 1971:

- 1) The relationship was hostile since Korean War (1950-3).
- 2) US supported Chiang Kai Shek
- 3) US military base in Taiwan has always been a bone of contention.
- 4) US blocked People's Republic of China's entry into UNSC till 1971 claiming that Taiwan (Republic of China) was the legitimate representative of China.
- 5) China supported Ho Chi Minh during the second phase of war in Vietnam (1961-75).

**Detente since 1971 :** Detente implies a permanent relaxation in tensions.

In 1971, China gave a surprise invite to the US Table Tennis team to China to which US responded by allowing China entry into UNSC. This came to be known as Ping Pong diplomacy. Thus China became UNSC member in October 1971. But this development had more to it than an invitation to a sports event. At that time the relationship between China and Russia was not very warm. In the 1970s, both China and USSR were vying for being the leader of the communist world. There was also a boundary dispute between the two as mentioned earlier. Also in 1971 Bangladesh War of independence from Pakistan, China and US supported the Pakistani cause while India and USSR were in favor of Bangladesh's independence. Further, by 1971, China and US were tired of their involvement in Vietnam and wanted truce.

Nixon (1969-74), Ford (1974-77) and Carter (1977-81) - all maintained a healthy relationship with China. But Taiwan continued to remain the irritant in the eye. US had a military base in Taiwan and US government continued to support the Nationalists (KMT) even after the death of Chiang Kai Shek in 1975. Finally, it was in 1978 that US President Carter withdrew recognition to the government of the Nationalists in Taiwan as government of the whole of China. In 1979, US recognized the People's Republic of China and the two countries exchanged ambassadors.

Both US and China were against USSR's invasion of **Afghanistan** in 1979. In 1980s relations continued to be good because of poor relations between USSR and China (like Russia was opposed to Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979 because it considered Vietnam as its ally). In 1985 US and China signed a landmark Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement.

**End of Detente:** The Tienanmen Square incident (1989) where Deng Xiaoping cracked down heavily on pro-democracy protesters was deeply criticized by US. Further, in 1996, the tensions between US and China were high when China held naval exercise in Taiwan Straits against forthcoming democratic elections in Taiwan. The recent aggressive posturing of China with respect to its claims over the whole of South China Sea and some islands in East China Sea have caused alarm among US and its allies. The US consequently has rebalanced its naval presence in favor of Asia Pacific at expense of Atlantic. This is famously called as US's Asia Pivot. US is opposed to lack of transparency in China's fiscal and monetary policies. It opposes China's policy of administered exchange rate of currency as US feels China deliberately keeps its

currency devalued to make its exports more competitive. In other areas like Climate Change and Cyber Security, US and China are many times at loggerheads. Yet from time to time there appear blinkers of healthy cooperation between the two nations.

### 34.5. End of Cold War

With end of communism in Eastern Europe from August 1988 to December 1991 and disintegration of USSR in December 1991, Cold War came to an end.

**Reverse Domino Effect operated:** US had been worried about domino effect in emergence of communist countries. The reverse of the same happened when fall of communism in Poland in August 1988 started a wave which resulted in fall of communism in whole of Eastern Europe and later in USSR.

**Death of Stalin:** Leaders who followed Stalin propounded peaceful co-existence of nations

**Poland:** In August 1988, the Solidarity Trade Union's huge anti-government strike forced the communist government to hold free elections in which the communists were defeated.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)** In 1972 an agreement was signed between US and the USSR to limit the number of certain types of missiles.

**Undermining of military alliances:** Albania walked out of the Warsaw pact because of several reasons. At the same time, Romania began taking independent decisions. France not only withdrew military contingency from NATO but also removed all the NATO bases.

**Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1963** The treaty banned nuclear testing in atmosphere, outer space and underwater and agreed to carry out nuclear test only underground. Some of the countries to sign this treaty were US, UK and USSR.

**Fall of Communism in East Europe:** Soon revolutionary public protests spread to all Russian satellite states. Free elections were held in Hungary and the communists were defeated. Communist government in East Germany resigned at end of 1989 and the Berlin wall was breached. In summer of 1990 Germany was united. Similarly, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania overthrew the communist governments at end of 1989. Free multiparty elections were held in Yugoslavia in 1990, in Albania in 1991 and finally in December 1991 the leader of the communist bloc USSR disintegrated bringing 74 years of communist rule to an end.

Economic failure of communism in Eastern Europe & USSR and the policies adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev, as discussed under the topic of Socialism, were the reasons behind fall of communism and thus the end of cold war.

#### ***Effect of end of Cold War on International Relations:***

- 1) **Decrease in East-West enmity:** The newly emerged states of former USSR were not viewed as enemies by the Western countries. In 1990 Warsaw (1955) and NATO (1949) had signed an agreement to use weapons against each other only for self-defence.
- 2) **Separatism among and hostility between former communist countries:** This was because of nationalism within each of the erstwhile communist country. This nationalism was earlier suppressed by communism which brought these countries together. Sometimes disputes were settled peacefully like Czechoslovakia (formed in 1918) was divided into Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993. But many a times the disputes turned violent like
  - a) War between Azerbaijan and Armenia (both former republics of USSR) over a territorial dispute.
  - b) Violent civil war in Georgia because the northern part wanted secession.
  - c) The breaking up of Yugoslavia broke into five states of Serbia (with Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia was one of the worst violent events.

- d) In Bosnia there was a civil war for secession that was fought between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. A ceasefire was achieved only in 1995. It is to be noted that during Cold War, US would interfere and send help in the name of its international responsibility but here it refused to contribute troops to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force and this caused temporary strain in Europe-US relations. Similarly it refused to intervene to stop the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 because it had no vested interest at stake.

**Thus** it can be said that while the Western Europe was in process of economic unity at the turn of the century, the Eastern Europe was in process of witnessing disintegration and disharmony.

- 3) Threat of nuclear proliferation has increased because now there is no USSR to police other states along with US.
- 4) Economic problems of former communist states have continued.
- 5) The creation of a united Germany led to immigration problems. As the Eastern Europe was burning after the Cold War many refugees from these regions immigrated into Germany in 1992. This led to protests in Germany by neo-Nazis.

## European Unity

### 35. Europe after 1945

*Let us first have a brief recap of situation after World War II.* The period from 1945 to 1959 saw an era of beginning of co-operation between the nations. Europe had to witness a second catastrophe, World War II (1939-1945), so that it fully becomes aware of the suicidal tendencies that nationalist rivalry had led the continent to. The necessity of some type of European integration in a new way to reorder the European political map became evident.

Three realities evinced the necessity of this new orientation towards the European integration:

- Firstly, the Europeans' awareness of their own weakness. 2nd World War had put a definitive end to the traditional European hegemony in the world. The two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had a very superior economic, political and military might than the heterogeneous group of European States.
- Secondly, the conviction that it was necessary to avoid, by all possible means, coming back to a confrontation among European States. The two world wars had begun as European civil wars and European continent had been the main battle field in both. Essentially, it was a question of searching an accommodation between France and Germany. A compromise that would be endorsed by the USA. The European integration would have paved the way to guarantee peace.
- Thirdly, the extended desire among many Europeans to create a freer, fairer and more prosperous continent in which the international relationships were developed in a framework of concord.

**Suggested solution:** Some suggested that a joint effort is best and therefore Europe should move towards a US type of federation.

**Splitting up of Europe:** But then the Europe split into Eastern and Western Europe (capitalist and communist bloc) because of introduction of Marshall Aid (1947-51) dashing the dream of a united Europe and from 1947 onward the two parts of Europe developed separately because of Iron Curtain imposed by Stalin. **Now let us study the Efforts at unity of Western and Eastern Europe separately.**

**Western Europe recovery:** The Western Europe recovered quickly thanks to the Marshall Aid. The United States, applying the denominated Truman Doctrine to curb the expansion of communism and of the Soviet Union, launched the Marshall Plan to alleviate the difficulties of European countries. It was to foster economic development in a destroyed Europe with the political objective of impeding the extension of the communism.

Several efforts were made to ensure the unity of Western Europe some of them have been discussed below in detail.

**Efforts at unity of Western Europe:** This included striving for economic, political and military unity. The major steps included formation of NATO (1949), Council of Europe (1949), Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC 1948) and European Economic Community (1957). *Some of these have been discussed below under different heads.*

### 35.1. OEEC (1948)

- a) It was the first step towards **economic unity in European countries**.
- b) Organization for European Economic Cooperation was a precursor to present day OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development).
- c) **Trigger:** Trigger was the Marshal Aid (1947). Britain organized a group of 16 West European nations to decide how to best use Marshal Aid. The consequent plan was called European Recovery Programme (ERP). This group became permanent under the name of OEEC.
- d) **Functions of OEEC:**
  - i. To distribute Marshal Aid among members of OEEC.
  - ii. Increase trade among OEEC members by reducing trade barriers. In this it was helped by **European Payments Union** and **UN GATT** (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). The aim of GATT was to reduce tariffs and of EPU was to facilitate payment by a member country in its own currency.
  - iii. **High success of OEEC:** Trade doubled among OEEC in 6 years.
  - iv. **OECD vs OEEC:** US and Canada joined OEEC in 1961 and it became OECD. Other countries joined later. Thus O"E"EC was Euro-specific but not OECD.

### 35.2. Council of Europe (1949)

- a) It was first attempt at **political unity or Europe**. It was a grouping of Foreign Ministers. Important founding members (total 10) were Britain, France and Italy.
- b) By 1971 it had 18 members including all states of Western Europe except Spain and Portugal.
- c) **Powers:** It had no powers because Britain and others wouldn't have joined an organization that threatens their sovereignty.
- d) **Work:** It debated pressing issues and made some recommendations but Federalists were disappointed.

### 35.3. European Economic Community (EEC, 1957)

The **European Economic Community (EEC)** was an international organization created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Its aim was to bring about economic integration, including a common market, among its six founding members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany. The EEC was also known as **the Common Market** in the English-speaking world and sometimes referred to as the European Community even before it was officially renamed as such in 1993.

**Evolution of European Economic Community:** Belgium and France took the lead in uniting the Western Europe. Some of the precursors to EEC were:

1. **Benelux Customs Union (1947):** negotiated before end of WW II in 1944 between **Belgium, Netherlands & Luxembourg**, it came in force in 1947 and reduced tariffs and custom barriers.
2. **Treaty of Brussels (1948):** By France, Britain & Benelux countries for “military, economic, social & cultural collaboration”.
3. **European Coal & Steel Community (ECSC, 1951):** an initiative of France with aim of better France-Germany relations and industrial growth. It had 6 countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Benelux). Britain did not join because felt it will imply loss of control on their industries.

#### **Outcomes of EEC:**

- All custom duties were removed gradually for promoting free competition and common market.
- High tariffs against non-members, but even these were reduced soon.
- In 5 years, EEC was world's biggest exporter, biggest importer of raw material and second largest steel producer after USA.

#### **Some of the Institutions of EEC:**

- **European Commission:** ran day to day work of EEC and was staffed by civil servants. It was the main center of decision making. Britain's main opposition was to this body as it could interfere in their economic policy i.e. Internal affairs of Britain.
- **Council of Ministers:** CoM had representatives of each member state.
  - Functions: exchange information about and coordinate respective national economic policies. The thrust was on having common economic policies in member nations.
  - CoM in theory approved decisions of European Commission but in practice CoM and European Commission collided frequently over rules and regulations framed by European Commission.
- **European Parliament:** Its members were nominated by Parliaments of member countries. It had no control over European Commission or CoM. From 1979 onward, members of EP were not nominated but directly elected by people after every 5 years. Each member nation is allotted seats in the EP. Political parties in a country fight elections for EP like they fight for national Parliament.
- **European Court of Justice:** Aim was to settle disputes arising from interpretation or implementation of Treaty of Rome (1957) that setup EEC. Even people could complain to ECJ about their country violating rules of EEC.
- **Court of Auditors:** to audit the accounts of EEC's institutions (EU's institutions today).

### **35.4. Other miscellaneous organizations/initiatives**

**EURATOM:** 6 members pooled money to develop atomic energy through this organization.

**European Community (1967):** formed by merging EURATOM, EEC, and ECSC.

**Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM, 1979):** The ERM linked the currencies of member nations so only limited variation in currency exchange rate was allowed. The aim was to check inflation and ensure stable currencies of member nations so that in future a single currency could be introduced. Britain did not join ERM until 1990.

**European Community's Budget Contribution:** Each member was to contribute part of earnings made through custom duties levied on imports made by that country. This resulted in a problem for Britain in 1980 because it imported far more than other members of the community.

*Let us now explore the relationship between Britain and EEC, which went through several ups and downs.*

## 36. Britain and EEC

### 36.1. Why Britain did not join EEC?

- 1) It did not want to share control of its economic policies with an outside body, European Commission.
- 2) Its economy was largest in Europe after WW II, the standards of living were high and there was little unemployment. Britain was the only European country that was not invaded during WW II. It did not need EEC as much as others needed. Also after victory in WW II, its international prestige was back to 1919 levels. It expected to be a leading power in world affairs, second only to two super powers. Thus it was not in favour of submitting its sovereignty to any organization.
- 3) **Commonwealth:**
  - a) Britain had huge trade with Commonwealth countries. It felt that if it would join EEC then this would ruin her relationship with Commonwealth. Commonwealth had five times more population than EEC and thus the former was a much more attractive market to Britain than EEC.
  - b) Joining EEC, would have hurt Britain-Commonwealth relationship because then Britain would not have been able to give preference to goods from Commonwealth. Joining EEC would have implied more preference to goods from 6 EEC countries because of lower custom duties.
- 4) **Britain-US:** Britain had 'special relationship' with US which no other European state had. Britain wanted to be more aligned with US than Europe. It only wanted to be associated with Europe but not absorbed by it. It felt its special relationship with US would be hurt if it gets too deeply integrated economically with US.
- 5) **Suspicion of future political unity:** Britain feared economic unity will soon lead to political unity which it disfavoured even more.
- 6) **European Free Trade Association (EFTA, 1960):** This was led by Britain and included other non-EEC countries (Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland). **The reason for EFTA's formation was**
  - a) The fear that the export of these countries to EEC countries would be hurt due to high tariffs on non-member countries. Thus to compensate for loss on trade with EEC, they formed EFTA.
  - b) Britain was comfortable because EFTA did not require common economic policies of members and did not have European Commission type overarching authority that could interfere in internal affairs.**EFTA today:** has only 4 member - Liechtenstein, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. All EFTA members are part of EU except Switzerland.

### 36.2. Why Britain wanted to join after 1961?

- **High success of EEC as compared to EFTA in Production & Trade.**
  - i. Production of EEC countries increased rapidly. While French production increased by 75%, West Germany's by 90%- British production increased only by 30%.
  - ii. EFTA was less successful than EEC with respect to increasing trade among members.
- **British imports increased faster than exports.** Britain faced a balance of payment crisis. Commonwealth was failing to prove a better export market for Britain because purchasing power of Commonwealth was far lower than of EEC.
- **Make indigenous industry efficient:** Britain felt that after joining EEC, the competition from EEC countries will push its industry to become more efficient. It had nationalized some sectors after the WW II.

### 36.3. Why General De Gaulle (French President) blocked British entry after 1961?

- France felt Britain's economic problems would weaken EEC.
- Britain felt France wanted to continue dominating EEC.
- France felt that US would start dominating European affairs because of Britain's special relationship with US. Britain had recently agreed to receive Polaris missile from US without informing France. US had not offered Polaris (SLBM) to France. This irked De Gaulle. US-France friction led to De Gaulle withdrawing from NATO in 1966 arguing that being part of NATO diminishes independence of France in world affairs. It only rejoined as full member in 2009.
- To protect French farmers from cheap subsidized agricultural produce of Britain. EEC's custom duties protected French farmers from competition from Britain.

### 36.4. Britain entered EEC in 1973

This was possible because De Gaulle had resigned in 1969. In 1974, Labor Party came to power. It was split on the question of joining EEC and held a referendum in 1974 asking Britshers whether they wanted to stay in EEC or not. 67% voted in favor. In 2017 there is going to be a similar referendum (for EU membership) if Conservative Party comes to power again.

## 37. Situation in France and Italy

Before moving on to the situation in Eastern Europe let us first understand the issues which gained prominence in France and Italy.

### 37.1. Situation in France

Under 4<sup>th</sup> Republic (1946-58), France was weak both politically and economically (agriculture stagnated though Industry was performing well).

- **Political instability:** The President had very less powers. There were 25 coalition governments in 12 years of 4<sup>th</sup> Republic because there were five major parties.
- **3 major disasters:** French were defeated in the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina war (1946-54). They were embarrassed in Suez War (1956) fought over Suez Canal with Egypt. The rebellion by the French Army in Algeria (Army did not want to give independence to Algeria) was most crucial. These disasters brought down the 4<sup>th</sup> French Republic.
- **5<sup>th</sup> Republic:** Then General De Gaulle, a veteran of WW II, was requested to come out of retirement in 1958. He put the condition of forming new constitution where the President will have more powers. This was accepted and 5<sup>th</sup> Republic was established. Algeria was given independence. De Gaulle had to resign in 1969 because of protests against his undemocratic regime. Thereafter 5<sup>th</sup> Republic has provided France with stable governments.

### 37.2. Situation in Italy

The new constitution led to the new Republic of Italy from 1946 onwards. There was prosperity and stable government from 1946 to 1953 but thereafter old problems reappeared. There were series of coalition governments. Additionally, there were failure in solving problems of inflation and unemployment.

## 38. Situation in Eastern Europe

- **Efforts at Eastern European unity:** The Eastern Europe also moved towards unity. The major steps included Molotov Plan (1947), COMINFORM (1947), COMECON (1949) and WARSAW PACT (1955).

- **Tensions in Eastern bloc:** These have been discussed earlier and include the resistance of Yugoslavia against Stalin's diktats, the Hungarian Uprising (1956) and problems in Czechoslovakia in 1968.
- **Economic Development of Eastern Europe:** In 1970s, the prosperity in the communist bloc increased. In 1980s, they were hit by world depression. From mid 1988 till 1991, communism collapsed in Eastern Europe mainly due to lack of political freedom and ability to deal with economic challenges. In 1990, Germany was united. From 1991-95, with end of communism, Yugoslavia entered a period of civil war that led to its disintegration.

**Common Agricultural Policy (1962-till now):** Through this huge subsidies were given to farmers to increase production. This led to problem of over-production and exports were made to India, USSR and Bangladesh. CAP continues till now under EU in a modified form.

**Lome Convention of 1975:** It allowed duty free import of goods from Africa and Caribbean. Other Third World countries were added later.

**1986 Changes in European Community:** These included:

- 1) A completely free and common market (i.e. Single European Market with no restrictions of any kind on internal trade and movement of goods) by 1992.
- 2) More powers to European Parliament so that laws could be passed more quickly. Thus national Parliaments were losing some control over their internal matters.
- 3) More powers to European Community in sectors of health, environment protection and consumer protection.

