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# **UNIT 1 WHY STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS? SCOPE AND APPROACHES**

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## **1.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After going through this unit, we will be able to :

- grasp the meaning and changing nature of International Relations;
  - understand the utility of the study of International Relations;
  - comprehend its scope;
  - identify and explain the traditional approaches to study of International Relations; and
  - explain major scientific approaches such as Systems Theory and the Game Theory.
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## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The study of relations among nations has fascinated scholars for several centuries. However, the term **international** was first used by Jeremy Bentham in the latter part of the eighteenth century, although its Latin equivalent **intergentes** was used a century earlier by Rijchard Zouche. Both of them had used this term in respect of that branch of law which was called law of nations, which later became 'International Law'. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, international relations have grown rapidly. Today nation-states have become far too interdependent; and relations among them whether political or those related to trade and commerce, have developed into an essential area of knowledge. In this unit, we are mainly concerned with the political relations among sovereign societies called nations, or nation-states.

After the Second World War, the interdependence of sovereign States has grown immensely. Meanwhile, in the present jet age travel has become so fast that distances have been considerably reduced; and with the revolution in the field of

communication, today's satellite era has brought peoples so close to each other that international relations have assumed unprecedented importance both as a 'condition' and as a 'discipline' (see the section below).

## 1.2 MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The term **International Relations** (IR) may be used both for a ' condition' and a 'discipline'. **Quincy Wright**, for example, makes such a distinction. The official relations between sovereign countries are described as international relations, though according to him, " ..... the word **interstate** would have been more accurate because in political science the state came to be the terms applied to such societies.' Viewed thus, international relations as '**condition**' refers to the facts of international life, that is to say, the actual conduct of relations among nations through diplomacy based on foreign policy. It also includes actual areas of cooperation, conflict and war. According to Wright, IR should tell the "truth about the subject" i.e., how such relations are conducted and as a **discipline** IR should treat them in a systematic and scientific manner.

In other words, IR should focus on the study of **all relations-political, diplomatic trade, academic among sovereign states** which constitute the subject matter on international relations. The scope of IR should include study of "varied types of groups—nations, states, governments, peoples, regions, alliances, confederations, international organisations, even industrial organisations, cultural organisations, religious organisation" etc. which are involved in the conduct of these relations.

While Quincy Wright distinguished between international relations as a 'condition' and a 'discipline', there are other scholars like **Palmer** and **Perkins** who doubted its status as a discipline. They argued that History and Political Science are the disciplines from which international relations has emerged. Writing about 40 years ago, Palmer and Perkins had opined : "Although international relations has emerged from its earlier status as a poor relation of political science, and history, it is still far from being a well-organised discipline."

One of the earlier scholars of international relations, Professor **Alfred Zimmern** had written before the Second World War that : "International Relations ..... is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word. It does not provide a single coherent body of teaching material ..... It is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects ..... of law, economics, political science, geography, and so on ....." International Relations, according to Palmer and Perkins, was too subjective in character and content. In its early stages even **E.H. Carr** had described it as "markedly and frankly utopian." But the failure of the League of Nations and its collective security system led Carr to remark that it had become possible to embark on serious and critical analytical thought about international problems." This has been vigorously pursued by a number of scholars after the Second World War. Today, it will not be proper to describe International Relations as 'Utopian or deny' its status of an independent subject of study. National interest is an important concern of every state. Planners and makers of foreign policy – cannot ignore correct perception of their country's national interests which must be protected at all costs. **Hartman** defines International Relations as a field of study which focuses upon the "processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states." Since national interests of different states are often in conflict, Morgenthau concludes that international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Therefore, power is the means through which nations promote their national interest.

### 1.2.1 International Relations and International Politics

The first Chair in **International Relations** was established at the university of Wales (U.K) in 1919. The first two occupants of the chair were eminent historians,

Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster. At that time, International Relations as a subject was little more than diplomatic history. During the next seven decades this subject has changed in nature and content. Today the analytical study of politics has replaced descriptive diplomatic history. The term **International politics** is now used for the new discipline that has been emerging since the second world war. It is more scientific, yet narrow, as compared to **International Relations**.

The two terms are even now sometimes used as synonyms. But, they have two distinct areas, or content, of study. **Hans Morgenthau** believes that "the core of international relations is international politics", but a clear distinction between the two is to be made. International Relations, according to him, is much wider in scope than International Politics. Whereas politics among nations is, as Morgenthau says, struggle for power, international relations includes political, economic and cultural relations. **Harold and Margaret Sprout** opine that international relations include all human behaviour on one side of a national boundary affecting the human behaviour on the other side of the boundary. International politics, on the other hand, deals with conflicts and cooperation among nations essentially at political level. As **Padelford and Lincoln** define it, international politics is the interaction of state policies within the changing pattern of power relationship. **Palmer and Perkins** express similar views when they say that international politics is essentially concerned with the state system.

Since international relations includes all types of relationships between sovereign states, it is wider, and international politics is narrower in scope. As students of IR, we shall indeed examine political conflicts and cooperation among states. But, we shall also study other aspect of relations among nations as well including economic inter-action and role of the non-state actor.

### 1.3 CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The context and nature of IR have undergone major changes after the Second World War. Traditionally, world politics was centered around Europe and relations among nations were largely conducted by officials of foreign offices in secrecy. The common man was hardly ever involved, and treaties were often kept secret. Today **public opinion** has begun to play an important role in the decision-making process in foreign offices, thus, changing completely the nature of international relations. Ambassadors, once briefed by their governments, were largely free to conduct relations according to the ground realities of the countries of their posting. Today, not only **have nuclear weapons changed the nature of war** and replaced erstwhile the balance of power by the balance of terror, but also the nature of diplomacy changed as well. We live in the jet age where the heads of state and government and their foreign ministers travel across the globe and personally establish contacts and conduct international relations. Before the First World War a traveller from India to Britain spent about 20 days in the sea voyage. Today, it takes less than 9 hours for a jet aircraft to fly from Delhi to London, telephones, fax machines, teleprinters and other electronic devices have brought all government leaders in direct contact. **Hotline** communications between Washington and Moscow, for example, keeps the top world leaders in constant touch. This has reduced the freedom of ambassadors who receive daily instructions from their governments.

**Decolonisation** has resulted in the emergence of a large number of sovereign states. The former colonies of the European Powers, including India, have become important actors on the stage of international relations. They were once silent spectators. Today, they participate in the conduct of world politics. The **disintegration of the Soviet Union** has created 15 members of the United Nations, instead of the previous three. Some of the very small countries like Nauru may have no power but they also have an

equal voice in the General Assembly. Four very small countries viz. Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco and Andorra were admitted to the U.N. during 1990-93. The total number of U.N. members has gone up from 51 in 1945 to 185 in 1997. Thus, international relations are now conducted by such a large number of new nation-states. Besides, many **non-state actors** such as multinational corporations and transnational bodies like terrorist groups have been influencing international relations in a big way. With the collapse of the Soviet Union as a Super Power, the United States has emerged as the supreme monolithic power and can now dominate the international scene almost without any challenge. The Non-Alignment Movement ((NAM) still exists but with the dismemberment of one of its founders (i.e. : Yugoslavia) and the disappearance of rival power blocs, the role of the 'Third World' has changed along with that of NAM.

### Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Distinguish between international relations as a 'condition' and as a 'discipline'.

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- 2) Explain the meaning of **international relations**.

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- 3) What is the distinction between international relations and international politics?

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- 4) Describe briefly the changing nature of international relations.

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## 1.4 WHY STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?

International Relations (IR), is closely related with several disciplines. These include History, Political Science, Law, Economics, and Geography. What is the utility of the study of IR as a separate subject? You know that no country in the World can live in isolation. Even when means of transportation and communication were primitive or much less developed than today, sovereign states did interact with each other. They cooperated at times, and had frequent conflicts which often led to wars. Relations among those states were generally studied by Historians and Political Scientists. Diplomatic History was usually studied for understanding relations among sovereign states.

During the second half of the twentieth century, revolution in the means of travel and communication has not only changed the nature of international relations, but made its study essential for every enlightened person.

We are today living in an interdependent state - system. It is essential for all of us to have a clear idea of what is happening in the world. Political events are important, but even economic developments, trade, commerce and activities of actors like multinational corporations are no less significant. We live in an age of growing international cooperation. Therefore, not only do the activities of the **United Nations and its numerous agencies** affect all the nations and their peoples, but **regional organisations** like the European Union, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) also play important roles in our lives. International terrorism has been a concern for the humankind and economic institutions like the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) affect international relations. The study of International Relations has therefore become highly useful and enlightening for students and others alike.

## 1.5 SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Beginning with the study of law and diplomatic history, the scope of international relations has steadily expanded. With growing complexity of contacts between nations, the study of international organizations and institutions attracted the attention of scholars. The outbreak of the Second World War gave a strong stimulus to area studies and strategic aspect of foreign policy. This led to efforts to understand better the dynamics of national liberation struggles and anti-colonial movements. The foundation of the United Nations during the war encouraged thinking about post-war restructuring of the relations among nations. The study of cooperation became important even as the study of conflict remained central. The immediate aftermath was marked by a constructive outlook. This is reflected in titles of books like **Swords and Ploughshares** written by Inis Claude. New topics like ideology and disarmament assumed unprecedented importance in the era of cold war. So did the system of alliances and regionalism. Contemporary international relations embrace the whole gamut of diplomatic history, international politics, international organisation, international law and area studies. Writing about the contents of international relations, a few decades back, Palmer Perkins had said that the then international relations was a study of "the world community in transition." This conclusion is largely true even today. The transition has not reached a terminal point. While the underlying factors of international relations have not changed, the international environment has changed and is still changing. The state system is undergoing modifications; a technological revolution has taken place in a very big way; new states of Asia and Africa are playing increasingly important roles. India, in particular, is in a position to assert and take a rigid stand, as in 1996 on the question of signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). There is also a "revolution of

rising expectations." Thus, as Palmer and Perkins wrote, "old and new elements must be interwoven" in the contemporary international relations. "The focus is still the nation - state system and inter-state relations; but the actions and interactions of many organisations and groups have also to be considered."

The scope of international relations at the end of the twentieth century has become very vast indeed. The world has virtually become a "global village", as interdependence of states has increased manifold. Economic relations between states, the role of international institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation today influences economic activity all over the world. The United Nations and its various agencies are engaged in numerous socio-economic and political activities. International terrorism is a cause of serious concern for the human existence. Multinational Corporations (MNCs), who are giant companies operating the world over, are important non-state actors of international relations. Thus, the scope of international relations has become vast, and, besides international politics, it embraces various other inter - State activities as well.

### **Check Your Progress 2**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Briefly describe the utility of the study of international relations.

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- 2) What is the scope of contemporary international relations?

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## **1.6 APPROACHES**

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There are many approaches to the study of international relations. The traditional or classical approach treated History as the laboratory from which meaningful conclusions could be drawn. Two of the main schools of the traditional approach are Realism and Idealism. Whereas the Realism School considers the struggle for power as the central point of all international relations, the Idealism School believes in the inherent goodness of man. Realists like Morgenthau do not attach much importance to means, or morality. For them national interest is the aim that must be served with the help of power. The idealists, on the other hand, feel that the ideal of world peace is attainable with the help of reason, education and science. In recent years, Neo-Realism has appeared as another approach to the study of international relations.

### 1.6.1 Traditional Approaches : Realism, Idealism and Neo-Realism

The two most important variants of the traditional approach of international relations are Realism and Idealism. Taking inspiration from Kautilya and Machiavelli, the leading twentieth century realists George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau argued that the struggle for power is the central point of all international relations. Individuals believe that others are always trying to attack and destroy them, and therefore, they must be continuously ready to kill others in order to protect themselves. This basic human instinct guides the States as well. Thus, the realists argue that rivalry and strife among the nations in some form or the other are always present. Just as self-interest guides the individual's behaviour, similarly national interest also guides the foreign policy of nation-states. Continued conflict is the reality of international relations and realists attribute this to the struggle for power. Thus, national interest, as defined in terms of power, is the only reality of international relations. The realists do not attach much significance to means, for them **national interest** is the end, and it must be promoted at all costs.

Hans J. Morgenthau's influential book "**Politics among Nations**" (1972) carried the torch of realism far and wide. For the realists, distribution of powers among states is all that is there to explain in IR. Given a particular distribution of power, the realists claim that, it is possible to explain both the characteristics of the system and the behaviour of the individual states. The idealists firmly believe that the essential goodness of human nature will eventually prevail and that a new world order would emerge which would be marked by the absence of war, inequality and tyranny. This new world order would be brought about by the use of reason, education and science. Idealism presents a picture of future international relations free from power politics, violence and immorality. Idealism argues that an international organisation commanding respect of nation-states would pave the way for a world free of conflicts and war. Thus, the crucial point on which the realists and idealists sharply differ is the **problem of power**. St. Simon, Aldous Huxley, Mahatma Gandhi and Woodrow Wilson are among the prominent idealists. **Morality** is vital for them as they aim at international peace and cooperation.

An analysis of Realism and Idealism will show that both have their validity provided they give up their extremism. The approach that takes a middle position between "idealistic utopianism" and "cynical realism" is called **Eclecticism**. It has been described as a sort of synthesis of the 'pessimism of realism' and 'optimism of idealism'. Eclecticism tries to use the best in both realism and idealism. The former has been described by Quincy Wright as a representative of short-run national policies whereas idealism represents long-term policies of internationalism. Realists have been called 'Children of darkness' and idealists the 'children of light'. Neibuhr regards the children of darkness as evil and wicked and the children of light as virtuous. But, on the basis of another criterion, he says, the realists are wise as they understand the power of self-will, and the idealists are foolish because they underestimate the risk of anarchy in the international community. Both have something to learn from this.

**Neo-Realism**, also known as 'Structural Realism' is one of the current approaches to the study of international relations. Waltz, Grieco, Keohane and Joseph Nye are among the prominent neo-realists. Neo-Realists believe that might is right in a system which is essentially Hobbesian (full of strife) in nature. The great powers are engaged in permanent rivalry. The structure has, more or less, remained one of anarchy though the prominent actors have been changing. The term 'structure' has been referred to "how the actors in a system stand in relation to each other." The present structure being anarchical (challenges to state domination are rampant), one finds powerful states are most interested in trying to prevent others from improving relative capabilities. Keohane and Nye add that with the increasing role of non-state actors,

the structure has become even more complex and unpredictable. In short, neorealism believes that the nation-states still remain the most important actors in world politics; behaviour of the states can be explained rationally; states seek power and calculate their interests in terms of power. (All these they share with the scholars of realism). However, the neorealists add, the international system is characterized by anarchy and emerging 'multi-centric' activities emanating from sources other than state. This complexity is further compounded by international terrorism, religious war-fares, increasing incidence of civil wars and emerging competitive multinational corporations.

In the post-cold war years, international arena has assumed a new form. Nation-states are being threatened by divisive and secessionist movements. Many of the conflicts have assumed deadly proportions. According to John Stremlau "prevention has become a buzz word among diplomats seeking to stem anarchy in Africa, the Balkans, the new states of the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere." In 1992, for example, **out of 30 conflicts across the world as many as 29 were military actions taking place inside states**. One can refer to such examples to show that more military actions are being taken recourse to **inside states** rather than outside and among them. The ethnic conflict in erstwhile Yugoslavia (conflict between Serbs and Croats, and between Serbs and Bosnians), insurgency within Afghanistan, the conflict in Iraq regarding Kurds, chaotic conditions inside Somalia, the conflict in Sri Lanka, Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) related conflict in Pakistan and terrorist activities in northern Indian States of Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab, are some of the ongoing military or paramilitary actions within nation-states. In the post-cold war conflicts, **90 per cent of casualties have been of civilians**, not of the soldiers. Thus, neo-realism stresses the struggle for power not only between states but also intra-state struggles in an 'anarchic' world.

It will not be out of place here to mention that at a socio-political level, domestic determination of foreign policy options was not an important consideration with the realists who preferred states to remain confined to diplomatic, military and strategic sources of power. (See the box below). The post-cold war realists believe that peace was made possible in the world during the cold war period (1945-89) owing to stable bipolarity, balance of terror and a belief that nuclear war could be suicidal. With the end of the cold war, the realists hope for lasting peace to result out of the rules of conduct (for international relations) to be enforced by the United States which has virtual monopoly of powers. Realism today recognises the role of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation yet they are still considered to be subordinate to the wishes of the powerful states. The realists do not want proliferation of nuclear weapons so that monopoly of the American power is maintained in that sector. Thus, realists (and neo-realists) still believe in promotion of national interest as expressed through State power. Despite international organisations, regimes and non-state actors, power continues to dominate international relations, the realists still maintain.

It may be of interest to students to note that Realism and Neorealist approaches are mostly confined to IR studies in USA and Europe. Both stress on state power systems and inter-state relations. An important difference between the two is, however, one of degree and focus.

Neorealism (which appeals more widely in USA and Europe) in IR differs from Realism by virtue of its **lesser concern with** the diplomatic, military and strategic sources which maintain or disturb the balance of power and **more pre-occupation** with the political and economic concerns which need to be addressed for a sustainable international system. Most of the neo-realists therefore have been students of international political economy. IR studies began focussing on the developing countries after neo-realistic approach came to vogue. They are more

concerned with issues of dependence and development as against the state-centered approaches espousing the cause of "hegemonic stability" (that is to say, uneven distribution of power with one or a few states holding superior power to ensure stability in the world). As behaviouralists like Prof. James Rosenau often complained, concerned Third World students of IR often tend to be attracted to "dependency theory" (see below). This perspective posits that the Third World has been historically exploited by rich nations of the developed West.

### 1.6.2 Behavioural/Scientific Approaches of International Politics

Behavioural approaches to study of IR are often claimed by their western adherents to be scientific because they are based on quantitative calculations.

They made us more aware of the complex nature of conflicts and provided many valuable insights into decision - making. The ultimate objective of the behaviouralist scholars is to develop a general theory of international relations. The traditional approach was rooted largely in Political Science and drew heavily from Law, History and Philosophy. With the help of the behavioural approach, a discipline of international relations is at last beginning to emerge which is devoted to behavioural studies in IR.

There are several theories which may be lumped together under scientific/behavioural approach. Some like Systems Theory are more comprehensive than others like Bargaining and Game Theories. We will in this section briefly deal with only two of these behavioural scientific theories viz., the System Theory and the Game Theory.

### 1.6.3 System Theory

A system is defined as a set of elements interacting with each other. Another important feature of the system is that it has a boundary which separates it from the environment, the latter however, influences the system in its operations. Generally speaking, a system may be either natural (e.g. solar system), or mechanical (a car, a clock or a computer), or social (e.g. family). The social system itself may be related either to "society, or economy, or politics, or international systems."

The general concept of an international system, and of international systems, formed the basis of work for many major scholars, Karl W. Deutsch and Raymond Aron being among the most prominent. As Aron observed, there has never been an international system including the whole of the planet. But in the post-war period, "for the first time, humanity is living.(in) one and the same history, and there has emerged some kind of global system". It is greatly heterogeneous but not to an extent that scholars may fail to hold them together in a discipline. As a matter of fact, Stanley Hoffmann's working definition of the discipline was sufficient. "An international system", according to Hoffman "is a pattern of relations between the basic units of world politics which is characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by these units and of the tasks performed among them, as well as by the means used in order to achieve those goals and perform those tasks". (**System and Process in International Politics, 1957**).

Among others, Prof. Merton Kaplan is considered the most influential in the systems theorizing of IR. He presented a number of real and hypothetical models of global political organisation. His six well known models were (i) balance of power system, (ii) loose bipolar system, (iii) tight bipolar system, (iv) universal actor system, (v) hierarchical system, and (vi) Unit Veto system. The first two are historical realities; the remaining four are hypothetical models. Although Kaplan did not say that his six systems were likely to emerge in that order, yet it was expected that the Super Power being very powerful, non-aligned countries were likely to lose their status and become parts of one or the other power blocs, leading to a tight bipolar world. With the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991, the erstwhile

bipolarity phenomenon ended. While the United States emerged more powerful than other countries, many countries like Germany and Japan also emerged as major economic powers. Thus, depending upon how one analyses the emerging global order, it may be characterized as a unipolar or a multipolar world. The present situation does not however fall strictly within any one of the six models of Morton Kaplan which are described briefly below :

1. **The Balance of Power System** : This system prevailed in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this system some powerful states seek to maintain equilibrium of power individually or in alliance. Usually there is a 'balancer' – a state which assists anyone who is likely to become weaker than others so that balance is not disturbed.
2. **The Loose Bipolar System** : This was the situation during the days of cold war politics. Despite bipolar division of the global power scene, some countries refused to align with either block. They hang loose in an otherwise stratified global order.  
Examples : Non-aligned countries (NAM).
3. **The Tight Bipolar System** : Think of a situation where the international actors like NAM countries are forced to align with either block, the result is one of the tight bipolar system.
4. **The Universal Actor System** : In this system, an international organisation or actor commanding universal allegiance becomes the centre of power. Whether big or small, all states will accept the superiority of a universal actor like the United Nations. Thus, without giving up their sovereignty, nation-states will strengthen the United Nations and generally abide by its decisions. This may eventually pave the way for a world government.
5. **The Hierarchical International System** : In this system one country will become so powerful that all other states will be virtually dictated to by that one Supreme Power. This situation may be described as a 'Unipolar World Model'. The U.N. may still exist, but there will be no true non-aligned country and even the U.N. will not have enough power.
6. **The Unit Veto System** : Morton Kaplan's Unit Veto System in international context resembles the 'state of nature' as defined by Thomas Hobbes. Each state will be the enemy of every other state, because almost all the countries will possess nuclear weapons. Thus, all the international actors will be capable of using nuclear weapons against their enemies.

These six models were later supplemented by Kaplan himself by some other models. Meanwhile, other scholars have also suggested some other models. Thus, Couloumbis and Wolfe endorse Kaplan's six models, but add three more. These three are a) multibloc (or interregional) model, b) the national-fragmentation (or multipolar) model, and c) the post-nuclear war model.

**The multi-bloc model** portrays a world divided into five to seven mutually exclusive spheres of influence. Each of these spheres would be controlled by one major power, thus giving rise to a multipolar world.

**The National Fragmentation Model** will be the outcome of political and territorial disintegration. Ethnic, tribal or racial separatist movements may cause many of the large states to disintegrate into small fragmented units. Examples : the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia and former Czechoslovakia which have split into several sovereign states.

**The Post-Nuclear War Model** : is the world after a catastrophic nuclear war. If such a war takes place, its aftermath would be ghastly. In such a situation, only the most tyrannical regimes would be able to maintain orderly distribution of food, shelter and medicine. A new order will have to be found out to overcome such chaotic conditions.

#### 1.6.4 Game Theory

Game theory attempts to provide models for studying world politics, especially in highly competitive situations when outcomes of the actions are difficult to anticipate. This has led scholars to create the game theory for a more scientific study of the calculation of probabilities in an uncertain situation. Game theory was created almost in one shot with the publication of **Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour** (Princeton, 1994) by the mathematician **John von Neumann** and the economist **Oskar Morgenstern**. Karl Deutsch and Martin Shubik are among influential theorists who followed them. Though the economists were the first to adapt it to their purpose in recent years it has been applied to many other fields with suitable modifications.

In its simplest version, the game theory is the model of a zero sum game which describes the situation of conflict/competition in which one party's total loss is exactly equal to the other adversary's total gain. This explains the name – the sum total of gain and loss is zero. For the study of IR, game theory model however is a **multiparty non-zero-sum game**. This is because as J.K. Zawodny reminds us, "we must recognize that some types of international conflicts today can be resolved only by situations in which neither side loses and in which sometimes both sides may win."

As you must have already understood, isolated, completely independent states, are not affected by what other states do. They however are affected and interact through mutual dependence for some benefits. States play games to have maximum gains out of such a situation of inter-dependence.

The two most important kinds of game that have been suggested are the "Chicken Game" and the game of "Prisoner's Dilemma". In the chicken game situation two car drivers are going in the middle of the road towards each other from the opposite sides. Unless one of them stops on the side and gives way to the other, there is a possibility of serious accident which may even result in the death of one or both the drivers. Any one who gives way to the other will suffer a loss of reputation but accident will be avoided. Nations often face such a situation. Generally, none wants to suffer loss of reputation. The underlying idea of chicken game is that inspite of not being able to know the intention of its opponent, a country's foreign policy – makers can adopt such a course as would ensure its own interest only if it does not mind the other country also benefiting from that course of action. A country standing on its prestige may suffer heavy losses.

The situation in prisoners dilemma is different. A nation, like a prisoner, often faces dilemma without having the slightest idea of its opponent's intentions. In this model two persons, charged with murder, are kept in two cells and they can neither see nor talk to each other. The prison-in-charge tells both of them separately that if one of them confesses to murder, and the other does not, the one who confesses will not only be set free but rewarded, and the other prisoner will be hanged. If none of them confesses, both will be freed but without reward. But if both of them confess, they both would be given serious punishment. The game suggests that everyone wants reward or advantage, but may land in serious situation as it does not know the mind of the other.

#### 1.6.5 Integration Theory

The theory is associated with the names of **Charles Kegley and Wittkopf**. In an essay published in 1993, they rejected the realist view of human nature. They argue that human beings have diverse make-ups, and that human action is based on voluntary choice influenced by environment. The liberals reject the view that international relations are anarchic. They argue that the international system today is based on transnational interactions which create areas of interdependence. Societies

and governments are being knit together by growing cultural homogeneity and economic and social interdependence. Various international agencies and regimes like the World Trade Organisation promote integration. The Liberals emphasise the growing role of non-state actors like NGOs, regional organisations etc. in promoting regional and global interdependence.

The liberals do not accept the view that the world has become unipolar. They feel that in the post-cold war years the world is moving in the direction of multi-polarity. At the same time there is increasing inter-state cooperation to reduce mistrust and tension in order to promote peace. Global interdependence has led to a growing concern among all governments about nuclear proliferation, global recession, ozone depletion, climatic changes and AIDS. These common concerns indicate interdependence and need for the scholars to examine these problems in the context of integration. The liberals, therefore, insist on the study of these and other organisations. They believe that expanding the U.N. System promotes interdependence. To sum up : the liberal concern for interdependence is related to multipolarity in the post-cold war period, increasing role of U.N. and other non-governmental and regional organisations, and consequent integration under the influence of western industrialised countries.

#### **1.6.6 Dependency Approach**

Whereas the realists argued for 'hegemonic stability' and the liberals for interdependence among the states, concerned scholars of the Third World however always argued that the main basis for the contemporary, international relationships should be found in their 'under-development'. It has not been a big formal theory but the 'dependency approach' which originated from Latin America challenged the dominant myth that the solutions for the ills of the underdevelopment in the Third World lay in following the modern, realist prescriptions from the West. In the field of international relations, scholars from the Dependency School argued that (i) the present conditions of dependence in the periphery largely are due to the **past exploitation** by developed countries that form in the 'core' now, (ii) relations among nations therefore are essentially **asymmetrical** and (iii) such an asymmetry is **not merely confined to State-to-State relationships** (because international relations/ transactions involve a host of ties among groups and classes **between, within** and **across** the nations). Arguments centred around structures of dependence both of the past and the present and emphasis was laid on factors and forces which were not of primary concern for either the realists or the neo-realists or even the liberals. Inspired largely by Marxian influences, politics among nations has been considered largely as an expression of global forces and currents of development in all their unevenness throughout history that continues through the present also. Profs. F.H. Cardoso (later the President of Brazil), Raul Prebisch and his colleague, Andre Gunder Frank are some of the well-known names associated with this approach which is enjoying widespread appeal even among the Western scholars.

#### **1.6.7 The Feminist Approach**

As the name suggests, this is a recent but influential approach which believes that international relations are competitive, power-oriented and exploitative mainly because of male domination in politics. The argument is that international relations would be more balanced and effective if women were given their due share in politics through several ways. **Liberal feminists** believe that education, political mobilisation and pressure to change will bring about the desired results. But **radical feminists** feel that capitalism is the main cause of gender inequality and therefore, adoption of socialism will hasten the process of gender equality, which in turn will ensure peace in the world. It is argued that it is man's gender bias imposed by western philosophy also which needs to be overcome. Thus, the feminist theory traces all problems of

international relations to gender inequality and domination by men. Critics however point out that gender differences are natural, rooted in biology, and it is not men but the society in which we grow which is to be addressed for remedies. Cynthia Enloe and Spike Peterson are among some important names associated with the Feminist Approach.

### **Check Your Progress 3**

- Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.  
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Describe briefly the theories of Realism and Idealism.

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- 2) What is Neo-Realism?

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- 3) Explain briefly Kaplan's six models of systems theory.

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- 4) What is the Liberal/Interdependence Theory?

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## 1.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have introduced the learners to international relations. The discipline began to develop when the first Chair in International Relations was established in 1919 at the University of Wales. From diplomatic history to the present, the scientific study of international relations makes a fascinating story. International Relations as a 'condition' refers to official relations between sovereign states; as a 'discipline' it is systematic knowledge of such inter-state relations. As a subject of study, International relations is focused upon the "process by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states."

A distinction between International Relations and International Politics is both desirable and essential. While international politics deals only with official and diplomatic relations between nations, international relations is wider in scope as it includes political, economic, geographic, legal and cultural relations. In a way, international politics is a part of international relations. The nature and content of international relations has undergone a big change particularly after the Second World War, thanks mainly to revolutionary technologies of communication. Secret diplomacy has become a thing of the past. Summit and conference diplomacy has changed the nature of international relations. Its scope has widened and includes not only official political relations, but also such diverse activities of like cultural, scientific and economics. The roles of universal actors like the United Nations, IMF, World Bank, WTO the inter-state actors such as the SAARC, ASEAN and the non-state actors like multinational corporations, NGOs etc. also constitute the scope of international relations.

Several approaches have been adopted by scholars (from time to time) to study international relations. The traditional approach depended heavily on Law, History and Political Science. Two of these approaches are Realism and Idealism. Realism insists on the importance of national interest and power and considers all international relations as struggles for power. Idealism believes that power is a passing phase, and world peace can be made possible with the help of education, science and reason. The Behavioural approach which became prominent after the Second World War is interdisciplinary in nature. There are theories like Systems and Game Theories which offer new behavioural models of international politics. In this unit, we have briefly dealt with the Systems Theory and the Game Theory. The Unit ends with brief discussions on two other approaches in International Politics, viz., Dependency and Feminist Approaches.

## 1.8 KEY WORDS

<b>Discipline</b>	: A systematically developed branch of knowledge.
<b>Condition</b>	: Actual state of affairs
<b>Behavioural</b>	: Pertaining to observable behaviour.
<b>Classical</b>	: Long-standing and rooted in history.
<b>Game</b>	: A situation of competition where the outcome is uncertain but the probability of behaviour can be rationally calculated for gains.
<b>Idealist</b>	: One who believes in ideal aims and moral principles in the conduct of international relations.
<b>Realist</b>	: One who believes in reality of selfish interest, inevitability of conflicts and disputes and role of power. Moral principles are less important.

<b>Scientific</b>	: Based on objective, empirical method of understanding.	<b>Why Study International Relations?</b> <b>Scope and Approaches</b>
<b>System</b>	: A set of elements in functional interaction with each other. It exists in an environment and is composed of parts which through interaction are related to each other.	

## 1.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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Morgenthau, Hans	: <b>Politics Among Nations : The Struggle for Power and Peace.</b>
Knorr, K. & Rosenau, J.N.	: <b>Contending Approaches to International Politics.</b>
Claude, Inis	: <b>Power and International Relations</b>
Mc Cllenland, Charles A.	: <b>Theory and International Systems</b>
Kaplan, Morton	: <b>Systems and Process in International Politics.</b>

## 1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) As a 'condition', the actual official relations between sovereign states – their disputes and conflicts and cooperation between them. As a 'discipline' it is systematic study of such inter-state relations which need not always be confined to state-to-state relations.
- 2) Study of all inter-state relations. Primarily, political relations constitute international relations, but it also includes economic relations, trade and commerce and even inter-state matters pertaining to industrial, cultural and religious spheres.
- 3) International Relations is wider in scope; International Politics is concerned with interaction of state policies within changing pattern of power relationship. It deals with factors and forces influencing relations among nations.
- 4) It is no more limited to European states; has become actually international after decolonisation; technological revolution in travel, communication and nature of weapons and war all have changed the nature of International Relations.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Living in an interdependent state - system where distances have been reduced and contacts, conflicts and cooperation among states affect our lives, study of International Relations is very useful.
- 2) It includes the study of inter-state political and economic relations. Role of organisations like UN, World Bank, IMF, WTO and numerous multinational corporations is also within the scope of International Relations.

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Realism takes into account the dominant role of power in international relations. National interest is vital and nations protect it through the

medium of power. Politics is struggle for power. Idealism insists on application of moral principles, regards power as a passing phase, seeks world peace through education, reason etc.

- 2) Neo-realism, also known as structural realism, believes that international relations are marked by international anarchy. Anarchy results since non-state actors have come up. Examples : international terrorism, religion and competitive multinational corporations – MNCs, NGOs, multilateral agencies like World Bank, IMF, WTO and above all, the UN system.
- 3) Kaplan's scientific study of international systems suggests : balance of power system, loose bipolar system, tight bipolar system, universal actor system, hierarchical system, and Unit Veto System.
- 4) It rejects the view that international relations are anarchical. For them, the international system is based on transnational interactions which create interdependence. This approach believes in relations based on mutual dependence of nation - states and consequent integration of the world.

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## **UNIT 2 SOME CONCEPTS : IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM, FASCISM, REVOLUTION**

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### **Structure**

- 2.0 Objectives
  - 2.1 Introduction
  - 2.2 Imperialism
    - 2.2.1 Meaning of Imperialism
    - 2.2.2 Development of Imperialism
    - 2.2.3 What is Colonialism?
    - 2.2.4 Neo-Colonialism
  - 2.3 Nationalism
    - 2.3.1 The Concept of Nationalism
    - 2.3.2 Stages of Nationalism
  - 2.4 Fascism
    - 2.4.1 Essential Features of Fascism
    - 2.4.2 Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain
    - 2.4.3 Mussolini – From Socialist to Fascist
    - 2.4.4 Causes of the rise of Fascism in Italy
    - 2.4.5 Neo-fascism in Europe
  - 2.5 Revolutions
    - 2.5.1 What is a Revolution?
    - 2.5.2 Some major Revolutions
  - 2.6 Let Us Sum Up
  - 2.7 Some Useful Books
  - 2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
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### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After going through this unit, which discusses four important concepts, we will be able to :

- analyse the concept of imperialism;
  - relate colonialism with international relations;
  - explain neo-colonialism which is the contemporary form of imperialism;
  - describe the significance and meaning of nationalism;
  - recall various kinds and stages of nationalism;
  - explain the meaning of Fascism;
  - recall the causes that were responsible for the rise of fascism after World War I.
  - analyse the meaning and significance of revolutions; and
  - describe some of the major revolutions like Industrial revolution, French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution.
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### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The term **imperialism** denotes domination of one political system over another. Imperialism is a phenomenon which grew out of capitalism and decisively influenced the course of international relations. Essentially, imperialism is a consequence of the economic and political processes of our times that at least twice led to world wars in the 20th century.

**Nationalism** is one of the most important concepts. Nationalism is a feeling which binds a people together. It enables people to fight for their freedom and for protection of the national interest of their state. Modern nation-state is the result of vigorous nationalism. Today, every state talks of national aspirations, national hopes, national fear and national conflict. Nationalism has been described as the master key for the understanding of international relations.

**Fascism**, as political theory is associated with Mussolini, the Italian dictator of the inter war period. Unlike most other political doctrines such as Marxism and Individualism, Fascism was more a programme of action than an ideology. It emerged mainly as a reaction against injustice alleged to have been done to Italy and Germany. While Germany felt humiliated by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles signed at the Peace Conference at Paris, Italy was disappointed that it was not sufficiently rewarded for all the contribution it had made to the war on the Allied side. As a result, people in these two countries wanted their governments to follow a more aggressive policy which was pursued by the fascists. Fascism is totalitarian in approach. It is against the principles of democracy, socialism and even individualism.

**Revolution** is a sudden break from the existing system. It is a concept of social change indicating over-all change of the system. The Industrial revolution in Britain, brought about significant changes in that country's socio-economic structure and gave birth to capitalism. It also had far-reaching impact on countries of Europe who began a race for colonialism. It was, indirectly, responsible for rapid growth of imperialism. The French and the American revolutions brought into focus democracy, liberty and equality. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 changed the face of Russia and brought into existence the socialist system.

In this unit we will briefly read about the concepts of imperialism, nationalism, fascism and revolution.

## 2.2 IMPERIALISM

Palmer and Perkins write that it is almost impossible to give a generally acceptable definition of imperialism. They say : "Imperialism can be discussed, denounced, defended, and died for, but it cannot be defined in any generally acceptable way." Imperialism was regarded by the Western countries as essential in terms of the "White Man's Burden". But, it was universally condemned in the countries of Asia and Africa who were victims of imperialism. Political domination and economic exploitation of one country by another clearly explains the meaning of imperialism. Despite Palmer and Perkins' views about definition of imperialism, we find different scholars giving different, often divergent, definitions of imperialism.

### 2.2.1 Meaning of Imperialism

According to Moritz Julius Bonn, "Imperialism is a policy which aims at creating, organising and maintaining an empire; that is, a state of vast size composed of various more or less distinct national units and subject to a single centralized will." Charles A Beard wrote : "Imperialism is ..... employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples, and to promote industrial, trade, and investment opportunities ...." A clear yet crisp definition was given by P.T. Moon. He wrote, "Imperialism .... means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations." Thus, Moon clearly indicates domination of coloured peoples of Asia and Africa by the Europeans who considered themselves superior and their colonial administration as burden on the white man. Though Beard excludes all economic motivations, the history of imperialism definitely points to economic exploitation as a primary drive in expansion of the empire by the Western countries.

Morgenthau, the eminent realist scholar who considers all politics as struggle for power, scraps the condition of economic motivation. He defines imperialism in terms of expansion of a State's power beyond its borders. Schumpeter regards imperialism as a force "ancient in inception, decadent and self-conscious in an age of rationalism, yet still powerful enough to lord it over its rival, the upstart capitalism." The Marxist writers do not agree with the view that imperialism is a rival of capitalism. For them, as Lenin said, imperialism is not only entirely economic, but also a rather precise stage (the highest) in the development of capitalism.

Motivation for imperialism has generally been economic in nature : to gain economic advantage from exploitation of a colony. It invariably resulted in empire building, though some western writers prefer to separate **economic motivation** from **desire for a vast empire**. Palmer and Perkins attempt to explain, what they call good and bad imperialisms; though from the point of view of the Third World countries, there could never be a good imperialism because exploitation cannot be good to anybody.

The apparent victory of capitalism and eclipse of socialism in Eastern Europe do not suggest that imperialism has become less exploitative and more beneficial to these new democracies which were born in these circumstance. Further, many studies carried out by international organizations like ILO, FAO, WHO (of the UN) and even by World Bank, IMF etc. present data which clearly show that there has been capital transfers and decline in standards of living among the people in the Third World countries indicating that "the imperialist exploitation and domination of these countries is more thorough than ever". All these have however been possible owing to an adverse international political economy in which the Third World countries were subjected to unequal terms of trade, ever-expanding transnational corporations and the external debt trap.

In an influential study (**Imperialism – A Historical Survey**) Harry Magdoff has concluded that the phenomenon of imperialism as represented by the hegemony of monopoly capital and the aggressive capitalist nation-state (Lenin) continues unabated; the structures and forms of exploitation only have changed. Magdoff observed three major changes which have recently come up in the imperialist exploitation :

1. the integration of military production with the dominant industrial sectors.
2. the rising importance of the multi-national corporations which drive towards world-wide control of the most profitable and newest industries in both the periphery and the advanced countries; and
3. the priority of the interests of the military multi-national industry in the affairs of the state

These new changes in imperialist exploitation are noteworthy since if anything, the exploitation of the countries in the periphery (the Third World) has only intensified. It is definitely not the other way. The end of the Western colonialism gave such formulations which may be summed up as "end of imperialism".

John Strachey, Michael Barratt Brown, Hamza Alavi, among others, argued in favour of imperialism diluting its thrusts of exploitation. In point of fact, all these arguments are more ideological than real as was demonstrated by Paul Sweezy in his famous article on "Imperialism in the 1990s". Responding to Alavi's opinion of a "**new imperialism**" which **does not export capital** (considered an essential feature of Imperialism) but remains confined to the **control of the world market**, Sweezy demonstrated that, beginning in the 1960s, "multi-national corporations moved their manufacturing facilities to lower-wage countries". In other words, the MNC control of the Third World economy is not confined to the latter's markets only; it is there in all areas of production and financing as well.

The recent wave of globalization and other economic reform measures with focus on further liberalization, bear out this new form of imperialism which has emerged in the wake of eclipse of socialism, its main challenger. Imperialism has not ended, it has only taken a new form, a new route but for the same goal : exploitation of the poor and dependent countries of the Third World.

### Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Define imperialism.

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- 2) Identify new changes in imperialist exploitation.

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#### 2.2.2 Development of Imperialism

History reveals that the world has gone through many stages of development. We know that the history of humankind is related to the development of society and social structures. Capitalism generally developed out of feudalism, and was responsible for colonialisation and imperialism.

Feudalism prevailed before the 16th-17th Century. In Europe, feudalism was generally associated with medieval states based on aristocracies (run by Kings and nobles) who controlled the economic and political power of the State. The Church too had an important role in the functioning of the feudal state. Feudalism as a system began to decay in different parts of Europe, beginning from England in the thirteenth century. The industrial revolution, the growth of towns, inter-feudal wars etc. led to this decline. Social life in Europe thus began to change. This also involved a change from the feudal type economic organisation to a different one where the control was no longer with the land owning aristocracies. Independent groups of merchants and traders began dominating the economy. This meant, thus, the growth of new classes which formed the basis for **mercantile capitalism**. The latter was a transition from feudalism to capitalism, which was prevalent between the 16th and 19th centuries. The kind of transformation made by each nation out of feudalism differed. For example in England capitalism grew faster than in any other European nations. France followed this transition and later Germany, Russia and others did the same. Thus each transition was a unique experience. Industrialization in Europe led the capitalists to look for raw materials and markets outside Europe. This search fueled imperial penetrations into Asia and Africa.

Capitalism can be defined as a system in which goods and services are produced for exchange in the market so that profit is made. The form of capital in the capitalist system is different from that of the feudal system where merchant capital was dominant. Under capitalism productive capital dominates, that is capital invested in labour power. Labour power is what the worker has to sell in exchange for money in order to survive. This labour power is then organised in the production process to produce new commodities for making more profit. Thus the capital of the merchants and financiers (banks, money-lenders, etc.) circulated and is invested for commodity production. The function of this merchant/finance capital is determined and based on the need of productive capital. Labour power thus becomes like a commodity which can be bought and sold according to market prices.

The growth of capitalism had an important effect on the social and political life of people and social systems just as it had on their economic life. Capitalism brought about the formation of two large classes – the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and the working class. In addition to these there also grew a number of smaller classes. It also gave rise to new political systems wherein besides landed aristocracies, other classes also shared State power as in England. Similarly it led to the overthrow of the French landed aristocracy and brought into being the French Republic. Thus with capitalism began an era of private enterprise in the economic sphere and popular participation in the exercise of State power in the political sphere.

### 2.2.3 What is Colonialism?

An important element in the development of capitalism was the need for its continuous expansion. So, even as feudalism began to decline and the transition to capitalism began to take place, the emerging states were constantly looking for new sources of revenue. This search for revenue and profit led to the search for and the seizure of wealth from other societies. This necessitated state sponsored discoveries of new lands parts of the world unknown to the European empires. Thus for instance Marco Polo's and Christopher Columbus's search for India, the discovery of the Pacific Islands, the Americas, the entry into the Indian Ocean and China seas. New sea routes took the explorers to reach New Zealand and Australia. The discovery of sea routes around the world led to a remarkable circle of exchange of goods. Unimagined wealth from these new lands such as precious metals, spices, silk, etc. entered the European markets. This flow of wealth had many results : Europe could live in a style of great luxury. Capitalism got a push or impetus of growth from 'outside' (new regions); the rush for plunder, conquest and colonisation of the pre-capitalist or agrarian societies of Asia, Africa, and America reached a climax. The need to find, capture and control settlements which were later declared as colonies was an important task of individual entrepreneurs, companies and states. Thus the 16th century saw the expansion of European states, led by explorers and merchants. Also active in this field were wayward entrepreneurs who were active in plundering goods from the East for sale in the European markets. Many merchants built armouries and raised battalions for their own protection and for exploiting the new colonies. For instance the Portuguese traders even sold "protection services" to others, for sailing in the sea undisturbed. All these led ultimately to the establishment of colonial rule over many lands in Latin America, Caribbean Islands, Africa, Asia.

Colonialism is an important characteristic of the new capitalism which was developing at a fast pace. The wealth arising out of colonial exploitation was different from the wealth which came from feudal imperial gains. Whereas in the latter case, living was wasteful for few and unproductive for many, the former was engaged in promoting productive relations of capitalism which generated more wealth for enjoyment of many. Colonialism implied a specific relation between the colonised country and the colonising power, whereas conquest which was the basis of feudal imperial gains (e.g. for the Mughals, Ottomans etc.) meant only sheer annexation without any obligations on the conqueror. It meant a relationship of both

political and economic control by the colonising country over the colony. The countries which were colonised and those which were colonisers were themselves at different stages of development. For example, when Spain and Portugal colonised Latin America, they were feudal societies. When Britain, France, and Germany were colonising Africa (towards the end of the nineteenth century), they were industrial capitalist countries.

In modern times, most of the empires except for the Chinese and the Japanese were under the European colonial control. How did the Europeans come to dominate Asia and Africa? This could largely be possible because of better technology, better firepower and discipline which enabled the Europeans to take on the people in the far-off lands. These colonial empires had a peak period during 1880-1940, when the colonial empires were established. The colonisation phenomenon in Asia was fueled by motivations for trade in luxury goods of the orient, to begin with. But over the years, expansion of markets to sell their industrial products went hand in hand with, exploitation of natural resources and cheap human labour, thus colonial expansion took place. After World War I, the German colonies were distributed among the Victorious Allies as "mandates" whereas World War II saw the Italian Colonies in Africa being placed under the British as "trust territories". Similarly, the Pacific islands held by Japan were annexed by the USA. Only Namibia remained under the white rule as the last colony till it attained independence on 21st March 1990. Otherwise, Portugal can claim to be the first and about the last among the European powers in this colonial race.

#### **2.2.4 Neo-Colonialism**

The structure of the world and the nature of international relations underwent a complete change after World War II. The war had destroyed the European economies and shaken up their very foundations. The break-up of the British, French, Belgian and the Dutch colonial empires had begun and their complete disintegration became inevitable. These once 'great powers' were shaken to the roots and they lost their earlier importance. Their place was quickly taken over by the United States of America which became the dominant international capitalist power after 1945.

Imperialism began taking on a new form. Before the war, United States capitalism had shown its 'dominant' imperialist character towards the countries of Central America and the Caribbean as also in the Philippines and some Pacific Islands. After the emergence of new ex-colonial states in Asia and Africa, which were politically independent but economically weak, American economic, political and military activity started extending to these areas.

The instruments of foreign policy that the US employed were economic aid, political and military support to the regimes allied to US. These regimes were often dictatorial in character and opposed people's movements inside. The USA extended willing and active support to regimes, or movements which suppressed or opposed 'leftist' or pro-communist movements and governments. Economic aid doled out by USA, and the US – dominated World Bank was to ensure policies that fell in line with US foreign policy. World Bank policies encourage mainly private enterprise and were against nationalisation of enterprises. These policies exerted by the USA confirmed its role as the main power in a new form of imperialism – an imperialism without colonies or direct control'. This came to be known popularly as 'neo-colonialism'.

Neo-colonialism was also called 'economic imperialism' which meant that economically powerful states could, through economic leverage, control other less developed countries on the basis of aid, trade, and international economic policies.

Neo-colonialism has acquired new and more threatening dimensions after the cold war. During the cold war period there was some sort of competition between the two super powers in regard to economic and military assistance given to the countries who

were subjected to a new type of imperialism. Two important developments have taken place in the last decade of the twentieth century. The cold war had ended, the former Soviet Union disintegrated, leaving the United States in the unique commanding position. Secondly, a number of countries, including India and China, have embarked upon the policy of economic liberalization. Russia and East European countries have adopted the system of market economy. In this scenario, capitalist and developed countries of the West are more vigorously pursuing the policy of neo-colonialism such as economic and military assistance, and multinational corporations are being openly used to establish domination over the developing countries.

Economic liberalization has weakened the hold of the state over economies. The Soviet concept of planning is being diluted and market forces encouraged to regulate and control economic development. Multinational corporations have entered the third world countries in a very big way. Foreign banks in India offer much better service attracting affluent people and adversely affecting the domestic banking institutions. MNCs with large funds at their disposal attract even common man, to buy their products, through massive advertisements. As more and more people get attracted to the products of MNCs, many local companies are being eliminated. Closure of domestic companies increases foreign strangle hold over local economy.

Third world countries who take frequent loans from the World Bank and countries like USA, Germany and Japan have to accept the conditionalities imposed by them. As the temptation to develop on borrowed money increases, developing countries get into debt-trap subjecting them to a new type of imperialism or neo-colonialism.

The state controlled economic development process has failed in most of the countries. After the eclipse of socialism in Russia, people are rushing for western goods and western style of living causing unprecedented inflation. If the former Soviet Union and erstwhile socialist countries of eastern Europe were forced to allow the operation of market forces, the developing countries of the South could not avoid economic liberalization. But liberalisation has encouraged domination by western countries and MNCs which is an important cause for concern. This is because the developing countries have to compromise with their sovereign right of decision-making and accept the conditions imposed upon them. The large amount of money which is paid every year as interest on the foreign and World Bank loans further aggravates the situation and neo-colonialism continues to grow even as political leadership keeps on talking of independence and sovereignty.

We may conclude with the classic definition of neo-colonialism given by one of Africa's leading figures of independence, Kwame Nkrumah, the founder President of Ghana. In Nkrumah's own words :

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The methods and form of this direction, can take various shapes. For example, in an extreme case, the troops of an imperial power may garrison the territory, of the neo-colonial state and control its government. More often, however, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial state may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperialist power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere. Control over government policy in the neo-colonial state may be secured by payments towards the cost of running the state, by the provision of civil servant in positions where they can dictate policy, and by monetary control over foreign exchange through the imposition of a banking system controlled by the imperial power." (*Neo-colonialism : The Last Stage of Imperialism*, 1965).

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Trace the development of imperialism.

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- 2) What was the role of capitalism in the process of colonialism?

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- 3) What is Neo-colonialism?

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## 2.3 NATIONALISM

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The terms 'nation'; 'nationality' and 'nationalism' are used most commonly but not always with a clear understanding of their meanings. As Carlton J.H. Hayes said : "So much is nationalism a common place in the modes of thought and action of the civilised populations of the contemporary world that most men take nationalism for granted." People imagine that it is the "most natural thing in the universe." But, the concept of nationalism is far from being clear to most of us who use this term. Every state considers its national interest as paramount; and all the struggle for power is for protection and promotion of national interest. Nationalism usually promotes patriotism. For dependent peoples, as we were before 1947, nationalism is the spirit which enables struggle for freedom against foreign rulers. But, sometimes nationalism takes precedence even over moral beliefs as was the case in Hitler's Nazi Germany. Nationalism in Germany was interpreted to mean expansion of the Third Reich and expulsion of Jews; in Israel it meant struggle for survival in the face of Arab opposition; and Pakistani nationalism is essentially confined to anti-India tirades particularly on Kashmir.