## 39. Situation of Europe in the 1990s

- a) **France:** In 1990s important debates in France were centered around
  - i. Continuing recession and unemployment.
  - ii. Doubts over continuing with EEC (formed 1957) and signing the Maastricht Treaty.
  - iii. Concerns regarding a united Germany (1990) which may emerge as a threat again.
  - iv. In 1995, there were huge protests when President Chirac's government introduced Fiscal Consolidation measures to meet criteria for joining Eurozone as it required members to curtail Budget Deficit to maximum 3 % of GDP.
- b) **Italy:** In 1990s Italy was still struggling to solve basic problems:
  - i. North-South divide: North was prosperous with industrial economy while South suffered economically and had agrarian economy.
  - ii. Mafia was still powerful.
  - iii. Politics was riddled with corruption.
  - iv. Huge fiscal deficit, government debt and a weak currency.
- c) **Germany:** In 1990, Germany was united. It faced challenge of
  - i. Bringing East Germany's economy to the levels of Western Germany.
  - ii. The people of West Germany resented supporting the East Germany.
  - iii. Fiscal Deficit increased as government pumped in money to revive East German economy.
  - iv. Concerns whether Germany would be able to qualify for Eurozone membership as it required members to curtail Budget Deficit to maximum 3 % of GDP.

## 40. European Union

European Union is Political, Economic and Monetary Union of 28 European nations. 17 of them are part of Eurozone and have adopted the currency called Euro. European Union was established by the Treaty on European Union in 1993 replacing its predecessor European Community.

**What is Maastricht Treaty or Treaty on European Union (1991, in force from 1993):** It led to greater integration among the EC which by now had 12 members. From now on EC was known as European Union. Agreement was achieved on:

- a) More powers for European Parliament.
- b) Greater economic and monetary union to adopt single currency (Euro) by 1999.
- c) Common foreign and security policy.
- d) Established Maastricht Criteria or Convergence criteria - to join EU and to join Euro Zone.
- e) The Treaty of European Union (including amendments) provides for establishment of 7 institutions of EU, many of which were already part of erstwhile European Economic Community. These include:
  - i. **European Central Bank:** It is the central bank for Europe's single currency. It administers the monetary policy of Eurozone
  - ii. **European Commission:** It is the top executive body and operates as the Cabinet government of EU. It has 28 commissioners/members appointed by European Council, one each from each EU member. President of European Commission is proposed by European Council and elected from among these 28 members by the European Parliament. Its work includes running day to day work of EU, implementing treaties and proposing laws. It is supported by civil servants.
  - iii. **Council of the European Union** (earlier Council of Ministers): It is the upper house of EU's Bicameral Legislature (EP is the other legislative body). It consists of ministers representing each EU member. For each sector, like agriculture, foreign affairs, there is a different council (within CEU) comprising of national ministers for Agriculture and Foreign Affairs respectively. Both Council and Parliament share legislative and budgetary powers equally, meaning both have to agree for a proposal to pass.
  - iv. **European Parliament:** Members of Parliament are directly elected by people after every 5 years. Each member nation is allotted seats in the EP. Political parties in a country fight elections for EP like they fight for national Parliament.
  - v. **European Council:** It comprises of the head of states of member nations, the President of European council and President of European commission
  - vi. **Court of Justice of the European Union:** It is the EU's judicial branch and interprets EU law and treaties. It can also hear complaints by citizens on certain matters.
  - vii. **Court of Auditors:** to audit all EU institutions EU has permanent missions in other nations and is also represented at UN, G20, G8, WTO etc.

#### 40.1. How to join EU

Any European nation can join, subject to, if they demonstrate that they would be complying with all the EU's standards and rules. It must respect and be committed to promotion of democratic values of EU. Applicant must get the consent of the EU institutions and EU member states. It should also get consent of their citizens through resolution in National Parliament or by Referendum.

Applicant should meet the "**Copenhagen Criteria**" established in 1993 for accession which include:

1. Stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and protection of minorities;
2. A functioning market economy and ability to cope with competition and market forces in the EU;
3. The ability to implement the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.
4. The EU rules that the applicant must adopt are non-negotiable. Only the timing and manner of implementation are negotiated.

- a) **The EU Mission:** As in 1949 when it was founded with the creation of the Council of Europe, the European Union's mission for today is to continue prosperity, freedom, communication and ease of travel and commerce for its citizens. The EU is able to maintain this mission through the various treaties making it function, cooperation from member states, and its unique governmental structure.

## 40.2. Challenge of 2008 Economic Crisis

After the economic crisis of 2008, banks in European countries, especially Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain and later Cyprus, had to be bailed out. This led to strain within EU. Especially the public opinion in Germany which is the largest economy of Europe today got split as many Germans believed that they are being made to pay for mistakes of other member nations. With help of IMF, EU was able to rescue these nations in return for austerity measures. The imposed austerity measures themselves created strain in the member nations that were being bailed out because they led to increase in unemployment. Now, EU has moved towards creating **European Stability Mechanism** which will be a permanent fund to be used for helping member nations in future.

## 41. Eurozone

- a) It comprises of 17 nations (out of total 28) who have adopted Euro as the common currency. Euro as a single currency was launched in 1999.
- b) Britain and Denmark have voluntarily kept out of it - the '**opt-out states**' - for reasons of economic sovereignty.
- c) '**Derogation states**' are the EU member nations who are taking steps to adopt Euro. **All EU member nations except 'opt-out states' have to adopt Euro**, though each member is given time to take measures to be eligible to adopt Euro i.e. They are given time to meet the Convergence Criteria.
- d) The monetary policy for Euro is the sole prerogative of European Central Bank i.e. after joining Eurozone the control of Monetary policy passes on to ECB.

**Euro Area vs Economic & Monetary Union:** All EU Member States are part of Economic and Monetary Union, which means they coordinate their economic policies for the benefit of the EU as a whole. However, not all EU Member States are in the euro area – only those having adopted the euro are members of the euro area.

What are the **convergence criteria to join Eurozone?**

These are the macroeconomic indicators which measure:

- a) Price stability, to show inflation is controlled;
- b) Sound government finances, through limits on government borrowing and national debt to avoid high Fiscal Deficit;
- c) Exchange-rate stability, through participation in the Exchange Rate Mechanism for at least two years without strong deviations from the ERM II central rate;
- d) Long-term interest rates, to assess the durability of the convergence achieved by fulfilling the other criteria.

## 42. Schengen Group

Schengen is in Luxembourg. It is a the group of 26 European countries which have abolished passport and immigration controls at their common borders. It functions as a single country for international travel purposes, with a common visa policy. Of 26, 22 are EU member states and 4 are EFTA members. Bulgaria, Cyprus and Romania (all EU members) will join once they meet the criteria.

**Recent problems:** After Arab Spring many illegal immigrants from the conflict ridden region crossed over to France and Italy - then to other states.

## 43. Decolonization

**Broadly Colonialism impacted Africa in the following manner:**

- a) White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives.
- b) Slavery became prevalent throughout the continent
- c) Mass killings by Colonial powers
- d) Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence.
- e) Extreme neglect of education and health
- f) Colonialism hurt economic development

**Introduction:** World War II was fought by the Allied powers on the principles of democracy and self-rule, but the colonial powers tried to continue their rule for as long as possible. When the wave of change hit Africa, the colonial powers could no longer delay the decolonization process and many African colonies were made independent with the system of Parliamentary Democracy.

**Colonial Powers in 1945:** Britain had the largest colonial empire with colonies in Asia, Africa and Caribbean. France had second largest colonial empire with colonies in Africa and Indochina. Other colonial powers in Africa were Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy while Netherlands ruled over Dutch East Indies.

**What were the triggers for decolonization in Africa?** It happened due to three factors viz National movements, World War II, and outside pressures from US, USSR and UN. Moreover, Britain was confident that it will be able to exercise influence over former colonies even after their independence by keeping them under Commonwealth i.e. through Neo-colonialism.

**1) Nationalist movements:**

- a) Before WW II, only India (1885 onward), Vietnam (1920s) and East Indies (1930s) had strong nationalist movements.
- b) Nationalism was boosted by WW II because soldiers from colonies saw contrast between west and the colonial world. They were exposed to the ideas of being against aggression of Axis powers which made them to oppose aggression of colonial power at home. Through participation in WW II, they developed the desire for freedom of homeland rather than just fighting for the liberation of occupied Europe.
- c) African nationalism spread rapidly after 1945 because more and more Africans were now educated in the US and Britain where they gained awareness regarding racial discrimination and colonialism was seen as humiliation especially by the working class which was much more receptive to nationalist ideas.

**2) World War II:**

- a) Japanese successes changed the notion that it was "impossible to defeat European powers". Some Asian leaders worked with Japan in the belief that such cooperation will hasten the end of European colonization of their country. E.g. S.C. Bose, Sukarno (of Indonesia).
- b) Some European colonies fought against the Japanese invasion. They developed guerrilla tactics (like communist guerrillas in Malaya) and used this as an opportunity to develop skills in this kind of warfare. After defeat of Japanese in WW II they were not ready to accept European rule again. Nationalists now deployed guerrilla tactics against European powers in Indochina, Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma when the Europeans tried to regain their colonial empire.
- c) European policies and propaganda during WW II encouraged colonial people to expect freedom post-war. The **Atlantic Charter of 1941** that contained the Declaration of

United Nations- discussed how the world should be organized after the war. The two important points were

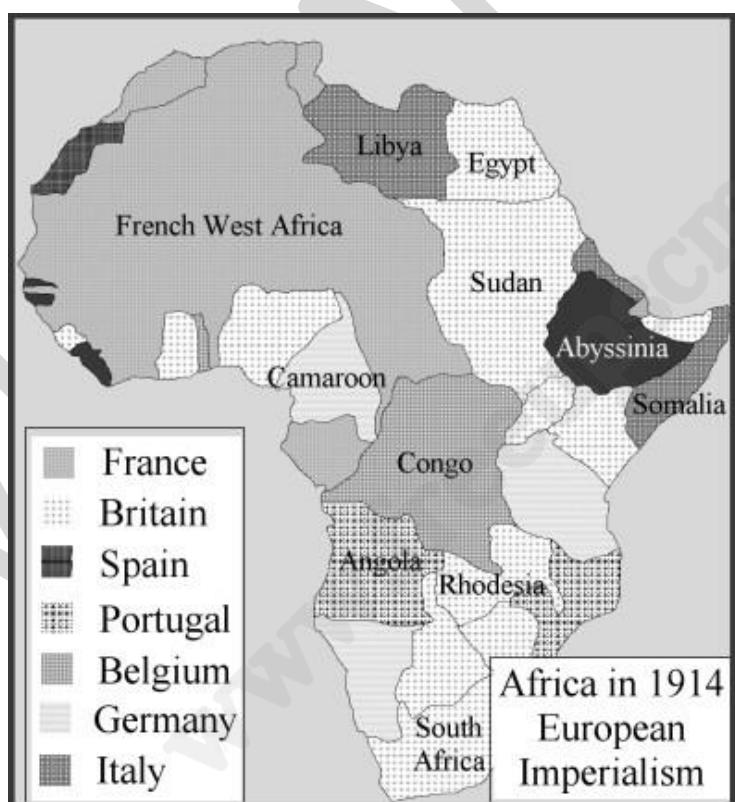
- i. **No territorial expansion**- Nations should not expand by occupying other's territory.
  - ii. **Self-rule**- All people should have right to form their own government.
- d) War weakened Europe economically and militarily. This led to a change in Britain's policy. Britishers delayed independence but gave it once the nationalist struggles reached a threshold.

### 3) Outside pressure:

- a) US:
- i. US was somewhat empathetic to the cause of freedom struggle because of its own colonial past.
  - ii. US opposed Churchill when he argued that "self government" of Atlantic Charter was only for European people. US adopted this stance because it wanted to contain the spread of communism in colonies as USSR supported freedom struggles in the colonies. Also US wanted to get export markets in form of newer nations where US could enter after Europe's exit and exercise economic and political influence.
- b) UN and USSR consistently criticized imperialism. Communist philosophy had always been opposed to imperialism and colonialism and USSR found it natural to do so.

Let us now look into detail the decolonization experience of the British in Africa.

### British Decolonization of Africa:



### **Reasons for Decolonization in British Empire in Africa:**

#### 1) Education:

- a) In British Africa, there was slow but relatively much more penetration of education as compared to other European colonies in Africa.

**2) African Nationalism:**

- a) African nationalism rose due to the western education which instilled ideas of liberty, equality and freedom. Education raised their awareness against racial discrimination. Especially the working class in towns were much more receptive to the ideas of nationalism and formed the major force of resistance against colonialism.
- b) British were weak after the WW II and wanted a good relationship with the Commonwealth countries, thus they thought it was better to grant independence.

***British Policy of Decolonization:***

1. The British policy after World War II can be divided into two phases-

- a) **1945-51:** The Labour Party was in power in Britain during 1945 to 1951 and they were willing to give independence because they had the confidence of maintaining British economic influence through the framework of Commonwealth of Nations, in short, through Neo-colonialism.
- b) **1951-57:** After 1951, Britain followed the policy of delaying independence and to move the colonies towards sovereign rule in a very gradual manner, in short, step-wise self-government. This policy helped in the hindsight as it allowed the Africans to gain experience in governance. Yet the Africans had to protest and at times violently for independence.

2. **British Policy in West Africa vs East & Central Africa till 1957:**

- a) **Demographic profile's link with Decolonization:** West Africa had very few European settlers. East Africa had a good number of settlers while the Central Africa had maximum concentration of settlers. Independence was easily and generally peacefully achieved in West Africa, achieved with some difficulty in East Africa and with very high difficulty in Central Africa.
- b) Britain was pro-independence in West Africa because it had very few settlers.
- c) Britain delayed independence in East Africa and Central Africa where settlers formed a significant percentage of population. They had the numbers and the capability to curb African struggle for independence and thus provide a stable pro-British government.
- d) Also the settlers desired British presence to ensure continuation of their supremacy and for safety of their life and property.
- e) Even when Britain considered independence as an option, they stressed that the post-independence government should be a multi-racial government with adequate representation to the Asians and European settlers.

**Post 1957- Wind of Change:** Wind of Change refers to the realization on part of the British that independence in Africa cannot be resisted anymore. The reason was the enhanced strength of Black African nationalism and the Arab Nationalism. Also, Britain's influence had decreased in Northeast Africa and it was weak after its loss in Suez War (1956). From 1957 to 1963 there was significant change in British policy towards independence to colonies in East and Central Africa.



## ***British Decolonization in West Africa:***

- 1) **Gold Coast (1957):** In West Africa, before 1951, Gold Coast leaders led an independence struggle through means of boycott of foreign goods and there were violent demonstrations and strikes by the workers. Succumbing to the pressure, a new constitution was framed and elections were held with universal adult franchise. In 1952, self-government was introduced but without full independence. From 1952-57 the African leaders gained experience in governance under the western educated Prime Minister Nkrumah and in 1957, Gold Coast rechristened as Ghana became the first African colony to gain full independence with Nkrumah as the first President.
  - 2) **Nigeria (1960):** Nigeria was an oil rich country. It faced special problems of large size of territory and demographic division into three main ethnic groups viz Muslims in the North and other two tribes in the Western and Eastern parts respectively. **Azikiwe**, a western educated leader successfully led a mass general strike in 1945 which prompted the British to start preparation for step-wise independence of Nigeria. In 1954 a new constitution was framed and it provided for a federation with legislative assemblies for the three regions dominated by the three ethnic groups. Nigeria gained full independence in 1960.
  - 3) **Sierra Leone and Gambia:** Similarly by 1961, Sierra Leone and Gambia gained independence in a peaceful manner.

***British Decolonization East Africa:***

- 1) Tanzania (1961):** In East African British colony of Tanganyika, Dr Nyerere led the independence struggle. He had a reconciliatory approach towards the Whites and promised fair treatment to them under the Black majority rule whenever it came. Tanganyika was given full independence in 1961 and Zanzibar Island was united with it to form the modern day Tanzania in 1964.

- 2) Uganda (1962):** In Uganda, the independence was delayed due to the tribal rivalry whereby the tribal leader of Buganda objected to democratic form of government. A solution was achieved through a constitution that provided for a Federal form of government with Buganda's tribal leader retaining some special powers. **Dr Obote** became the first Prime Minister of independent Uganda in 1962.
- 3) Kenya (1963):** In Kenya, the British faced the challenge of reconciliation between the whites and the blacks. Kenya was under the rule of White settlers who were violently opposed to the black majority rule and got support from the big business lobby in Britain. Blacks started a terror campaign under the **Mau Mau Secret Society**. Emergency was declared in 1952 and Britain sent in troops which were able to tide over the Mau Mau rebellion by 1960. The highly respected leader of Kenya, **Jomo Kenyatta** was a moderate and was in jail from 1952 to 1960. **The British policy in Kenya changed after 1957** and they gave Kenya independence in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta became the first Prime Minister and he followed a policy of reconciliation between the Whites and Blacks post-independence.

#### ***British Decolonization in Central Africa:***

- 1) Attempts at delaying independence- the concept of Central African Federation:** The colonies in Central Africa were under White Settlers domination. Supported by the business interests in Britain, the Whites persuaded Winston Churchill in 1953 to form the Central African Federation which constituted all the British colonies in Central Africa i.e. **Nyasaland, North Rhodesia and South Rhodesia**. The purpose was simple- continue the white domination of Central Africa.
- 2) Response of Africans to Federation:** The Blacks protested violently demanding Black majority rule and emergency had to be declared in 1959.
- 3) Breakup of Federation:** The Federation was broken up in 1963 because Nyasaland and North Rhodesia didn't want to be part of it anymore. By 1961-62, a new constitution had been introduced in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Consequently, these two were given independence as Malawi and Zambia respectively.
- 4) Zimbabwe:**
  - a) Situation in Zimbabwe:** The main problem lay in Zimbabwe i.e. Southern Rhodesia where the whites were most deeply entrenched against the Blacks and resisted the Black rule for the longest. The whites in Southern Rhodesia opposed any share in governance of the country to the Blacks.
  - b) Britain-White Settlers Standoff:** At time of independence of Zambia and Malawi, Britain was ready to give independence to Southern Rhodesia on the condition that the Whites allowed a minimum of one-third seats in the Parliament to the Blacks under the proposed constitutional changes but the **Rhodesia Front**, a whites racist party under Prime Minister Smith refused the British offer. The whites under Rhodesia Front declared independence without the British consent in 1965 (though it continued to swear allegiance to the British Crown). The Britain applied economic sanctions and stopped buying tobacco and sugar from South Rhodesia which formed the major items of export.
  - c) UNSC against Settlers:** The UNSC also condemned the unilateral declaration of independence and passed resolutions for trade embargo against Southern Rhodesia.
  - d) South Africa and Mozambique,** the latter being under the rule of Portugal, another hesitant decolonizer, supported the whites in South Rhodesia and refused to comply with the trade embargo resolutions passed by UNSC.
  - e) Effect of UNSC sanctions:** The UNSC's trade sanctions in effect failed to bring down the white rule because many companies and governments engaged in secret trade and illegally bypassed the sanctions. The economic interests silenced the voice of Black independence struggle.