### 2.3.1 The Concept of Nationalism

"For students of international politics", wrote Sharp and Kurk, "an understanding of nationalism is as indispensable as the possession of a master key to a person seeking to enter all the various doors in a building." Thus, for Sharp and Kurk, nationalism is the master key for understanding of international politics. The total behaviour of state system today is largely explained "in terms of **national** hopes, **national** fears, **national** ambitions, and **national** conflicts." Since modern state is a 'nation-state', it seeks to promote nationalism as its leaders might interpret. As Palmer and Perkins point out, "In its most virulent form it has commanded virtually the total allegiance of men and some of the most inhuman acts of this age have been wrapped in the mystical and religious trappings of nationalism". Thus, nationalism may be used as a tool for noble cause to unite a people for common good or it may be misused, as by some of the dictators to commit even the most inhuman acts like genocide. Namibian nationalism against South Africa's imperialism prior to 1990 falls in the first category; whereas Hitler's policy towards Jews can be safely put in the second category.

In the limited space available in this section, the concept of nationalism can be explained very briefly. The term **nation** may be understood before **nationalism** can be fully comprehended. One of the most satisfactory definitions of **nation** was given by Ernest Barker. He wrote : "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history ...." Barker mentioned common religious belief and common language as generally binding forces, but what is more important is that they "cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate State for the expression and realization of that will." Such a State, if formed, is known as a 'nation-state'.

In common usage the terms state and nation are often used interchangeably. That is how we use the term **international**, rather than **inter-state**. But, as most of the political units that now exist have become **nation-states**, the distinction between state and nation has narrowed down. Hans Morgenthau suggests, "the nation needs a state. 'One nation - one state' is thus the political postulate of nationalism, the nation state is its idea." Nationality is one of the main courses of nationalism. It implies either national character and the spirit of belonging to a nation or a group of people possessed of such a spirit. So, then, how can we explain the concept of nationalism?

Among the most prominent students of nationalism are J.H. Hayes and Hans Kohn. Nationalism, according to Hayes consists of "a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena – nationality and patriotism." Thus, nationality which is a feeling of being bound together and patriotism constitute nationalism. Kohn says that "nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness." Today, this state of mind, a common bond coupled with patriotism, an act of consciousness is the core of the concept of nationalism. Nationalism has become common form of political life all over the world, and relations among nations is the content of international relations. But, as Kohn wrote "everywhere nationalism differs in character according to the specific historic conditions and the peculiar social structure of each country. As the concept of nationalism has spread, the individual has begun to be counted less and nation-state has become all powerful."

The concept of nationalism implies a feeling of oneness among a large group of section of people. Professor Snyder wrote that it was not easy to define nationalism in simple language, yet he describes the following explanation of nationalism as the least objectionable. He wrote : "..... nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind,

feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area ...." Commenting adversely on the concept Snyder wrote that nationalism "is neither wholly logical nor rational. Its roots lie in the illogical, irrational and fantastic world of the unconscious." In simpler language, nationalism is a conditioned sentiment uniting people in a common bond.

### 2.3.2 Stages of Nationalism

Nationalism has been variously classified by different western Scholars. It has been described as "good" and "bad"; "constructive" and "destructive"; and "material" and "spiritual". These descriptions are based on quality of nationalism which is very difficult to justifiably explain. However, different stages of nationalism were suggested by many, including Quincy Wright. He discussed successively medieval, monarchical, revolutionary, liberal and totalitarian nationalisms. He did not give much attention to cultural or humanitarian nationalism. But, Hayes has dealt with "economic factors in nationalism" in detail. Four stages of nationalism were described by Professor Snyder. He called them **integrative nationalism** (1815-1871); **disruptive nationalism** (1871-1890), **aggressive nationalism** (1900-1945), and **contemporary nationalism** (since 1945). During the first stage, nationalism resulted in integration or reunification of Germany and of Italy. During the second stage, subject nationalities as within Austria - Hungary sought their nation-states. Snyder says that the two world wars were the result of aggressive nationalism of the third phase. During the early period of fourth stage Asian and African colonies of European Powers secured their independent nationhood.

Modern nationalism is said to have originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe, and America. It became a general European movement in the nineteenth century particularly after the Napoleonic era. The early nationalism has been described as monarchical. It was the French revolution which introduced the concept of popular democracy resting on the will of the people and of the "rights of man and of the citizen." The nationalism which Napoleon generated among his enemies has been described by Hayes as "traditional nationalism". Similarly, Czar Alexander of Russia who emerged in 1815 as "the great hope of traditional nationalism" championed a Holy Alliance for a better world for peoples and nations.

The liberal nationalism of nineteenth century achieved the unification of Germany and of Italy. Other European countries such as Belgium and Greece won nationhood after national uprisings. Nationalism was till then regarded as an European phenomenon. It soon spread to Asia and Africa. Palmer and Perkins wrote nationalism during "greater part of nineteenth century" was linked with other movements such as democracy, romanticism, industrialism, imperialism and liberalism. Liberal nationalism declined by the beginning of the twentieth century as great power rivalry became common and eventually resulted in the First World War.

It was argued that nationalism was both cause and product of the First World War. As Sydney B. Fay wrote : "nationalism paved the way of statesmen and prepared the minds of peoples for the World war .... Its immediate cause was the murderous activity of a secret nationalistic society of Jugoslavs .... Its most obvious immediate result was the triumph of the principles of national self-determination in central and eastern Europe ...." After the First World War, "the facade of internationalism" proved ineffective and **totalitarian nationalism** took over in several countries. It was led by men like Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. In the post-second World War period, **national liberation movements**, a new form of nationalism shook the foundations of imperialism and resulted in acceleration of the process of decolonization. Most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries threw away imperialism, and nationalism based on democracy, popular will, liberty and justice resulted as over 100 new nation-states came into existence.

### Check Your Progress 3

Some Concepts : Imperialism,  
Nationalism, Fascism, Revolution

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Describe briefly the concept of nationalism.

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2) Mention various kinds and stages of nationalism.

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## 2.4 FASCISM

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Fascism, as mentioned in the introduction to this unit, does not represent an ideology. It was a theory based on certain programmes of action adopted in Italy by the Fascist Party under the leadership of Mussolini. Later, similar programmes were adopted by Hitler's Nazi party in Germany. The term 'Fascism' has its origin in the Latin word 'Fasio' which means a 'bundle of sticks'. In the ancient Rome, 'bundle of sticks and axe' were the symbols of state authority. 'Bundle of sticks' indicated discipline and unity, while 'axe' symbolised power. Thus, the principal objective of Fascism was restoration of lost glory and honour of the nation through military power and potential. Massive rearmament became the most important means of achieving the objective of national honour. Let us briefly mention the major features of Fascist programme.

### 2.4.1 Essential Features of Fascism

Fascists were strongly nationalist in their outlook. They wanted to make Italy as powerful as she was in the days of ancient Roman Empire. But their nationalism was narrow. They advocated war and imperialistic expansion and a powerful state to realise these objectives. According to Fascism, state and nation are the ultimate moral beings. Thus, aggressive nationalism was the most important creed of Fascism.

Fascism was against parliamentary democracy. It considered democracy as a weak form of government, incapable of handling the complicated economic and political problems. Fascists did not tolerate any opposition. They wanted total obedience to the party and the leader. Mussolini was declared their II Duce, the leader. Nothing could be done against him or contrary to his wishes. In other words, Fascism, believed in one party totalitarian regime.

Fascists were strongly opposed to socialism of all variety. They hated the communists and wanted to free the world of "Communist menace". They advocated

free enterprise. Their programmatic was supported by the capitalists. But Fascists did not support individualism, or *laissez faire*, either. They did not want individual to be in a position to challenge the state. They did not want a powerless state. The Fascist state, therefore, was absolute, omnipotent and all comprehensive.

Fascists were **against internationalism** or world order. Their nationalism was of extreme type. By implication, the League of Nations did not deserve the support of Fascist Italy. However, Mussolini maintained the facade of faith in the League until his Ethiopian adventure in 1935-36.

Fascists **advocated war**. They had no faith in disarmament. Wars can be successfully fought only through armaments. War was, thus, glorified. Mussolini wrote : "Only war carries human energies to the highest level and puts the seal of nobility upon peoples who have the courage to undertake it." Thus, both Mussolini and his German counterpart Hitler expanded territories of their countries by wars.

Thus, Fascism has no clear-cut ideology. As a theory, Fascism advocated 'militant nationalism'. It believed in the use of force, promotion of imperialism and colonialism and massive rearmament. It rejected democracy and peaceful means of settlement of international disputes. Fascism was a 'conservative reaction' against the rising tide of socialism. Fascism was a creed of totalitarianism, which Mussolini defined as : "All in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."

#### **2.4.2 Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain**

Fascism first appeared in Italy when Mussolini organised and led the Fascist Party to power. Italians were disgusted with the performance of their post-World War I governments which could not protect the national honour and failed to promote national interest. The country, on the other hand, was torn by labour unrest engineered by the leftists. In this situation, Mussolini prepared a large force of volunteers, gave them military training and aroused the nationalistic sentiments of the people. The Fascist programmes for internal peace and external glory appealed to people. They rallied behind Mussolini, who threatened to seize power. In this situation, king Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form a cabinet, which he did on October 31, 1922. He soon destroyed all opposition and assumed dictatorial powers. Fascism remained at the helm of Italian affairs till 1943.

When we discuss rise of Fascism we generally limit ourselves to Fascism takeover of Italy. But in Germany and Spain, groups with similar kind of ideas and programmes of action came to power. National Socialist Party (or, Nazi Party) led by Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in the early 1930. Nazism was the product of German humiliation by England, France and their allies at the Paris Peace Conference. Like the Italian Fascists, Hitler's Nazi party also advocated rearmament, war and revision of peace treaties. Nazis, like Fascists, were against parliamentary democracy, socialism, League of Nations and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Soon after Hitler's dictatorship was established in Germany, strong signs of similar adventurism were noticed in some other European countries also. In France, in 1935-36, conditions resembling those in Italy (before the advent of Mussolini) prevailed, and animosity between the leftists and the rightists was so acute that there was a clear possibility of emergence of a dictatorship. The situation was saved by a timely action by all democrats, leftist groups, socialists and even communists who formed the **Front Populaire**, which won the elections held in April - May, 1936. The Front formed a government under the **Prime Ministership** of Leon Blum.

In neighbouring Belgium about the same time, a Fascist group led by Degrelle introduced violence and vulgarity in public life. It opposed Belgium's alliance with France, on the ground of the latter's alliance with Communist Soviet Union. Under their influence, Belgium announced that it was reverting to its former status of a

neutral state. This was regarded as a 'defection' by Belgium from the Locarno Alliance. Although Fascism could not seize power in Belgium yet it did make a significant bid.

In Rumania, a fascist party, known as the Iron Guard, was formed under the leadership of Corneliu Codreanu. This party was a reaction to prevailing economic crisis in the country and total mismanagement by the Rumanian Government. Like Italian Blackshirts (Fascists) and German Storm - troopers (Nazis), the Rumanian Iron Guards organised attacks on parliamentary politicians, Jews and the working classes. King Carol of Rumania failed to crush the Fascists and finally established his own dictatorship.

In Poland, also there were clearly visible signs of Fascism. In 1937, the Government of Poland was organised, on the Fascist model, as a Camp of National Unity. An open conflict emerged between the government on the one hand and peasants and workers on the other. A civil war was averted only when the government promised electoral reforms. Due to growing threat from Germany, situation was saved and reconciliation brought about.

Spain, however, could not save itself. A dictatorship was established by General Primo de Riveira in 1923. But there was such a state of lawlessness in Spain that Riveira resigned in 1930 out of sheer desperation. Next year, King Alfonso XIII abdicated and a republic was proclaimed. But, even the elected government failed to restore order in the country. Spain like France, voted for a Popular front (leftist) government in 1935. This precipitated a crisis in the country. A large number of military officers openly threatened the government saying that unless general disorder was stopped by the Government of President Azana, the army would seize power to restore order. Fearing trouble, Azana retired a number of officers and transferred many others to far off places. One such officer was General Franco who was sent to Canary Islands.

A policeman was murdered by Spanish Fascists on July 12, 1936. In retaliation the country's top Fascist leader Calvo Sotelo was killed by the Policemen. This was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war in Spain. General Franco arrived in Spanish Morocco a few days later and proclaimed mutiny in Spain.

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany provided massive financial and military assistance to rebels led by General Franco, and Soviet Union gave help to the Central government. The civil war which went on for nearly three years ended in March 1939 with decisive victory for the fascists under the leadership of General Franco. Thus Spain joined the Fascist camp of Italy and Germany.

Thus, at least three European countries actually adopted Fascism during the inter-war period. However, Italy was the pioneer and its leader Mussolini was the first advocate of Fascism. That is why rise of Fascism is generally associated with Italy and Mussolini.

#### 2.4.3 Mussolini – From Socialist to Fascist

Benito Mussolini was born in 1893. He was initially influenced by his father's Socialist views. He went to Switzerland and later to Austria. But due to his radical activities he was forced to leave these countries.

After coming back from Austria, Mussolini, for some time, kept on propagating socialism. When war broke out in 1914, Mussolini supported neutrality of his country. By 1915 he gave up his socialist ideas and started supporting the demand for Italian entry in the war.

Mussolini became a strong critic of the Peace Treaties. He called a meeting of his friends and ex-servicemen and all those who had during 1914-15 pleaded for Italian intervention in the war. He now organised them in the Fascist party and gave a call

for securing justice for Italy and getting rid of socialists, communists, and the weak government.

Most of the Fascists came from rich propertied class, young sons of businessmen, unemployed ex-soldiers and discontented professionals and a large number of students became ardent supporters and followers of Mussolini. Fascists were totally opposed to communists. They were financed mostly by capitalists. During 1920-21 almost civil war conditions prevailed in the country. The government was a silent spectator as Mussolini led the masses to believe that their future lay secure only with him and his party. Premier Giolitti was forced to resign in July 1921. He was replaced by Luigi Facta, who was as weak as his predecessor was.

#### 2.4.4 Causes of the Rise of Fascism in Italy

You have read about the meaning of Fascism. You have also understood the programme of action adopted by Fascists in Italy and Germany. We have stated that Fascism lacked ideology. It was reaction to certain circumstances. We have very briefly discussed how and why Fascism was adopted by Italians and later by Germans. In this section we will understand the cause of rise of Fascism in Italy and its domestic and foreign policies.

Italy had joined Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1882, thus converting the Dual Alliance into the Triple Alliance. It was a combination against Russia and France. But, Italy was not keen on permanently associating itself with Austria-Hungary with whom it had certain border disputes. Italy had the ambition of bringing Libya, in North Africa into her empire. When France assured Italy that it would not oppose Italy in its designs on Libya, Italy promised France in 1902 that it would not fight against France in case of a Franco-German war. But Italy did not formally disassociate itself from the Triple Alliance. When the World War I broke out Italy declared her neutrality. However, fair amount of disagreement developed among the Italians on the question of intervention in the War. The socialists, who had 80 members in the Italian Parliament, supported the government's decision of neutrality. But, there were many, capitalists, manufacturers of armaments and right-wing political groups, who favoured intervention. Finally, Italy entered the war on the side of Allies against the Central Powers. The Allies promised Italy that certain territories at the cost of Germany and Austria-Hungary would be given to her in the event of Allied victory. The territories promised to Italy included South Tyrol upto the Brenner pass, Triests, Fiume, Garicia and several Dalmatian Islands. Thus with an expectation of her territorial expansion Italy defected from the Triple Alliance and entered the war on May 23, 1915.

Italy emerged victorious after the war. Towards the final stages of the war Italians had made a notable contribution to the Allied victory. However, Italy discovered soon after the war that the cost of war was far more exacting than they had anticipated. It was estimated that about 70,00,000 Italian soldiers were killed in the war and about 1,00,00,000 were wounded. Her economic losses were also disturbing. In these circumstances the last hope of Italians was the Paris Peace Conference. They expected to get all the promised territories. But that did not happen. Wilson's idealism stood in the way of realisation of her dreams. Italians blamed England and France for betrayal. They were emotionally disturbed when they found that they were being denied even Fiume. Thus while the Paris Conference was still on, Italian poet Gabriele d' Annunzio organised a coup, and led a band of young men (black shirted volunteers) in a chartered boat and captured Fiume. This was strongly resented by the Paris Conference. Prime Minister Orlando who failed to secure justice to Italy at the Peace Conference, was replaced in 1920 by Giolitti. The new Prime Minister did not approve of the ultra-nationalism of the poet. Giolitti concluded a treaty at Rapallo in 1920 with Yugoslavia, and returned Fiume to Yugoslavia. This action of the Giolitti government made it very unpopular in the country, and became an important cause of the rise of Fascism.

Another issue which made the Giolitti Government unpopular was the Albanian problem. Albania, a small country just across the Adriatic Sea, has two important neighbours—Greece and Yugoslavia. Albania was occupied by the Allied troops during the war. After the war, Italy wanted to rule Albania as a mandated territory. Paris Conference did not accept this demand. Even the proposal to divide Albania between Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy was rejected. But Italian Army continued to occupy Albania by the middle of 1920 there were so many internal problems in Italy that Prime Minister Giolitti was forced to withdraw his troops from Albania which annoyed the Italians.

Besides, most of the territory in the Near East, promised to Italy in 1915 by England and France, was either given to Greece or was allowed to be retained by Turkey. In Africa, mandates were established over several former German colonies by Britain, France and Belgium. Italy did not get any colony. She merely got some extension of her colonies of Libya and Somaliland. Italian people felt frustrated at this mismanagement of country's foreign claims. The prevailing mood in Italy was best expressed by the phrase, 'mutilated victory'.

Economic situation of Italy was also chaotic. Millions of men were retrenched from the armed forces. Unemployment, budget deficit and prices of essential commodities were increasing rapidly. This situation was conducive to the rise of socialist forces. In the 1919 parliamentary elections the socialists secured 156 seats. But they often voted against government measures, creating parliamentary stalemate. Communists and their sympathisers, on the other hand, frequently organised agitations and demonstrations. During 1919 and 1920 as many as 35,00,000 working days were lost due to strikes, lockouts and agitations.

Government was unable to handle these crisis. If parliamentary democracy failed to solve the problems, communism could not offer an alternative while it provoked general unrest in the Italian society and economy. In these circumstances of transition, Fascist leadership could convince the people that Italy needed a government that would be strong, effective, nationalistic and not committed to Marxism. It was in this background that Benito Mussolini 'seized power' and established the Fascist regime in Italy.

#### 2.4.5 Neo-Fascism in Europe

Towards the end of the cold war, the Fascist and Nazi forces had began to raise their heads once again. This time they are not rigid in dogma as they were during the inter-war years. Fascism had been an "extreme and desperate attempt of the nation state" and of parasitic connected to it .... by imposing totalitarian regime and exalting nationalism." This comment by the 'Federalist' was made in 1994 to highlight the dangers of a neo-fascist movement in Italy and elsewhere. Fascism has been described as a crude and tribal ideology. Neo-Fascists have been trying to organise as a political force of extreme right. For the first time since the Second World War, some members of neo-fascist party called 'Allenanza Nazionale' (National Alliance) were admitted to the Italian Government early in 1994. The Allenanz Nazionale denies being a neo-fascist grouping, yet its essential component is 'Movimento Sociale Italiano' (Italian Social Movement) which was founded in the post Second World War years on clear Fascist policies, though it has always been divided into 'hard-line' and 'respectable' wings. After joining the government neo-fascists strongly emphasized their moderate nature. In the post-cold war united Germany has also experienced the rise of neo-nazis though they have not been able to gain entry in the German Government. Fascism was originally founded on the negative values of man's oppression of man, of national hatred and intolerance. It was led by a charismatic leader who had aroused the ultra-nationalist sentiments of the people in the 1920s on the basis of alleged injustice done to Italy by the peace makers at Versailles. In the post-cold war years, neither are there charismatic leaders

of extreme right in Italy or in Germany, thus not justifying ultra-nationalism. However, neo-fascism cannot be easily dismissed. It may once again raise its ugly head.

Fascism thus emerged in 1922 as a response to the declining political institutions of Italy and hence represents a set of programmes for action, rather than an ideology. It is useful however to remember that almost every European country developed at least one fascist party or movement, which still continues to be the case. These experiments at fascism, whether old or new, only show that there is hardly any case for a "generic fascism" though one may more accurately speak of 'fascist-style regimes'. The Nazi Germany was definitely modelled on Italian fascism but many would disagree to put them together under fascism'. How little these two fascist regimes had in common can be had from the instance of quick failure of their union during World War II. The Nazi variation however provided then and continues to provide now ideological fodder (racism, violence, brutality) to various fascistic experiments old and new. A fascist party or movement is thus experimental in nature and does rigidly follow any given ideology, though sharing some characteristic features in common with such experiments undertaken in Italy, Germany, Spain, Rumania and other countries.

#### **Check Your Progress 4**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Mention three essential features of Fascism.

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- 2) What were the causes of rise of fascism in Italy?

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## **2.5 REVOLUTIONS**

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Revolutions have influenced both domestic and international politics on different occasions. A sudden and total change in the social order in a country is called a revolution. Thus peaceful events like the Glorious Revolution of England of 1688 as well as the violent outburst, as the French Revolution of 1789 have had a reaching impact on politics – both national and international. The revolutions have had political, social as well as economic dimensions. Thus, a revolution may mean a sudden, fundamental and major transformation. As Carl J. Friedrich says, in its core meaning, revolution "constitutes a challenge to the established political order and the eventual establishment of a new order radically different from the preceding one". But, the real problem in giving a precise definition of revolution is that the term

revolution is often interchangeably used for upheaval, coup 'd' etat, rebellion, revolt, etc. Each one of these terms has a specific meaning which is different from the term revolution. We cannot go into the meaning of terms other than revolution in this section.

### 2.5.1 What is a Revolution?

It is universally believed that 'profound change' in social order constitutes the basic idea of revolution. But it is not easy to describe what is meant by profound change, and how widespread the change should be to qualify to be called a revolution. It is suggested that Martin Luther's movement against the Pope was a 'religious revolution', because it introduced Protestantism, which caused profound change in the Christian Society. Similarly the famous 'industrial revolution' changed the basic structure of British economy as the era of feudalism was replaced by the new socio-economic order called capitalism. These revolutions left no segment of society untouched. Writing about widespread change Barbara Salvent says: "Events such as the Chinese Revolution, that introduce changes in everything from the educational system to the land tenure patterns clearly qualify as revolutions ...." There is a general belief that revolutions involve force and violence. This is generally true, but not an absolute condition.

Revolution to the French Scholar, Mounier means "a combination of rather far reaching changes intended virtually to erase the real illness of a society that has reached an **impasse** ..... The result is what counts? not how romantic or how restrained the language is." Thus, what is important is the end, not the means. Mounier adds : "It is enough to know the operation is a major and vital one, bound to meet violent resistance, which in turn provokes counter - violence." This definition of revolution implies that the real illness of the society must be erased, and the process of curing the illness is often violent. This is what happened during the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution. It is generally believed that revolutions are caused mainly by socio-economic considerations, yet there are scholars like Bertrand de Jouvenel who insist that revolution is essentially a political event.

Revolution has been variously defined. Samuel P. Huntington says that revolution is "a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society." In the words of Hannah Arendt, the concept of revolution is inextricably bound up with the notion that history suddenly begins to adopt a new course. In fact, revolution is a transition from one epoch to another. The above definitions and views emphasise that values, social structure and institutions undergo a total change. Besides, power is transferred from one group of people to another by legal means or through violence. But, the Marxism view of revolution emphasises change in class domination.

### 2.5.2 Some Major Revolutions

The above discussion on meaning and definition of revolution brings us to conclude that a revolution is an activity that is aimed at replacing a system which has outlived its utility and the change becomes acceptable by virtue of its necessity. Revolution, we have said, cause profound change. So it is not a limited *reform*. Besides, revolution brings about sudden, not gradual change. The means applied to achieve such a sudden change vary from purely constitutional or non-violent to those totally violent. The means applied to achieve such a sudden change vary from purely constitutional or non-violent to those totally violent. The world has witnessed many revolutions in different societies. They vary in nature and scope.

Certain revolutions may be classified as liberal or democratic revolutions. Thus, the French Revolution of 1789 brought about widespread change in the relationship between individual and the state. It emphasised liberty, equality and fraternity and proclaimed the right of man.

Before 1789 France was an absolute monarchy. The kings were all powerful people who did not enjoy any rights. There was no separation of powers. Discontentment had reached a climax. The revolution began in Paris where a mob stormed the city, overpowered the guards and set the prisoners free. They shouted "liberty", "equality" and "fraternity" as rallying slogans. Soon the old order was replaced and a new revolutionary government was set up. Several constitutions were drawn up during the next decade, but all Frenchmen were given right to vote. The electors even acquired the power to issue formal instructions to their elected deputies. It inaugurated liberal democratic traditions in France.

Earlier, when the people of 13 colonies in America rose against their British colonial masters and issued the famous Declaration of Independence in July, 1776, a democratic revolution was ushered in. They overthrew the British rule after a bitter struggle, framed their own constitution and created the United States of America in 1776. The American Revolution was thus a liberal revolution which established democratic government in the United States.

The glorious revolution of 1689 in Britain was a bloodless, yet profound change from monarchy to democracy. After the death of Charles II in 1685, his younger brother James II became the King, but he ruled only for three years. He assumed the power to veto the bills without the consent of Parliament, which displeased the leaders of Parliament. Prince William of Orange was encouraged to wage a war against England. When he invaded England with a huge army, James II fled to France after realising that he had been isolated. Thus a glorious, bloodless, revolution was achieved in that country. William and Mary became the rulers of Britain and they accepted the Bill of Rights as proposed by the Parliament. It was agreed that the King would not impose any taxes without the prior consent of the Parliament, that the monarch would summon the Parliament at least once a year, and that no army would be maintained without the prior approval of the Parliament. The three above mentioned revolutions changed the pattern of governance and the people concerned acquired rights and power to rule over themselves.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 falls in a different category. It did not merely change the rulers of Russia; it introduced real, widespread and profound changes in the social order of that country. The rule of the Czar was autocratic and totally undemocratic. Economy was in the hands of feudal lords and, to a lesser extent, the capitalists. Economic exploitation of workers and peasants was the common feature of pre-revolutionary Russia. People were underfed and most of them were not even literate. The Russian Duma (legislature) had forced the Czar to abdicate in February, 1917, but did nothing to satisfy the aspirations of the people. The Provisional Government set up by the Duma decided to continue with the war even as the soldiers were not in a position to fight. In this background, Lenin led the Red Guards on October 25, 1917, and seized power. His Government ended the war with Germany, and introduced massive changes in the socio-economic structure. Power was acquired by the Bolsheviks on behalf of the working people, and a dictatorship of the proletariat led to the creation of first socialist state. Unlike liberal revolutions, the Bolshevik Revolution completely changed the Russian social, economic and political systems.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was another example of the socialist revolution. But, unlike the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution came after a bitter and prolonged civil war against the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Revolution was brought about as a result of active participation of peasants, workers, soldiers and intellectuals. Mao Tse-tung led the revolution which paved the way for 'profound change' in Chinese economy as well as politics.

Some people describe even Hitler's seizure of power in Germany as a revolution of sorts. The so called Nazi revolution was actually a negative case. It destroyed democracy and led to the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship. Therefore, the change brought about had negative outcomes.

To conclude, a revolution may be described as a process in which the power is transferred from a discredited regime to an authority that enjoys support of the people. It means change of socio-economic and political order in such a widespread manner that an entirely new order emerges in place of the old order. A revolution is not an isolated event; it is a series of events. It is not merely concerned with the overthrow of an established order; it is equally concerned with the establishment of a new order. The process is often violent, but profound change can be brought about even without the use of force.

#### Check Your Progress 4

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Explain the concept of revolution.

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## 2.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have read briefly about four important concepts. The term Imperialism refers to domination of one country over another. In the early stages imperialism was known as colonialism. In practice, imperialism meant, as Moon said, domination of non-European people by totally dissimilar European nations. Colonialism meant economic exploitation of colonies by the capitalist countries of the West. Colonialism has been described as international expression of Capitalism, or as Lenin said, imperialism is the (highest) stage in the development of capitalism. After the Second World War, process of decolonisation began in a big way, and almost all the erstwhile colonies gained independence. But, even now capitalist countries are maintaining their exploitative hold over newly independent countries. This new form of Colonialism is known as neo-colonialism.

Nationalism has been described as the master key of international politics. Nationalism is a feeling created by oneness of those who feel bound by the link of common religion, race, language, culture or tradition. In a country that is not independent, nationalism unites the people in their struggle for freedom. But, in independent societies, a common bond coupled with patriotism, is the core of nationalism. Modern nationalism is said to have originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and America. Nationalism has been misused at times by rulers like Hitler to arouse people's sentiments against certain other countries.

Fascism was a theory based on certain programmes of action. It does not have a defined ideology. Its approach is generally negative. It originated in post - First World War Italy; and was later adopted by Germany in the name of Nazism. It subscribes to ultra-nationalism. It is against socialism, democracy, disarmament and even individualism. It does not reject religion. It praises war and projects one person as supreme leader. Fascism was largely responsible for the Second World War.

Revolutions have influenced both domestic and international politics on different occasions. A revolution implies profound change in social order. Revolution can be defined as a rapid, fundamental, and violent change in the dominant values and myths of a society. Revolution is a transition from one epoch to another. Revolutions have been both peaceful and violent. Some of the revolutions that have brought about 'profound change' include the Glorious Revolution, industrial revolution, the French Revolution, American Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia.

## 2.7 KEY WORDS

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- White Man's Burden** : European countries which had established their colonial empires said that the colonies of Asia and Africa through burdens on the (white) imperial Powers, still they actually enjoyed governing them.
- Domination** : Total control of some states over the other less developed countries.
- Rationalism** : Based on reason and science, free from tradition and superstition.
- Capitalism** : A system in which goods and services are produced for sale in the market so that maximum profit is earned.
- Multi-National Corporations** : Giant sized companies usually incorporated in one or the other Western capitalist country. They operate in several developing countries; motive is maximum profit; in the process economies of developing countries are adversely affected.
- Cou d' etat** : Sudden military take over of power.
- Impasse** : Situation of unresolved disagreement; no decision is possible due to hard attitudes of persons or groups.

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## 2.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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- Lenin, V.I., : **Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism (in Selected Works)**
- Owen, Roger and Bob Sutcliff : **Studies in the Theory of Imperialism.**
- Carr, E.H. : **Bolshevik Revolution.**
- Moon, Parker, T., : **Imperialism and World Politics.**
- Hobson J.A. : **Imperialism, A Study.**
- Hayes, Carlton, J. : **"Nationalism" in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.**
- Palmer and Perkins : **International Relations.**

## 2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Imperialism is a system of domination by one country over the others; domination of non-European people by European states; expansion of state Power beyond its borders. For Lenin, it was a precise stage of capitalism.

Harry Magdoff's identification of three major changes.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Feudalism began to decline with industrial revolution in England, growth of towns and inter-feudal conflicts. Capitalism that replaced feudalism spread out its wings in search of raw materials and markets outside Europe. This was responsible for development of imperialism as colonialists acquired political power.
- 2) Colonialism was a direct outcome of capitalism. Wealth arising out of colonial exploitation was further turned into capital and colonizing countries established both political and economic control over the colonies. Capitalism had a direct link with colonialism.
- 3) Imperialism in a new form that emerged after Second World War is called neo-colonialism. It is economic exploitation, and consequent political domination, of independent and sovereign Afro-Asian countries by Western capitalist countries.

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) A feeling of oneness among a large section of people; a production of political, economic and social and cultural factors leading to condition of mind, or feeling, for unity. It is a conditioned sentiment uniting people in a common bond.
- 2) Snyder suggests four stages : integrative nationalism, disruptive nationalism, aggressive nationalism, and contemporary nationalism. Its kinds are : good (Indian freedom struggle) or bad (Hitler's) constructive and destructive, material and spiritual.

### Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Any three features : Ultra – nationalistic; totalitarian; against socialism, anti-democratic; against disarmament; supports war as an institution; against individualism; believes in one nation, one party, one leader.
- 2) The Italians believed that injustice was done to them at Paris Peace Conference; post - First World War governments were weak, and sacrificed national interest; communist activities brought economic progress to a halt; lawlessness could not be checked by government.

### Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Revolution is sudden change in social, economic and political order. It is often violent, but force is not always used. It brings about 'profound change' in values and myths of a society.

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# **UNIT 3 SOME CONCEPTS: STATE SYSTEM, POWER, NATIONAL INTEREST, SECURITY**

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## **Structure**

- 3.0 Objectives**
  - 3.1 Introduction**
  - 3.2 State System**
    - 3.2.1 Features of State System
    - 3.2.2 Evolution of the State System
  - 3.3 Power**
    - 3.3.1 What is Power?
    - 3.3.2 Elements of Power
    - 3.3.3 Measurement of Power
    - 3.3.4 Methods of Exercising Power
    - 3.3.5 Management of Power
  - 3.4 National Interest**
    - 3.4.1 Definition of National Interest
    - 3.4.2 National Interest – The Core of Foreign Policy
  - 3.5 Security**
    - 3.5.1 Security and National Interest
    - 3.5.2 Security and Nuclear Weapons
  - 3.6 Let Us Sum Up**
  - 3.7 Key Words**
  - 3.8 Some Useful Books**
  - 3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress**
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## **3.0 OBJECTIVES**

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In this unit four important concepts of international relations are discussed. After going through this Unit we should be able to:

- explain the meaning and importance of the state system;
- trace the evolution of the contemporary sovereign nation state system;
- define power and explain its dominate role in international relations;
- identify and explain various elements of power;
- describe various methods used for exercise of power;
- analyse balance of power and collective security as means of management of power;
- explain the importance of national interest for any nation-state;
- analyse the relationship between national interest and foreign policy; and
- define security and explain the role of security in the protection of national interest and exercise of power.

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## **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The ‘State’ in its modern sense of a territorial nation-state emerged as a result of momentous developments in Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. In today’s world, there are around 185 states which constitutes the international

system. International relations and politics are generally understood as a set of actions, reactions and interactions between sovereign states, through the medium of their foreign policies. As the most authoritative political institution, the state can mobilize all domestic resources needed to carry on international interactions in the form of war, or the pursuit of diplomacy and peace. In this unit we will discuss the evolution of state system and its relevance in contemporary international relations and the world community.

**Power** is the capacity that enables a person to exercise control over the minds and actions of others. In respect of the sovereign states, power has been defined as the ability of state 'A' to influence the behaviour of state 'B' and other states. A powerful state can ensure that the powerful countries act in the manner that the former would like them to behave. Depending on the power that a state possesses, it may be described as a Super power, Big power or Small power. It is very difficult to exactly measure the power of a state, but power is often measured in terms of its elements. Some elements of power are tangible like the size of the territory, topography and its location; population of a state; the size of the armed forces; and possession of natural resources. There are a number of intangible elements also that determine power. These include quality of leadership and morale of the people and the armed forces. The state exercises power through methods such as persuasion, rewards, punishment and force. Those who possess power, which is like money, manage it by different means. Most prominent of these means are balance of power and collective security.

International Relations are often identified with foreign policy. This is not wholly correct, yet foreign policy is a vital tool of nation-states. National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. Foreign policy makers have to start with proper understanding of the country's national interest. National interest has been described as indeed the last word in international politics.

Primary objective of foreign policy makers is to ensure security of the state. In fact security is the most essential component of the national interest. Security is not merely the protection of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state. It is also vitally concerned with the economic development, which in turn enables a country to increase its power and to use it to secure a place of respect in the world community. Thus, the four concepts that we will discuss in this unit are closely interrelated and their understanding is essential for proper appreciation of international relations.

## **3.2 THE STATE SYSTEM**

The world community is organized into over 185 sovereign states. The organization of humankind into sovereign states is now called the state system. Palmer and Perkins define what is variously described as Western State System, the nation-state system or (sovereign) state system as: "It is the pattern of political life in which people are separately organized into sovereign states that must manage to get along together." Sovereignty and a definite territory are two of the essential attributes of a state. Of course, there should always be, as Garner said, a community of persons, having an organized government. Each state acquires coercive power to ensure compliance. The state system has evolved during the last three and a half centuries. It is the dominant pattern today. International Relations, infact, are relations and interactions among the states who constitute the state-system.

### **3.2.1 Features of the State System**

Certain features of the state system are essential conditions, without which the state system cannot exist. These features have been described by Palmer and Perkins as corollaries. They are the concepts of nationalism, sovereignty and power. Nationalism is that psychological or spiritual quality which unites the people of a state and " gives

them the will to champion what they regard as their national interest." Sovereignty is the concept of unlimited powers. A group of people who are territorially organized are called sovereign when they possess both internal and external freedom to do what they wish to do. National power is the might of a state which enables the state to get things done as it would like them to be done. Power is a complex of many tangible and intangible elements.

We have studied about the concept of nationalism in unit 2, and the concept of power is analysed in detail in the next section of this unit. The concept of sovereignty is briefly dealt with below. You will notice in every modern state, such as India, Britain, Russia, the United States, Pakistan or Egypt, there lives a community of numerous persons who possess a government which is generally obeyed by the people and which does not obey any external authority. Such a state is situated within a definite territory.

Sovereignty, in simple terms, means the supreme power of the state both internally and externally. It is the attribute of sovereignty which distinguishes the state from other associations or organisations.

One of the earliest definitions of sovereignty was given by the French philosopher Jean Bodin (1530-1596), who defined it as "supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law." However, Bodin's main object was to strengthen the position of the French Monarch who was then facing civil war and chaos.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), elaborated on the concept of sovereignty, shifting the emphasis from the person of the king to the abstraction called government or state. Hobbes equated the sovereign with the state and government.

A useful distinction is made between **internal and external sovereignty**. Internal sovereignty concerns the supreme and lawful authority of the state over its citizens. External sovereignty, on the other hand, refers to the recognition by all states, of the independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of each state, as represented by its government. Hugo Grotius, (1583-1645), the Dutch jurist defined sovereignty as "that power whose acts are not subject to the control of another." For him, sovereignty was manifested when a state, in dealing with its internal affairs, remained free from the control of other states. Thus defined, sovereignty has become the cornerstone of the modern international system. It is this external sovereignty that we are concerned with here.

This concept of sovereignty was for the first time recognised and institutionalized in the **Treaty of Westphalia in 1648**. It provided that : (i) only sovereign states could engage in international relations; (ii) for the purpose of recognizing a state as an actor in international relations, it must have a geographical territory with a definite population, land and effective military power to fulfill international obligations; and (iii) all sovereign states are equal in international law and international relations.

### **3.2.2 Evolution of the State System**

The signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, after the Thirty years war, is identified as the **beginning of the state system in its modern form**. States did indeed exist before Westphalia, and they conducted relations among themselves, but that was quite different from modern state system. In the ancient world there existed small city states in Greece, India, Egypt and Italy. Athens and Sparta in ancient Greece, and Indraprastha and Hastinapur in India were some such city-states. Then, there had been a succession of sprawling dynastic empires. The world had also known the vast Roman Empire which encompassed the entire civilised Western World. But there had been no nation state with sovereignty.

The Thirty Years War had resulted out of the Protestant-Catholic conflict. The struggle did not establish any dominant religion, yet it ended the undisputed authority of the catholic church. It resulted in a spirit of mutual toleration which has not yet been threatened. It laid the foundation of the nation state system. Palmer and Perkins write : "In spite of enormous destruction, the wrecking of the universal Church, and the fragmentation of Europe into well-defined nation-states, the resulting peace of Westphalia (1648) paved the way for a semblance of European stability."

The culmination of the Thirty Year War in the Peace of Westphalia marked the starting point for new norms governing the behaviour of states in their relations with each other. The medieval conception dominated by the image of a Euro-centric christian commonwealth gave way to a new concept of an international system based on the co-existence of sovereign states. Territorial states emerged as the sole legitimate players in the new international system. Only sovereign states could either wage wars, or enter into treaties, or alliances with each other.

A corollary to the principle of state sovereignty was naturally the principle of state equality. As Vattel puts it in his celebrated argument , "a dwarf is as much as man as a giant is, a small republic no less a sovereign state than the most powerful kingdom.

This was at least the juridical position. Reality, however, was quite different. State equality was practically limited to the great powers of Europe namely France, Great Britain, Austria and Russia. The so-called "anti-hegemony norm" embodied in the concept of a "just balance of power" was the exclusive privilege of the Great powers. The non-European states however, did not figure in the actual scheme of things that emerged after the Westphalian peace.

Rather, the international norms of this period were based on the then extant dynastic concept of state. The principle of sovereignty meant that the dynasties ruling the territorial states of Europe recognized each other as rightful, independent and sovereign. The post-Westphalian system thus developed its own hierarchies.

International relations between peace of Westphalia and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were marked by the attempts of Louis XIV to establish French hegemony, and rivalry among Britain, France, Holland and Spain. Eventually, France suffered heavy losses by the Treaty of Utrecht. France promised that Spain and France would never be united. Unification of Prussia was encouraged leading to a new balance in Europe. Sweden, Russia and Poland could not take any decision without involving west European countries.

The mutations within the Westphalian system and its further elaboration was seen in the system that emerged after the Congress of Vienna (1815). This system was still Eurocentric with 22 of the 23 member states being European and the last being the United States. Yet in a sense, it was a global system in that it laid the norms that were to affect every part of the world. The backward countries became the battleground for the resolution of the conflicts of great powers. The system that emerged after the Vienna Congress was a system of great-power hegemony and known as the Concert of Europe. It was somewhat of a prototype of the collective security system that we see today. Five great powers, namely, Britan, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining international order. The concert of Europe rested on the assumption that world order could not be maintained without the exercise of special rights by these great powers.

The rise of nationalism and thereby the emergence of new norms led to what has been termed, the updating of the Westphalian system, following the Congress of Vienna (1815). The concept of a sovereign state was not challenged, but its basis shifted from royalty to nationality. Thus merged the concept of the state with nationhood which laid the basis for the modern nation state. Subsequently, the Paris Treaty which ended

**Understanding International Relations** the Crimean war recognized the principle of national self-determination. Gradually, therefore, the right of each nationality to become an independent political actor on an equal footing developed as a key principle of international relations.

By 1914, the system's membership reached 43. For the first time the European exclusiveness was affected. There were 17 states from Latin America, 3 from Asia, one from Africa and one from the Middle East. Though the prototype of modern diplomacy was established much earlier at Westphalia, Vienna and Paris, it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that regular international conferences started taking place for adopting conventions regarding the behaviour of states. The subjects covered by these conventions included the rules of diplomacy (rank, protocol, procedure and privilege), the principles of maritime law, neutrality, blockade and contraband, free navigation and international water ways, copyrights and patents, and rules of warfare.

In contemporary international relations, the principles of sovereign equality of all states and non-interference in the internal affairs of states are paramount in the formal conduct of states towards one another. In the absence of any superior legal authority, the present system functions in which each state is at liberty to act to secure its own interests. Though it is largely true about some of the Great Powers, the above characterization is somewhat of an exaggeration. Rules, conventions, procedures that evolved over hundreds of years do have some sanctity. The United Nations, which succeeded the League of Nations, though it has often failed to restrain powerful states from committing aggression at will, still enjoys a certain degree of legitimacy.

With the process of decolonisation having become complete after World War II, the focus on Europe changed to include newly independent states in Asia and Africa.

A rapid scan through recent developments in the international system reveals new trends which suggest that the Westphalian system of territorially sovereign nation-states is on decline.

Though formally sovereign yet vast majority of nation-states try to adjust to a highly hierarchical international system that has emerged. The resulting world is characterized by "super-powers" "satellites", and the UN system's various operations, arm-twistings of super power(s), conditionalities of the International Monetary Fund's and activities of multinational corporations with budgets greater than many states GNPs etc. Due to globalization in various spheres, the state seems to be losing its power. The inter-dependence of world economy and the growing importance of supra-state international authorities like IMF, (GATT) WTO, World Bank points to curtailment of authority. In the post-cold war phase, such curtailment of authority does not however apply to the United States of America whose state has become, if anything, more powerful and domineering.

### **Check Your Progress 1**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is meant by the state system?

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- 2) Describe three features, or corollaries, of the state system.

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- 3) Trace the evolution of state system since the Peace of Westphalia.

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### 3.3 POWER

#### 3.3.1 What is Power?

Power is a phenomenon of all relationships, and political relationship is no exception to this rule. Power has been defined by Hans Morgenthau as "Man's control over minds and actions of other man." But, as minds cannot be seen, power can be determined by the behaviour of individuals and states. In a very broad sense, power has been defined "as the ability or capacity to control others and get them to do what one wants them to do and also to see that they do not do what one does not want them to do." In international relations, **power is the ability of a state to make its will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states.** This is how Professor Mahendra Kumar has explained power of the states. Simply speaking, power is an ability which may not be exercised. But, when exercised, this ability enables a state to control the behaviour of other states.

The concept of power was discussed by Kautilya, the master of statecraft in ancient India, in fourth century B.C. He interpreted power as "the possession of strength" derived from three elements, namely knowledge, military might and valour (**Gyan, Sainya bal and Shaurya** respectively). Morgenthau has been described as a realist descendant of Kautilya. His entire approach is based on power. As pointed out in Unit 1, he describes all politics as struggle for power. Therefore, international politics is struggle for power among states. Robert Dahl explained power by saying: 'A' has power over 'B' to the extent that it can get 'B' to do something that 'B' could not otherwise do. Thus, every state has power in respect to certain other states. Smaller powers like Nauru may not be able to get things done as they want, but most states possess power of ensuring that their wishes prevail. However, the quantum of power varies. The ability to get things done of USA is far more than that of India. Thus, USA has more power than India. In turn, India has perhaps more power than Nepal or Indonesia. Strength of power may be demonstrated in several ways. For example, in 1996, The Conference on disarmament (CD) at Geneva could

**Understanding International Relations** not adopt CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) because India refused to sign it. That proved India's power even as against the U.S.A.

Power can be easily compared to money. Power plays some role in international politics as money plays in economy. Most people get money so that they can get what they require. But, for some people, money becomes an obsession. They seek money to accumulate it. For most people money is a means, for others it is an end. Similarly, power is a vital means of states. However, it is very often an end in itself. For, every state desires to be more and more powerful. That is why, Vernon Van Duke wrote : Power is both "the capstone among the objectives which the states pursue and the cornerstone among the methods which they employ." He meant that power is the highest of objectives and aims of states, and it is also the basic means which they use to serve their national interests.

Power is the most central concept of international politics. But it is not always easy to define it. Still definitions have been given. Couloumbis and Wolfe define power as "an umbrella concept that denotes anything that establishes and maintains the control of Actor A over Actor B." This definition widens the meaning of the concept of power.

Power has three important ingredients. They are **force, influence and authority**. According to Couloumbis and Wolfe, authority means voluntary compliance by Actor B of the wishes of Actor A, out of respect, affection, etc. Influence has been defined as use of instruments of persuasion, short of force, by Actor A to get its wishes accepted by Actor B. Finally, force implies coercion by Actor A of Actor B in pursuit of political objectives of Actor A. This, power is a combination of authority (voluntary compliance), Influence (Compliance through persuasion) and force (use of coercive methods).

Authority	Influence	Force
		Power

### 3.3.2 Elements of Power

A country acquires power through several elements. There is no absolute condition that makes for power. Different elements, in different situations, can make for power. The same elements in another situation may not provide power. A combination of certain elements in one situation may give more power to a country than the same combination provides to another country. The elements may be broadly divided between tangible and intangible elements. But, from another angle the elements of power may be classified as of quantitative and qualitative value. William Ebenstein stressed upon the importance of qualitative elements. He wrote :

"In the field of international relations, the central problem of the strength of a nation is essentially a problem of qualitative judgement and measurement, as national power is more than the sum total of population, new material and quantitative factors. The 'alliance potential' of a nation, its civil devotion, the flexibility of its institutions, its technical 'knowhow', its capacity to endure privations – these are but a few qualitative elements that determine the total strength of a nation."

Elements of power are briefly discussed below :

**Tangible Elements** : Population can be easily counted. Therefore, it is a tangible element. It is generally believed that states with large population are more powerful. Large population enables a country not only to have strong armed forces, but to have manpower for various economic activities also. But, it is not essential that large population will make for power. China, during nineteenth century, had much less power than Britain which is a less populous state. Contemporary Israel with less than

50 lakh people has proved to be an effective power. She has even acquired nuclear capability. Thus, as Couloumbis and Wolfe say, "A population that is healthy, well-fed, unified, evenly spaced, well informed .... is likely to be much more powerful than a population that is badly nourished, diseased, overcrowded, illiterate, disunited and disloyal."

**Territory** is the second tangible element of power. Some writers refer to geography as an element, and include territory within 'geography'. Most important among this element are size of a country, its climate, topography and its location. Normally, it is believed that a country large in size would be more powerful than smaller states. A large size not only enables the country to have vast areas under agricultural production and to have industrial growth, but also provide scope for a defensive army to manoeuvre and retreat, allow enemy to enter, then hit it back, encircle it and defeat it. But, a smaller state may at times becomes more powerful. Mere measurement of area is no guarantee of power to a state. Israel is a striking example of a small state that has demonstrated a disproportionately large amount of military power. On the other hand, Canada with its frozen waters and Brazil with its jungles have never been big powers.

**Climate** of a country also influences its power. Thus, frozen Antarctica and the deserts of Sahara are obviously not suitable for power, although with the potential of uranium for nuclear power, even deserts where uranium is found have assumed importance. A lot depends on the location and topography of a country. Foreign policy – makers find **location** to be a key determinant. Topographic features determine boundaries between nations. Whereas artificially created boundaries, as between India and Pakistan or Germany and France, can weaken the position; the natural frontiers such as high mountains and sea help the power of a state. This again is not an absolute condition.

**Natural Resources** constitute another element of power. Possession of natural resources such as oil, uranium and various minerals add to the power of a state. Today, importance of oil-rich Gulf has increased. Besides those possessing items like coal and iron can enhance their power. Nations can improve their power, if on account of their natural resources, they can give rewards in the form of minerals, agricultural products or manufactured goods.

The fourth tangible element of power is that of **agricultural capacity**. Such capacity is considered crucial in the sense that countries capable of feeding themselves, especially during the course of a long war, will be relatively more powerful. Self-sufficiency in food is considered critical in this regard.

The fifth tangible element of power is that of **military strength**. This relates to the conventional notion that power is backed by military force. The military strength of a given nation-state can be measured in terms of funds expended for defence and security purposes. A related factor is location outside its territory. Such military mobility hinges on the nation-state's ability to sustain military operations on land, sea and air. The ultimate success of the nation-states, however, would depend on intangible factors such as preparedness, training, leadership, morale, etc. which affect the performance of armed forces in a given situation.

The discussion of **tangible elements of power** brings out clearly that such elements are necessary to generate capability of the nation-states in a sovereign state-system. But this is not sufficient to ensure that capabilities would lead to the overall strength of the nation-states. We need to specify the **intangible elements of power** that contribute in a most critical way to the overall capability of the sovereign state.