- i. The USA desired cheap Chrome from South Rhodesia and even the British Oil companies violated the sanctions to make profit.
  - ii. The British Commonwealth of Nations came on the verge of collapse because the Black ruled nations opposed any favorable treatment by Britain to the whites of Southern Rhodesia.
  - iii. On the other hand, Zambia and Tanzania opposed any military action, while countries like Ghana and Nigeria demanded military action.
  - iv. In 1970, Southern Rhodesia declared itself a Republic and apartheid like conditions came to prevail as the rights of the Blacks were taken away.
- f) Independence of Zimbabwe (1980): It was not until 1976 that the Whites began to fail. There were many internal and regional forces that were behind the rise of the Blacks in Southern Rhodesia.
- i. **Role of Mozambique:** The Decolonization in the neighbourhood was an important reason as after Mozambique became independent from Portugal rule in 1975, the whites lost an important ally. Mozambique under Black rule applied economic sanctions and gave safe haven to the guerrillas from South Rhodesia which improved the balance of power in Blacks favour. Rhodesia witnessed an increase in Guerrilla activity thereafter.
  - ii. **Decreased support from South Africa:** There was decrease in support from South Africa after their military intervention of 1975 against the socialist regime in Angola failed after US persuaded it to retreat from Marxist Angola. South Africa and USA were helping the rebels in Angola in overthrowing the Marxist regime which was in turn supported by USSR and Cuba.
  - iii. **Role of US:** The USA feared that the Cuban-Russian interference will extend to Rhodesia and thus asked the Smith government to make concessions to the Blacks.
  - iv. **Guerrilla success:** By 1978, the Guerrilla forces led by Robert Mugabe were controlling large areas of Rhodesia and the Whites were on the verge of defeat. The independence was delayed even after the 1978 nationalists successes in guerrilla warfare due to the tribal differences.
  - v. **PM Smith capitalized on the tribal rivalry** by forming a coalition government with one tribal party but rest of the tribal groups continued guerrilla warfare.
  - vi. The British called a conference in 1979 where the British proposed and the whites accepted a new constitution with provision for black majority rule. South Rhodesia was to be made the new Republic of Zimbabwe with 100 seats in Parliament of which 80 were reserved for the blacks. Robert Mugabe agreed to cease guerrilla warfare. Finally in 1980 Zimbabwe came under the Black majority rule with Robert Mugabe as the first president.

### Decolonization of French Empire in Africa

The French policy regarding colonies could be analysed into two phases.

- 1) **Till 1954:** In the first phase France was not at all in favour of any form of Self Rule in its colonies. This was characterized by the **1944 Brazzaville Declaration** which stated that even at a distant date there would not be any self-government in French colonies. The French treated the colonies and mandates as if they were integral provinces of France and any form of self-government was opposed by the French settlers. In 1949, France decided to crush all nationalist movements and many African leaders were arrested after labeling them as communists.
- 2) **Post 1954:** The French policy changed significantly after its defeat in Indochina in 1954 and the second phase of final acceptance that decolonization cannot be delayed anymore began.

**Tunisia, Morocco: A Protectorate is a state or territory partly controlled by (but not a possession of) a stronger state but autonomous in internal affairs.** Tunisia and Morocco were French protectorates. These protectorates desired for full autonomy in all their affairs but the European settlers did not want the French influence to cease as it allowed them to maintain their control on the government.

**1) Tunisia (1956):**

- a) In Tunisia, the independence struggle was led by a moderate leader named **Habib Bourghiba**. Simultaneously, the Tunisians also launched a guerrilla campaign against the government.
- b) France sent troops to thwart the movement but it failed to cope with the guerrilla tactics and the mass support with the nationalists. At the same time France was facing problems in Indo China and Morocco. Also the Guerrillas were slowly drifting towards the left wing ideology.
- c) Fearing the costs of a prolonged engagement and the possible communist takeover of the movement, the French declared independence and transferred power into the hands of moderate leader Bourghiba. With a moderate leader in power, France hoped to continue its domination over Tunisia through Neocolonialism.

**2) Morocco (1956):**

- a) Morocco as a protectorate was under rule of the King who was against the French interference and demanded full autonomy due to which France forcefully abdicated the King.
- b) This led to Guerrilla warfare and violent demonstrations in which trade unions played an important role. Faced with the possibility of a costly anti-guerrilla campaign, France re-instated the King and gave Morocco full independence.

**3) French West Africa & French Equatorial Africa:** The French colonies south of Sahara were French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The 12 colonies of West and Equatorial Africa were given the protectorate status but the nationalists continued to demand full independence.

- a) **French West Africa** was a group of eight colonies namely, Ivory Coast, French Sudan (became Mali after independence in 1960), Senegal, Niger, Mauretania, Guinea etc.
- b) **French Equatorial Africa** included Chad, Middle Congo, Gabon etc.
- c) **Cameroon and Togoland:** France held these former German colonies as mandates since the World War I.
- d) **Madagascar:** Of the east coast of Africa, Madagascar was also under the French control.

**4) Algeria (1962):**

- a) It was under the French control since 1830. The French settlers were known by the name of **Colons**. In 1954, there were 1 million French settlers and 9 million Algerians in Algeria.
- b) After World War II, ten years of peaceful struggle by leader Messali paid little dividends. The French settlers made no concessions and the native Algerians were denied any role in the government.
- c) Further, France treated Algeria not as a protectorate or a colony but as an integral province of France.
- d) In 1954, after a decade of non-violent protests, the Algerians started a Guerrilla war under National Liberation Front (FLN) which was funded by 2 lakh Algerians living in France.
- e) Despite its failures in Indochina in 1954 and the forceful abdication of its protectorates in Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, no French government dared independence to Algerians due to possible backlash by the French settlers and their lobbying groups back home. By 1960, there were more than 700,000 French troops in Algeria, fighting a massive war.

- f) The reasons for the French attitude towards Algeria were many.
- i. The French Army wanted to secure its reputation after losses in Indochina. The Army was so deeply against giving in to the demands of the Algerians that there existed chances of a military coup in France if the government gave way in Algeria.
  - ii. The public opinion was highly divided between those who supported the French settlers and those who wanted an end to Algerian campaign. France itself seemed to be on the verge of a civil war over Algeria.
- g) In 1958, the Algerian war caused the fall of government in France. The Army pressured the government to resign and wanted former **General De Gaulle** as Prime Minister. De Gaulle agreed for heading the government but on the condition of being allowed to frame a new constitution. This demand was agreed to and the fourth French republic came to an end. After coming to power, General De Gaulle decided to hold negotiations with the Algerians which led to a faction of military starting a terror campaign in Algeria and France. They seized power in Algeria and attempted assassination of General De Gaulle. After this General De Gaulle appeared in a Military uniform on television and this symbolic act of iron hand turned around the situation. The French public opinion shifted in favour of granting independence to Algeria which was given in 1962 with Ben Bella as the first Algerian President.
- 5) **French Community:** In 1958, France under General De Gaulle attempted to institutionalize the policy of Neocolonialism. De Gaulle proposed a new plan for formation of French Community on lines of British Commonwealth with following points:
- a) The 12 colonies of West and Equatorial Africa (that had Protectorate status) would continue to have self-government in internal affairs with their own Parliament.
  - b) The French Community will include all these 12 colonies and France will take all important decisions with respect to taxation and foreign affairs.
  - c) In return, all the members of the French Community will get financial aid from France.
  - d) The members would have option to reject the membership of the community but in that case, they would not receive any economic aid.
  - e) **French Equatorial & West Africa (1960):** The result of this plan was that 11 colonies voted in favour of French community except for Guinea where 95 per cent of the electorate voted against. Guinea was granted full independence under the nationalist leader Sekou Toure. Soon, inspired by Guinea, the 11 colonies along with Cameroon and Togo demanded full independence. The African nationalism and Black pride was in full swing. All these countries were granted full independence in 1960, though Neocolonialism by France continued after 1960 in all these colonies except for Guinea, as the French continued to dominate their economic and foreign policy.

#### **Belgium: Decolonization in Africa**

Belgium had two colonies namely, Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Burundi. They both witnessed chaos and civil war after independence in 1960 and 1962 respectively. This was due to the unpreparedness for independence. **Belgian policy in its colonies was twofold-** to deny any education to natives and to use tribal rivalries for prolonging its rule. The latter factor worked well in both the colonies.

##### **1) Using Tribal rivalries:**

- a) Congo was melting pot of 150 different tribes. Belgium used fighters from one tribe to control other tribes and the favored tribes got patronage in return for maintaining law and order.
- b) In Ruanda-Burundi, Belgium used Tutsi tribe to control the Hutu tribesmen. Still the ideas of nationalism from the neighbouring colonies of France and Britain influenced the people.

**2) Congo (1960):**

- a) In Belgium Congo, there were sudden protests in 1959 against unemployment and poor standard of living. This made Belgium to grant independence in 1960 because it feared a costly guerrilla war and thought it better to deploy policy of neocolonialism over an independent but weak Congo.
- b) **Why there was such chaos** after nationalist unity witnessed during freedom struggle?  
The reason was that
  - i. The natives had no education to man the bureaucratic posts and there was no African group that had any experience in governance.
  - ii. There were just 17 graduates in Congo, and no doctors, no lawyers , no engineers and no army officers.
  - iii. There was no rich movement like that witnessed in other colonies like India under Indian National Congress with proper organizational structure. The Congolese National Movement under **Lumumba** was just one year old in 1959. The civil war continued from 1960 to 1964 in Congo.

**Spanish Decolonization in Africa**

Franco had little interest in colonies and he did not resist independence movements in Spanish colonies.

- 1) **Spanish Morocco** was merged into a united Morocco in 1956 when France gave independence to French Morocco. Ifni was made Morocco's part in 1969.
- 2) **Equatorial Guinea** was given independence in 1968.
- 3) **Spanish Sahara:** It was only in Spanish Sahara that Franco resisted the call for independence till his death in 1975. This was because Sahara was rich in Phosphorous resources important for Spain. Unfortunately after his death, Sahara was divided and handed over to Morocco and Mauretania.
  - a) The **Polisario Front** was a movement for Sahara's independence like that of Indian National Congress and it continued to protest for independent separate state of Sahara. It declared **Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara (or Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)** in 1976.
  - b) India along with Libya, Algeria and the Communist Bloc countries were the first to recognize SADR. Sahara, Morocco and Mauretania got embroiled in the Cold War with the communist bloc supporting the Polisario movement.
  - c) **Cold War:** Algeria and Libya sent troops which resulted in Mauretania giving up its part of the Sahara. Similarly, the Moroccans were on the verge of defeat but the USA rescued them. The USA saw the Saharan question as part of the Cold War because USSR had recognized the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara.
  - d) The war continued into the 1980s and Morocco occupied Mauretania's Sahara as well. In 1990, United Nations proposed a referendum for deciding if the people desired independence or wanted to remain as part of Morocco but Morocco rejected the UN proposal.
  - e) The present status of **Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic or SADR** is that, the Western Sahara is the disputed territory. The SADR controls 25 percent of Western Sahara and the rest is under Moroccan control. **India favors an independent Western Sahara** under SADR which is part of Non Aligned Movement and has a government in exile in Algeria. The Polisario Front today is a politico-military organization based in Algeria. The worst affected are the people of Sahara, many of whom live in refugee camps in Algeria.

## Portuguese Decolonization in African Continent

Portuguese colonies in Africa included **Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea**.

**1) Effect of Colonialism:**

- a) Portuguese for many years after World War II, followed a policy of brutal repression of Nationalist movements under the right wing Fascist government of Dr Salazar.
  - b) The economy of Portuguese colonies was mainly dependent on Agriculture and the industry was non-existent along with poor social indicators of education.
  - c) By 1956, Mozambique had only 50 people with secondary education.
- 2) Portugal begins to fail:** The tide began to turn against Salazar when in 1956, the nationalist groups were formed in all the three colonies. Initially they could extract little from the colonial regime but the independence of many African colonies by 1960 boosted the morale of the native nationalists and they increased their protests. Salazar responded with increased repression and consequently, guerrilla campaigns against the Portuguese started in all three colonies in 1961.
- 3) In Angola,** the Guerrilla warfare started in 1961 under Neto. In Mozambique the Frelimo Guerrillas were led by the leader named Mondlane. Similarly, Cabral led the Guerrilla forces in Portuguese Guinea. The Guerrilla forces received **Soviet aid** as all of them were Marxist in their ideology.
- 4) Independence:** The simultaneous anti-guerrilla effort on three fronts was costing 40 percent of Portuguese national budget by 1973. Despite resentment among the Portuguese people and the Army, Salazar continued to pump money and soldiers which ultimately led to an armed coup that overthrew Salazar in 1974. Soon, independence was granted to these three colonies with Portuguese Guinea becoming independent in 1974 under the nomenclature of Guinea Bissau while Mozambique and Angola became free in 1975.
- 5) Impact on Apartheid:** The decolonization of Portuguese empire in Africa caused a crisis for the white settlers in Rhodesia and South Africa because now these independent regimes provided safe havens to the guerrillas waging freedom struggle in the only two remaining African countries under white settler's domination.
- 6)** Angola was invaded by South Africa immediately after independence and it became part of the Cold War. Later Angola witnessed invasions on multiple occasions and was gripped in Civil War in the 1990s.
- 7)** Mozambique was also invaded by South Africa as it was against the Frelimo movement of the Blacks there. Like many African countries, Mozambique was also torn by subsequent civil wars for many years.

## Italian Decolonization (Ethiopia, Libya, Eritrea, Somalia)

Italy's case was different as it lost all of its colonies after defeat in World War II. These colonies were given to Britain and France as mandates to prepare them for independence, until United Nations decided to place them under governments which happened to be aligned with the West.

In **Ethiopia**, the Italian rule came to an end in 1941 and the British mandate ended in 1951. Emperor Selassie who was in exile since the Italian invasion in 1935 was brought back and reinstated.

**Libya** was made independent under King Idris in 1951.

**Eritrea** on other hand was made part of Ethiopia in 1952 under a Federal system with provision for autonomy in matters of internal affairs.

**Somalia** was carved out as an independent state in 1960 by merging Italian Somaliland and the British Somaliland.

**Post-Independence unrest:** Soon after independence, unrest followed in these former colonies because of the poor governance by the unpopular rulers and new leaders emerged who were pro-USSR and sought Soviet aid for modernization.

1. In Libya, King Idris was very much pro-west and he was overthrown in 1969 by a socialist revolutionary movement. The subsequent regime of Muammar **Gaddafi** nationalized the Libyan oil industry and began the process of urbanization.
2. In Ethiopia, Selassie did not put in any efforts for modernization. He cancelled the provisions relating to autonomy and limited self-government of Eritrea which launched a war of independence against Ethiopia. Selassie was overthrown in 1974.
3. In Eritrea, Ethiopia tried to curb the demand for independence but soon two other Ethiopian provinces demanded secession. To control the secessionist movements the Ethiopian regime had to allocate more funds in its budget on Army's expenditure, while the famine and poverty hurt the common man on the street. In 1993, Eritrea finally gained independence. Eritrea is part of the Horn of Africa which is plagued by high poverty and people are fleeing to Europe via island of Lampedusa (in dangerous boat journeys) that has become an entry point to Europe from Africa and Middle Eastern countries. Eritrea suffers from excessive militarization due to compulsory lifelong military conscription.

***Now, let us try and understand the decolonization outside of Africa by the British.***

#### **Decolonization by Britain outside Africa:**

- 1) **India:** India was broken up into two parts, Pakistan and India in 1947. Decolonization was not peaceful and there was high violence during partition. The British were in haste to leave to escape any responsibility of the bloodbath.
- 2) **West Indies (Caribbean), Malaya (Southeast Asia) and Cyprus (Middle East):** In all these areas, British sought to organize the colonies into a Federation but only partial success was achieved. Federation is a group of states with each state having its own Parliament for managing internal affairs but constituents work under overall authority of Federal government (e.g. USA, Canada, Australia).
  - a) **West Indies:** They are a group of islands in the Caribbean.

**Why Federation sought for Caribbean islands:** There was problem of size of the colonies. The colonies would not have been viable units separately. They were not economically and administratively viable.

**On one hand** some colonies objected to the idea of Federation while on the other of them did not even want independence from Britain. Yet, the West Indies Federation was created in 1958 including all British colonies in the area (e.g. Jamaica, Trinidad, Seychelles, Barbados, Bahamas etc) except British Honduras on mainland Central America and British Guiana on the northeast coast of mainland South America. But it failed by 1962 as the constituent members opted out in favor of separate independent status.

**Why West Indies Federation Failed?** Because of disputes over number of seats to each member in the Federal Parliament and the amount of money each member should contribute to the Federal budget. In 1961, when Trinidad and Jamaica withdrew, all members were given independence in 1962.

**Later Union:** Later when they realized the benefits of cooperation, they formed the Caribbean Free Trade Association in 1968 and Caribbean Community & Common Market in 1973.

- b) **Malaya:** Here the Federation was successful. Malaya was liberated from Japan in 1945.

### Organizing Malaya into a Federation was a challenging task because

- i. It had a multiracial society.
- ii. It was a geographically complex nation to organize into a single unit. E.g. Singapore was an island few miles away from mainland. Also Malaya was a sum of 9 states, each under a separate Sultan.
- iii. Communist guerrillas (ethnic Chinese of Malaya) who fought against Japan were now fighting against Britain for setting up a communist Malaya.

**Federation of Malaya (1948)** was created by Britain (without full independence) with Singapore as separate colony. The guerrilla campaign continued and Britain had to apply emergency from 1948 onward. In 1955 elections, the ethnic Indians, Chinese and Malays came together to fight elections and they won. With single party majority the signs of stability were clear and finally independence was given to Malaya in 1957.

A temporary **Federation of Malaysia (1963)** was created on initiative of Malaya. It proposed to include Singapore and Brunei. **Brunei** did not join and gained independence in 1984 and joined Commonwealth. **Singapore** left the Federation and became separate independent entity in 1965.

- c) **Cyprus (1960):** Decolonization of Cyprus was a troublesome process. 80 % of the population was Greek Christians who wanted union with Greece. 20% were Turkish Muslims, who were concentrated in north and they wanted union with Turkey. Independence was attained in 1960. A civil war between the Christians and the Turks started in 1963. Turkish troops intervened in favor of Turkish Muslims in 1974 and the Northern Cyprus declared itself a separate nation.

**Today** Turkey's forces are still present in the North Cyprus whose government is only recognized by Turkey. UN forces are present on the ground to ensure sanctity and peace on the frontier between the Northern Cyprus and the Cyprus.

Cyprus is part of European Union. It is because of this political dispute that Greece has blocked entry of Turkey into EU.

- d) **Falkland Islands:** The region around Falkland Islands is oil rich. They were not given up by Britain.

- i. **History:** Falkland Islands were under the French to begin with. Later Spain displaced France. Some part of Falkland Islands was also under the British. After American War of Independence, British were under economic stress and they vacated the Falkland Islands leaving behind a plaque declaring the islands as under British sovereignty. Spain ruled the islands till 1811 when it was forced to withdraw because of independence movements in its colonies of South America. Argentina became independent in 1816 and controlled the Falkland islands till 1833 when Britishers reoccupied them. Since 1833, they have been under continued control of UK. Over years, British settlers have come to inhabit the islands and form the majority of population today.
- ii. Britain under Margaret Thatcher (PM from 1979-90) went to a war with Argentina when the latter invaded Falkland islands. Falkland islanders gained full British citizenship in 1983 after British victory in 1982. A referendum was held in 2013 and the people overwhelmingly voted (~99%) to remain under Britishers.



### **Decolonization by Holland:**

Netherland's colonies before WW II included

- 1) East Indies (which mainly included islands of Sumatra and Java among others),
- 2) Some islands in West Indies. Here no independence was given and only limited self-government was granted and they continue to remain parts of Holland even today.
- 3) Suriname in South America. It lies in northeast South America along the coast of North Atlantic Ocean. It was given independence in 1975.