**Intangible Elements of Power** : The intangible elements (attributes) of power include leadership, bureaucratic–organisational efficiency, type of government, societal cohesion, etc. Although such elements cannot be measured or concretely specified, they are critical in terms of the overall power of a sovereign state.

**Leadership** constitutes the most critical intangible element of power. Its significance relates to the ability of the leader of a sovereign state to motivate its citizens to realise foreign policy objectives of the state. Although we cannot accurately measure this variable, the latter is significant in terms of its impact on the sovereign country's conduct in inter-state relations.

The second intangible element of power refers to **bureaucratic-organisational efficiency**. The underlying reasoning here is that states, having efficient bureaucracies, can implement their domestic and foreign policies in an effective manner.

The third intangible element of power refers to the **type of government**. It is difficult to specify and measure the effect to different types of governance of national power in general and specific situations. All we can suggest here is that governmental decisions in foreign policy matters must be quick and adaptable to the changing external environment as well as domestic needs of the nation-state. Further, they must be accountable in terms of the checks and balances characteristic of democratic regimes. It ensures efficiency and credibility to the foreign policy of a given sovereign state.

The fourth intangible element of power is that of **societal cohesion**. Here the assumption is that internally unified nation-states are stronger. Chronic terrorism, recurring strikes, civil war – these are some of the indicators which point towards internal instability and disruption within the confines of a sovereign state. Such a state will not be capable of sustaining its strength in the sovereign state-system in the longer run.

Lastly, **national morale** is one of the most important of intangible elements of power. If the morale of the army is high it is difficult for any enemy to defeat the country. In peace time also, people's morale enables a country to be effective and powerful. If morale goes down people do not work with enthusiasm, and army tends to loose the battle. Thus, high national morale can overcome shortcomings of various types.

The above discussion on intangible elements of power shows that despite inability to measure, these elements are equally (if not more) important as the tangible elements are.

### 3.3.3 Measurement of Power

Mere possession of elements of power does not make a country powerful. Thus, huge deposits of minerals and possession of raw material and having huge manpower does not make for power. The resources must be properly utilised. Secondly, a distinction is sometimes made between **Capability** and **Power**. Mere possession of elements of power may be called **capability**, and **mobilisation of this capability for actual use is power**. Thus, potential to be powerful is capability and mobilisation of capability is power.

An important question that you may ask is how can we measure the power of a country. It is almost impossible to be able to measure the power. It is to be examined in relative context. Thus, country A may be more powerful than C, but less powerful than B. This is because A cannot get things done according to its wishes, as far as B is concerned, but can have its way in regard to C. However, Ray S. Cline has suggested a very useful method of measurement of power. For Cline, power is important in the sense that it is perceived both by its wielders and by those over who it is exercised. He has suggested a formula for measurement of power though it may not give us exact results. If PP is 'perceived power', it can be measured as under :

$$PP = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)$$

Here C means critical mass, which includes population and territory; E stands for economic capability, M for military capability, S for strategic purpose, and W means will to pursue national strategy. Whereas C, E and M are tangible, S and W are intangible elements. Thus Ray S. Cline places very important value on strategic purpose and the will to pursue that purpose.

Robert Dahl offers another suggestion for measurement of power. According to him, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do". But, even this formula is far from satisfactory and measurement of power remains a very difficult exercise.

### 3.3.4 Methods of Exercising Power

If power is the ability to get things done, what are the methods that can be employed, by those who possess power, for securing compliance with their wishes. Four methods are generally employed for the exercise of power. These methods are : **Persuasion, reward, punishment and force**. These methods may also be called **instruments** of the exercise of power. **Persuasion** is the easiest of the four methods. In this country A tries to influence the behaviour of country B by persuading the latter to change its decision. In fact, most of the times diplomacy is based on persuasion. This method is free from use of coercion or even threat of use of force. Another method of exercise of power is offer of **reward**. In this method, attempt is made to influence the behaviour of other state by promise of reward, which may be material, economic or political. The reward may take the shape of offer of a territory, or military aid in the form of weapons, bases or training facilities. The reward may be in the nature of economic aid or loan. It may be political if support, or a favourable vote, is promised in the United Nations or other organisations and agencies. The third method of power is **Punishment**. It may take various forms. For example, stoppage of economic or military aid, or even a threat of such a withdrawal amounts to punishment. A threat of unfavourable action also implies punishment. Similarly, punishments include unfavourable propaganda, political support to the opponents or enemies, and imposition of unfavourable terms of trade and transit. Thus when the U.S. promises support to Pakistan or seeks to vote in her favour against India's wishes it amounts to US punishment of India. Lastly, when the threat of punishment is actually carried out, it is called use of **force**. In other words, punishment is a threat, and its implementation is force.

It must be mentioned that only a short or a narrow end view looks at threat and force as ultimate form of power. As Prof. Kenneth E Boulding observes that there has been a remarkable expansion in the area of stable peace among independent nations from the mid-19th century onwards. This always meant abandonment of military threats as a means of changing frontiers. Arguments against 'threat as the sole basis of power' have two interesting developments from India and China coming up during the 20th century. Gandhiji's experiments with organised non-violence leading to achievement of political independence attracted many leaders engaged in nationalist struggles elsewhere (including 1989 happenings in Eastern Europe). Similarly, China syndrome conveys its remarkable capacity to convert its conquerors into Chinese ways of thinking and doing. Further, improvements in the means of destruction has often diminished the power of threat. As Prof. Boulding observes, "It was the invention of the effective cannon that made the feudal castle and then city wall obsolete and created the nation-state with its relatively wide-spread areas of internal peace. Similarly, the nuclear weapon and the long-range missile have probably done for the nation-state what gun-power did for the feudal baron." There hangs a hope for a stable world community of peace-loving people.

### 3.3.5 Management of Power

Each nation-state tries to manage power for its own advantage in a world of uneven powers. Broadly, two strategies are followed.

**Balance of Power :** The term balance of power normally implies existence of a rough equilibrium of power among various nations, which means power should be more or less equally shared by different states. However, when we say that balance of power is favourable to such and such country, we mean that there is preponderance of power in favour of that country.

The operation of balance of power requires the existence of five or six big powers who try to maintain equilibrium among them and avoid preponderance of power with any one country. Of course besides the big powers, there may also be several medium and small powers. According to Quincy Wright, there are five main assumptions of balance of power. Firstly, he says, it is assumed that states are committed to protect their vital interests by all possible means. Such vital interests generally include security, territorial integrity, political independence and economic resources. Second assumption is that vital interests of the states are, or may be, threatened. Unless interests are threatened why would any state try to protect them. The third assumption is that balance of power helps the protection of vital interests by threatening other states with committing aggression, or by enabling the victim to achieve victory in case an aggression takes place. In other words, a future aggressor will resort to war only if it is sure of superiority of power. The fourth assumption is that relative power position of various states can be measured so that it may be managed in one's favour. The last assumption is that leaders formulate foreign policy on the basis of an intelligent understanding of power consideration.

Based on these assumptions, it can be concluded that management of power to protect vital interests of a country (which were threatened) is balance of power.

A balance may be brought about through the use of one or more of the following ways. One of the most important means is amassing of **armaments**. Since war is the ultimate instrument of resolution of disputes, countries try to increase military power to secure advantage. But once one country acquires new weapons, the opponents also begin to compete. **Alliances** are often concluded to secure a favourable balance of power. Counter alliances are then concluded to upset the preponderance of power of some against the others. Nations always try to make, abandon and remake alliances. Balances of power becomes effective if there are a number of big powers who often exercise choice of making alliances and counter alliances. Thirdly, in order to maintain a favourable balance of power, or to secure preponderance of power, nations often try to **seize territory**. This increases the power of the nation concerned. This method was very common during the period of imperialism. Even in 1990, Iraq seized the territory of Kuwait though later she had to vacate it. Earlier, several Arab territories were seized by Israel. Fourthly, a nation may acquire and maintain power by setting up **buffer state** between two large and unfriendly countries. For example, at one time Poland was a buffer between Russia and Germany and Tibet was set up as a buffer between China and British India.

**Intervention** is another method of ensuring favourable balance of power. It often happens that a big power tries to regain a lost ally or pick up a new ally by intervening in the internal affairs of a smaller country and set up a friendly government there. For example the United States intervened in Vietnam, Dominican Republic, and others, the Soviet Union intervened in 1979 in Afghanistan. Lastly, there is a method of altering the existing balance of power by **detaching allies** from the opposite side compelling them to become neutrals or winning them over as allies. All these methods have been used again and again to secure or upset a balance of power.

At times a **laughing third** party, or balancer, plays vital role. This means a third party, uninterested in rivalry between two nations or two power blocs, may help a weaker nation to secure better balance of power. Britain has traditionally been a balancer, or a laughing third.

**Collective Security** : Collective security is another device of management of power. It is also said to be one of the most promising of all approaches of peace. Power should be so managed that an aggression is collectively repulsed by the international community. It is a better device than balance of power as it does not involve alliances and counter alliances, race for armaments and political manipulations. The concept of collective security implies "Security" as the goal and "collective" as the means. It has been defined as "a machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established order" (Schwarzberger). There are two basic assumptions of collective security. First, that war is unavoidable and it is likely to occur, and second, that it can be defeated (or prevented) by an overwhelming power. As Inis Claude says, it is not the elimination of Power, but the management of power. It is a middle position between balance of power and the world government. Collective security operates through a system of international organisation – The League of Nations and the United Nations. It is different from collective defence because in the collective security system the principle that applies is one for all, and all for one. The rock bottom principle of collective security is that an attack on any one state will be regarded as an attack on all States. An attack on any one Member Nation of the UN is regarded as an aggression against all, and if the Security Council identifies the aggressor and calls upon all other countries to apply economic and/or military sanctions, all the states are expected to stand together and fight the aggression. Thus, the aggressor is not identified in advance. It can be anyone against whom collective action is taken. **Collective defence**, on the other hand, is an arrangement through alliance system. Here an opponent is identified in advance and others are committed only against that one enemy. It is not one for all, and all for one.

The system of collective security was enshrined in the Covenant of League of Nations and was given a trial by the League. It is also accepted as a device of maintaining international peace and management of power in the present United Nations system.

#### Check Your Progress 2

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Explain the concept of power.

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- 2) What are the tangible elements of power?

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**Discuss the intangible elements of power.**

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**4) Describe briefly four methods of exercising power.**

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**5) What is balance of power and what are the devices of balance of power?**

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**6) Explain the concept of collective security.**

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## 3.4 NATIONAL INTEREST

The concept of national interest is of central importance in any attempt to describe and explain the international behaviour. It is almost universally believed that the primary justification of state action is national interest. President Wilson of the U.S. was one of those rare idealists who differed with this belief (see below). National interest is regarded as the 'key concept' in foreign policy. As Hans Morgenthau wrote : "As long as the world is politically organised into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in world politics." It is the only legitimate and fundamental cause of national policy. Lord Palmerston had once said in the nineteenth century: "We have no eternal allies and we have no eternal enemies. Our interests are eternal and those interests it is our duty to follow." It is not only difficult to define national interest, but it is also difficult to understand how different world leaders explain away all their actions in the name of national interest.

### 3.4.1 Definition of National Interest

What exactly is national interest? Napoleon had said that he was acting in the interest of France when he initiated his campaign against Russia, and later when he launched his desperate battle at Waterloo. Adolf Hitler justified his expansionist policies, including annexation of Austria and breakup of Czechoslovakia, in the name of Germany's national interest. "Friendly socialist" governments were installed in Poland and other East European countries by Stalin in the name of Soviet Union's national interest. President Bush was acting in America's national interest when he led the war against Iraq on the question of Kuwait's annexation by Iraq. Benazir Bhutto thought that it was in Pakistan's national interest to destabilise the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus, all actions, however, wrong are taken in the name of national interest. We must now try to find an acceptable definition of national interest.

The idea of national interest is singularly vague. It assumes variety of meanings in different contexts. The concept of national interest has not been objectively or scientifically defined. However, Padleford and Lincoln observe : "Concepts of national interests are centred on the core values of the society, which include the welfare of the nation, the security of its political beliefs, national way of life, territorial integrity and its self-preservation." According to Robert Osgood, national interest is "state of affairs valued solely for its benefit to the nations." Morgenthau maintains that the main requirements of a nation-state is to protect its physical, political and cultural identity against threat from other states. But, Joseph Frankel writes about aspirational and operational aspects of national interest. Aspirational (what one expects) aspects include the state's vision of good life and an ideal set of goals to be realised. Put into operation, national interest refers to sum total of its interests and policies actually pursued.

### 3.4.2 National Interest – the Core of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy – makers can never ignore their state's national interest as they perceive it. At times leaders like Hitler, intoxicated of power, led to disaster in the name of national interest. But, normally the good of the state is the sole concern of foreign policy. This good of the state, or national interest, remains the core of the foreign policy. The idealist (US President) Woodrow Wilson, however, felt that national interests can be legitimately subordinated to morality and interests of the mankind. He said : "It is perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of national interests .... we dare not turn from the principle that morality and not expediency is the thing that must guide us. We have no selfish ends to serve." But this idealist approach of morality has never succeeded in areas of foreign policy. Wilson's views were totally at variance from what the first U.S. President George Washington had said. According to him, "No nation, no matter how lofty its ideals

and how genuine its desire to abide by them, can base its foreign policy on consideration other than its own national interest." He had opined that no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it.

What then are the components of national interest of a state? Security, economic development and a peaceful world order are the objective of a modern state. All countries desire and search for national security, political independence and maintenance of territorial integrity. In other words, defence of the state is naturally the primary concern of foreign policy. Secondly, promotion of economic interest, including securing favourable conditions of trade, is a vital objective of foreign policy-makers. Thirdly, most modern states are also concerned with maintenance of international peace, respect for international law, pacific settlement of international disputes and strengthening of the system of international organisation.

When India, under Nehru's leadership, decided to adopt the policy of non-alignment that was in India's national interest as well as being an instrument of world peace. The Non-Aligned Movement initiated by Nehru, Nasser and Tito was also meant to promote the ideal of peace in a world then divided into two hostile power blocs. If India had aligned itself with one of the power blocs our economic development would have got linked only to one ideology. There are some world leaders who believe that their foreign policy must be committed to a certain ideology, such as propagation of Fascism or communism or the containment of communism. But, realist statesmen emphasise only the national interest. Consequently, the role of ideology has lately declined.

### **Check Your Progress 3**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.

- ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) What is the importance of national interest in foreign policy-making?

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## **3.5 SECURITY**

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### **3.5.1 Security and National Interest**

The concept of security is directly related to national interest. The entire state system is the product of the desire of man to protect himself against threats from various quarters. Security of the state is the objective of every government. We have said in section 3.3.5 above about two of the methods of security. The idea of management of power is to regulate power in such a way that security of the state is protected and that none should have preponderance of power so as to be able to threaten security of other' states. Whenever security of the States has been seriously threatened, man has begun to think and device new means of security of political independence and territorial integrity of the states. We have seen (3.2) that the state-system was largely an outcome of the Peace of Westphalia which ended the thirty-years war. When Napolean was defeated, the suffering states of Europe, after the Congress of Vienna, created the Concert of Europe. The idea was to ensure security of the evolving state systems.

When the Russian Czar took the initiative for the Hague Conferences (1899 and 1907), security was again the objective. The Hague Conferences provided for peaceful settlement of international disputes mainly through arbitration and constituted a Court of Arbitration at the Hague. When international law and morality became victims of unprincipled warfare during the First World War, scholars and statesmen alike initiated the process of setting up a League of Nations to maintain peace and security in the post-war period. The preamble of the League of Nations clearly spelt out the objectives of the new organisation. It said that the High contracting Parties (Member – Nations) had agreed to the Covenant "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war ...." The League made several attempts for international security, but eventually it failed. The Charter of the United Nations also declares : "We the peoples of the United Nations determined .... to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security .... that armed forces shall not be used, save in the common interest ...." Thus, the international concern for security has been consistently expressed.

### 3.5.2 Security and Nuclear Weapons

Nuclear weapons have altered the security perspective of nation-states. But, even before such deadly weapons were produced, nations were always concerned with their security. For that purpose they often entered into alliances and counter-alliances, and race for armaments was vigorously carried on. After the First World War, a victorious France was so much scared of defeated Germany that she insisted on her security in the Paris Conference, in the League of Nations and outside it. French search of security dominated many of inter-war years. Having been dissatisfied with the security provisions of the League Covenant, France sought guarantees from various quarters including an abortive joint Anglo-American Guarantee, the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923), the Geneva protocol 1924 (both failed to take off), the successful Locarno Pact (1925) and the Pact of Paris (1928) for the renunciation of war. Before as well as after the Second World War also search for security has been the principal concern of numerous countries.

Alliances like NATO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact and Warsaw Pact were all aimed at security either against the Soviet Union or against the United States. Besides, military bases and assistance to several countries, including Pakistan, were in order to satisfy their quest for security.

When the United States manufactured and dropped the first two atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 1945), to secure surrender of Japan, the whole nature of war changed. With that the concern and nature of security also changed. For four years, till 1949, the United States was the only nuclear power, which placed the security of entire world at her mercy. Nobody was sure of one's security. Even Soviet Union remained in constant fear as it was not known whether the US had another bomb or not, and whether she had any intention of targeting Moscow in its ongoing ideological conflict. Once Soviet Union tested its first nuclear device in 1949, the race for nuclear weapons began. Britain, France and finally China became nuclear powers. Since then at least three more countries have acquired nuclear capability. These are India, Pakistan and Israel. Together they are known as "threshold countries". India insists that she will use nuclear power only for peaceful purposes. There are many other countries that can acquire nuclear capability.

In the nuclear age security of nations requires not merely amassing of traditional weapons and conclusion of alliances. Seeking nuclear umbrella also became objective of many. The cold war expressed concern for security and nations sought even nuclear missiles and military bases from Big Powers. The disaster that nuclear weapons can bring about is unprecedented, and as Max Lerner says, we are living in the period of "overkill", for nuclear weapons that nations now possess can destroy the whole world several times over. The war in nuclear age is no more limited to the armed forces. Civilian targets are aimed at even by non-nuclear, traditional bombs. In such a situation the concern for security has assumed alarming concern.

- Note : i) Use the space below for your answer.
- ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Highlight the relation between security and national interest.

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- 2) What the reason for the concern for security in the nuclear age?

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### **3.6 LET US SUM UP**

In this unit we have dealt with four concepts : state system, power, national interest and security. In the ancient period there did exist states, but these were mostly city-states in Greece, India, etc. Then there came into existence huge empires such as the Holy Roman Empire. The modern state-system began to evolve after the Peace of Westphalia (1648). It is after the Congress of Vienna that the concept of sovereign nation-states developed. The emergence of several nation-states after First World War was a welcome development in international relations. The state-system today consists of territorial entities which enjoy both internal and external sovereignty. The state system represents a clear advance over the previous international system. It is based on the key concept of equality of all states. Present international system has its foundation in nation-states.

Power is the ability to control the minds and actions of others. In international relations it means ability of states to control the behaviour of other states. Power is like money in market economy. Like all politics, international politics, is struggle for power. There are various elements of power – some are tangible which can be measured, and others are intangible which cannot be measured or quantified. Yet they are critical in terms of overall capacity of sovereign states. The tangible elements include population, territory (its size, climate, topography and location) natural resources, agricultural capacity, and military strength. None of these elements is absolute as their position is relative. Intangible elements are equally important. They include quality of leadership, type of government, societal cohesion and national morale.

It is only a very short-run view which looks at threat and force as the ultimate forms of power. Such a view overlooks vast areas of stable peace among independent nations built over years, successful strategies of organised non-violence etc. It is not easy to measure the power of a state. It depends on many factors. There are four recognised methods of exercise of power : Persuasion, reward, punishment and force.

Peace has become a greater need today than ever before. It can be made possible through proper management of power. Three common methods of management are : balance of power, collective security and world government (the last mentioned is still a dream). Balance of power has been practised for a long time to ensure that no state acquires preponderance of power. Balancer often plays important role, and is called "the laughing third". National interest is a concept of central importance in understanding international behaviour. The concept is difficult to define, yet it is the core of every foreign policy. It includes welfare of the nation, security of its political beliefs, security of the state and its territorial integrity. Primary objectives of national interest are security, economic development and a world order that is stable and free of serious disputes.

Security is the primary concern of every state. It is, as mentioned above, the primary concern of every state and objective of national interest. Power is exercised to promote national interest in general and ensure security in particular. Security in the nuclear age is generally threatened and has acquired greater importance.

### **3.7 KEY WORDS**

<b>Sovereignty</b>	:	Supreme Power of the state subject to no internal or external limitations.
<b>National-State</b>	:	The form of state based on ethnic identity of its people. People feel united by common bond, and are territorially organised under a government that is independent.
<b>International System</b>	:	Independent political entities – states, nation, empires are variables of a worldwide system, together called international system.
<b>Power</b>	:	Ability or capacity to get things done as one would like others to do. It also ensures that others do not do what one does not want them to do.
<b>Tangible Elements</b>	:	Elements like population and territory that can be measured or quantified.
<b>Intangible elements</b>	:	Elements that are not visible and cannot be measured.
<b>Collective Security</b>	:	Method of ensuring security of nations through collective economic and military action against the aggressor.

### **3.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS**

Henz, John H	:	<b>The Nation-State and the Crisis of World Politics.</b>
Morgenthau, Hans	:	<b>Politics Among Nations</b>
Deutsch, Karl W	:	<b>The Analysis of International Relations</b>
Palmer & Perkins	:	<b>International Relations</b>
Martin Wright	:	<b>Systems of States, Leicester, 1977</b>
Kenneth E. Boulding	:	<b>Three Faces of Power, California, 1989</b>

## 3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### **Answers to Check Your Progress 1**

- 1) A system in which sovereign nation-states interact with each other through the medium of their foreign policies. A state is a community of persons, territorially organised with an independent government and enjoying sovereignty. Nation-states are units of present international system.
- 2) Three prominent features of state system are (i) nationalism – a psychological quality that binds people; (ii) sovereignty; (iii) national power, the capacity to get things done according to its wishes.
- 3) Territorial states based on nationalism; Eurocentric system with about 22 states; nation-states after the First World War; and multiplication of states after decolonisation after 1945.

### **Answers to Check Your Progress 2**

- 1) Power is ability to control the behaviour of others. It is man's control over minds and actions of other men. In international relations capacity of state to get things done, as desired by a powerful state.
- 2) Elements that can be quantified : population; territory – its size, climate, topography etc. natural resources, raw material, industrial units, armed forces.
- 3) Elements that cannot be measured; quality of leadership; bureaucratic efficiency; type of government, societal cohesion and national morals.
- 4) Persuasion, Reward, Punishment and Force.
- 5) A system in which about half a dozen states enjoy more or less equal power, check each other so that none acquires preponderance of power; often a 'balancer' ensures equilibrium. Devices : alliances, armaments, buffer states, intervention, etc.
- 6) International security is the aim, collective is the means. Aggressor has to face the collective might of world community. 'One for all and all for one' is the principle; operates through international organisation like the U.N.

### **Answers to Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) National interest seeks to protect core values of the society including welfare of the nation, economic prosperity, security of political beliefs, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national honour. National interest is a key concept in foreign policy; it is the starting point as well as a goal of foreign policy.

### **Answers to Check Your Progress 4**

- 1) Security is the main objective of every government. Foreign policy is the instrument through which national interest is protected. Thus, if security is not ensured, national interest is sacrificed.
- 2) Nature of weapons, and of war, has changed with the coming of nuclear weapons. It is an age of overkill, and nuclear weapons can endanger security of entire mankind due to their capacity of total destruction.

# **UNIT 4 WORLD WAR I : CAUSES, EVENTS AND CONSEQUENCES**

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## **Structure**

- 4.0 Objective**
- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 Causes**
  - 4.2.1 Economic Rivalries
  - 4.2.2 Colonial Disputes
  - 4.2.3 Conflicting Alliance Systems
  - 4.2.4 Rising Nationalist Aspirations
  - 4.2.5 The Outbreak of War
- 4.3 Sequence of Events of the War**
  - 4.3.1 European Phase of the War
  - 4.3.2 Global Phase of the War
  - 4.3.3 End of the War
- 4.4 Consequences of the War**
  - 4.4.1 Paris Peace Conference
    - 4.4.1.1 The Treaty of Versailles
    - 4.4.1.2 Minor Treaties
- 4.5 Impact of the War**
  - 4.5.1 Impact on Europe
  - 4.5.2 Impact on the World
- 4.6 Let Us Sum Up**
- 4.7 Key Words**
- 4.8 Some Useful Books**
- 4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises**

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## **4.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This unit deals with the First World War (1914-18). After studying the unit you will be able to:

- trace the causes of the war
- narrate the sequence of events of the war
- discuss the consequences of the war, and
- analyses the impact of the war.

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## **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The First World War, broke out in the third quarter of 1914. Initially it was confined to Europe. Afterwards the war spread all over the world. It continued for more than four years. The world experienced an unprecedented holocaust. Established dynasties collapsed, Europe began to decline and America started to dominate. The war generated new ideologies, founded new institutions and gave birth to new leaderships in the world. The world, indeed, was transformed at the termination of the war.

This unit examines the circumstances leading to the breaking out of the First World War, proceedings of the war and how it conditioned the developments and future of international relations.

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## **4.2 CAUSES**

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The war broke out in the wake of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Hapsburg throne. He was assassinated by a group of Bosnian radical

nationalists on 28th June 1914. The assassination, however was not the real cause of the war. It was just the pretext. The causes of the war may be found in the politico-economic developments that had been taking place in the international arena since the Franco-German War (1870). There arose economic rivalries, disputes over colonies and the conflicting alliance system in Europe. The growing nationalist aspirations in the subject peoples in Europe added fuel to the fire.