### **Colonialism of East Indies:**

- 1) The Dutch depended heavily on the export income from their plantations in East Indies. The Peasants on plantations had to reserve 1/5<sup>th</sup> of their land solely for growing crops for exports. The income from these exports formed a significant part of total revenue earned by Holland's government.
- 2) Leaders like Sukarno were leading the nationalist struggle even before WW II. In 1930s many leaders including Sukarno were arrested.
- 3) **Role of Japan:** Japan released Sukarno from jail after it invaded East Indies in 1942 and gave the natives a share in administration. Japan sought support in the war effort in exchange of promise of independence after the war. Sukarno rallied the people to help Japan.
- 4) **After WW II:** After Japanese defeat in 1945, Sukarno declared the Independent Republic of Indonesia but the Dutch were in no mood to give up their colony which formed the bedrock of their economy. The Dutch troops fought, failed and negotiated because
  - a) They could not sustain the high costs of fighting the guerrilla resistance.
  - b) United Nations pressure.
  - c) US and Australia were also pressurizing the Dutch because they wanted an export market and influence in Indonesia after the Dutch exit.
  - d) Dutch hoped to continue special ties with Indonesia like British Commonwealth (Neocolonialism).
- 5) **Dominion Status (1949):** Dutch recognized the United States of Indonesia (excluded West Irian -another colony of the Dutch East Indies). In return, Sukarno agreed to a Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the Dutch Crown (i.e. Dominion status).
- 6) **1950 full independence:** In 1950 Sukarno broke the dominion status and pressured the Dutch to give West Irian by confiscating Dutch property and expelling Europeans. He was successful in integrating West Irian into Indonesia by 1963.
- 7) **1965 Military Coup:** Sukarno was removed from power in a US sponsored coup because he followed a pro-Communist (pro-China) policy. General Suharto came to power and he started the purges against communists.
- 8) **General Suharto:** His regime was a brutal military dictatorship but US supported him because of his anti-communist stance. In 1975, East Timor was invaded and occupied by Indonesia. UN, USSR and US, all remained quiet because East Timor had no importance for US and USSR.

**Verdict on Decolonization:**

- 1) **Unwillingness to de-colonize:** Decolonization was gradual, spread over decades after the end of World War II. Britain handled it better and was much more non-violent. British policy was that one cannot stop independence and can only delay it and one cannot stop national consciousness, one can only guide it. This came to be paraphrased as the “wave of change”. In India, Britain failed to prevent the violence witnessed during the partition. Other colonial powers, except Italy, were even more determined to not let go of their colonial empire and suppressed the independence struggles brutally. Here people had to wage violent freedom struggle to gain independence.
- 2) **Logistics Issues:** There were logistic issues relating to migration and also violence where decolonization meant partition e.g. India. The problem was accentuated in case of India due to bitter communal rivalry.
- 3) **Neo-colonialism started:** The newly independent nations were poor and needed investments and markets for their exports, mostly a single export item.
- 4) **Overreliance on single export items:** Export baskets of many newly independent nations were composed of a single export item. Examples include cocoa for Ghana, oil for Nigeria, copper for Zaire (now called by the name of Congo) and Sugar for Cuba. This led to asymmetrical economic development. The single export dependent economies of these nations faced financial crisis whenever the international prices of these commodities collapsed.
- 5) **Food Crisis:** Further, the external lenders continuously maintained the pressure on the African states to pay back the debt which forced the African nations to focus on exports which generally included raw materials rather than the more profiteering finished goods. The focus on exports of raw materials, including cash crops, resulted in decreased impetus to food crops which resulted in food shortages at home.
- 6) **Demographic factors:** The high population growth of more than 2% increased the demand pressures on the limited supplies. This led to inflation in consumer goods and food items. Consequently, there was loss of trust in the democratically elected governments. The shortage of skilled manpower was another demographic factor which slowed down development.
- 7) **Unprepared for independence:** Many new states were unprepared for independence because of poor education, lack of officer class to man military and bureaucratic posts and due to lack of experience of governance. **India was an exception due to gradual self-government attained by Indians through their continuous struggle against Britishers.**
- 8) **Artificial nonsensical borders:** Like the Colonization during the Scramble for Africa, the decolonization was also geographically nonsensical. The decolonization process did not include any well planned state reorganization with concerns for factors like geographical continuity, cultural similarity, economic and administrative viability. As a result, tribal groups with very different cultures found themselves in the same nation and **consequently Africa became victim of civil wars between the tribes, some of which still continue.**
- 9) **No Industry:** The colonial powers never really focused on development of indigenous industry in the colonies. This was especially true of Africa which was only exploited for its raw materials. There was no indigenous industry in many of the newly independent nations. The huge developmental challenges and the poor economy inherited due to colonial rule led to instable governments, coups, and thus failure of democracy. **Salazar's troops** (Portugal) deliberately destroyed infrastructure while retreating from Mozambique.
- 10) **Poor Governance:** New governments in most cases were run by local militias or local elite groups who were not interested in human development.
- 11) **High Debt and Cold War:** The Third World countries came under huge foreign debt. Where the governments introduced socialist policies for welfare of the people, the Capitalist bloc

cut off aid because US, Britain etc. saw the nation as a communist ally of USSR. The Western capitalist countries even engaged in Military interventions, case in point the invasion of Angola by South Africa which was supported by United States.

- 12) **Black Discrimination:** There was delay in bringing about majority rule in the African colonies where the European settlers formed a large minority. Britain failed to pressurize the South Africa and South Rhodesia to bring about a black majority rule in a timely manner. When Britain forced its hand on the white government in South Africa, it declared independence without consent of Britain in 1963, perpetuating the discrimination of the Blacks. Zimbabwe did the same in 1965.
- 13) **Tribal differences:** Oppression by the colonizer brought different tribes together but after independence, the tribal differences re-emerged. The common man, the officials and the politicians were more loyal to the parent tribe than to the nation. Under the poor economic conditions, the tribal factor led to civil war, tribal slaughters and failure of Democracy. In Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire and Nigeria tribal rivalries played important role in bringing down democracies.
- 14) **Neo-colonialism** is the policy whereby the industrialized country dominates the policies of the underdeveloped nation with the purpose of economic profiteering in disregard to the economic and social interests of the underdeveloped country. The need for capital made Africa dependent on the West. Though, the Western countries and the new institutions like International Monetary Fund did give loans but they were tied to fulfilment of certain conditionalities. These conditionalities often required the recipient nations to open up their economies to the foreign companies and give up State policies meant for social welfare and security. The externally imposed austerity by the IMF, decreased the social expenditure at a time of high unemployment, inflation and food shortages.
- 15) **Impact of World Economic situation:** The poor African nations were ill equipped to deal with the economic depression during the 1980s. This was coupled by the natural disasters in form of the crop failures and droughts from 1982-86. The recession in the export markets hurt the foreign exchange earnings of African nations as the slowed down engines of growth in the developed world demanded fewer commodities of export from Africa like oil, copper, cobalt, cocoa etc. The decreased export earnings due to the economic recession hurt the poor countries the most and increased the stranglehold of Neo-colonialism as African nations took help of IMF which imposed austerity measures.

#### Situation of Colonies today:

- 1) In Africa, initially there was political instability because of
  - a) Tribal differences
  - b) They were unprepared for independence and suffered from low education penetration.
  - c) Economically they were poor, were unable to provide efficient governance and failed to meet the aspirations of the newly independent people who had thought that independence will bring an end to their miseries. This led to political instability and armed coups. In some cases, the democratically elected regimes turned dictatorial to ensure political stability e.g. Nkrumah in Ghana who was later overthrown through an armed coup.
  - d) **Today:**
    - i. **AU:** African states have come together in the form of Organization for African Unity (OAU, presently African Union) in the spirit of Pan-Africanism under leader leaders like Nkrumah, to ensure political stability, check civil wars using regional pressure, solve regional disputes internally and strive for development of Africans. Thus AU serves as a mechanism to prevent foreign interference in African affairs and aims uniting Africans for solving African problems.

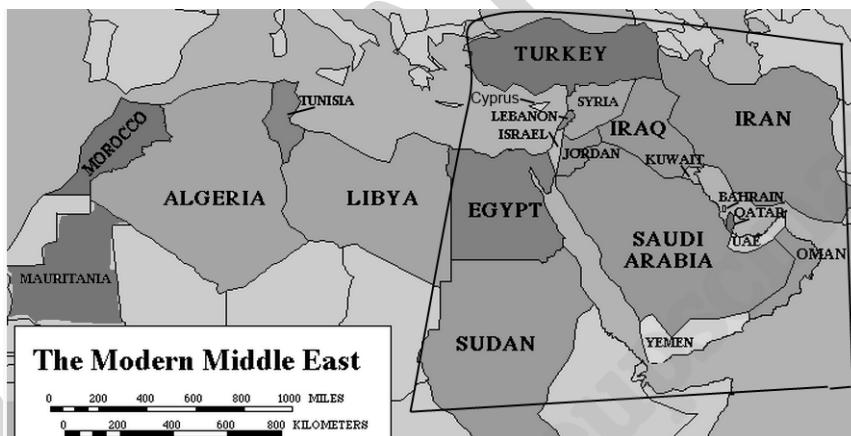
- ii. African economies have started to grow rapidly especially after 2000.
  - iii. There is improvement in social indicators, but inclusive growth still remains a challenge. There is need for focusing upon indigenous industry.
  - iv. Africa successfully checked Apartheid in 1990s and now there is black majority rule. It has been able to reach conciliation between the Blacks and the European settlers.
  - v. Africa, today, is even looking for a seat in UNSC with cooperation from other like minded countries like India.
- 2) Central America:** Here lie the Caribbean nations. Initially they did not want joining a Federation in Caribbean region and desired separate independent status.
- a) After forming a Common Market in 1973, they have in 2006 formed a Single Market.
- Difference between a Single Market and Common Market?**
- Single Market** removes physical (borders), technical (standards) and fiscal (taxes) barriers. It is a trade bloc with features of
- i. **Free Trade Area** for goods with common policies on product regulations
  - ii. **Freedom of Movement** of capital, labor, goods, enterprises and services.
- Common Market:** It is the 1st step towards Single Market and may just include Free Trade Area for goods without reducing other barriers.
- b) The Caribbean nations are even moving towards a custom union with Latin American countries through **CELAC** (2011, Community of Latin American and Caribbean states).
- c) **Today problems of Caribbean nations include**
- i. Unemployment & high foreign debt
  - ii. Global & regional Free Trade Agreements like North American FTA (NAFTA since 1994 having Mexico, US, Canada), threaten preferential access of CARICOM to foreign export markets.
  - iii. Caribbean has small island nations which lack infrastructure, skilled manpower and are economically poor. Thus they cant compete in export markets with China.
  - iv. India is cooperating with CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market) and providing assistance in fields of ICT, Health and financing of development projects in the region.
  - v. Potential of the CELAC countries lies in the fact that they are rich in oil and gas and mineral resources.
- 3) Southeast Asia:** The Southeast Asian nations grew rapidly in 1980s. They were called as Tiger economies. Even today, ASEAN is an economic powerhouse. ASEAN is central to India's Look East Policy. ASEAN aims to form a European Union type of community by 2015 with features like free movement of people, trade and a common foreign policy. The three main pillars of ASEAN Community would be
- a) Political Security Community  
b) Economic Community  
c) Socio-Cultural Community
- 4) South Asia:** Asia is a region of wide disparity.
- a) India is today the second fastest emerging economy.  
b) Bangladesh is said to be part of the next BRICS like group of emerging economies.  
c) Nepal faces severe challenge of arriving at a constitution for the country after overthrow of Monarchy through a communist revolution.  
d) Bhutan has moved towards democracy in a peaceful manner under the leadership of the Monarchy.  
e) Maldives, an archipelago, in Indian Ocean faces challenge of political instability. Recently, the democratically elected President Nasheed was overthrown in a controversial manner.

- f) Myanmar is immediate neighbor of South Asia region. It has moved towards democracy after a long rule of Military Junta. It is a vital link between India and ASEAN.
- g) **SAARC:** Countries of South Asia have also sought to come together in a union named South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. SAARC was established in 1985 with headquarters in Kathmandu. SAFTA agreement of 2004 created a Free Trade Area in the SAARC region. It aims at bringing down the custom duties of all traded goods by 2016. SAARC countries have agreed to grant Most Favored Nation status to each other that is aimed at reducing tariff barriers. In future, SAARC aims energy security in the region by setting up a SAARC electricity grid that would provide for energy security of the region. SAARC faces challenges due to frontier disputes among member nations like India and Pakistan. The high mutual suspicion between India and Pakistan has held back the emergence of SAARC as a formidable force in the region.
- h) **The challenges of South Asia today include**, mutual hostility, insurgency, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, unemployment, lack of education, lack of financial inclusion, political instability, lack of regional connectivity, a history of wars, nuclear proliferation etc. Also the growing Chinese influence has the potential to hurt the unity in the region.

### **Conflicts in the Middle East**

*Before we make an effort to understand the conflicts in the Middle East let us gain an understanding of the various terms associated with the Middle East Region.*

**Middle East:** Since 1945 the region has been embroiled in wars and civil wars.



**What is Traditional Middle East ?:** It is a group of 16 nations (Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, Oman, Yemen). Sudan is at times included in Middle East.

**Modern Middle East** also includes 5 Arab states of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania taking the number to 21.

**Non-Arab States in Middle East** are Iran, Turkey and Israel. Iran has high minority of Arabs in area around the Persian Gulf.

**Arab World** = Group of 22 members of Arab League. Arab states outside the Middle East are Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and Comoros (eastern coast of Africa, between northeast Mozambique and Madagascar). Morocco is the only African country which is not part of AU because of its disputes with Western Sahara (SADR). SADR is not part of AL because of AL's support for Morocco.

**Levant= aka Eastern Mediterranean**=is a geographic and cultural region consisting of the "eastern Mediterranean littoral between Turkey and Egypt"



### Fertile Crescent

It is a crescent-shaped region containing the comparatively moist and fertile land of otherwise arid and semi-arid Western Asia, and the Nile Valley and Nile Delta of northeast Africa.

The modern-day countries with significant territory within the Fertile Crescent are Iraq, Kuwait, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt, besides the southeastern fringe of Turkey and the western fringes of Iran



### Some Issues of importance in Middle East

Western Interests	Arab Interests
Oil	Destruction of Israel (created in 1948 by UN) 4 wars of 1948-49, 1956, 1967, 1973
Strategic interests with respect to Trade	Political and Economic unity of Arabs
Strategic interests with respect to defence against Communism (e.g. Control of Suez Canal)	End to foreign interference/Neocolonialism.

### Decolonization of the Middle East:

- 1) Britain gave independence to Iraq in 1932 and to Jordan (1946) but both continued to remain pro-British.
- 2) France gave independence to Syria and Lebanon in 1945 but hoped to maintain some influence in the middle east.

### ***Reason for Neo-Colonialism in Middle East:***

- 1) **Strategic position of Middle East:** The Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf were important trade routes. Also middle east was the convergence point of the Capitalist bloc, the Communist bloc and the Third World countries especially Asia and Southeast Asia.
- 2) **Oil:** The oil resources of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were essential for the energy security of the world.

### **Iran (post 1945):**

**Introduction:** It is the only Middle East State which had a border with USSR.

The Constitution of 1906, provided for a semi-absolute rule of Shah. The western educated and pro-US, Mohammed Raza Pahlavi was the Shah since 1941.

### **During Cold War:**

- 1) In 1907, Britain and Russia had agreed to carve out Northern Iran as Russian sphere of influence while southern Iran was to be British sphere of influence with central Iran being open to both rival powers.
- 2) In 1945, USSR tried to establish a communist government in Northern Iran that had a strong and active communist party.
- 3) In 1955, the Shah signed **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and UK (United States signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the United States participated as an observer and took part in committee meetings). Shah got economic and military aid for containment of communism in Northern Iran. Shah gave US oil companies concessions to develop oil reserves of Iran.

### ***De-Neocolonialism in Iran:***

- 1) The Nationalists in Iran were against foreign interference. They gradually grew strong.
- 2) In 1951, the Parliament of Iran (Majlis) elected Mohammed Mussadeq as the Prime Minister.
- 3) In 1951, under PM Mussadeq, the Majlis (Parliament of Iran) ordered nationalization of Anglo Iranian Oil Company, a British controlled company because it was felt that Britain was taking too much of profit.
- 4) From 1951-3, PM Mussadeq also sought to reduce the semi-absolute rule of Shah to move Iran towards full democracy.
- 5) **Sanctions against Iran:** After nationalization, most of the world stopped buying oil from Iran.
- 6) **Coup (1953):** In 1953, the democratically elected PM Mussadeq was forced to resign in a coup in which CIA played an important role. After this a military government was formed and Shah began to rule as an absolute monarch.
- 7) **1954- Iran-Britain compromise:** Shah reached a compromise with Britain as per which
  - a) The British Petroleum would have only 40 % shares in Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.
  - b) Iran would keep 50% profits (which Shah later used for cautious modernization of Iran and for Land Reforms)
- 8) **1979 Islamic Revolution:** Shah was toppled because
  - a) He fell out with the Shia clerics who were against the reforms initiated by Shah for western style modernization of Iranian society.
  - b) The left wing and the radical Muslims were against Shah being a US puppet and they also resented the huge personal wealth of Shah.
  - c) Shah escaped and Iran was proclaimed an Islamic Republic under a religious leader with title "Ayotollah" (High Priest) Khomeini.

**NAM & Iran:** Iran became part of NAM in 1979, as Khomeini, like Nasser of Egypt, wanted independence in foreign policy and non-alignment during Cold War.

**Let us understand the history behind Arab Unity in a brief:** Common things among Arab States:

- a) All speak Arabic Language
- b) All are Muslims except half the population (Christians) of Lebanon.
- c) Most Arab States are against Israel, favoured destruction of Israel and are pro-Palestinian Arabs.
- d) All wanted some Economic or Political union like European Economic Community.
- e) **Attempts at Political or Economic union among Arab States:**
  - i. **Arab League:** Formed in 1945 by Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. It had 20 states by 1980 and today has 22 members. India has an observer status, while Pakistan does not.
  - ii. After Suez War in 1956, **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser** (died in 1970) emerged as the face of Arab Unity who could stand up to the Western domination.
  - iii. **Egypt-Syria Union:** United Arab Republic (1958-61) was formed with Nasser as President. It ended because of Syrian grievances against Nasser domination. Later attempts at such unions failed.

#### **Arab Disunity:**

- a) Nationalists were against Jordan and Saudi Arabia because they were ruled by pro-West conservative Royal families. This was especially true of nationalists in Syria and Egypt who were socialists.
- b) Nationalists were against Egypt post 1979 Camp David Accords (Egypt Israel Peace Treaty) which led to Egypt recognizing Israel. Rest of Arab states turned against President Sadat and he was executed by right wing Egyptian nationalists in 1981.

#### **De-Neocolonialism in Middle East**

- 1) One by one the pro-British and the pro-French governments were replaced by nationalist governments who wanted to be non-aligned.
- 2) **Egypt:** In 1952 there was a coup and Nasser became President in 1954. In 1956, the Suez War was fought by Egypt against Britain, France and Israel over control of Suez Canal.
- 3) **Eisenhower Doctrine:** After the end of Suez War (1956), the Arab countries drew closer to Soviet Union. This prompted President Eisenhower to propose Eisenhower Doctrine which implied giving economic and military aid to countries of this region to check "international communism".
- 4) **Jordan:** King Abdullah was in power after 1946 independence from Britain but in 1951 he was assassinated for being pro-British. King Hussein had to give up the pro-British attitude for his survival and thus in 1957 he ended the **Jordan-Britain Treaty** that allowed British to keep troops in its bases in Jordan and thus all British troops were withdrawn.
- 5) **Iraq:** It had pro-British King Faisal and Prime Minister Said. They signed the **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and UK (US signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the US participated as an observer).
- 6) **Iraqi Revolution (1958):** Encouraged by the British humiliation in the Suez War (1956), the nationalists killed King Faisal and Prime Minister Said and thus Iraq became a Republic in 1958.
- 7) **US intervention in Lebanon:** A series of events in 1958, including an Egyptian-Syrian union, an Iraqi revolution, and civil unrest in Lebanon threatened regional stability. In response to these developments, the United States invoked the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine as justification for intervening in Lebanon.

- 8) **Iraq leaves Baghdad Pact in 1959:** The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention, and in 1959, Iraq left the Baghdad Pact. This led to an end of all British influence in the region. Saddam became President in 1979 (remained till 2003). He had played important role in 1968 coup that brought the Baath Party to power. He was a proponent of Arab Nationalism and Arab Socialism. He nationalized oil, banking and other industries.
- 9) **CENTO (1959-1979):** The other signatories to the Baghdad Pact formed the Central Treaty Organization. US supported CENTO so it continues to maintain influence in the region.

*One of the major events in the Middle East during the 1980's was the the Iran-Iraq war and therefore it is pertinent to understand it in depth.*

### Iraq-Iran War (1980-88)

#### **Why Iraq attacked Iran in 1980 ?**

- 1) **Fear of Islamic fundamentalism:** 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was led by militant Islamic groups (Iran's fundamentalist Shias believed that the country should be run on Islamic code). Saddam was afraid of militant Islam spreading from Iran to Iraq. Iraq and Iran both had Shia majority while Saddam was a Sunni.
- 2) **Border dispute over Khuzestan:** Iraq wanted Khuzestan, a border province of Iran which was populated by Arabs rather than the Persians. The territory continues to be part of Iran today.



- 3) **Dispute over Inland Waterway called Shatt-el-Arab:** In 1975, Iran forced Iraq into joint use and control of this waterway which was an important outlet for both countries oil exports. The waterway formed part of the frontier between Iran and Iraq. The waterway is with Iraq since Iraq-Iran war.
- 4) **Saddam hoped for quick victory:** because he felt that Iranian forces would be weak after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. But he was proved wrong and the war went on for 8 years.

#### **War dragged on for 8 years:**

1. Saddam had Russian tanks, helicopters etc.
2. Iran got arms from North Korea, China and from US (secretly).
3. The war became a Shia-Sunni conflict with the border dispute being overshadowed.

### **Result of Iraq-Iran War:**

- 1) **Arab Unity decreased: It served a huge blow to the Arab unity discussed before.**
  - a) **Pro-Iraq:** The more conservative states like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait. Also, Saudi Arabia had another strategic interest. It wanted decreased control of Iran on the Persian Gulf.
  - b) **Pro-Iran:** Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). They were against Iraq because Iraq was the aggressor and they believed that Arab world should focus on Israel.
- 2) **Oil Crisis:** The oil supply to the world decreased because Iraq attacked and blockaded Iran's oil exports. Oil shortage brought US, USSR, Britain and France's warships in the region which increased tensions. By 1987, all oil tankers faced threat of sea mines.
- 3) **UN mediated ceasefire (1988):** UN was able to do so because by 1988 both sides were exhausted. But before even accepting the peace terms, Iraq invaded Kuwait and this latter conflict came to be known as the **Gulf War (1990-91).**

### **Gulf War (1990-91):**

Iraq was successful in quickly occupying Kuwait.

#### **Why Iraq invaded Kuwait?**

- 1) **Oil:** Iraq wanted control over oil reserves of Kuwait because it was short of cash after long Iraq-Iran war.
- 2) **Historical Claims:** Iraq claimed that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq. The critics argued that Kuwait was created in 1899 as a British Protectorate while Iraq was only created after WW I as a British mandate from the Ottoman empire.
- 3) **Saddam didn't expect western opposition:** US and Western European nations had given arms to Iraq during Iraq-Iran war. They had also not acted aggressively against Saddam's brutal repression of Kurds in North Iraq when they had demanded independence.

#### **UN acts against Iraq**

- a) **In defence of Kurds:** At the time of invasion, Saddam had also started brutal repression of Kurds in Northern Iraq. They were demanding secession. UN applied No Fly Zone to prevent Saddam from bombing his own population.
- b) **Operation Desert Storm:**
  - i. More than 30 nations participated in military intervention coded Operation Desert Storm against Iraq.
  - ii. Initially, Trade sanctions and oil export sanctions were applied against Iraq under aegis of UN.
  - iii. Then UN gave deadline to Saddam for troop withdrawal else "UN will use all necessary means" to safeguard Kuwait's territorial integrity.
- 4) **Why US, France and Britain were against Iraqi invasion?**
  - a) Because by capturing Kuwait, Saddam now controlled too much oil in the region which hurt the balance of power in the Middle East and gave too much leverage to Iraq.
- 5) **Why Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt were against Iraqi invasion?**
  - a) Because they were concerned about the next act of aggression by Saddam Hussein which may threaten their territorial integrity. They contributed troops to UN force along with US, Britain, France and Italy.
- 6) **Criticism of outside powers:**
  - a) Russia, Syria and Turkey themselves had Kurd minority and thus they did not do anything initially when Kurds were brutally repressed by Saddam.
  - b) The Western nations only took action against Iraq because of their oil interest. They did nothing when Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 because it was of little interest to them.

## Arab-Israel Conflict

### Why Israel created in 1948 ?



#### 1) Historical grievances of Jews:

- a) **Roman persecution:** In 71 AD, Jews were driven out of Palestine by Romans and they settled in different parts of the world including US. Gradually, over years many Jews returned from exile but their population was not significant to make Arabs anxious.
- b) **World Zionist Organization (1897):** It was formed in Switzerland. **Zionist** means people who wanted Jews to return to their homeland, Palestine and form a Jewish state of their own. Problem was Palestine was now inhabited mainly by Arabs who were now threatened by loss of their "homeland".
- c) **Nazi persecution:** This resulted in high influx of refugee European Jews, who were looking for a home, into Palestine and by 1940 half the population of Palestine was Jewish. Nazi persecution and with change in demography of Palestine, the demand for Israel as a separate state grew.

#### 2) How creation of Israel became inevitable and how middle path solution failed ?

- a) **Britain:** After WW I, Britain got Palestine as a mandate. In 1917, Britain said it favored creation of Israel. This led to influx of Jews into Palestine which was opposed by Arab States who wanted an independent united Palestine under Arabs.
- b) **Zionist Terrorism:** started after WW II, targeting Arabs and Britishers who opposed Jewish influx under pressure from Arab States. **US** pressured Britain to allow Jews enter Palestine.
- c) **Attempts at middle path failed:**

- i. In 1937, the Arabs rejected British 2 state proposal.
- ii. In 1939, British proposed a One state solution whereby Palestine would be made independent in 10 years and Jewish immigration would be limited to 10,000 per annum. Jews rejected this proposal.
- iii. In 1946, Britain again proposed a One State solution with two provinces, one each of Arabs and Jews. Truman rejected this plan.

#### 3) UN creates Israel in 1948:

- a) Britain asked for UN help because was unable to bear high costs of maintaining peace.
- b) **1947 UN voted** to divide Palestine into two halves. British withdrew in 1948.



### 1948 Arab-Israel War:

Immediately after its creation, Israel was attacked by Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.

#### Result:

- 1) **Egypt:** Egypt did not earn anything from the war. Rather, Israel captured the Egyptian port of Eilat. Egypt also faced the problem of refugees from Palestine as there was a refugee exodus due to Israel's brutal treatment of Palestinians after the war. In 1952 the Egyptian Army did a coup to dethrone King Farouk as he favored the presence of British troops in Suez Canal. **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein** became the President of Egypt in 1954 and sought to reduce British influence.
- 2) **Israel:** captured 3/4<sup>th</sup> of Palestine, more than what was given to it by UN.
- 3) **Jerusalem:** was captured by Israel (**West Jerusalem**) and Jordan (**East Jerusalem**).
- 4) **West Bank:** It is the Palestinian territory west of river Jordan. It was captured by Jordan. This led to conflict within the Arab world because Jordan wanted West Bank for itself.



- 5) **Refugee influx:** into Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.

- 6) **Plight of Palestinians:** Now most of them lived in refugee camps. Many found themselves now living under Israel and Jordan.

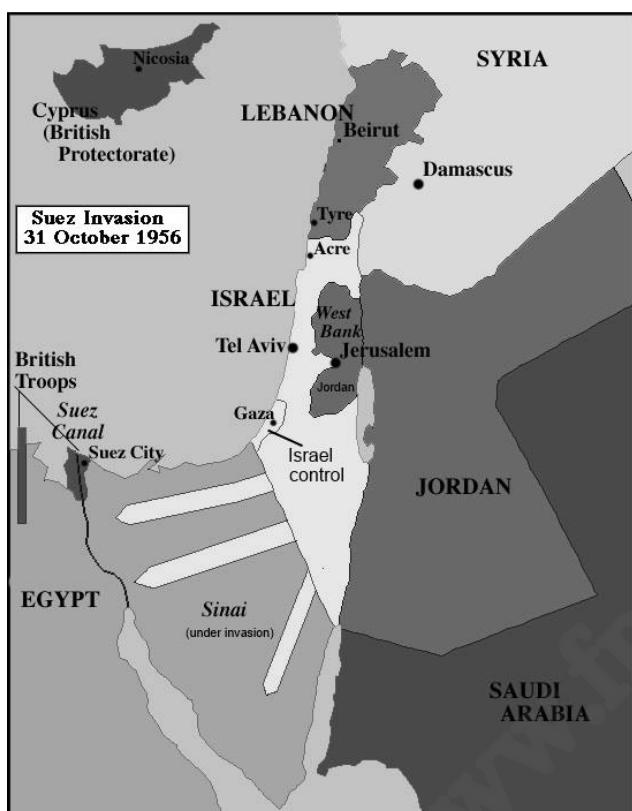
### Suez War 1956:

**Importance of Suez Canal:** The Suez Canal opened in 1869 and was a very important sea-route of commerce. It reduced the distance for the British merchant vessels traveling to India. It provided an outlet from the Mediterranean sea towards the Indian Ocean. Without the Suez Canal the ships would have to travel all around the Western coast of Africa and then the Cape of Good Hope to reach Asia.

**Anglo-French control of Suez Canal:** Egypt went bankrupt in 19<sup>th</sup> century while trying for industrialization. Due to this the Governor of Egypt had to sell his shareholding in the company that managed Suez Canal, to the British. Thus since 1875, control of canal was with France and Britain. Consequently Egypt was colonized by Britain. It gained independence in 1922 but British troops remained to maintain control over the canal. The British continued to meddle in the internal affair of Egypt.

Foreign control of Suez Canal was resented by the nationalist Egyptian Army.

**Suez War 1956:** Colonel Nasser persisted with the demand that the British should evacuate Suez Canal. In 1956, Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt.



The reasons were:

- 1) Colonel Nasser's anti-West policies and his pro-Palestine stance against Israel.
- 2) Colonel Nasser had organized Fidayeens to carry out murders and bombings in Israel.
- 3) Egypt had also blockaded the **Gulf of Aqaba** to prevent the western ships going to Eilat port. Eilat port was under Israel occupation after the 1948 war.



- 4) Further, Nasser refused the renewal of the 1936 British-Egypt Treaty that allowed British troops in Suez Canal zone.
  - 5) Nasser had also helped the Algerian Arabs in their struggle for independence against the French.
  - 6) He prodded the Arab nations to resist the Baghdad pact led by the British. **Baghdad Pact** was aimed at maintaining the British influence in Northern Africa and the Middle East.
  - 7) **The Cold War:**
    - a) Colonel Nasser further antagonized the British by signing a **defence deal with Czechoslovakia in 1955**. This agreement provided for arms supply and training of the troops of Egyptian army.
    - b) **Cancellation of US grant for Aswan dam (1956):** USA saw the bonhomie between Russia and Egypt as part of the Cold War and it feared Russian entry into the oil-rich region of Middle East. As a result of this communist phobia, USA cancelled the grant it had promised to Egypt for building of Aswan dam.
  - 8) **Nationalization of Suez Canal:** Conditions of economic stress and given the importance of Aswan dam to Egypt, the cancellation of the grant by USA prompted Colonel Nasser to Nationalize the Suez Canal. Colonel Nasser wanted to use the income from the Suez Canal to fund the construction of the dam.

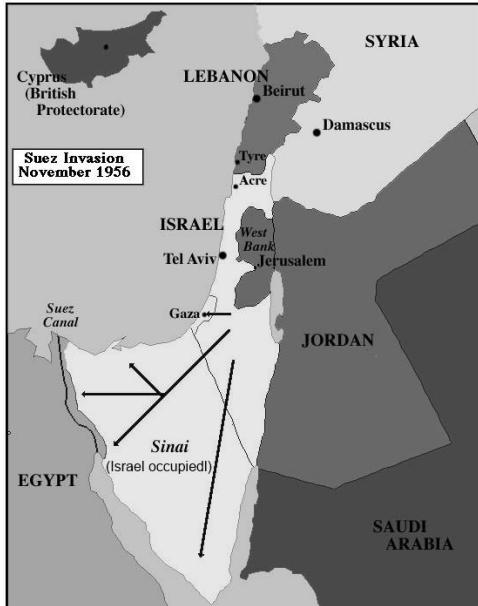
In return for the nationalization of Suez Canal, Colonel Nasser promised adequate compensation to the shareholders. He also promised the use of Suez Canal by all nations except Israel.

Thus the aim of Nasser's policies was not of hurting the trade regime of the British but securing his country's independence from the Neocolonialism and exercising the sovereign right of Egypt to manage its resources and infrastructure which included the Suez Canal.

But the main concern of the British and French was to maintain their influence in neighboring states and ensure the continued benefits out of Neo-colonialism. They feared the Arab unity which was taking shape since the creation of Israel. There existed an apprehension among the Western powers that Egypt desired creation of a **United Arabia** under Egyptian control which might be pro-USSR. Such Arab unity was against the economic interests of the West since Middle East and North Africa were the main sources of oil and if the Arabs decided to use Oil as a leverage then they would come under the domination of the Arab countries.

### The result of the 1956 Suez war:

- End of British influence:** Britain was weak post World War II. It expected a quick victory but the Egyptian Army fought with valour and persistence draining the British of their strength. The Suez War marked the end of British influence in Egypt and from now on Britain was heavily dependent on USA in the domain of foreign policy.
- Positives for Israel:** It captured the Sinai peninsula of Egypt and used it as a leverage in the peace talks and there was temporary cessation of the Fidyeen attacks on its territory.



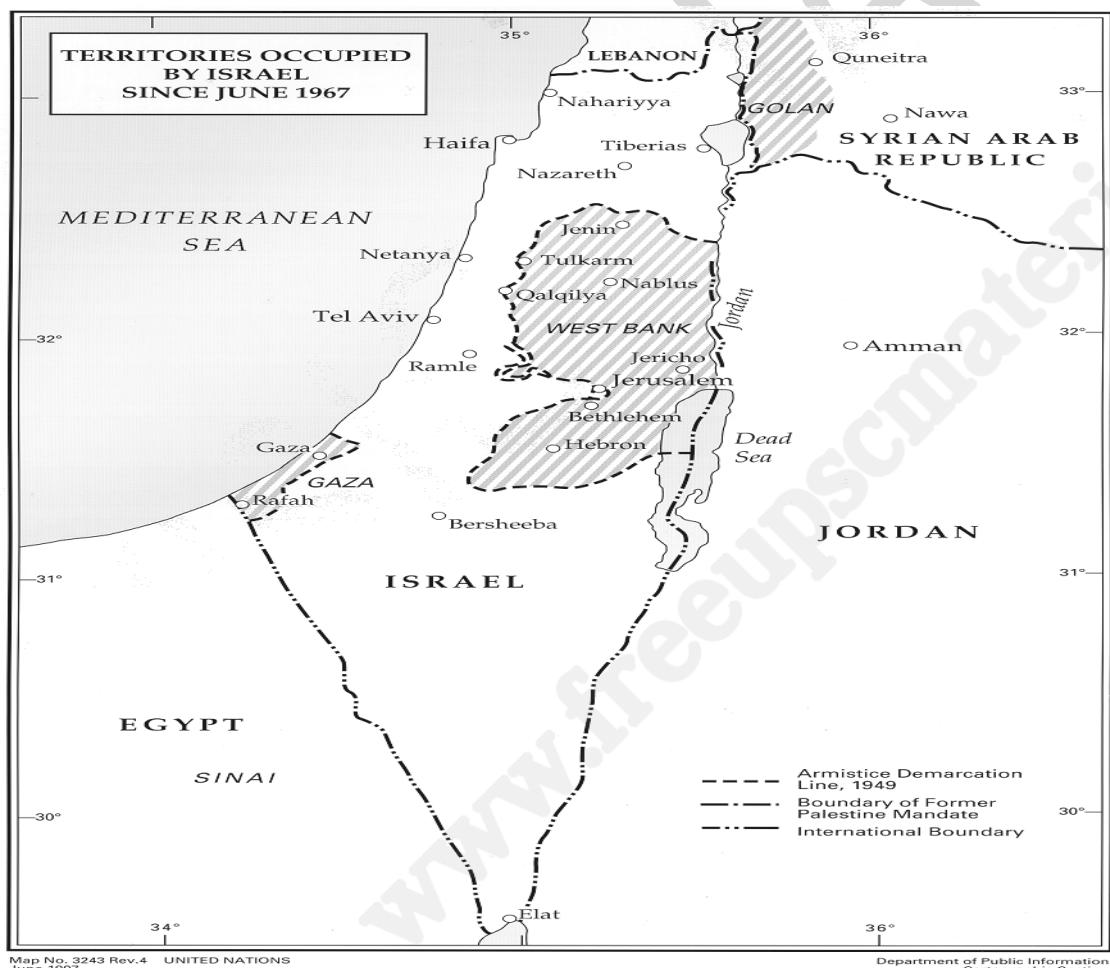
- Ceasefire:** USA and the Soviet Union mediated a ceasefire by working along with the United Nations. Israel returned Sinai peninsula to Egypt.
- Suez and Oil supply:** British and the French failed to achieve their war aims. Egypt blocked the Suez Canal till 1957 and the Arab states decreased oil supply to the European countries.
- Russian influence:** There was an increase in the Russian influence in the region as the US aid was replaced by the Russian aid. Also British lost an ally in form of Iraq.



6. **Iraqi Revolution (1958):** Encouraged by defeat of the British and French, the nationalists in Iraq murdered the pro-British King *Faisal* and PM *Said* in 1958.
7. **Algerian freedom struggle:** The defeat of France in Suez War gave a morale boost to the nationalists fighting for independence which was achieved in 1962. Nasser helped Algerians.
8. **Arab Unity under Nasser:** The year of 1956, thus marked emergence of a new face of Arab Unity in form of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. He now emerged as the tall leader of the Arab world who had the wherewithal to stand up to the Western domination. Nasser helped the Algerians further in their independence struggle which was finally won in 1962. **India** supported the anti-neocolonialism struggle of Egypt and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru shared good rapport with Colonel Nasser. Both of them along with leaders like Nkrumah of Ghana, Tito of Yugoslavia & Sukarno of Indonesia were the founding members of the **Non Aligned Movement** in 1961.