#### **4.2.1 Economic Rivalries**

Throughout the last quarter of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century most of the European powers had been locked in tariff wars and had been engaged in competition for overseas markets. There had been tariff wars between Italy and France, Russia and Germany, Austria and Serbia and so on. Besides these tariff wars, there arose stiff competition among the powers in general, and between Germany and Great Britain in particular for overseas markets. Throughout the 19th century, Britain had been the supreme economic power, backed by a powerful navy and army. Germany suddenly emerged as a competing great economic power in Europe after its principalities unified as a nation state. Germany's emergence as the economic super power made it a stiff competitor for overseas markets too, where other European powers including Britain had great stakes. This competition had far reaching political repercussions. It created an undending tension in the relations between these states. These relations got further embittered when the competing countries started building up strong navies for safeguarding trade routes and merchant shipping. Germany which already had a big army, devoted its full energies for building a large navy and achieved the goal within a short period. Germany's emergence as an economic power backed by a strong navy and an army became intolerable for Britain and the other powers hostile to it. Hence rivalries intensified and a flare up became inevitable.

#### **4.2.2 Colonial Disputes**

The European powers, in order to ensure protected markets for their surplus capital and industrial products, got involved in conflicts for overseas colonies. Germany was the youngest in the race for colonies. With its emergence as a super economic power it became very aggressive in the demand for the overseas colonies which could provide markets for its growing economy. It was a general cry in Germany that the country must have a "place in the sun". In its struggle for acquiring colonies, Germany found Britain as the stumbling block. Britain was condemned as a selfish, "dog in the manger". The disputes for a "place in the sun" were not confined to Germany and Britain alone. All major powers were engaged in the scramble for dependencies in the years preceding the first world war. There were collisions in Africa and in Asia between the European powers for colonies. These contradictions intensified made relations between European states.

#### **4.2.3 Conflicting Alliance Systems**

The struggle for colonies in different parts of the world between antagonistic powers led to the formation of conflicting alliances. Germany showed the way. It signed the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary (1879). This Alliance aimed at strengthening Germany against a possible French attack for recovering Alsace-Lorraine. The Alliance was also designed to protect Austria-Hungary against Russia with which the former had protracted clashes in the Balkan region. The alliance became the Triple Alliance in 1882, when Italy joined Austria-Hungary and Germany, seeking their support in her struggle for colonies against France.

The partners of the Triple Alliance attempted to maintain the status quo in the continent. Others however, saw this as an attempt to dominate Europe and to isolate other states from each other. They, therefore, took steps to form counter alliances. France and Russia entered into an entente (1893). This entente was aimed at countering the Triple Alliance and also containing Britain, against whom both France and Russia had outstanding disputes over the colonies. In the course of time, however the disputes between France, Russia and Britain were resolved peacefully. They now entered into

alliances. First, the Anglo-French entente (1904) was signed and then the Anglo-Russian entente (1907) was formalised. These two ententes were transformed into the Triple Entente. Europe was thus divided into two conflicting alliances which added fuel to the already embittered international relations which were aggravated by economic and colonial rivalries.

#### 4.2.5 Rising Nationalist Aspirations

There were subject minorities in different regions of Europe. These subject minorities remained hostile towards their respective imperial rulers. The growing nationalism of these peoples made them restless against foreign rule. They were demanding the right of self-determination. The French people in Alsace-Lorraine were hostile to German rule over their territory. The Hapsburg Empire, ruled by the Austrians and the Hungarians, had been facing growing discontent by the subject peoples. Italians, Romanians, and the Slavic peoples living within the Austro Hungarian empire awakened and initiated demands for self-determination or unification with their brethren in the neighbouring states. The rulers however tried to suppress the nationalist awakenings. The nationalist movement within empires transformed into militant revolutionary movements. Secret radical and militant organisations sprang up in different places in the Balkan region. One such organisation named Black Hand which was founded by the Bosnian Serbs in Belgrade, the Serbian capital, in 1911, hatched the conspiracy to kill Archduke Francis Ferdinand while he was on an official tour in Sarajevo, and assigned the job of assassinating him to Gavrilo Princip and his comrades. Princip carried out the assassination.

#### 4.2.5 The Outbreak of War

At the assassination of the Archduke, Austria issued a stiff ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July 1914. Serbia had little knowledge about the conspiracy to kill the Duke. Serbia, however, politely replied to the ultimatum, agreeing to comply with all but one of the demands. The ultimatum included, among others, the demands for apologies, suppression of anti-Austrian movements, and participation of Austrian officials in the enquiry for fixing responsibility for the murder. Serbia refused to include Austrian officials for conducting the inquiry. Austria declined to accept the Serbian reply and declared war against Serbia of the 28th July, 1914. Russia joined the fray in favour of Serbia on 30th July, Russia's involvement brought Germany into the war, Germany declared war against Russia and France on 1st and 3rd August respectively. The German strategy to attack France by vanquishing Belgium annoyed Britain. Britain declared war on 4th August. Thus the war broke out in full scale between the two blocs, consisting of Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side and France, Britain and Russia on the other. The former bloc came to be known as Central Powers and the latter became famous as the Allies.

##### Check your progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Identify the root causes of the first World War.

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- 2) Who constituted the opposing parties in the War?

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### **4.3 SEQUENCE OF EVENTS OF THE WAR**

At the outbreak of the war it was presumed that the war would be a brief encounter and there would be a victorious party. These presumptions proved to be wrong. The war was prolonged for more than four years and caused an unprecedented toll of men and material. Both the winners and the losers suffered almost equally from the war. Though the Allies won, but it cost them far dearly.

#### **4.3.1 European Phase of the War**

The war continued till the beginning of 1917, and was essentially an European affair. War was being fought over European issues and their control over the colonies. Europe had been the main theatre of the war. The German strategy was to end the war in a month or so. German forces, accordingly, attacked France by overrunning Belgium. German soldiers, within a few days, reached the vicinity of Paris. The Germans, however, failed to sustain this victory. The French army forced them to retreat to the Aisne River bank, which was considered the natural defence line. The warring parties failed to make much headway in either direction during the next three years. A deadlock resulted. The war took heavy casualties at this front. The casualties during the first four months alone were 700,000 Germans, 850,000 French and 90,000 Britishers.

On the Russian and Balkan fronts, however there had been decisive battles. On the Russian front the Russian soldiers could not invade East Prussia and on the Balkan front, Austria faced humiliating defeats. The Serbians drove away the Austrians. Turkey joined the Central Powers in November 1914. Turkey closed the supply line and attempted to stop the Allies from sending supplies to Russia through sea routes.

Consequently, the combined Austro-German armies inflicted humiliating defeats upon the Russian forces in the middle of 1915. With these defeats the decline of Tsarist Empire began. Meanwhile, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and enhanced their strength and striking capabilities. Now, Serbia fell to the central powers. At this juncture Italy was persuaded to intervene in favour of the Allies. Italy's intervention however failed to influence the course of the war. The Central Powers won important victories and the whole area from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf came under their control.

In February 1916 the Central Powers launched an all out attack against the Allies. Their strategy was to inflict a decisive defeat on the Allies and to dictate peace terms for terminating the war. This strategy failed. Germany suffered from heavy losses both in men and material. Russia defeated the Austrians. Now Romania joined the Allies and soon Greece broke her neutrality and intervened in favour of the Allies. Now the joint offensive in the Balkan front against the Central Powers knocked Bulgaria out of the war. The Germans were defeated on several fronts. They opened unrestricted submarine warfare at sea, to block the ships carrying supplies to Britain. Though this strategy paid off handsomely, it forced America to intervene in the war in favour of the Allies. The war thus entered into a global phase.

The war now entered the fourth year. Europe incurred heavy losses both in terms of human life and in terms of wealth. Europe was on the verge of collapse. Now peace became a general demand. The German Reichstag passed a peace resolution in July 1917. Many important personalities appealed for peace in order to save European civilization. But worse was still to come.

#### **4.3.2 Global Phase of the War**

The intervention of USA in the war and the successful conclusion of the Russian Revolution in 1917 completely changed the complexion of the war, which was now transformed from being an European affair into a world affair. The US intervention and the Russian revolution also brought into fore differing ideologies. While the Russian revolution unleashed revolutionary ideologies, the USA sought to make the world safe for democracy and peace. President Wilson of the USA came out with his famous fourteen Point programme.

The war contributed largely to the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia. The Bolshevik government, installed in power after the fall of Tsar, signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March 1918 with Germany and opted out of the war. Thus war between Germany and Russia ended. USA had maintained strict neutrality since the beginning of the war. She broke this neutrality for several reasons which included amongst others, Germany's unrestricted submarine attack on merchant ships, America's huge economic involvement in the war and the military preparedness within USA.

In April 1917 USA intervened in the war in support of the Allies. After joining the war President Wilson declared his famous Fourteen Point Programme which was proclaimed as the war aims of the US. The 14 points included amongst others, open covenants of peace instead of secret pacts, freedom of the seas, removal of barriers to international trade, reduction of arrangements, justice to colonial peoples, right to self-determination to the various subject minorities of Europe, and the establishment of an international body to maintain peace in the world.

#### 4.3.3 End of the War

The participation of America sufficiently enhanced the striking power of the Allies. The USA sent both men and materials. By July 1918 the number of American soldiers in the different fronts rose to more than 300,000. The Central Powers had no hope of getting fresh supplies. So they failed to bear the Allies' offensive. Consequently they surrendered during the latter half of 1918, one by one. Bulgaria surrendered in September and Turkey in October. The Hapsburg empire disintegrated and Emperor Charles abdicated in November. The Germans had now no way out. Emperor Kaiser William II abdicated and Germany surrendered in early November. The war thus ended with the victory of the Allies.

The war had continued for four years and three months. Thirty states from Europe, America, Asia and Africa were entangled in the war which overthrew four dynasties and brought into existence seven new states. The war killed more than 18 million people and the total cost was nearly \$ 333 billion.

#### Check your progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Spell out some of the more important events and development during the European phase of the war.

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- 2) What are the reasons for the intervention of the USA in the War?

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- 3) Why did Russia opt out of the War?

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## 4.4 CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

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The war consumed an unprecedented number of men and materials. Europe's supremacy in the world began to decline and the USA began to emerge as a super power. Japan established its supremacy in the East. The war was terminated through a series of five separate treaties between the Allies and the individual states of the Central Powers. These treaties were the Versailles Treat with Germany, St. Germain Treaty with Austria, Neuilly Treaty with Bulgaria, Trianon Treaty with Hungary and Severs Treaty with Turkey. While the first four were signed in 1919, the last one was signed in 1920. The salient features of these treaties included amongst others the foundation of the League of Nations; the application of the right of self-determination in Europe only, and the non-application of the doctrine in the colonies of the European powers in Asia and Africa.

### 4.4.1 Paris Peace Conference

Wars are normally terminated and peace is restored after the signing of peace treaties between warring states. The First World War was also terminated through peace treaties, mentioned earlier. When the war entered into the decisive phase, the Allied powers started considering the plans and proposals put forward by different quarters for a lasting peace in the world. At Germany's surrendering and signing of the instruments of Armistice the Allies took effective steps for holding a peace conference. The conference was ultimately called in Paris in January 1919. It continued for about six months. Thirty two countries, consisting primarily of the Allies, participated in this conference. The gathering was impressive, because most of the world leaders were present. This was the first time, in a conference like this, that non-European powers — the USA, Japan, etc. attended. Russia did not attend because it had earlier withdrawn from the war. None of the Central Powers was invited to participate in the deliberations. The conference was mainly conducted by the Big Three — the USA, Great Britain and France. But they could not totally ignore the others. However, the conflicting and narrow national interests, petty and unjust claims, and tendencies of scrapping colonies dominated the proceedings of the conference and overshadowed President Wilson's idealism, enshrined in his Fourteen Points. The conference was called upon to tackle many complex issues which included among others the growing national aspirations of the erstwhile subject nations in Europe, the secret pacts signed during the war, the demands for compensation for the losses suffered by the European Allied powers and the redressal of the wrongs committed by Germany during the war. Germany was held responsible for the declaration of the war and the huge destruction of lives and property.

The peace conference in Paris, after its formal inauguration, appointed committees of experts and diplomats to study the different problems and issues and to make suitable recommendations to deal with them. In the context of the conflicting demands, aims and objectives of the participating countries, it was not easy for the conference to arrive at an objective and rational conclusion. President Wilson had to yield to the pressure of the European powers who were bent upon taking revenge on Germany. After protracted deliberations the conference came out with a peace treaty containing very stiff terms and conditions. It was offered to Germany for acceptance in total. Germany objected on the ground that the country was given an understanding when it had surrendered, that it would be dealt with as per the principles, contained in Wilson's Fourteen Points. It alleged that the peace terms had contained little of the 14 points. Germany's objections were brushed aside and she was asked to sign the treaty or face the consequence. Germany had to swallow the humiliation which later led to a desire for avenging the insult. The treaty, thus, sowed the seeds of another war.

#### 4.4.1.1 The Treaty of Versailles

The Versailles Treaty was signed between the Allies and Germany. It was the most important one in the five treaty series. The treaty contained 440 articles. It dealt comprehensively with the territorial, military and war guilt of the Central Powers and the economic, political and other related aspects of the peace settlement. Germany which was accused for initiating the war, was dealt with severely. Emperor Kaiser William II was accused of having committed crimes against humanity and was blamed

The war contributed largely to the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia. The Bolshevik government, installed in power after the fall of Tsar, signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March 1918 with Germany and opted out of the war. Thus war between Germany and Russia ended. USA had maintained strict neutrality since the beginning of the war. She broke this neutrality for several reasons which included amongst others, Germany's unrestricted submarine attack on merchant ships, America's huge economic involvement in the war and the military preparedness within USA.

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- 3) Why did Russia opt out of the War?

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for the holocaust caused by the war. Germany was asked to surrender nearly 40,000 square kilometres of territory with more than seven million people. With the loss of three territories Germany was deprived of the natural resources which were essential for its economic development. In addition, Germany was told to pay huge reparations, which after prolonged negotiations were fixed at \$33,000 million. German colonies were taken away and were described as "Mandated territories of the League" which France, Britain, and Japan distributed among themselves. Germany was militarily weakened by cutting the size of its army and navy. It was not allowed to raise an air force or to have a modern merchant navy. The Rhine was demilitarised for 50 kilometres East of the river and the Allied Commission was appointed to supervise the execution of the disarmament clauses. Germany and Austria were barred from uniting. In sum, the treaty was designed to cripple Germany and to perpetuate its subordination to the Allied powers. Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. were recognised as independent states. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed between Germany and Russia, was rendered irrelevant.

The Treaty of Versailles created for the first time in the world an international organisation, called the League of Nations, with the aim to maintain peace in the world. The treaty also founded for the first time in the world another international body, known as the International Labour Organisation, to look after the welfare of the labouring people. The Treaty evolved a system of government for the mandated territories.

#### 4.4.1.2 Minor Treaties

The Versailles Treaty was followed by four minor treaties. The St. Germain Treaty was signed between the Allies and Austria. It recognised the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia (now Czech and Slovak, two independent republics), Poland and Yugoslavia. Austria had also to cede large tracts of territories. Her empire had disintegrated. Her population was reduced. She was reduced to a small German speaking state from being a vast multilingual empire.

The Neuilly treaty was signed between the Allies and Bulgaria. Bulgaria had to cede again part of her coast to Greece and some strategically important areas in the West of the country to Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's military was reduced and she was made to pay \$ 50 million as war indemnity to the Allies.

The Trianon Treaty was signed between the Allies and Hungary. As per the terms of the treaty, Hungary was reduced in size and population. It had to give up Transylvania to Romania, Croatia to Yugoslavia, the Banat to Romania and the Slovak districts to Czechoslovakia.

The Severs Treaty was signed between the Allies and Turkey in August 1920. The treaty stripped Turkey of her empire. The treaty was revised in 1923 when Turkey declared itself a Republic. The new government signed the revised treaty with the Allies at Lausanne. It had then come to be known as Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey now renounced her claim to the Arab lands. Turkey was not forced to pay war indemnity nor was she debarred from having a military as per her own requirements.

#### Check your progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- i) What are the main the terms and conditions of Versailles Treaty?

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- 2) Name the minor treaties concluded at the Paris Peace Conference.

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## **4.5 IMPACT OF THE WAR**

### **4.5.1 Impact on Europe**

The war had weakened Europe so much that it could not reemerge as an economic and political force. It lost ground to the United States of America. Europe faced economic decline, suffered from political crises one after another and lost her prestige in the eyes of the colonial peoples. Europe had been the leading economic power in the world. The source of Europe's economic prosperity was her vast colonies. She depended largely upon the huge income which was being earned from her massive overseas investments. The war had cut off this source considerably. Britain lost more than 25 per cent of her pre-war foreign investment, France nearly 34 per cent and Germany lost almost all. Europe yielded much of her ground to the USA, with which her economic relationship reversed from a creditor to debtor. Europe no longer remained the banker and the workshop of the world, which she had been till the beginning of the war.

The political impact of the war on Europe was also far-reaching. President Wilson's 14 points and the successful conclusion of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia unleashed new revolutionary ideas. Consequently, everywhere in the continent the old order came under severe attack. In Europe even the known democratic states had been continuing with restricted franchise. The war changed the scenario. Women who had so far no voting rights in many countries, got the right to vote. The war also initiated the process for the emancipation of women. Despotic kingdoms were wiped out from the map of Europe. The basic rights of the working people began to be included in the statute books of different countries. Last but not the least, was the loss of prestige of Europe in the colonies. Intro-European contradictions and cleavages got exposed. The block pitted one against another and damaged their own prestige irreplaceably.

### **4.5.2 Impact on the World**

The impact of the war on the world was all pervading. One of the most significant effects of the war was the emergence of the USA as the super power. The war gutted Europe but made the USA affluent. USA, after the war, almost became the banker and the workshop of the world. Factories and workshops mushroomed spectacularly to meet the almost unending war-time demand for manufacturing goods. The USA, which had been once the debtor country and owed nearly \$4 billion to European states, now became the creditor country. By 1919 Europeans owed to the USA more than \$ 3.7 billion and the debt increased to \$8.8 billion in 1930. The USA became the highest manufacturing country in the world, the industrial output even surpassed the industrial outputs of all the European nations taken together. USA's contribution to the world's manufacturing goods rose to 42.2 per cent in 1930. Alongwith economic supremacy, the USA had also established its supremacy in other fields.

The impact of the war on the other parts of the world was no less. The war destroyed the Tsarist regime in Russia. The repeated setbacks on the war fronts lowered the prestige of the Tsar which expedited the impending Bolshevik Revolution and wiped out the ancient Tsar dynasty from the map of Russia. The impact of the war in the middle east was also all-pervading. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the war and the stripping from Turkey of her colonies hastened the revolution in the land. The revolution ended the despotic rule of the Ottoman dynasty, modernized the ancient state and founded democratic Turkey under the inspiring leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

Efforts were also made in Persia (now Iran) to modernise on the lines of Turkey. Progress was made in many fields although Persia did not match the modernisation efforts of Turkey. The country was industrialised to a large extent. Many factories, including textile mills, cement plants, sugar refineries, etc. were founded. In East Asia, Japan emerged as a super power. Japan joined the war in support of the Allies with the intention of capturing foreign territories as far as possible. Soon Japan took the German islands in the Pacific and the German holdings in the Shantung Peninsula. The Treaty of Versailles almost approved the Japanese demands. The treaty transferred from Germany the leased territory of Kiaochow in Shantung to Japan, who was also given the mandate to administer Germany's North Pacific islands. This emboldened Japan, which gradually became an imperialist power. China entered the war in 1917 with the hope of regaining her territories. But the peace makers did not pay heed to the Chinese demands. China refused to sign on the treaty and wild demonstration broke out throughout China against Japan in particular and against foreigners in general. The movements reoriented the Chinese national movement with radical thoughts and activities. In India the repercussions of the war were also far-reaching. During the war the British government promised to grant advanced forms of administrative reforms after the war, in exchange for India's support to British war efforts. The British did not honour their promise. Consequently the ongoing national movement in India took a different course which ultimately forced the British to accord freedom to the subcontinent.

#### **Check Your Progress 4**

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) How did the war affect world (other than Europe)?

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#### **4.6 LET US SUM UP**

The first World War broke out in 1914 and continued up to the last quarter of 1918. The world reached an explosive situation because of economic rivalry, disputes over colonies, and conflicting alliance systems between the European countries. The growing nationalist aspirations of the subject peoples and the high military preparedness of the big powers added fuel to the fire, which ultimately engulfed the world on the pretext of the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne. War was terminated when the warring countries lost everything. Peace Treaties were negotiated and offered to the vanquished. The terms were humiliating and contained the germs of much bigger flare-ups in the future. Europe got devastated and declined as a great power. The USA emerged as the super power. Japan became a big power. Turkey was modernized and was declared a republic. Despotic rulers made way for democracy in Europe. Colonial peoples including India and the dependencies of the Europeans, though receiving a raw deal in the hands of the peace makers in Paris, got enthused because of the revolutionary ideas unleashed by the war, and were encouraged to launch more vigorous national liberation movements.

#### **4.7 KEY WORDS**

**Tariff** : Taxes imposed on the goods imported or exported from one country to another.

**Franco-German War** : It was fought between France and Germany in 1870-71. France was defeated and the unification of Germany was achieved. The war sowed the seeds of the First World War.

**Russian Revolution** : In 1917 Russia experienced a series of revolutions which culminated in the establishment of a socialist state named Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) under the leadership of V.I. Lenin.

## 4.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

David Thomson, 1974, Europe Since Napoleon, Middlesex, England.

L.S. Stavrianos, 1983, A Global History : The Human Heritage, New Jersey.

H.W. Baldwin, 1962 : World War I : An Outline History, Oxford.

William Woodroff, 1981 : The Struggle for World Power 1500-1980 : London.

## 4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The root causes of the war were the economic rivalries, disputes over the colonies, conflicting alliance systems and the growing militarism in the big powers, and the developing nationalist aspirations in the subject people. The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand was the immediate cause.
- 2) The powers were grouped into two blocks — the Allies and the Central Powers. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey constituted the central powers, and France, Britain, Italy, Russia the USA and many others were the members of the Allies. The Allies and the central powers were the opposing parties in the war.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Initial victories of the central powers, failure of German strategies. Defeats of Russia. Unrestricted submarine fare. Russia's opting out of the war, the USA's intervention of the War, heavy casualties, etc.
- 2) Unrestricted submarine warfare of Germany, US investment in Europe, US military preparedness, etc.
- 3) Russian Revolution and the downfall of the Tsar.

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The Paris Peace Conference had prepared the terms and conditions of the treaties which terminated the First World War. Only the Allies attended the Conference which continued from January to June 1919. It recommended the foundation of the world bodies — League of Nations and the International Labour Organizations. It offered an insulting treaty to Germany and sowed the seeds of another war.
- 2) It was designed to cripple Germany and to perpetuate its subordination to the Allies. The treaty also founded the world bodies.
- 3) There were four minor treaties — St. Germain Treaty, Neuilly Treaty, Trianon Treaty and Severs Treaty which terminated the war between the Allies and Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

### Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Europe was weakened. Despotic rule in Europe ended. Europe progressed towards a more democratic system.
- 2) The USA emerged as the world super power. Japan extended its influence in the east. Turkey was modernized. Revolution in Russia was hastened. The national liberation movement in the colonial countries became more vigorous.

# **UNIT 5 BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT**

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## **Structure**

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Bolsheviks and a New System of International Relations
  - 5.2.1 Peace Initiatives of the Bolsheviks Government
  - 5.2.2 Bolsheviks renunciation of special privileges in the neighbouring countries
- 5.3 Bolsheviks and Anti-colonial Struggles
  - 5.3.1 Spread of Socialist ideas in the East
  - 5.3.2 Unity of nationalist and socialist forces in the East
  - 5.3.3 Intensification of national liberation movements
- 5.4 Rise and Growth of Communist and Workers' Movements
- 5.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.6 Key Words
- 5.7 Some Useful Books
- 5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## **5.0 OBJECTIVES**

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The Unit deals with major changes that came about in international relations as a result of the Bolshevik revolution, the first socialist revolution in the world. It also discusses the impact of Bolshevik revolution on anti-colonial struggles and workers and peasants struggles throughout the world. After going through the unit the students would be able to :

- explain the nature of the Bolshevik revolution and its impact on international relations,
- discuss the various steps taken by the new Soviet state to create a new system of international relations based on peace and non-aggression, free of exploitation and colonization,
- comprehend the impact of the Bolshevik revolution on anti-colonial struggles.
- evaluate Bolshevik contribution to international communist and workers movements.

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## **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Capitalism and industrialization rapidly advanced in Russia after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the defeat of Russia in the Crimea war (1856-59). The needs of sustaining itself as a strong continental power prompted Russia to undertake industrialization on a large scale. This was accomplished by the state playing a major role in economic activities, and with the advancement of capitalism there arose the need for raw materials and markets. In the third quarter of the 19th century, Russian imperialism had already colonised Central Asia and was competing with other imperialist powers for concessions in the Balkans and the far east. Russia, by the end of the century was an imperialist power with semi-feudal system of agriculture and an authoritarian state system. There was no popular government, no elected organ with real powers to make laws, and a total lack of civil rights and political freedom. The liberal groups were weak and compromised too frequently with the rulers. Marxism was becoming popular and was entrusted with the historic task of combining both the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist struggles.

The Marxists, or Social Democrats as they were known then, were divided into various groups and the ideological heterogeneity was too strong to be overcome. The Russian

Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), established in 1898, was split into two major groups : the Bolsheviks (Majority) and the Mensheviks (Minority). Though both the groups wanted a socialist revolution in Russia to be preceded by a democratic anti-feudal revolution, the former (Bolsheviks) wanted the working class to lead this democratic phase of the revolution. The Mensheviks, instead, wanted the bourgeoisie, i.e., the capitalists to lead it. The Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership finally emerged as leaders of the revolution in October, 1917, with a successful strategy of workers-peasants alliance to head state power after the revolution. The Mensheviks who supported the bourgeois government and participated in it after the overthrow of the Tsar in February 1917, had lost the support of the workers and peasants by October. On 7th November (25 October according to the old Russian Calendar) the Bolsheviks were triumphant after three days of armed uprising which led to the surrender of the provisional government set up in February 1917.