**Six Day War (1967):** Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Algeria (independent since 1962) ordered troop mobilization but this was slow and gave early warning and time to Israel which launched preemptive strikes and destroyed the Egyptian air crafts.

#### Result:



- 1) **Israel:** The battle failed to achieve a military solution to the problem of Palestine. Israel captured
  - a) Sinai Peninsula of Egypt. Golan Heights of Syria.
  - b) **In Palestine:** Whole of Jerusalem and West Bank from Jordan; and Gaza Strip, earlier with Palestinians.

- c) This time Israel rejected UN resolution asking return of captured territory. It desired to ensure that Sinai and Golan Heights act as a buffer zones
- 2) **Militarization of the region by Russia:** Russia started supplying modern arms to Egypt and Syria (the reason for present strength of Syria against the rebels).
- 3) **Suez Blockade:** Egypt began a blockade of Suez Canal (remained till 1975).

#### Yom Kippur War or October War (1973):

Boosted by the military arsenal from Russia, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. Yom Kippur is a Jewish festival and Egypt and Syria wanted to catch the Israelis off-guard.

#### Why?

- 1) To retrieve Sinai and Golan Heights from Israel.
- 2) Egypt wanted to force a negotiation on Palestine. **President Anwar Sadat of Egypt** (in power since death of Nasse in 1970) was convinced that there cannot be a military solution to the Israel-Palestinian dispute. Thus he desired a negotiated peace but the USA had refused to take the lead. With the war, Egypt wanted to force USA to act as a mediator.
- 3) Also PLO (Palestinian Liberation organization) was pushing Arab states for further action. PLO's extreme faction blew off an airplane over Jordan in 1970 and killed Israeli sportsmen in Munich Olympic (1972).

#### Result:

- a) **Oil Crisis (1973):** During the Yom Kippur war, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decreased oil supply. It resulted in inflation in the importing nations and there were oil shortages. OPEC wanted to pressurize the USA and European countries, who were supporting Israel, into submission. Some argue that OPEC was genuinely concerned towards preservation of the scarce resource.
- b) USA and USSR intervened through the UN and ceasefire was achieved.
- c) **Suez Canal:** Israel withdrew troops from Suez Canal and Egypt agreed to open the Canal in 1975 (closed since 1967 war). But Israeli ships were still not allowed to use it.
- d) Israel retained all territory captured in 1967 war (Sinai, Golan Heights, West Bank, Gaza, whole of Jerusalem)
- e) **Success for Sadat:** Egypt celebrates October 6 yearly as October War led to 1979 Camp David Accords which led to withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai. Sinai after 1979 was to be demilitarized with US satellites monitoring the peninsula.

**Camp David Accords (1979) or 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty:** In 1979, under the mediator role of USA President Carter, Egypt and Israel signed a landmark peace agreement, famously known as the Camp David Accords.

Under the Camp David Accords,

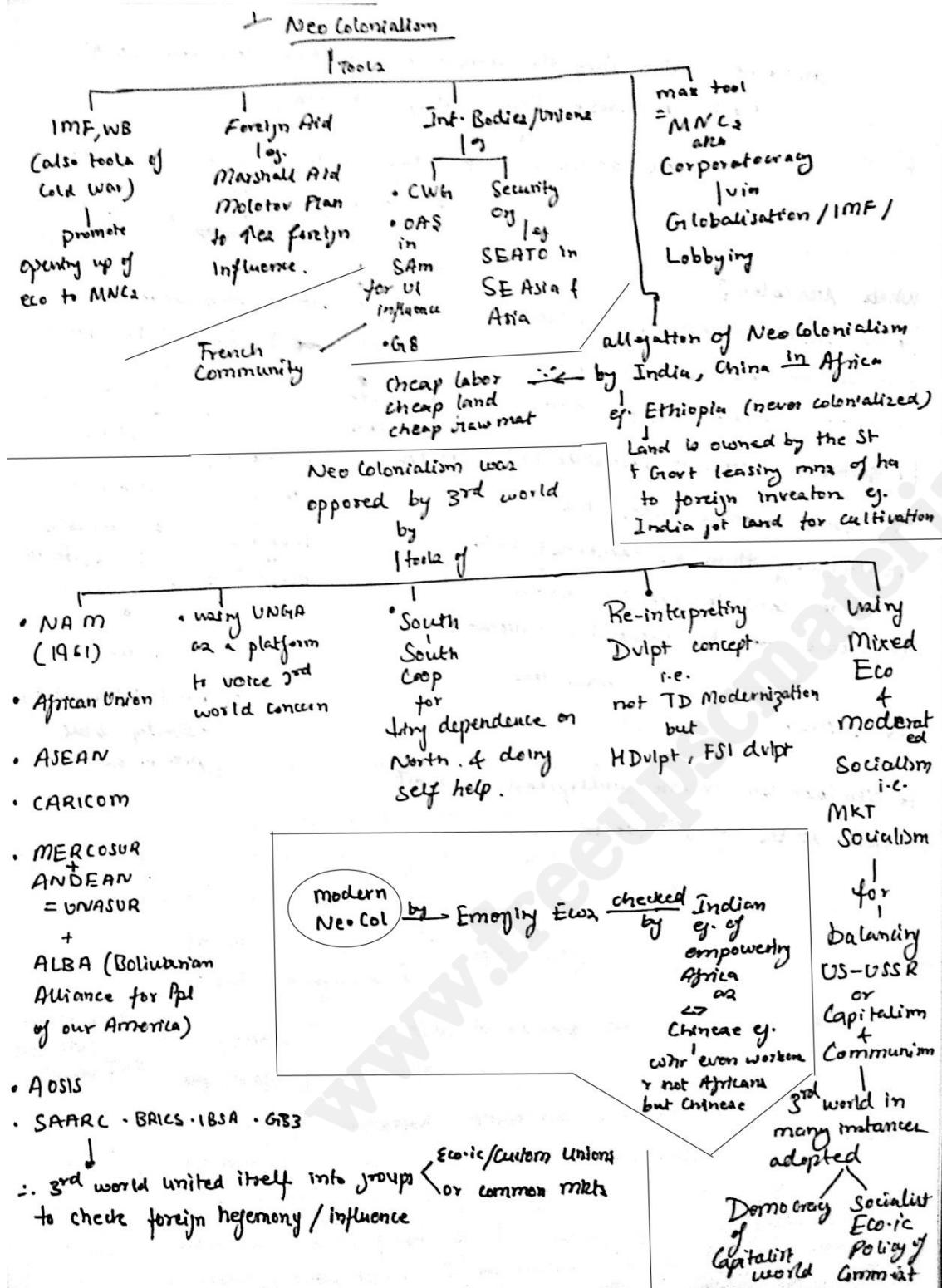
- 1) Israeli troops were withdrawn from Sinai and it was to be demilitarized with US satellites monitoring the peninsula. Only limited troops from Egypt were allowed. Presently, there is a UN force in Sinai.
- 2) Egypt guaranteed oil supply to Israel from newly discovered oil fields in Sinai peninsula.
- 3) Ended the state of war between Israel and Egypt (in operation since 1948). Egypt promised to not attack Israel again.
- 4) Egypt allowed the Israeli ships to use Suez Canal. But this bonhomie between Israel and Egypt was not accepted in principle by many Arabs and President Sadat was executed in 1981 during a public event.

**Present Status:**

- 1) **Illegal Settlements:** Israel boosted construction of Israeli settlements in legally Palestinian lands (West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza). Palestinians continued to protest in the refugee camps in West Bank and Gaza.
- 2) In 1980s, Israel declared that it won't ever give back Golan Heights to Syria & never allow West Bank to be part of Palestine.
- 3) **What is pre-1967 position frequently desired by Palestinians and opposed by Israel ?**
  - a) Palestine = West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem.
  - b) Israel = West Jerusalem, Rest of Israel, minus Golan Heights (which was then with Syria).
- 4) **Oslo Accords (1993) between Israel and PLO:** The agreement included:
  - a) Recognition of PLO by Israel. Also PLO recognized Israel's right to exist.
  - b) PLO promised to give up terrorism.
  - c) **Palestinian Authority** was established.
  - d) Israel gave limited self rule to Palestinians (under PA) in parts of West Bank and of Gaza strip (not all of Gaza and West Bank). The Jewish settlers and extreme faction within PLO opposed. The latter wanted complete independence.
- 5) **2<sup>nd</sup> Oslo Accords 1995 :**
  - a) A permanent solution was to be achieved by 1999.
  - b) Israel would withdraw from West Bank and Gaza. This was not done because Hamas terror campaign in 1996.
  - c) A **Palestinian Legislative Council** (agreed for during 1993) directly elected by all adult Arabs was to rule the vacated area (parts of Gaza and West Bank). Elections were held in 1996 and Yasser Arafat became Palestine's President.
  - d) **Consequence:**
    - i. Israeli extremists opposed & Israel's PM was executed in 1995.
    - ii. Hamas (Sunni organization) began terror campaign.
    - iii. Hezbollah (Shia organization in South Lebanon) shelled North Israel.
    - iv. Netanyahu a right wing leader came to power in 1996.
- 6) **2005- Israel unilateral pullout from area under its control in Gaza strip** and handed over control to Palestinian Authority
  - a) **Aim** was to separate Palestinians of Gaza Strip from Jews.
  - b) **Result** was that Hamas took control & replaced PA . It has used Gaza to launch rocket attacks on Israel.
- 7) **2007 Blockade of Gaza** by Israel to prevent movement of goods in and out of Gaza. Turkey condemned Israel for firing at a flotilla carrying goods to Gaza. Impact of blockade was illegal trade with Egypt with goods being sold at exorbitant prices hurting poor Palestinians.
- 8) **2012 Palestine from "Non-member Observer Entity" to "Non-member Observer State":** India co-sponsored & supported the resolution on enhancing Palestine's status from '**Non-Member Observer Entity**' to '**Non-Member Observer State**' in UNGA. Palestine with new status would have access to UN agencies & also potentially the ICC. It would be able to participate in the UNGA debates. It is a global recognition to the relevant territory as a sovereign state of Palestine. **In sum, this is an important move towards Palestinian statehood, which 132 countries have already recognised.**
- 9) **2014 status:**
  - a) Gaza (under Hamas), West Bank (partially under Palestinian Authority & rest with Israel), East Jerusalem (claimed by Palestinians but is under Israel).
  - b) Palestinians want a homeland with East Jerusalem as capital.
  - c) Israel continues to build settlements in West Bank and East Jerusalem.

- d) Iran supports Hamas of Gaza.
- e) Syria wants Golan Heights back.
- f) India supported in UNSC, full & equal UN membership for Palestine. India has always been in favor of the Palestinian cause in UN.

**What is Neo-Colonialism?** It is the practice of exploitation or domination, especially economic exploitation, of a politically independent but non-industrialized foreign country.



### **Why no Neo-Colonialism in India?**

From mid 19<sup>th</sup> century there was rise of capitalist class in India. The British had also promoted the money lenders by making land a tradable commodity and charging high rents from the landlords which compelled the people to borrow from moneylenders. Also trading merchants benefited from British rule.

The capitalist class in India developed on an indigenous capital base rather than on foreign capital base like in other colonies. FICCI was setup in the 1930s and thus the capitalist class had organized itself into a pressure group to influence policies of the government.

The Bombay Plan of 1944 was formulated by the post-war Economic Development Committee of the capitalists. It suggested a middle path as the plan envisaged integration of the socialist ideas without compromising on the essential features of capitalism. It favored partial nationalization and even cooperativization of Agriculture along with land reforms.

The Capitalist class in India was definitely against radical socialism but it was not pro-Imperialist. It calibrated its position in line with the Indian National Congress and after opposing the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920, the Capitalists supported the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-4) and nationalist struggles thereafter. The capitalists became part of the Indian National Movement even though at the most conservative end.

The Gandhian strategy of S-T-S (Struggle - Truce - Struggle) was supported by the Capitalists as they used the national struggle to seek concessions from the British and at the same time the truce provided period of stability in law and order which was good for business. Thus the INC movement's focus on non-violence provided positive conditions for growth of indigenous capital.

By the time of independence, Indian capitalists had strong grip on the finance sector.

After independence, the focus on heavy industry and infrastructure provided an important base for the Indian government companies to grow.

The Indian export basket was relatively diversified when compared to other former colonies like African nations which provided for hedging against dependency on single item of export.

Then India was rich in mineral resources and other raw materials which could provide sufficient supply for the industry.

The British did develop infrastructure and connected whole of India by a rail-road network. The thrust on higher education provided personnel for high-skilled jobs.

The food security was one aspect which could have made us dependent on the external world but the Green Revolution with help from US in the 1960s helped India overcome this hindrance as well.

India went for nationalization of important sectors of the economy and a relatively closed economy model prevented the Multinational companies from taking root in India. The policy of import substitution further strengthened the indigenous industry.

The Non-Aligned Movement helped India remain out of the Cold War and checked foreign interference in internal affairs. The strong organizational structure of Indian National Congress helped and the rich history of non-violent struggle provided stable democratic governments. A strong army also put off any military threat and acted as a deterrent. Thus with strong fundamentals India was able stave off Neocolonialism to good extent.

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# NAM

## NAM: Non Aligned Movement

It is important to note the stand of the Third World countries during the Cold War. The newly emerged nations after the end of the WW II are commonly referred to as the Third World. The term "Third" is there because the capitalist bloc and the communist bloc represented the other two worlds. NAM was officially formed in 1961 at a time when decolonization was gaining pace.

**The core principles of NAM** can be summarized as : sovereign equality of states; territorial integrity, peaceful, equitable & just world order; progress of developing countries through socio-economic development, New International Economic Order, Anti-imperialism, Anti-Colonialism, Anti-Neocolonialism, Disarmament, Independence in Foreign Policy and ending of Racism and Racial Discrimination.

## Why NAM?

- 1) **To focus on Development:** The newly emerged nations had inherited backwardness due to the colonial rule and they even today continue to deal with the challenge of building their social, economic and political systems. Post-independence the Third World nations had limited resources and huge task of economic development and political consolidation. They were economically and politically weak and thus were vulnerable to coming under the influence of either of the two world powers. Thus to remain focused on the developmental targets and to assert their independence in foreign policy many of these nations began what came to be known as the Non Aligned Movement.
- 2) **To preserve newly gained independence:** The aim of NAM was to consolidate the newly emerged developing nations into a single group so as to be able to prevent getting embroiled in the Cold War by not getting aligned with any of the two world powers. The Cold War, with features of military alliances and the arms race, had the potential to threaten independence of these countries.
- 3) **Independence in foreign policy:** The NAM countries wanted to assert themselves as a strong independent identity not by use of military power but via collective voice.

**Precursors to NAM:** While NAM officially came into existence in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Its roots go back in time:

- 1) **Asian Relations Conference (March 1947):** It was held in New Delhi. The thrust of the conference was *independence in foreign policy, reducing dependence on the west and striving for world peace.*

**Nehru argued that** the Asian nations have long been pawns in the hands of the Western powers and now is the time that they should have independence in world affairs. They should strive for removing dependency on the West and for this it requires them to come together to work together for welfare of their people. The dangers of the war was highlighted given the development of atomic weapons that threaten the whole humanity. Thus the primary aim of the Asian nations should be to work for maintenance of world peace.

- 2) **Panchsheel Principles of Peaceful Coexistence:** India and China included these five principles in the preamble of an agreement they signed in 1954. They became integral part of NAM as well. These principles were:

- a) Equality & mutual benefit.
- b) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity & sovereignty.
- c) Peaceful co-existence.
- d) Mutual non-aggression.

- i. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

It is to be noted that Indian recognition of Tibet as part of China in 1954 Panchsheel Agreement did not imply being blind to human tragedy there.

- 3) Bandung Conference (1955):** It was major milestone in history of NAM. The participatory nations represented half of the world population. This was a conference of Asian and African nations, called by Sukarno in Indonesia. The background was emergence of NATO (1949) and Warsaw Pact (1955). The world was embroiled in the Cold War. Both USSR and US had developed Hydrogen and Atomic Bombs and the world had witnessed two major wars, one in Vietnam and another in Korea. The important leaders at the conference included Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, J.L. Nehru from India and China's Prime Minister Chou En Lai among others.

Military alliances had started to emerge in Asia in form of SEATO (1954) and Baghdad Pact (1955). The conference was attended by members of these US led military alliances viz Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Thailand, Turkey and Philippines. Yet the joint communique at the end of the conference mentioned the fundamental principles of NAM.

- 4) Belgrade Conference (1961):** In 1960, 17 new nations had joined UN and the decolonization was gaining pace. In December 1960, UN adopted the "Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and People". These developments enthused the leaders of Third World to call a conference of all Non-Aligned nations in Yugoslavia. The Declaration adopted stated that Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is only alternative to the Cold War and to a possible general catastrophe and lasting peace will come only by complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Also letters were sent to Kennedy and Krushchev to resume negotiations for reducing risk of war.

#### Positives of NAM:

- 1) The refusal of Third World nations to align with any of the military blocs helped in creation of atmosphere of peace. The NAM countries did not join NATO or Warsaw Pact or other military alliances like SEATO, Baghdad Pact etc.
- 2) NAM helped in reducing international tensions, in ending colonialism, imperialism and racism.
- 3) **USSR and NAM:**
  - a) **Peaceful Coexistence:** The communists were always against war as a national policy but they believed that war was inevitable till the time imperialism exists. After Stalin, USSR adopted the policy of "peaceful coexistence" between countries following different social, economic and political systems. The policy of peaceful coexistence was one of the core principle of the policy of non-alignment adopted by newly independent countries like India. It meant giving up the theory of "inevitability of war". NAM leaders along with Soviet leaders emphasized on peaceful competition between different political, economic and social systems. India incorporated peaceful coexistence doctrine in its foreign policy through Panchsheel Principles. It is another matter that despite policy of peaceful coexistence, USSR continued with arms race and to treat Eastern Europe as its sphere of influence (e.g. Hungary Uprising of 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968).
  - b) **Soviet support to NAM:** Soviet Union almost consistently supported the disarmament initiatives taken by NAM. Due to the traditional anti-war stand adopted by communists and the stress upon peaceful coexistence under Nikita Krushchev, many NAM leaders felt that USSR is natural ally of NAM. Tito's Yugoslavia which was the founding member of NAM was itself a communist country with close associations with Soviet Union.
  - c) **Common focus on Equality:** Soviet Union gave political and material support to independence movements of many countries including Africa. NAM was also firmly

against colonialism. The economic relations between newly emerged countries and USSR helped the former in exercise of nation building. NAM and USSR were aligned on the principle of working for an equitable society. NAM countries like India adopted the goal of bringing about a socialist pattern of society.