It was the First World War which finally sealed the fate of the Tsarist autocracy. The war exacerbated the crisis that had gripped the Russian state. Russian society was an ensemble of contradictions when the war began — contradictions between feudals and peasants, between peasants and capitalist farmers (known also as kulaks), between kulaks and the landless labour, between factory owners and workers, between the big bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, and so on. Once the war came, all these contradictions sharpened. The enormous cost of the war was too heavy for Russia, which still was relatively backward as compared to other imperialist powers. The state could not sustain such an expensive war and the burden was borne by the working people and the peasants. Workers and even soldiers were up in arms against the State. A socialist revolution materialized for the first time in history and there was no better country than Russia which was the weakest link in the imperialist chain for the revolution to succeed.

The October Revolution heralded a new era by creating a state of the workers and poor peasants whose interest was opposed to economic exploitation wars, aggressions, colonization and racial discrimination. The revolution brought into existence a socialist state that could work as a bulwark against war and imperialism. It also began a process of creation of an alternative world socialist system based on equality and free of exploitation, renounced any form of aggression, colonization and racial prejudice, as opposed to world capitalist system that is based on colonization, economic exploitation, racism, etc.

## **5.2 BOLSHEVIKS AND A NEW SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The October Revolution spread a new message of hope and liberation for the toiling peoples all over the world and the peoples of the colonies. It was a message of liberation from all forms of exploitation — national, social, economic and political. This was reflected in a series of declarations, legal pronouncements and diplomatic initiatives of the new Bolshevik government.

The Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People adopted in the third All Russian Congress of Soviets in January 1918, reaffirmed an inflexible determination to deliver mankind from wars and to achieve at all costs a democratic peace among nations, without annexation or indemnities, on the principle of self-determination of nations. The declaration proclaimed Soviet State's " ..... complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries."

The new Soviet state took a determined stand against the prevailing system of international relations in which war and colonization were organic components. Instead, the idea of a just and democratic peace and the establishment of a system of international relations based on general democratic principles was advocated. The renunciation of secret diplomacy was a necessary corollary of Soviet international diplomacy.

### 5.2.1 Peace Initiatives of the Bolshevik Government

The Decree on Peace, one of the first major acts of the new Soviet State, proclaimed the abolition of secret diplomacy and in accordance with this law, the Soviet foreign ministry published the previous secret treaties signed by the Tsarist state (Russian emperors were called Tsars), including the Anglo-Russian secret treaty and convention of 1907 on "demarcation" of spheres of interests of both the Powers England and Russia in the Middle East; agreement to carve up Turkey between the above two and France concluded in 1916 etc.

The refusal of the Entente Powers (the ultimate victorious powers in the First World War) to negotiate a general peace settlement, forced Soviet Russia to enter into peace talks with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria (the other camp in the war). The Soviet proposal included six points : no forcible annexation of territories occupied during the war; restoration of political independence to nations vanquished during the war; freedom of choice to the national minorities to either remain within a state or become independent through a referendum; safeguarding of the rights of the national minorities in a state by special legislation protecting their national culture and whenever possible, administrative autonomy; renunciation of war indemnities; and solution of colonial problems in accordance with the first four principles. Though imperialist Germany rejected the Soviet proposals and imposed humiliating peace terms on the latter, Lenin still agreed to sign the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on Germany's terms despite strong opposition within the Bolshevik party and government. Lenin firmly believed that war is detrimental to the interests of the toiling people.

### 5.2.2 Bolshevik Renunciation of Special Privileges in the Neighbouring Countries

\* The idea of national sovereignty and equality ran through the theory and practice of Soviet foreign policy, which aimed at reshaping international relations on democratic principles. The emergence of the first socialist state inspired formally independent small states, colonies and semi-colonies to struggle for and defend their sovereignty against oppression and encroachment by imperialist powers. In the process of evolving a new system of international relations, the Soviets attached special significance to relations with the Eastern Countries based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and friendship. The Soviet state was willing to give them friendly assistance in their struggle against imperialism. Despite its difficult economic situation, the new socialist state rendered not only political and moral but also great material support to countries such as Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran and others. In June 1919, the Soviet government abolished all special privileges for Russian nationals in Iran, renounced all concessions and control over Iran's state revenue, and handed over to Iran without demanding any compensation, the banks, the railways, highways and port facilities on Iran's Caspian coast and other property which had belonged to Tsarist Russia. A treaty of friendship with Iran was signed in February, 1921 (the first equal treaty between Iran and a European power), guaranteeing Iran's independence and security of her borders with the Soviet state. Similarly, a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed with Turkey, which received generous economic, financial and military aid from the Soviet state. A Soviet Afghan treaty was signed in Spring 1921 by which interest-free loans were given to the latter and Soviet specialists were assigned to work there.

#### Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What kind of an alternative system of international relations was created by the Bolsheviks?

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- 2) Discuss the peace policy of the Bolsheviks.

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### **5.3 BOLSHEVIKS AND ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES**

More lasting, however, was the inspiration provided by the establishment of the first socialist state which till then was regarded by many as a distant dream. The success of revolutionary ideas influenced the thoughts and actions of generations of freedom fighters in the colonised countries. It also provided great impetus for the growth of radical movements of the toiling peoples in the underdeveloped world. The victory of Russian workers over feudal and capitalist forces, convinced many in the colonies that the European imperialists and their local surrogates were not invincible against the combined strength of the oppressed. In the new socialist state's Appeal to the Toilers of Russia and the East, a direct call was given to "Persians, Turks, Arabs and Hindus" to lose no time in throwing off the yoke of their oppressors and making themselves the masters of their own lands. The appeal made a pointed reference to the rising tide of nationalism in India. Such declarations by the new revolutionary state further convinced the colonised peoples that they had now a powerful ally in the revolutionary government of Russia whose support they could count upon in their struggle against imperialists.

#### **5.3.1 Spread of Socialist Ideas in the East**

Under the impact of the October revolution, socialist ideas became widespread. These ideas influenced the view of many leaders of national-liberation struggles. In India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was particularly influenced by Bolshevik idea of scientific socialism and wrote in his Discovery of India, Marx's general analysis of social development seems to have been remarkably correct .... Lenin successfully adapted the Marxian thesis to some of these subsequent developments...". Acquaintance with scientific socialism provided a better understanding to the national intelligentsia about the political and social forces in their countries and outside that could be relied upon in the struggle for political independence and social progress. It also helped them to determine the ideology best suited to solve the pressing problem of national revival.

#### **5.3.2 Unity of Nationalist and Socialist Forces in the East**

Under the impact of the October revolution, socialist ideas spread that witnessed the creation of revolutionary groups and communist parties whose activities raised the consciousness of the working people and organized them against oppression, be it from imperialists or local oppressors. These groups were also active in arousing the masses to political activity and in preparing conditions for combining the struggle of the workers and peasants with that of national liberation and anti-imperialism. The October revolution showed the necessity of an alliance between the worker's movement and the peoples national liberation struggle to defeat imperialism. With the success of socialism in Russia and a setback to world imperialism, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America assumed greater scope and intensity, embracing more countries and greater masses of people. The national liberation movements became more profound in their content and goals, and more importantly became more and more successful. This was to a large measure due to the revolutionising effect of the new Soviet state's successful handling of the national and social question. In short, the October Revolution blazed the trail of socialism and national liberation all over the world. It stimulated the consciousness of the people in the colonies, widened the basis of the national movements and finally, hastened the process of growth of the left movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Inspired by the success of revolutionaries in Russia, the Indian revolutionary nationalists operating abroad formed contacts with Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership. Mahendra Pratap, Barkatullah, Obaidullah Sindhi, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendranath Datta, Hardayal and M.N. Roy were the prominent names who went to Moscow to seek cooperation and guidance for India's liberation. Two great sons of India, Pandit Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore were greatly influenced by events in Russia and remained till the end of their lives most committed friends of the Soviet Union. Many of the Indian revolutionaries working abroad drew inspiration from the October revolution and adopted socialism as their programmatic goal. These included the young Muslim Mujahideens trekking through Afghanistan to Soviet Russia and the members of the Ghadar Party founded in USA before the First World War. The nascent working class movement in India led to the emergence of communist groups and to the formal launching of the Communist Party of India in 1925. Shaheed Bhagat Singh was being attracted towards socialism during his days in jail and one of his last political acts in prison was celebrating the Lenin Day.

### 5.3.3 Intensification of National Liberation Movements

The October revolution contributed to the quickening of the pace of national liberation movements by inspiring broader sections of the population in the colonies. In India, the closing months of 1918 and early 1919 witnessed a strike movement on a scale never before known in India. The Bombay textile workers strike involved 125,000 workers. The strike movement reached its peak in the first six months of 1920 with about 200 strikes involving one and a half million workers. It was in this situation that Gandhiji and the Congress decided to launch the "non-violent non-cooperation" movement, which marked a big step forward in mass mobilisation.

Some other countries also witnessed intensified struggles against imperialism. Irish militants under the leadership of Michael Collins continued to fight the British while the Sinn Fein Party proclaimed the creation of the Irish Republic. In Egypt, the Nationalist Party of Zaghlul Pasha was seriously challenging British rule and the deportation of Zaghlul in 1919 was followed by mass insurrections which the British savagely put down. Independence of Egypt was declared in 1920. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Pasha declared war against the allied occupation and set up a provisional government. China, not only refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, but also witnessed a new phase in its struggle against imperialism. The May Fourth movement of 1919, which signalled this transition, resulted in mass participation of intellectuals and students, frontal assault on Confucianism and boycott of Japanese goods.

The nationalist leaders of the East responded positively to the message of the October revolution. Bal Gangadhar Tilak hailed the victory of Bolsheviks in his newspaper Kesari. Bipin Chandra Pal, another prominent leader of Indian national movement, was greatly inspired by the October revolution and its call against all forms of exploitation. Lala Lajpat Rai was all praise for the success of revolution in Russia and its policy towards East. The Russian revolution and its socialist achievements had a lasting impact on the political thinking of Jawaharlal Nehru and this led to a radical shift in the thinking of Indian National Congress.

Sun Yat Sen was the first of China's public leaders to call for the recognition of Soviet Russia by Asian states. This was also a response to the policies of the new revolutionary state towards China despite the hostility of then Begging government towards the Soviet republic. In 1918, Soviet Russia publicly renounced all treaties, agreements and loans once imposed on China by the Tsarist government. The best minds of China saw the historical relevance of the October revolution for China's future. Li Dazhao and Lu Xin, the moving spirits behind the May Fourth Movement, that became the nucleus of China's communist movement, hailed the October revolution as the dawning of a new era.

#### Check Your Progress 2

- Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) How did the Bolsheviks contribute to the anti-colonial struggles?

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- 2) Discuss the role of the Bolshevik revolution in uniting the socialist and nationalist forces in the anti-colonial struggles.

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- 3) Briefly discuss the impact of October revolution in intensifying national liberation struggles in the East.

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#### **5.4 RISE AND GROWTH OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENTS**

The October revolution not only had a great impact on the liberation movements in the colonies, it also paved the way for the rise and growth of the communist and workers' movement in the East. To unite various communist groups, parties and movements, to popularise Marxist-Leninist theory and to discuss the debate strategies and tactics of uniting with other nationalist non-communist forces against imperialism, a **Communist International** (also known as the **Third International of Comintern**) was formed in Moscow in 1919. The ideal that was embodied in the formation of the International was the unity of the working class in the developed West and the oppressed peoples of the colonies in their common struggle against imperialism. The Communist International became the co-ordinating centre of revolutionaries the world over. The problem of a united anti-imperialist front occupied a central place in the Comintern's theoretical and practical activities on the national and colonial question. The idea of the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, in other words the unity between forces of socialism and the national liberation movement crystallised at the second congress of the Comintern in 1920.

Given the repressive nature of the colonial regimes, many communist parties of the Eastern countries were formed in the Soviet Russia under the auspices of the Comintern. Turkish communists were the first to organise a communist party in Soviet Russia, followed by Iranians, Chinese and the Koreans. The first group of Indian communists was formed in October 1920 following the arrival in Tashkent of Indians who had attended the second congress of the Comintern. On the initiative of M.N. Roy and H. Mukherjee this group of seven people proclaimed itself the Communist party of India.

### **Check Your Progress 3**

### **Bolshevik Revolution and its Impact**

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check you answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Discuss the importance of the Communist International?

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- 2) Briefly discuss the impact of Bolsheviks on the formation of Communist and workers' parties.

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## **5.5 LET US SUM UP**

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The Bolshevik victory and its support to the liberation movements created favourable conditions for the intensification of anti-imperialist struggles in the colonies. It not only inspired nationalists and communists all over the world but also helped to bring them together on the common platform of anti-colonialism. The Bolshevik policy of peace and renunciation of special privileges and secret diplomacy created an alternative system of international relations.

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## **5.6 KEY WORDS**

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**Imperialism:** A system in which highly developed capitalist states colonise, underdeveloped countries for cheap raw material, labour and market, but more importantly, for exporting the surplus capital of the developed states to underdeveloped ones for higher profit.

**Bourgeois system:** Also called the capitalist system, in which land, labour and the products are marketable commodities, and the workers have no ownership or control over the means of production and as a result are exploited by the capitalists who are the owners.

**Socialism:** A system in which the worker are the ruling class the there is no private ownership over the means of production.

## 5.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Anhraf Ali & G.A. Syomin, (Eds.), 1917, **October Revolution and India's Independence**, Sterling Publishers, Delhi.

E.H. Carr, **The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1921**, Penguin Books, London.

Milrokhin, L.V., 1981, **Lenin in India**, Allied Publishers, Delhi.

Patnaik, Ashok Kumar, 1992, **Soviets and The Indian Revolutionary Movement, 1917-1929**, Anamika Publishers, Delhi.

Pethybridge Roger, 1972, **The Spread of the Russia Revolution. Essays on 1917**, Macmillan, London.

## **5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES**

**Bolshevik Revolution  
and Its Impact**

### **Check Your Progress 1**

1. See Section 5.2.1 and Sub-section 5.2.3
2. See Sub-section 5.2.2 and 5.2.3.

### **Check Your Progress 2**

1. See Sub-section 5.2.3 and Section 5.3.1.
2. See sub-section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.
3. See sub-section 5.3.3 and 5.3.4.

### **Check Your Progress 3**

1. See Section 5.4.
2. See sub-section 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and section 5.4.

## **NOTES**

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# **UNIT 6 WORLD WAR II : CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES (EMERGENCE OF SUPER POWERS)**

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## **Structure**

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Causes and Outbreak of World War II
  - 6.2.1 The War Begins
  - 6.2.2 USA and USSR become Allies
- 6.3 Consequences of World War II
  - 6.3.1 Defeat of Italy and Germany
  - 6.3.2 Defeat of Japan
- 6.4 Peace-making after the Second World War
  - 6.4.1 The Potsdam Conference
  - 6.4.2 Treaties of Peace
- 6.5 Emergence of Super Powers
  - 6.5.1 The United States became a Nuclear Power
  - 6.5.2 Soviet Union's Challenge to the United States
- 6.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.7 Key Words
- 6.8 Some Useful Books
- 6.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## **6.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This unit discusses World War-II that started in September 1939 and ended only in August 1945 after the drop of two atom bombs by the United States of America on Japan. By studying through this unit you should be able to :

- identify causes for World War II;
- describe how World War II began and how USA and USSR became allies;
- discuss the outcome of the peace treaties signed at on the conclusion of the war; and
- understand the emergence of USA and USSR as Super Powers.

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## **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

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World War-II began in 1939 with German aggression on Poland on September 1. Earlier, two erstwhile enemies namely Germany and Soviet Union had signed a non-aggression pact making way for Polish partition between two of them. All efforts to reach an understanding between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and France on the other had proved fruitless. In fact, secret negotiations were being simultaneously carried on between the Soviet Union and Germany and also between Britain and Germany. Britain and France took Soviet Union for granted and did not bother to conclude a military alliance with the latter. This paved the way for Soviet-German non-aggression pact and German attack on Poland.

A few months before the outbreak of World War II, both Britain and France had given guarantees to Poland assuring that in case of an aggression on it, they would provide her all possible assistance. When all attempts to avoid war and protect Poland had failed and Germany invaded Poland, Britain and France declared a war on Germany on September 3, 1939. Soon afterwards, many other countries too declared war on

Germany. Japan had launched aggression against China, but did not declare war either on the Soviet Union or, for some time, on the USA. Italy remained neutral in the war for some time, but finally joined the war on the side of Germany in June 1940. After Germany had won decisive victories against several countries in Europe, it waged a war against the Soviet Union also on June 22, 1941. This brought USSR into the Allied Camp. With the Japanese bombardment of Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941 the United States finally entered the war. The War was fought between the Allies (Britain, France, Soviet Union, USA and their friends) on the one side and the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) on the other.

The War ended in the unconditional surrender of Italy, Germany and Japan in that order.

In this unit you will read about the circumstances under which World War II broke out and the factors responsible for the war. You will also read about the consequences of this most destructive war in the history of the world. Military activities and details of various battles are not our concern in this Unit. We will conclude the unit with a reference to the attempts made after the war for the conclusion of the peace treaties with the defeated powers. We will also discuss how some of the erstwhile big powers lost their power, and how the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two Super Powers.

## 6.2 CAUSES AND OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II

You have read about World War II that broke out in September 1939 after German attack on Poland, and consequent declaration of war by Britain and France against Germany. This gives the impression that the war was caused by the Polish dispute. This is partly true. Polish problem was indeed the immediate cause of the war, but there were many other reasons that created the situation in which war became unavoidable. Let us briefly discuss all the distant as well as immediate causes of the War.

### Treaty of Versailles

An attempt was made in Paris Peace Conference, held after the First World War, in 1919 to establish an ideal world order based on justice, peace and disarmament. But, what finally emerged in the shape of treaty of Versailles was a dictated treaty of peace imposed upon Germany. The victor participants lacked sincerity of purpose. France was out to settle an old score—its 1871 defeat and humiliation at the hands of Germany.

Normal courtesies expected by the representatives of a sovereign country were not extended to Germany. The peace conference had begun in January 1919. The treaty of peace was drafted by Allies without any negotiation with the defeated Germany. On May 7, 1919 Germany was given the draft treaty for its suggestions to be given in writing within three weeks. The announcement of terms of the treaty resulted in a fierce outburst of resentment in Germany. Germany denied that it alone was responsible for the war. Germany raised many objections and suggested modifications but, except for one modification, all the objections were brushed aside and finally, Germany was made to sign the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. Germans called it a “diktat”, and could not bear this insult and humiliation.

Germany was deprived of all her overseas colonies, and even in Europe her size stood substantially reduced. Poland, France, Belgium had others gained at her cost. Her army and navy were severely curtailed. She was told not to have any air force. Germany was declared guilty of war crimes and made to promise to pay a massive amount of reparation to the victors. Treaty of Versailles mutilated and humiliated Germany. Twenty years later, it was the turn of Germany to take revenge. Hitler had came on the centre stage, led his proud people to avenge their humiliation and thus paved the way for the Second World War.

### Failure of Collective Security System

Collective security system was a noteworthy ideal the world leaders had pledged at the end of the First World War. Providing security collectively to the victim of an international aggression was its aim. Thus, Covenant of the League of Nations provided

that in case of an aggression, members of the League, by their collective action, would compel the aggressor to withdraw. This collective action could either be in the form of economic sanctions against the aggressor, or military support to the victim of aggression or both.

During the inter-war years it was, however, proved that the League was an ineffective organisation in respect of a big power if the latter decided to wage of a war against, or annex, a small country. In 1931, Japan committed an aggression against China and by early 1932, managed to conquer Manchuria province of that country. Japan very cleverly kept on telling the League that her action in Manchuria was in self-defence i.e. (protecting life and property of the Japanese in Manchuria, and only a police action not aggression). Japan, a permanent member of the League, forged ahead to establish a puppet Manchukuo regime in Manchuria. When the League asked member nations not to recognise Manchukuo, Japan left the League but retained control on the conquered territory.

Later, in 1935 Italy waged a war against Abyssinia, defeated her, and in May 1936 formally annexed that country into Italian Empire. The League tried to enforce collective security system, declared Italy an aggressor and clamped economic sanctions. All this was of no avail as no military action was taken against Italy who was also a big power and permanent member of the League Council. Similarly, no action was taken by a weak League of Nations against Germany when she repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1935) and the freely negotiated Locarno Pact remilitarised Rhineland (1936), when annexed Austria (1938) and dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of the World War-II.

#### **Failure of Disarmament**

It was agreed at the Paris Peace Conference that world peace could be ensured only if nations reduced their armaments to a point consistent with their domestic safety or defence. That means all weapons of offensive nature were to be destroyed. The task of preparing a plan for reduction of armaments was entrusted to the League of Nations. The League appointed Temporary Mixed Commission in 1920 which however could not do any substantial work because France insisted on security before disarmament. In 1925 Preparatory Commission was constituted. Due to divergent views of nations that mattered, it could not identify offensive weapons. Finally, without much preparatory work a Disarmament Conference met at Geneva in February 1932. Once again mutual distrust and suspicion led to the failure of Conference, after protracted negotiations.

Germany had been disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles. Victor nations were to disarm later. They, however, never really wanted to disarm. Therefore, in October 1933 Germany declared that she was leaving both the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. Later in 1935 Germany formally declared that she was no more bound by the military or disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Other countries were already in possession of large quantities of armaments and big armed forces. German decision heralded a massive armament race which led to an armed conflict. The failure of disarmament became yet another major cause of Second World War.

#### **World Economic Crisis**

World economic crisis began in 1929 with sudden stoppage of loans by the American financial houses to the European countries. Many of them, particularly Germany, were making rapid industrial progress mostly with the borrowed American money. The crisis had its sever impact during 1930-32. It adversely affected economies of most countries either directly or indirectly. Germany proved to be the worst affected country where nearly 700,000 people were rendered jobless. It was forced to declare that it would not make any more payment of reparation. Out of the economic crisis of Germany emerged Nazi dictatorship of Adolf Hitler. He became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, but soon destroyed democracy and established his dictatorship. Meanwhile, even England had to take some harsh measures like abandoning the gold standard. Germany, Japan and Italy took advantage of this economic crisis and separately embarked upon aggressive designs. They set up their Fascist Bloc which become largely responsible for the Second World War.

**Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis**

On the eve of the First World War, Europe was divided into two hostile camps. The same process was once again repeated with the formation of an alliance of Germany, Japan and Italy. It was concluded through the Anti-Comintern pact during 1936-37. This combination of fascist powers generally called Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was aimed at imperialist expansion. They glorified war, and openly denounced peaceful settlement of disputes. They bullied western countries and victimised weaker nations like China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Poland. Their war-like acts and aggressions though noticed, yet went unpunished. Alarmed at the conduct of Axis powers, England and France came closer to each other and an unsuccessful attempt was made at the formation of an Anglo-French-Soviet Front. Although France and Soviet Union had an alliance, yet in their desire to appease Hitler, France and England ignored Soviet Union and when Stalin wanted a military pact between three non-Fascist powers they took it easy. Soviet Union became suspicious and surprised the world by signing the non-aggression pact with Germany. This directly cleared the way for German attack on Poland which led to the outbreak of the Second World War. While Soviet Union also invaded Poland, England and France declared war on Germany.

**The Problem of National Minorities**

Peace settlement after the First World War had resulted in the formation of new nation-states in Europe, with large national minorities left behind uncared for. President Wilson of the United States had advocated the principle of self-determination. But on account of various strategic considerations this principle could not be properly implemented. Thus, for example, large German minorities found themselves in the company of non-Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

There were Russian minorities in Poland and Rumania; and even after the Minority Treaties were concluded after the Paris Conference, about 750,000 Germans were under foreign rule. Hitler exploited the situation and in the name of denial of rights to German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and prepared for aggression. He annexed Austria, destroyed and dismembered Czechoslovakia and finally invaded Poland. Thus, the problem of minorities became an important issue and a major excuse for the war.

**Appeasement by Britain and France**

Foreign Policy based on appeasement of Nazi-Fascist dictators turned out to be a major cause of the Second World War. After the First World War there appeared a rift in the policies of Britain and France. Balance of power had always been the cornerstone of the British foreign policy. Britain feared that a very powerful France would disturb the balance of power in Europe. Hence, it helped Germany against France in the inter-war years. Once Hitler came to power in Germany and Italy became an ally of the Nazi dictator, Britain quickly moved closer to France who badly needed British assistance against a hostile Germany. After 1933, French foreign policy virtually became an extension of British foreign policy. Britain was worried about growing influence of Communism. Not only the Soviet Union had to be effectively challenged, but so-called popular Fronts in France and Spain had also to be destroyed. With this objective in view, Britain adopted the policy of appeasement towards Hitler and Mussolini. France soon followed suit. Appeasement was started by Baldwin but vigorously pursued by Neville Chamberlain in 1938. Anglo-French desire to help Mussolini during the Abyssinian War, while maintaining support of League efforts, their virtual surrender to Hitler at the Munich Conference, and their inability to protect weaker nations like Austria and Albania were clear evidence of Anglo-French weakness and this prepared the ground for the War.