- 4) **US and NAM:** During Cold War US rhetoric was that "if you are not with us, you are against us". Thus US saw NAM as "natural enemy". Even today US views NAM with suspicion as NAM after 1991 has opposed unilateralism and highlighted the need for creating a Multipolar world order.
- 5) NAM strove to make "development" the main agenda at the international stage.
- 6) **Apartheid & NAM:** India worked consistently to put the issue of apartheid on the agenda of the UN, NAM and other multilateral organizations and for the imposition of comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa. The African National Congress maintained a representative office in New Delhi from the 1960s onward. India broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1963. South Africa became 109<sup>th</sup> member in 1994.
- 7) **Anti-colonialism & NAM:** NAM extended support to independence struggle in the colonies. SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) that fought for Namibia's independence from South Africa got full member status of NAM in 1978. Namibia became independent in 1990. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) became NAM member in 1976.
- 8) **India and NAM:**
  - a) India follows the NAM principle of never entering into a military alliance. India was criticized for signing the 1971 agreement with Russia. We defended ourselves by arguing that the agreement was not directed towards any third nation.
  - b) Another NAM principle we follow is of having friendly relations with all countries except with Military Dictatorships. We made an exception to this principle in 2005 in case of Myanmar but this was to counter increasing Chinese influence in the region.
  - c) According to **Indira Doctrine** - India will not interfere in internal affairs of its neighbors. Also we will not tolerate others interfering in their internal affairs. In case of any security problem, region should 1st look inside for any help.
  - d) **Gujral Doctrine (1997-98):** Gujral doctrine started with an aim of having friendly relation with Pakistan and to change the Big Brother image of India. As per this doctrine:
    - i. India will support all its neighbor but being economically much more developed than others, it will not expect reciprocity.
    - ii. No South Asian nation should allow its territory to be used by a foreign nation against another South Asian nation.
    - iii. Non-interference in internal matters.
    - iv. All will respect sovereignty & territorial integrity of each other.
    - v. All will solve their problems through bilateral negotiations.
- a) **New Panchsheel:** In 2006-07 the New Panchsheel principles were suggested by Hu Jintao, then President of China. India accepted them. The Old Panchsheel principles were founded on political parameters while the New Panchsheel are based on economic, defense & cultural parameters. These principles are:
  - i. Both countries should strengthen cultural ties & constantly increase the mutually expanding friendship between the two countries.
  - ii. China & India should maintain strategic communication & keep the bilateral relations on the "right track".
  - iii. Both should accommodate each other's Core concerns & properly handle problems & differences existing between the two countries.
  - iv. Both nations should tap each other's comparative strengths & expand win-win Eco Cooperation in infrastructure, mutual investment & other areas

- v. The two countries should expand Multilateral Coordination & collaboration in multi-lateral foray to jointly safeguard the legitimate rights & interests of developing countries & tackle global challenges.

#### **Failures of NAM:**

India supported the anti-Neocolonialism struggle of Egypt and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru shared good rapport with Colonel Nasser. Both of them along with leaders like Nkrumah of Ghana, Tito of Yugoslavia and Sukarno of Indonesia were the founding members of the **Non Aligned Movement** in 1961.

But the NAM failed to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict and Egypt, along with African state of Algeria and other Middle East Arab nations, was involved in 1967 war against Israel.

#### **Criticism of NAM:**

- 1) Today there is multi-alignment rather than non-alignment. Example India is part of NAM as well as BRICS, SAARC etc. But it is to be argued that NAM did not stand for policy of isolation. NAM countries did not commit themselves in advance to a bloc and it they took decisions based on the merit of issue. Similarly, today NAM countries like India have joined issue based alliances like IBSA focuses on climate negotiations while BRICS aims for giving voice to emerging economies. Also none of the alliances India has joined is a military alliance like NATO.
- 2) NAM does not have formal structures such as a Secretariat or a Constitution. This work is done by the Chair for that year.
- 3) Problem is different characteristics of each member country (e.g. Some are dysfunctional democracies) and thus it becomes difficult to arrive at a common ground on many issues.
- 4) Also NAM summits tend to become hostage to host country's foreign policy. Example, 2015 NAM Summit may bring up US-South America tensions as Venezuela will be the chair.
- 5) Disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1992 eliminated a founding member, while Malta & Cyprus withdrew from NAM to get European Union membership. Still major South American countries like Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, are only observers. NAM is weak in Europe & South America due to the role of alliances in these regions, especially during the Cold War.
- 6) Due to large membership, difficulty in coordinating positions in NAM & difficulty in coordinating work of NAM. NAM uses summits like UN, G77 + China to coordinate position.
- 7) NAM has no own Secretariat
- 8) At each Summit, a lengthy final document is issued. These documents mostly repeat themselves.

#### **16th NAM Summit at Tehran 2012:**

NAM is now a grouping of 120 nations. Two more members have been added since last summit in form of Fiji and Azerbaijan (which is the second nation from Europe to join NAM after Belarus).

The theme of the summit was "Lasting Peace through Joint Global Governance" to stress upon the inequity in institutions of global governance especially the world economic system.

#### **India at NAM summit 2012:**

Indian stand was that NAM should focus on issues that unite rather than on issues that divide its diverse membership so that NAM can act as a collective voice of the developing countries. India was able to reorient the focus of NAM from the NAM of the past a NAM which is focused on following issues. As elaborated below, the focus is now on Development Administration, Equitable Global Governance and localized solutions to conflicts. Thus there is a new relevance of NAM in contemporary times:

- 1) We wanted a Syrian led solution to the Syrian problem.
- 2) We reiterated our commitment for peace in Palestine and a state of their own for Palestinians.
- 3) We stressed upon the need for new instruments of Global Governance for solving problems of piracy, terrorism, cyber security, sustainable development and food and water security.
- 4) To ensure Global Good Governance there is need for Global Governance structures that are truly representative and credible. This requires reforms of UNSC, IMF and World Bank.
- 5) There is need for innovative ways of funding the development efforts of developing nations by developed nations.
- 6) India stressed upon the need for context based solutions which are based on the special conditions, strengths and weaknesses of each country. Example, NAM countries face the challenge of achieving energy security and to achieve this the solution lies in developing affordable Renewable Energy because NAM countries have rich potential of Renewable Energy. But since the rich developed nations can easily afford to buy oil, the development of affordable and efficient renewable energy solutions continue to be neglected.
- 7) The problems and solutions are different for the developing and the developed countries. The developing countries require Human Resource Development, harnessing of Renewable Energy potential, innovative frugal innovations as solutions and also face special problem of food security.
- 8) India said that it would be happy to contribute towards a NAM initiative for Skill Development aiming development of a Knowledge Economy.
- 9) India requested support by interested NAM countries for development of African countries.

**Importance of NAM today:** After the end of the Cold War, the relevance of NAM has been regularly questioned. The **10<sup>th</sup> NAM Summit at Jakarta in 1992** tried to put these doubts at rest by stating that NAM played important role in maintaining world peace during the Cold War and it is still relevant because even after end of Cold War, the world is not a secure and just place. Violent conflicts continue to plague the world and so does inequity in society and in institutes of global governance. The Bosnian Civil War, the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1992 (Tito, the binding force, died in 1980) vindicated the relevance of NAM in post-Cold War era.

After 1992, there was emergence of new challenges due to new developments that were engulfing the world like Globalization, free market economy, spread of terrorism and nuclear proliferation among others. Also there were new challenges as a result of a unipolar world.

**Havana Summit (2006)** argued in favor of creating a Multipolar World and Multilateralism based on principles of international law and UN Charter to check unilateralism and interventionism of the hegemonic world power. **The Havana Summit laid down the guiding principles of NAM in future:**

- 1) No State or group of States has the right to intervene directly or indirectly in the internal affairs of another state.
- 2) Rejection of attempts at regime change (coup etc).
- 3) Rejection and opposition of Terrorism in all its forms and committed by anyone, anywhere and for whichever purposes. But Terrorism should not be equated with legitimate struggle for independence by people under colonial rule and for national liberation.

**Further NAM is relevant today as:**

- 1) NAM is best represented in Africa (53 members), followed by Asia (39 members), & Latin America (26 members). The downside is that only 2 members - Belarus & Azerbaijan- are from Europe.

- 2) It has the potential to act as a forum for South-South cooperation and to advocate for interests of developing nations.
- 3) The impulse to be independent and not to be dominated by any global power is still alive.
- 4) NAM is not a bloc in the traditional sense of the term and rather it is a movement. In present times of economic turbulence the role of NAM is crucial for deliberation upon economic issues so the developing nations could collectively deal with the challenges.
- 5) US during the Cold War had termed NAM as immoral. Even today the western nations continue to ridicule the importance of NAM but it continues to be relevant. NAM gives voice to the developing nations whose concerns generally go unnoticed in other international forums due to lack of adequate representation and weight assigned to their views in those forums. The presence of the UN Secretary General at the NAM summit signals the importance of NAM. For the first time after decades the Egyptian President attended NAM.
- 6) Due to its composition, NAM has the potential to provide a forum for localized solutions to urgent problems like the conflict in Syria and Iran without inviting criticism or interference in the internal affairs. Example, NAM Troika (Egypt, Iran and Venezuela) was formed on Syria, though it failed to achieve much.

#### **Functioning of NAM:**

- 1) The NAM summit is held every three years.
- 2) NAM follows the principle of Regional Rotation with respect to Chairmanship. A country from Africa, Asia and South America becomes the Chair of NAM through rotation. The previous, the present and the next Chair are collectively called as Troika. Example, in 2012 Summit Egypt-Iran-Venezuela formed the Troika.
- 3) The decision making in NAM is by consensus and not Unanimity as agreed in the 11th NAM of 1995.
- 4) There is a NAM Coordinating Bureau in New York which acts as the focal point for coordination of NAM's work & meets regularly between the two consecutive NAM summits.
- 5) Also there are many Sectoral Committees dealing with a specific subject of concern.

#### **Possible NAM reforms:**

- 1) Need to revisit idea of a troika Chair for NAM to make NAM stronger.
- 2) NAM trying to shorten the final documents, but countries don't give up inclusion of their pet issues in the communique.
- 3) Reorientation in the goals of NAM as suggested by India in NAM Summit of 2012.
- 4) Resolving the issues mentioned in the criticism of NAM.

**Status of Third World today:** The world economic system continues to be inequitable as institute of global governance like IMF and World Bank continue to be dominated by the western powers which impose conditionalities, which are not favorable to the developing nations, in lieu of the loans they extend. The imposition of free trade and privatization hurts these nations because their indigenous economy is not ready to compete with the MNCs from the West and nor the indigenous private sector has the capability to handle the responsibility of nation building that comes with privatization. This inequity in the world economic system is a major factor today in the continuing backwardness of these countries.

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# SOUTH AFRICA APARTHEID

## South Africa

The Voyages of Discovery at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century led to discovery of new lands of Asia, America and coastal Africa which soon came under colonial domination. In Africa, initially Colonization was limited to the coastal Africa. The interior of Africa was called the **Dark Continent** because of lack of knowledge about the geography, people, their languages and culture of inland Africa.

The discovery of Cape of Good Hope, the southern most tip of Africa, resulted in South Africa coming under the influence of the Dutch. The Dutch trading company found the Cape Colony in 1652. The Dutch Settlers in South Africa were known by the name of Boers, that translates to farmers in Afrikaans language used by the Dutch settlers.

### **Britain replaces Netherlands in South Africa:**

After Industrial Revolution of 1750s, British emerged as a dominant power and it soon took over colonies of other European powers like Spain, Portugal, Netherlands and France.

The British took over Cape Colony from Holland/Netherlands/Dutch in 1795 and gradually they began interfering in the political, economic and internal affairs of Dutch Settlers of Cape Colony. This was resented by the Dutch Settlers.

**Grievances of the Dutch against British rule:** Dutch were uncomfortable under the British rule. They were opposed to the imposition of British culture. The English language, which was not native to the Dutch, was made compulsory in the schools. Dutch were forced to study it to get jobs in the administration and for conduct of Business transactions. The Dutch settlers were aggrieved by the abolishment of Slavery in 1833 in Cape Colony as they depended on the cheap slave labor of Native Black Africans for work on their farms.

Consequently, the Dutch settlers shifted out of Cape Colony and by 1835 they settled down in Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal. But the British wanted to expand their colonial empire and they occupied Natal in 1843.



### **The Two Boer Wars:**

**1<sup>st</sup> Boer War (1877-84):** The Dutch settlers revolted violently when the British declared Transvaal as its colony in 1877. Surprisingly, the British were not prepared for such rebellion and they were compelled to declare Transvaal as a free state under the Peace Treaty of 1884.

After the 1<sup>st</sup> Boer War there existed, two Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State while Cape Colony and Natal were under British.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Boer War (1899-1902):** The British were determined to bring Orange Free State and Transvaal under their control. By 1899, the Dutch feared that soon the British would invade them. Thus Transvaal and Orange Free State launched preemptive strikes against the Cape Colony and Natal. The war continued for three years and it also included guerrilla warfare, but the Boers were no match to the arms and strength of the British army and by 1902, the British won.

The Boers accepted the British sovereignty over themselves and in return the British gave grant for rehabilitation of displaced Boers and promised limited autonomy in some time.

**Creation of Union of South Africa:** In 1910, the Union of South Africa was established by bringing together areas of Natal, Transvaal, Cape Colony and the Orange Free State.

The resultant South African Union was a mix of blacks, colored i.e. mixed race, European settlers and Asians who came to South Africa as indentured laborers. Blacks were also known by the name of Bantus.

Demographic profile of South Africa (1910)	
Blacks (or Bantus)	70%
European Settlers	18%
Mixed Race or Colored People born through conjugal relations between Blacks and Whites.	9%
Asians (who were brought here as indentured laborers)	3%

#### Condition of the Blacks before 1948:

During Colonization of South Africa the European settlers, mainly the Dutch, came to form a large minority. They soon started dominating the social, economic, political and cultural life and ruled as the minority elites. The policy followed by the ruling Dutch didn't just result in economic and political subjugation but also social, cultural and psychological deprivation.

- 1) The Dutch settlers treated the black natives as slaves and used them as laborers for their farms. They deprived the Blacks of their lands and ensured that very little money was spent on education of the blacks. Especially the higher education became the monopoly of the whites. The condition of indentured laborers who came from Asian colonies like India to work on plantations were no better.
- 2) Politically, Blacks were not allowed the right to vote and they were denied any participation in the government. In Transvaal and Orange Free State only white men could vote. In Natal and Cape Colony, non-whites could vote but it in reality translated to nothing because voter had to meet property and literacy qualifications. There was no direct representation of the Blacks in the Legislature and they were only indirectly represented through some White Members of Parliament. Their interests were neglected by the government's policies and there was lack of welfare measures.
- 3) Culturally, the theories of Master and Slave race were propounded. The Black tribal culture was belittled as inferior and they were designated as the lower race who were destined to be servants of the Whites, the members of the Master race. **The Dutch Reformed Church** (the official State Church of South Africa) in contrast with other churches in the world which believed in racial equality, supported the view that whites were the master race and incorrectly interpreted the Bible to prove this.
- 4) Blacks lived in areas reserved for them away from the white residential areas. This policy was followed to prevent the Black pollution from contaminating the Whites. Also Blacks were forbidden from buying land outside the Reserves. It led to the problem of ghetto

living among the blacks because 70 % of the population lived in 7 % of area of South Africa. Without any amenities like clean drinking water, proper sewerage system for sanitation and along with problem of crowding, the Blacks suffered from poor performance on social indicators of Health, sanitation and education.

- 5) The White's government controlled the movement of the Blacks through the **system of Pass Laws**. For example, an African Black couldn't leave a farm where he worked without a pass from the employer and neither he could reside in a town where he didn't work.
- 6) The **Black workers** enjoyed very limited or no rights. Their status was slave like. A 1911 law forbade Black workers from striking at work and barred them from holding skilled jobs. Ban on holding skilled jobs resulted in no incentive for Blacks to get educated which made them suitable only for low paid jobs. This inturn prevented them from earning any surplus income and hurt their social mobility. Thus there was a push from above to keep Blacks below the poverty line.

#### **Gandhi in South Africa:**

M.K. Gandhi, a lawyer, came to South Africa in 1893 to fight a case. Indians in South Africa comprised of the Memen Muslims, the Indian merchants but mainly the indentured laborers who were brought here after 1890 by the white settlers to work on the sugar plantations. They were uneducated, knew very little English and faced racial discrimination. Gandhi himself was subjected to this discrimination when he was thrown out of the train for traveling alongside the whites.

#### **Gandhi's struggle:**

- 1) Gandhi knew that till the time Indians remain unorganized they would remain deprived. Thus to give them the power of collective voice, he began to organize them as a collective unit. He also began educating them.
- 2) He was to leave South Africa after completion of his court case but the Indians pleaded that he stay and he did due to moral responsibility. He was the only Indian who was western educated and understood the legal intricacies.
- 3) **Franchise Amendment Bill of 1894** sought to disenfranchise the Indians. The **Immigration Law Amendment Bill of 1895** stated that Indians must return to India at end of their contract, or they would have to be re-indentured (bound by contract i.e. bonded labor) for two more years. Anyone who refused would be charged an annual tax of £3 (called Poll Tax). Under such circumstances, Gandhi began his struggle for Indians in South Africa.
- 4) **Constitutional struggle (1896 to 1906):** This included use of tools like petitions and prayers to the government. Gandhi formed the Natal Indian Congress and started a newspaper named Indian Opinion to highlight conditions of Indians and to plead for necessity of reforms.
- 5) **Extra-constitutional but non-violent struggle (1906-1915):** The constitutional methods failed to persuade the government to end discrimination faced by Indians. Gandhi, thus, developed a novel method called Satyagraha. It included tools of passive resistance, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. A Satyagrahi was to be truthful, non-violent and fearless. He must be ready to accept suffering and should love the evil doer. Hate should be alien to the nature of Satyagrahi and it was to be through love that the evil doer would be won over by making him realize the injustice inherent in his actions.
- 6) **Satyagraha in action:**
  - a) **Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906-1914):** In 1906, the **Asiatic Law Amendment Act (or the Black Act)** was passed by Transvaal. It was a humiliating law forcing Indians in Transvaal to register with the 'registrar of Asiatics,' submit to physical examinations, provide fingerprints, and carry a registration certificate carrying fingerprints at all times. Otherwise, Indians and other 'Asiatics,' could be fined,

imprisoned, or deported. Gandhiji asked Indians and other Asians to violate the Black Act. A Passive Resistance Association was formed. The registered Indians were not to carry the RCs while unregistered Indians were not to get registered. Soon, the prisons were overflowing with Satyagrahis. Feeling incompetent in dealing with this novel form of struggle, the government promised that it will repeal the Black Act and release the prisoners if Indians agree to voluntarily register themselves. Gandhiji accepted this and was first to register. The government introduced a bill to ratify the voluntary registrations but refused to repeal the Black Act. Cheated by the government, Gandhiji publicly burnt the certificates in a giant fire as a symbol of resistance and resolve.

- b) **Satyagraha against Immigration Laws:** The **Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act, 1907**, placed restrictions on Indians entering the Transvaal from other provinces. Most Indians lived in the province of Natal, but wanted access to the more prosperous province of Transvaal for better work opportunities. The Indians courted arrest by violating the immigration laws by moving to Transvaal. Indians in Transvaal resisted by hawking without a license. Many Indians were arrested and many deported from Transvaal. Gandhiji himself was jailed in October 1908. Soon the prisons were overflowing.
- c) **Tolstoy Farm (1910) :** With an unrelenting Government, soon the fatigue developed among the protesters. To continue the movement and keep up the spirit of the masses, Gandhiji setup the **Tolstoy** farm with monetary help of a German architect, Hermann Kallenbach. Muslim League, Indian National Congress and even the Nizam of Hyderabad sent funds. The Tolstoy farm housed Satyagrahis and taught them self sustainance through skill development and self-help. They were educated and given moral education. Meanwhile, Indians from Tolstoy Farm continued to go to Transvaal without permits.
- 7) **Arrival of Gokhale (1912):** The movement which was in a passive phase received a boost from the arrival of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1912. The government promised to Gokhale that the discriminatory laws against Indians will be removed soon, but the promise was not kept and this event provided energy for resumption of the Satyagraha in 1913. Gokhale advised Gandhiji to oppose the Poll Tax along with the Black Act.
- 8) **Poll Tax campaign (1913):** Gandhiji initiated a peaceful campaign against the poll tax (an annual tax of 3 pounds under the **Immigration Law Amendment Bill of 1895**). This campaign took a mass character as many workers joined it.
- 9) **1913 Supreme Court Judgment:** It invalidated all marriages not conducted as per Christianity and not registered with the registrar. This judgment attacked the freedom of religion of Indians and made all Muslim, Hindu and Parsi marriages illegitimate. At this point of the struggle, women joined the campaign in large numbers.
- 10) **Final Countdown:** Indians illegally started crossing into Transvaal against the immigration law. Even Kasturba Gandhi participated and was arrested. Soon, all the Indian workers in South Africa (miners, railway workers) were contacted and mobilized by Gandhiji.
- 11) With a group of 2000 workers, Gandhiji organized a march violating the immigration laws. They were arrested many times during the march but they resumed it every time they were released from the jail. The repression from the police was appalling and the conditions in prison were harsh (starvation, whipping, made to dig stones). Soon after, all Indian mining and plantation workers went on a strike.
- 12) G.K. Gokhale traveled across India to mobilize Indian opinion. Finally, Indian Viceroy Lord Hardinge (1910-1916) condemned the actions of the South African government and thereafter talks were held between Gandhiji and the South African government.
- 13) **Victory:** The government conceded to the major demands of Gandhiji regarding poll tax and the registration certificates. The Indian marriages were solemnized and the

Government agreed to treat the question of Indian immigrants in a sympathetic manner. This brought about a successful end to the struggle spearheaded by Gandhiji in South Africa and he came to India in 1915.

- 14) Indian passive resistance campaign of 1946-48** in South Africa was in response to the Smuts government's introduction of the **Asiatic Land Tenure Act (also called Ghetto Act)**, which severely restricted the rights of Indians to own or occupy land.

A few Africans, Coloureds, and whites participated in this campaign and were imprisoned along with Indians. The campaign laid the groundwork for cooperation between African and Indian organizations, particularly the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the African National Congress.

#### Introduction of Apartheid Laws (1948-54)

Apartheid as a term literally means 'Separateness'. Discrimination of Blacks occurred even before 1948 but thereafter it was institutionalized through laws.

#### **Why Prime Minister Malan introduced Apartheid (1948-54) ?**

- 1) The independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 under non-white majority rule made the whites in South Africa very uncomfortable as they feared the spread of racial equality to other member nations of the British Commonwealth. Post-freedom, the European settlers in India were no more superior to the natives. Their was Rule of Law which treated all as equal. The whites were threatened by the prospects of demand for equality-political and social- by the Blacks, Asians and Colored in South Africa. The whites were determined to preserve their superiority.
- 2) Although most whites, especially the Dutch, were against racial equality, the most radical proponents of Racial supremacy was **Afrikaner Nationalist Party** that won election on promise of ending the "Black Menace".
- 3) Technically, Apartheid was introduced 1948 onward through a set of laws passed by the Parliament under the new government of Prime Minister Malan.

#### 5 Features of Apartheid: These were

- 1) **Separation:** After 1948, **Policy of Complete Separation** was attempted as far as possible. In the rural areas more Separate reserves were established and in the Urban Areas there were Separate Townships for the Black workers. For transport, there were separate Buses and trains. In the domain of leisure activities there were to separate Cafes , Beaches and cinema halls. There were to be separate Toilets as Blacks were considered unhygienic. The social services were also segregated, example the children of the Blacks were to study in separate schools with inferior education and there were to be separate hospitals which were marred by lack of proper infrastructure. Separateness was followed even in the Religious domain as Blacks could pray only in churches reserved for them. But complete separation was only a partial success as it was impossible to implement. The Blacks formed the majority of labor force and the Whites needed them. A complete separation would have resulted in economic collapse.
- 2) **Racial Identity Cards and Pass Laws:** Every person belonging to the race of Asians, the blacks, and the Mixed Race i.e. Colored were issued Identity card which they were to carry at all times. The Pass laws were the tool to restrict the movement of the non-whites. Strict Pass Laws were passed which implied that the Blacks had to stay in their Reserves unless traveling for work to a White Area in which case they got passes. Otherwise all travel to through or to White Areas was forbidden unless there was a special permission granted by the Police.
- 3) **Racial purity:** To preserve **Racial purity**, the law banned Inter-Racial Marriages and conjugal relations between the whites and the non-whites.

**Bantustan Policy:** In 1959, the Parliament passed a **Bantu Self Government Act of 1959**. Bantu was a synonym for the Black people. The stated goal of this Act was to give Self Government to the Blacks in their Reserves and this was to be achieved through creation of Bantustans which would be ultimately given Independence. But the Bantustan policy brought worldwide condemnation to South Africa. This was because it was a farce attempt filled with malafide intentions. South Africa followed a Neo-Colonialism type policy which implies maintaining control on the policies-economic and other- a country with purpose of usurpation of the resources and in general, subjugation of the national interest to the interests of the Neo-Colonizer. South African government controlled the economic and foreign policies of the Bantustans. Through Bantustans, the Blacks were ghettoized as the total seven regions identified for status of Bantustan amounted to meager 13 per cent area of the total South Africa in which more than 70 per cent of South Africans were to live.

Further, Bantustans were not economically viable units as the land resources were not enough to support such larger population. No rational criteria keeping in mind the economic and logistical perspectives was used. For example, Bantustans didn't have any access to the sea. Also, each Bantustan was encircled by the South African territory and there was no connectivity between any two Bantustans.

For all these reasons, United Nation refused to recognize Bantustans as legitimate states. Still, South Africa went ahead and declared three Bantustans as independent by 1980.

- 4) **No political representation:** After 1948, Blacks lost even the limited Political rights they had enjoyed through their representation in Parliament by White Members, as this provision of indirect representation was abolished.

Black workers were further suppressed as they were the ones who formed the majority of Black residents of the Urban areas. They could witness directly the stark contrast between the White prosperity and had more exposure to the White excesses. They were also the ones who were young and could jeopardize the production in the factories. Thus, the White government played a clever trick by using the prevalent atmosphere anti-communism of Cold War, to its advantage. It brought out the **Suppression of Communism Act in 1950** and used it to veil the suppression of any anti-Apartheid voice from among the Blacks. The Act was misused and anyone who opposed Apartheid was branded as Communist and imprisoned. The Suppression of Communism Act also forbade the workers from Striking at work.

#### **Anti-Apartheid Struggle:**

Black South Africans organized themselves as early as 1912 by forming the **South African Native National Congress (SANNC)** to fight for their rights. John Dube and Sol Plaatje were among the prominent Black Leaders of that time. SANNC transformed into **African National Congress (ANC)** in 1923.

After the Government of **Prime Minister Malan** introduced repressive laws from 1948 onward, there was simmering discontent among the Blacks. The emergence of independent nations like India and the popularity of principles of Self Government and protection of Human Rights as enunciated by the newly formed United Nations, resulted in development of a mass movement against Apartheid with goal of Black Majority rule.

- 1) Initially the Black Struggle was on the lines of Mahatma Gandhi strategy of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience. **Albert Luthuli** of ANC organized many strikes and led civil disobedience movement whereby the Blacks would enter the places and areas reserved for the Whites.
- 2) The **Freedom Charter in 1955** was announced by ANC at a meeting of a new coalition of Blacks, Asians and Colored people. From hereon, the Freedom Charter became the main

programme of ANC. It demanded right to vote to all, right to religion, freedom of expression, right to work, equality before law, equal pay for equal work, free medicare, right to free and compulsory education, and forty hours of work per week with minimum wages and unemployment benefits.

- 3) With the gathering momentum, awareness and pressure from around the world, even the Church leaders began speaking against Apartheid.
- 4) ANC organized numerous peaceful protests, of which the **1957 Bus Boycott Programme** in Johannesburg was very successful. It was organized in opposition of the increased bus fare by the government in Johannesburg and soon spread to other areas. 80 percent of Johannesburg Africans lived under the poverty line, and so the raise was far more than the Africans could afford. The goals of the boycott programme was to thwart bus fare increase and demand government to make a study regarding the need for higher wages for Africans. Black South Africans abandoned the public transport and walked to workplace daily for three months. Finally, the government had to bend and it decreased the fares. This was a morale boosting victory for the Blacks and provided energy for increased resistance against the White oppression.
- 5) **Sharpsville Massacre of 1960:** After this the movement became violent. The non-whites had gathered peacefully in the town of Sharpsville and were protesting against the Pass laws that restricted the freedom of movement of non-whites. The next day (21<sup>st</sup> of March) around 8000 of them gathered outside a police station to protest. But the Police opened fire against the peaceful protesters and shot dead 69 of them. After this event the Black leadership got divided with most leaders, including Nelson Mandela who till now believed in struggle through non-violent means, advocating violent struggle as the only viable tool to achieve the stated goals of Freedom Charter. The day of 21<sup>st</sup> March has become the symbol of Human Rights Protection in South Africa and is celebrated each year as a national holiday.
- 6) **Violent movement against Apartheid:** After Sharpsville, ANC started violent protests under leaders like Nelson Mandela. There were a series of bomb attacks and killing of policemen. In 1962 Nelson Mandela was arrested and convicted of sabotage and other charges, and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. He was jailed for 27 years in prison, spending most of these years on Robben Island. It is to be noted here that the difference between Gandhiji and Nelson Mandela was that non-violence was part of the value system of Gandhiji whereas for Nelson Mandela it was a strategic tool in opposing the government. Nelson Mandela came to believe that for a small minority like the Asians in Africa, the methods of non-violence were the best as they could not violently win against the might of the State. Some leaders like Albert Luthuli continued Non-violent protests, but the popular opinion got further inclined towards violent form of struggle when Luthuli was killed in 1967.
- 7) **Movement continues with Mandela in jail:**
  - a) In 1970s, ANC organized protests by the workers as the wages were far low to bear the impact of inflation. But the White Government of the Dutch settlers continued to repress the movement.
  - b) In 1976, it made Afrikaans language compulsory in Black schools. Afrikaans was the language spoken by the Dutch of South Africa and was not native to the black South Africans. This led to wide protests by the Blacks and the Police responded brutally by killing 200 protesters. It became a vicious cycle of Protests and Police brutality as the killing of 200 protesters resulted in protests in all parts of South Africa and the Police repression made the death toll rise continuously. Steve Biko, an important leader of the protests was beaten to death in 1976 just because he wanted the native Africans to be proud of Blackness.
- 8) **Anti-Apartheid struggle outside South Africa:** Even outside South Africa, the system of

Apartheid was criticized.

- a) **British Commonwealth:** All members of the British Commonwealth, including India, criticized the system of Apartheid and the brutal police repression. South Africa was made to give up its membership of Commonwealth in 1960. The same year South Africa declared itself a Republic.
- b) **UN:** United Nations General Assembly passed many resolutions condemning the Apartheid.
- c) **OAU:** Within the African continent, the Organization of African Unity was mounting pressure on the South African government to abandon Apartheid and grant the basic human rights to all South Africans.
- d) **Decolonization of South West Africa/South African Border War (1966-89) :** Geographically, Namibia lay between Angola and South Africa. In 1914, South Africa had got German South West Africa, now called Namibia, as a Mandate after the World War I. Mandates were the former colonies of the Central powers, mainly of Germany, which were taken away after their loss in World War I and put under the protection of the member nations of League of Nations to prepare these former colonies for independence.



South Africa delayed the decolonization of South West Africa for as long as possible and for this it was reprimanded by United Nations (it declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal) Organization of African Unity and Commonwealth of Nations. South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was fighting for freedom in South-West Africa. In 1975, Angola gained independence from Portugal and the Marxist MPLA government (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) came to power. MPLA had fought the Angola war of independence from 1961-75. From 1975 onward, MPLA provided safe havens for SWAPO guerrillas and USSR also supported SWAPO through aid and training of fighters - which led to South African invasion of Angola. Cuba sent troops to prevent South African troops from invading Angola. They defeated the South African forces and this served as an important event in progress towards end of Apartheid in South Africa. It was a big moral defeat and enthused Blacks in their movement in South Africa.

**Fall of the Apartheid System:** Amidst the mounting internal and external pressure, the Government of South Africa realized by 1980 that the system of Apartheid would have to be dispensed with.

### **Reasons for change in government attitude:**

#### **1) Increase in outside pressure:**

- a) Increased criticism by UN, Commonwealth of Nations and OAU.
- b) The wave of change which was the realization among the colonizers during the 1950s that independence of the African states cannot be delayed infinitely, resulted in emergence of independent nations in Africa with black majority rule. These nations also exerted pressure on South Africa.
- c) By 1975 Angola and Mozambique had won independence from Portugal and by 1980 Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain. Thus by 1980 Black majority regimes had come to power in immediate neighborhood of South Africa and this threatened security of its frontiers.
- d) The Civil Rights movement in the USA gained strength during 1970s and this made the US government adopt a harsher stance against South Africa.

#### **2) Internal pressures:**

- a) The government was finding it more and more difficult to check the violent struggle led by ANC and to maintain the law and order situation.
- b) The Bantustans (Black African homelands) had failed. They were characterized by high poverty and corrupt rulers and thus failed to satisfy the blacks. No foreign government recognized them as genuinely independent states.

**Stepwise withdrawal of Apartheid from 1980 onward:** Thus by 1979-80, the white government had realized that they could continue Apartheid only at the risk of a violent overthrow of their government. They had lost all outside support. Earlier the colonial rulers in Angola and Mozambique and the white government of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) had supported the South African government. But now these countries were under Black rule. *Thus a stepwise withdrawal of Apartheid was started by PM Botha after 1979 to prolong white rule in South Africa as long as possible.*

- 1) 1979- Blacks were allowed to have Trade Unions and the right to strike.
- 2) 1981- Blacks were allowed to elect their own Local Township Councils. But they still did not have the right to vote in national elections.
- 3) 1984- A new Constitution was adopted. It provided for setting up three House of Parliament, one each for Whites, Asians and Colored people (but not Black Africans).
- 4) 1985- Interracial Marriage and conjugal relations were decriminalized.
- 5) 1986- Pass Laws were abolished.

### **Response to steps taken by Botha:**

- 1) **Violent protests increased** because the demands of ANC remained unfulfilled. Blacks did not get the Right to Vote, participation in government and there was no political representation for Blacks under the 1984 constitution.
- 2) **The outside pressure increased after the mid-1980s:**
  - a) 1986- The Commonwealth of Nations, except Britain, agreed on strong sanctions against South Africa which included measures like no loans to South African government, no selling of oil, no export of ICT equipments, no nuclear trade and no cultural or scientific contacts with South Africa. Rajiv Gandhi criticized Margaret Thatcher, for sacrificing principles for monetary consideration as Britain only agreed for voluntary ban on British investments in South Africa. This led to tensions within the Commonwealth.
  - b) 1986- US Congress voted in favor of
    - i. giving no more loans to South Africa.
    - ii. to cut off air links with South Africa
    - iii. To ban imports from South Africa (iron, nickel, Uranium, steel, coal, textiles).

- c) Internally, there was increasing awareness and self confidence among the Blacks. They were no more uneducated and held high skilled jobs. Desmond Tutu won the Noble Peace Prize in 1984.
- 3) The Dutch Reformed Church now became anti-Apartheid and condemned it publicly.
- 4) Thus, the situation was changing rapidly. The majority of White South Africans now recognized that total exclusion of the Blacks from political sphere was impossible and even though scared, they resigned to the idea of Black Majority rule in the future.

#### **Transition to Black Majority rule:**

F.W. Klerk became the President in 1989 and the task cut-out for him was to ensure a peaceful transition to a Black Majority rule. He faced stiff opposition from the right-wing sections, nevertheless he began the process of transitioning South Africa to a Black majority rule.

#### **1) Preparation:**

- a) To improve relations with ANC, Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1991 and ANC was made legal. The release was welcomed across the world and Mandela was received with huge support from the members of ANC . He was chosen as the leader of ANC.
- b) Klerk completed the process of dismantling the system of Apartheid and most of the remaining Apartheid laws were dropped.

#### **2) Negotiations:**

- a) After creating an atmosphere of goodwill, Klerk invited ANC for talks in 1991. The agenda of the talks was to develop a new constitution that would give full political rights to the Blacks. There was high suspicion among the White population that a regime with Black majority would be revengeful and their would be threat to their life and property.
- b) Taking cue of the situation, ANC under leadership of Nelson Mandela, stressed on Black-White reconciliation and took affirmative actions to reassure the Whites that they would be treated as equal citizens and their wouldn't be any racial discrimination. ANC asked its members to embrace non-violence as a creed in the new era. It was emphasized that the Blacks should be tolerant and focus on building a collective peaceful society.
- c) The talks were not very smooth and the process faced problems that were result of mutual suspicion created by historical factors. F.W Klerk faced opposition from within his own Nationalist Party and there was clamor for Black leadership as another Black party called Zulu Inkatha was involved in a power struggle with ANC.

#### **3) Success in achieving Black Majority Rule without civil war (1993):** By 1993 the talks were successful thanks to the leadership of Nelson Mandela and F.W. Klerk. The agreement envisaged adoption of Black Majority rule and the government after elections was to be a coalition government of ANC, Nationalist Party and Zulu Inkatha.

The ANC won the general elections that followed and a coalition government with Nelson Mandela as the first Black President of South Africa and F.W. Klerk as Vice-President was formed.

Later, the new constitution that came into effect in 1999 removed the provision of reservation for minority parties in the government i.e. the compulsory coalition government feature was removed.

#### **Indian contribution to Anti-Apartheid struggle:**

- 1) India was the first country to end trade relations with the apartheid Government in 1946.
- 2) India later ended all interactions - diplomatic, commercial, cultural and sports, only to be restored in 1993.

- 3) India condemned Apartheid at UN, NAM and other multilateral organizations and was the leading voice in favor of international sanctions against South Africa.
- 4) The ANC had an office in Delhi from 1960s onward.

**Sports Apartheid:**

In 1963 the International Olympic Committee adopted a proposal by India which called for modification of South African policy of racial discrimination in sport, failing which the South African National Olympic Committee will be forced to withdraw from the Olympic Games. South Africa was thus excluded from the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. South Africa was formally expelled from the IOC in 1970. In 1968, the UNGA requested all States "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime in South Africa". India and several African and other countries announced that they would not participate in the Commonwealth Games in 1970 as the South Africans would be touring England. Britain was forced to withdraw the invitation to South Africa. In 1973, New Zealand was forced to stop the tour of South African Rugby team when African Commonwealth countries and India threatened to boycott the games.

Indian sports leaders demanded that the non-Europeans must be represented in international sport. South African Council on Sport was formed in 1973, uniting all the non-racial and anti-apartheid sports federations. Indian sportsmen and sports administrators played an active role in these bodies.

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