**German Attack on Poland**

The apparent and immediate cause of the war was German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. Earlier, when all attempts at Anglo-French alliance with the Soviet Union had failed, Hitler entered into a non-aggression pact with Stalin. This was most unexpected, as for several years, only hatred had existed between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Now, keen to partition off Poland between themselves, Germany and Soviet Union signed the pact not to wage war against each other. Yet, as events turned

out, the pact was called by its critics as "simple aggression pact against Poland". In a secret pact, which emerged only in 1945, the two countries had resolved to divide Eastern Europe into their spheres on September 1, 1939. As you know, England and France and already assured Poland of their help in case of an invasion. They kept their word and declared war on Germany. While Germany invaded Poland in the west, Soviet troops moved into Poland from the east on September 17-18, 1939. Poland was divided between Germany and Soviet Union by the Soviet-German Frontier and Friendship treaty of 28 September 1939. Meanwhile, many other countries had also declared war on Germany, though these were symbolic declarations as even France and Britain were still busy making preparations for war, while Poland was being destroyed.

### 6.2.1 The War Begins

Poland, as we have seen above, became the immediate cause of the War. On March 23, 1939 German troops had quietly occupied Memel (a German city under Lithuanian sovereignty) after Hitler had asked Lithuania to surrender it. On the same day German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop called Polish Ambassador and dictated to him terms that Germany would like to impose upon Poland. He demanded that Danzig (which had already been Nazified) should be returned to Germany, and an east-west highway and rail-link across the Polish corridor may be allowed so that East Prussia could be directly linked with Germany. This virtually meant a corridor across a corridor. Hitler, however, was calculating repeat of another Munich mistake by Britain which did not take place. Prime Minister Chamberlain announced unequivocally British guarantees to Poland. Later, when Italy invaded and annexed Albania (7 April), Britain gave similar guarantees to Greece and Rumania. France followed Britain in announcing conscription. Hitler retaliated on the next day and repudiated the Polish-German non-aggression pact of 1934 and Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935.

The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed by Germany and Japan in November 1936 and, a year later, Italy too joined. Thus, Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis represented three countries determination to liquidate world communism. It was, in fact, an alliance against the Soviet Union.

By August 1939 Hitler was prepared to settle the Polish issue on his own terms. However, he was on the lookout for a plausible pretext. He got the arms of (an otherwise determined) Britain diplomatically twisted when Hitler agreed to have direct negotiations with Poland on Danzign issue. Hitler asked Britain, through its Ambassador in Berlin on August 29, 1939 to arrange a Polish delegation, so as to reach Berlin the next day, fully empowered to negotiate and conclude agreement with the Germans. This was most unusual demand. Normally, international negotiations take a lot of time to begin. In any case, formal proposals are first sent through diplomatic means before inviting of foreign delegation. It is clear that Hitler had no desire for peaceful solution. Since a Polish delegation could not obviously arrive on August 30, Germany closed all doors for negotiation. This gave Hitler the much awaited pretext for the planned invasion of Poland. The war broke out early in the morning of September 1, 1939 when German troops invaded Poland. England and France delclared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. On 18 September Soviet Union also invaded Poland, but neither Italy nor the United States entered the war for sometime. Meanwhile England and other allies were already on war, yet attempts were still on for some solution. But Germany was determined for a full-fledged war.

### 6.2.2 USA and USSR become Allies

When the war began, Germany and Italy were political allies, but Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact disappointed Mussolini. Italy did not enter the war till June 1940. Then, as France was on the verge of defeat and surrender, Italy joined the war on the side of Germany against France and the Allies. Soviet Union did not join the war, but was helping Germany by invading Poland. She later attacked Finland and was expelled from the membership League of Nations. Stalin continued to trust Hitler until the Nazi dictator had defeated most European neighbours and attacked Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. Meanwhile, Stalin had coerced three Baltic Nations, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, to join the Soviet Union as its Union Republics. They lost their independence as Stalin told their leaders that if they refused to join USSR, they would be ruined by Germany.

Soviet Union had also dictated terms to Rumania and recovered Bessarabia and Bukovina from it. Thus, by mid-1941 Soviet Union was busy collecting war gains without being in the war.

Hitler had secured French surrender in June 1940. But Hitler was not so lucky where Spain was concerned. General Franco keeps his country out of war. Since it was being fought by Hitler in association with Stalin, Spain remained neutral throughout the war.

Public opinion in the United States was overwhelmingly opposed to being drawn into the war. In 1937, US Congress had passed the Neutrality Act which also prohibited sale of armaments in a future war. When the war actually broke out and Germany started bombing and destroying western democracies, Americans began weakening their neutrality stance. Cash and Carry Act was passed in November 1939, permitting countries at war to buy American weapons provided they paid cash and carried them in their own ships. When the war reached a crucial stage, Lend-Lease Act was passed in March 1941. It allowed the President to sell, exchange, end lease or otherwise dispose off any defence article. Thus, US began supplying armaments to friendly countries such as Britain and China. Three months later when Soviet Union was attacked by Germany she was also covered by the Lend-Lease Act.

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939 had been designed by Hitler to keep Soviet Union in the dark about his actual intentions. As soon as Germany had defeated her enemies on the European continent, it began preparing for invasion of the Soviet Union itself. But, Stalin remained convinced that Hitler would not attack Soviet Union. Everyone had warned Stalin of Nazi attack—Churchill, American Embassy and Stalin's own men in Tokyo. But Stalin refused to listen till 22 June 1941 when Germany actually launched the attack on Soviet Union. Stalin was stunned at this and Soviet Union sought allied assistance. Britain accepted Soviet Union into the Allied camp. In July, London and Moscow signed a military pact.

When Soviet Union was facing a devastating war, United States was forced to enter the war in December 1941, when Japan attacked its naval base in Pearl Harbour. American relations with Japan were never cordial. Japanese assets in America were already frozen. In August 1941 the United States had announced that any Japanese action against Thailand would cause her grave concern. Unsuccessful attempts were made for a meeting between us President Roosevelt and Japanese Prime Minister Kono in September. In October Kono resigned and General Tojo became the Prime Minister of Japan. He openly encouraged conflict. In November, Britain had promised to declare war on Japan if United States became involved in a war with that country. Tension was building up rapidly and war appeared imminent. On 6 December 1941 President Roosevelt made a personal request to the Japanese Emperor for help in maintaining peace. Rather than peace, America got Japanese bombardment next day. On December 7, 1941 early in the morning large American navel fleet based at Pearl Harbour (Hawaii Islands) was heavily bombed by the Japanese. A few hours later, Japan declared war "on the United States of America and the British Empire". On December 11, both Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The war thus became global.

### **Check Your Progress 1**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe any two major causes of the Second World War.

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- 2) Sum up the out break of World War II.

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## 6.3 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

Since we are dealing with World War II as one unit, we may very briefly refer here to the collapse and defeat of the Anxis powers—Italy, Germany and Japan. Details of battles and victories and defeats are not our concern in this unit. But we may mention in brief how the three Axis Powers were defeated and the Allies finally emerged Victories.

### 6.3.1 Defeat of Italy and Germany

The two European Fascist Powers had conquered most of the countries on the Continent. Britain was under constant attack, and large parts of the Soviet Union including the three Baltic Republics had been overrun by the Germans. In 1943 the Allies decided to launch offensive against the Axis by liquidating Italian Empire in Africa. This objective was achieved by May 1943. The Italians were disturbed and Fascist structure gave signs of cracking. The Allies decided on "Operation Hugky" to start Italian invasion through Sicily. It was not an all-out effort because the idea was to use Italy as a base to be able to bomb Germany and the Balkans. In July 1943, following heavy air attacks, large number of Italians surrendered in Sicily. Germans could not defend the island. A few days after first attack on Sicily, Mussolini visited Hitler and asked for more German assistance, but was turned down. Mussolini summoned a meeting of Fascist Grand Council which asked the King to take direct command. Only July 25, 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini and appointed Marshal Bodolio to head new government. Mussolini was arrested. Italy finally surrendered unconditionally on September 3, 1943. On the same day, however, Germans entered Rome and kept it under their occupation for several months. Allies could capture Rome only on June 4, 1944.

The Allies decided to defeat Germany by opening two fronts against her. From the east, Soviet Union was pushing her out: in the West England, America and their Allies launched attack at Normandy to liberate France. By March 1944, the Axis forces were expelled from most of Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. Soviet soil was cleared of German armies before the year ended. West Front against Germany was opened on June 6, 1944. It began from English Channel, and for this purpose 150,000 American soldiers were transported every month.

Allied forces liberated France and entered Germany on September 11, 1944—ninety seven days after their invasion. Immediately afterwards Hitler's air force began massive bombardment of London which continued till early 1945. As Germans began to be defeated, conspiracies were hatched to eliminate Hitler. The final assault on Germany was planned at Yalta Conference in February 1945. All round offensive was begun against Germany by the British, Canadian, French and the Americans. Meanwhile, the Soviet Offensive was continuing unabated. The fighting was most fierce at the German Chancellory in whose underground defences Hitler had set up his last headquarters. When everything was lost, the Nazi dictator, who was once dreaming of ruling over the entire world, committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Hitler had nominated Docnitz as his successor, but he could do nothing to save the country. On May 5, 1945 German commanders in North East Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark surrendered unconditionally. Nazi forces in Austria surrendered next day. Finally on May 7, Docnitz Government (of Germany) surrendered unconditionally "all land, sea and air forces of the Reich". The war in Europe was over on May 8, 1945.

### 6.3.2 Defeat of Japan

The Allies were fighting hard for victory against Japan in the Far East. Hence the main responsibility fell on the United States, who was assisted by Britain, China, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand. Allied invasion of Japan was organised with China as the base. MacArthur directed these operations. Two allied campaigns were launched in the autumn of 1944. The one under Lord Mountbatten was aimed at reconquest of Burma. The other, under Gen. MacArthur involved liberation of Philippine Islands. Both the missions were completed by June 1945. Details of these operations are not our concern here. The Potsdam Conference which was meeting to decide the future of the defeated Germany and other related issues gave a call to Japan in July 1945 "to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces.... the alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction". Since the Soviet Union was not yet at war with Japan, she did not sign this declaration. The ultimatum was ignored by the Japanese who continued to fight. At this stage America decided to use the atom bomb and secure Japan's unconditional surrender. On August 6, 1945 American Air force dropped the first ever atom bomb on the important Japanese city Hiroshima and wiped out more than half of the target area. Two days later (August 8), the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, and began offensive in Manchuria and Southern Sakhalin (both were then under Japanese control). Progress of the Soviet troops was swift. On August 9, 1945 a second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, unleashing unprecedent destruction. The next day, Japan sued for peace. Fighting stopped but surrender documents were signed only on September 2, 1945 on board the US battleship *Missouri*. The Second World War finally ended with Japan coming under the American occupation.

The consequences of the war, thus, was the total defeat of the three Axis powers and victory of the Allies. This also meant Victory of democracy and defeat of Fascism and dictatorship.

#### **Check Your Progress 2**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How did the Nazi dictatorship ended in Germany

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- 2) Trace the events leading to unconditional surrender of Japan.

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- 3) Sum up the main consequences of World War II.

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## 6.4 PEACE-MAKING AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR

The conclusion of peace treaties after the Second World War proved to be a very difficult task. After two years of the termination of hostilities, treaties were concluded only with five of the defeated powers. They were Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The treaty of peace with Austria could be concluded only in 1955 and with Japan in 1952. Germany could not be reunited. It remained divided between pro-west Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and Democratic German Republic under the influence of the Soviet Union. Since Germany was not reunited no treaty with Germany as such was ever concluded. Two Germanys were finally united in 1990 into one Germany. We shall briefly deal with the Potsdam Conference and then the peace treaties concluded with other defeated powers.

### 6.4.1 The Potsdam Conference

The Potsdam (Berlin) Conference was held during July-August 1945. Germany had unconditionally surrendered to the allies. Several decisions had been taken at different war-time conferences regarding the future of Germany and of other east European countries. A formal arrangement had now to be made in the light of these decisions. The Potsdam Conference was attended by Stalin, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek and the US President Harry Truman. They were assisted by high powered delegations. The Conference took important decisions regarding the future set up in Germany pending the conclusion of a formal treaty of peace. Preparations were also begun for the signing of peace treaties to be concluded with other defeated powers. Japan was yet to be defeated.

A number of guiding principles were drawn that were to be the bases of peace treaty with Germany. These included 10 political principles, 9 economics principles, 10 principles to regulate the determination of reparation, 6 principles to govern the division of the German navy, and 5 principles of the distribution of the German merchant naval ships. A committee comprising the representatives of four big powers for military control of German Zones was set up. It was also decided that Germany would be disarmed, Nazi organisation and the Nazi laws would be liquidated. The war criminals were to be tried and severely punished. Finally, a democratic government would be established in Germany and rights and liberties of the people would be restored.

Pending the final demarcation of the western borders of Poland, South-eastern Prussia and the areas to the east Rivers order and Neisse would constitute the western parts of that country. It was also agreed that as soon as possible, free and fair democratic elections would be held in Poland.

Potsdam Conference decided that the Allied forces would be immediately withdrawn from Iran. Tanjier was to be declared an international area. No reparation was to be taken from Austria.

The conference took decisions regarding the bases of surrender by Japan. Imperialistic elements would be eliminated and Japan would be disarmed. The war criminals of Japan would be punished. Immediately after her surrender Allied Military Control would be established in Japan and eventually a democratic government would be set up. The sovereignty of Japan would be limited to her four major and a few smaller islands. All foreign territories occupied by Japan before or during the Second World War would be liberated and transferred to the countries where they lawfully belonged.

The conditions spelt out at the Potsdam Conference for the Japanese surrender were not accepted by that country. The United States of America, without taking the Soviet Union into confidence, dropped atom bombs on two of the Japanese cities early in August 1945 compelling her to surrender unconditionally on August 10, 1945. Thus, the Second World War came to an end. The fact that the United States developed and used the atom bomb without the knowledge of the Soviet Union became one the causes that gave birth to the cold war immediately after the hostilities ended the Second World War.

#### 6.4.2 Treaties of Peace

Unlike the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, only a Foreign Ministers meeting took place in London from September 11 to October 3, 1945. By that time serious differences had developed between the western powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. Very little progress could be made in the London Conference, nor could any progress be achieved in the subsequent three meetings. The draft-treaties were prepared in these meetings, to be concluded with five powers—Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Thereafter, a 12-nation Paris Conference was held from July 29 to October 15, 1946. This was followed by other meetings of the Foreign Ministers Committee and the treaties were finally approved by the Committee at New York on December 12, 1946. Finally, these treaties were signed by the Allies on the one side and the five above mentioned defeated powers on the other. Separate treaties were concluded with each of them.

The main provisions of these peace treaties may be briefly mentioned here. The Treaty concluded with Italy deprived her of a number of territories. France, Greece and Yugoslavia gained territories at the cost of Italy. Trieste became an independent port under the charge of a Governor appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations. Albania and Ethiopia regained their independence. Once again they became sovereign states. Italy was deprived of the colonies of Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea. Italian defence forces were considerably reduced and she was required to pay big amount of money as reparation within seven years.

The Rumania Treaty provided for transfer of the provinces of Bessarabia, and Bukovina from Roumania to the Soviet Union and Dobruja to Bulgaria. She was to pay reparation to the Soviet Union and limits were imposed on the strength of its military forces.

Hungary was made to return to Czechoslovakia some of the villages situated to the south of River Danube which she had occupied in 1938. The Province of Transylvania was returned by Hungary to Roumania. She was also required to pay reparation and was disarmed.

Bulgaria did not lose any territory. It actually gained the territory of Dobruja from Roumania. But like others, Bulgaria was also asked to pay reparation and her armed forces were curtailed.

Finland was deprived of several small territories which all went to the Soviet Union. The area of Salla, the province of Petsamo and the Naval Base of Porkkala Udd were given by her to the Soviet Union. Like other defeated powers, reparation was imposed upon Finland also. Its armed forces were considerably curtailed and limited.

These five treaties gave maximum advantage to the Soviet Union. Another country who gained sufficient territory, power and prestige was Yugoslavia who became the most powerful nation in the Balkans and a rival of Italy.

**Austria :** Austria had been occupied by the German army in 1938 and ever since continued as an occupied part of defeated Germany. Austria was treated as a "liberated territory". This Moscow Conference of 1943 had pledged to create a sovereign state of Austria. But, soon after the war, serious differences developed among the Allies. Soviet Union wanted to impose severe economic restrictions on Austria. This was not acceptable to the western powers. The deadlock remained for nearly 10 years. Finally, Austria agreed to declare itself a "neutral" country and to pay some compensation to the Soviet Union. Thereupon, the Soviet Union agreed to separate the Austrian question from the problem of Germany. A peace treaty was signed by Austria on May 15, 1955 whereby it became a "neutral" country.

**Japan :** The cold war and differences between the United States and the Soviet Union delayed the conclusion of peace treaty with Japan. But, unlike Germany and Austria, Japan was under occupation of only the American forces. After the Japanese surrender on August 10, 1945 an interim military administration had been set up by the Americans. The entire authority was vested in the hands of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. General MacArthur was appointed as a Supreme Commander and

Japanese Administrator. A meeting to draw up a peace treaty was convened by the United States at San Francisco in 1951. The meeting was attended by 52 countries. It was attended by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but India and Burma refused to attend it. Some of the proposed terms of peace were not acceptable to India. Even the Soviet Union found it impossible to sign the draft treaty. The treaty drafted under US influence was signed with Japan by 49 countries, on April 28, 1952. A separate peace treaty was signed by India with Japan in June 1952.

The Peace Treaty signed by Japan with the United States and 48 other countries had 27 articles. It recognised the independence of Korea. It may be remembered that Korea had been divided after the war between North Korea (Communist) and South Korea (Liberal Democracy). Japan surrendered her rights over the Islands of Formosa, Sakhalin and Kurile. The Islands of Bonin and Ryukyu (Okinawa) were placed under the American Trusteeship. The Japanese sovereignty was limited to her four principal and a few small islands. Secondly, Japan agreed to give up all her rights to China. Thirdly, Japan accepted responsibility for the war and liability to pay preparation but in view of economic conditions, it was exempted from the payment of reparation. This was done because the Treaty was concluded much after the heat of the war had subsided and because it was now a close ally of the United States. Lastly, it was agreed in principle that the foreign armed forces would be withdrawn from Japan. Nevertheless, in the event of a bilateral agreement between Japan and the United States the American forces could continue to stay—but under a new and voluntary agreement. No limit was imposed on Japan in regard to her armaments.

**Germany :** We have said that Germany was divided into four occupation zones immediately after its surrender. The western powers alleged that, in violation of the understanding earlier reached, Soviet Union was converting its zone of Eastern Germany into a communist state. This hampered not only the unification of Germany but also conclusion of a peace treaty. Nevertheless, both Soviet Union and the Western Powers took a number of unilateral decisions regarding Germany. The first such decision was taken by Britain, and the United States who merged their zones into one on January 1, 1947. Later, France also allowed the merger of her zone with the Unified western zone. Subsequently the three powers decided to set up a free, independent and democratic government in West Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), comprising erstwhile western zones, was formally established on September 21, 1949. The Western Powers formally terminated the 'state of war' with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1951.

Soon after the setting up of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union proceeded to create an independent state of East Germany. It was designated as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and was organised on the Socialist pattern of the USSR. Full sovereignty was granted to the GDR by the Soviet Union by a treaty concluded between them in September 1955—one year after the sovereignty of West Germany was recognised by the western powers. Thus, Germany remained divided into two hostile countries till 1990—one was aligned with the west and had capitalist order and had made very rapid industrial progress, and the other was aligned to the Soviet Union and had her economy based on socialism and her political system patterned on the Soviet Union. The two Germanies—West Germany and East Germany began process of unification in 1989. The United Germany was born only in October 1990.

### Check Your Progress 3

- Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.
- (i) Mention briefly provisions of peace treaty concluded between victors and Italy in 1946.
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- 2) Evaluate the provisions of peace treaty signed by Japan in 1952.

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## 6.5 EMERGENCE OF SUPER POWERS

The concept of Super Power developed only after the Second World War when some of the erstwhile big powers were overtaken in respect of power (capacity to influence the minds and actions of other states) by two countries, namely the United States of America and the Soviet Union. On the eve of the Second World War, British Empire, France, Italy and Japan were among the recognised big powers. When the war ended not only Germany but Italy and Japan were also defeated. As we have seen above, Germany was occupied by four powers and Japan was ruined after the atom bombs attacks. The defeated countries became militarily weak, politically insignificant and economically impoverished. Among the victors, Britain had become so weak that by 1947 it was unable to maintain her troops even in Greece and Turkey for their defence against communism. British Empire could not be sustained. Once India became independent in 1947, the process of decolonisation was accelerated. Britain was still recognised as a big power and occupied a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council, but its strength had considerably diminished. France had been a victim of German occupation until a second front was opened and it was liberated in August, 1944. Although France emerged victorious, and was given a permanent seat in the Security Council, yet for several years after the war, it was far from being a powerful nation. That left only two of the principal victors i.e. the United States and the Soviet Union who gained in military power and political status. Thus, an important consequence of the Second World War was the emergence of these two victors as Super Powers. Even after Britain, France and China became nuclear powers they could not challenge the Super Power status of US and USSR.

### 6.5.1 The United States became a Nuclear Power

Towards the end of the war there was just one country which possessed the potential that no other state had. In July 1945, the Americans exploded, experimentally, the first nuclear device in the history of mankind. In August, they dropped two atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki which broke the resistance of Japan and brought about her unconditional surrender. The World was shocked, and the Soviet Union was disgusted because even when the two were allies in the war, the United States gave no indication of the fact that she was developing an atom bomb. Even when the US decided to use the atom bomb in Japan, the other Allies were kept in the dark till the actual use of it. Japan surrendered unconditionally and the consequent American victory deprived the USSR of "all but a token share in the post-war settlement in the Far East." The Soviet Union was an inferior and weak power for next five years till she developed her own nuclear device in 1949. The Soviet position was quite insecure because the Cold war had begun, for which the West was openly blaming the USSR.

In the growing intensity of the Cold War, nobody knew whether America had a third bomb or not. If the US had a third bomb, or if she could produce one in a short period of time, the Americans could drop it on Moscow and ruin the Soviet Union. This created a strange situation, and as Peter Calvocoressi says: "The USSR no less than the most trivial state, was at the mercy of the Americans if they should be willing to do to Moscow and Leningrad what they had done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki : The Americans perhaps never intended to do any such thing, but it certainly made her more powerful than anyone else. She was the 'Supreme Power' for at least five years.

Besides its nuclear weapons, what had helped America become a Super Power was the fact that no battle ever took place on her territory throughout the period of war. After

the Pearl Harbour, Americans were engaged in an unprecedented war, but the civilian lives and property were left untouched. This gave an added advantage to the Americans because their other Allies in the war had suffered heavy civilian losses also. Britain was heavily bombarded, France was under occupation for four years and the Soviet Union had been target of German invasion till the second front was opened against her.

Until the Soviet Union experimented her nuclear device in 1949, America had the monopoly of nuclear power. Even after 1949, the United States continued to have considerable technological leadership over the USSR both in military and political spheres till 1953. America had world's strongest airforce and a leading navy. The United States and USSR both had about 12 million men each in armed force by the end of the war.

### 6.5.2 Soviet Union's Challenge to the United States

The power base of the Soviet Union was not comparable to that of the United States. The USSR had succeeded in establishing communist regimes in Poland and several other East European countries, which were liberated by its army from the Nazi control. But it did not possess nuclear weapons until testing of first such device in 1949. The USSR had suffered enormous losses during the war. Not only its troops were killed and wounded in large numbers but it had suffered civilian losses also. The Soviet population was reduced by about 20 million people. While steel production in America had increased by 50 per cent during the war, Soviet Steel production had been cut by half. Similar was the situation in agriculture and industry. For example, while the US was producing seven million cars a year, the Soviet production was limited to 65,000 cars a year.

In spite of differences in economic situation of the US and the USSR, the Soviet Union had become number two world power at the end of Second World War. Soviet influence was firmly established in several strategic areas. As Geir Lundestad says, "the country increased its territory considerably: the Baltic countries, Eastern Karelia, and Petsamo, the eastern parts of pre-war Poland and the northern part of East Prussia, Carpathian, Ukraine, Bessarabia, and northern Bukovina, Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands".

The Soviet Union became a nuclear power in 1949 although until 1953 the US maintained clear superiority in areas like delivery system. But, once the USSR became a nuclear weapon state her status improved and she was recognised as a Super Power. The communist revolution in China in 1949 and signing of a 30 year treaty between two communist giants gave a shot in the arm to the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the Second World War, Soviet Union had made an all out effort to overtake the United States in science and technology. It subordinated everything including post-war reconstruction to catching up with the Americans in military technology. Once Soviet Union developed its nuclear power, it became a rival of the United States and the two came to be recognised as the Super Powers. Both led a power block each.

After the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union faced each other directly in different parts of the world. According to Lundestad, "They were the two main actors in the international area; the geographic distance separating them was gone, but the political distance would soon be greater than it had ever been".

#### Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe emergence of the United States as most powerful nation after the Second World War.

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- 2) In what ways did the USSR challenge the US supremacy after 1945?

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- 3) Analyse briefly the emergence of Super Powers after the Second World War.

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## 6.6 LET US SUM UP

World War II broke out when Nazi Germany invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939. Two days later, England and France declared war on Germany. Earlier two arch rivals, Germany and Soviet Union had concluded a Non-Aggression Pact. Critics called it a pact to divide Poland between the two countries. Major causes of the Second World War were the Treaty of Versailles which ended the First World War, humiliated Germany and was regarded by Germans as a 'diktat', and unjust; failure of disarmament which was thought to be sure guarantee of avoiding war; the world economic crisis which encouraged military and aggressive actions in countries like Japan; the creation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, an alliance of three fascist powers determined to destroy existing world order; problem of dissatisfaction of minorities; the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and supported by France to win over the Fascist and Nazi dictators; and finally German attack on Poland that became the immediate cause of the war.

The war began with, a number of countries joined the war on the side of Britain and her allies, but America kept out of it till outstanding disputes led Japan to attack Pearl harbour which forced the United States entry into War as an Ally in December 1941. Soviet Union had invaded Poland and Finland and was expelled from League of Nations. But, ignoring the Non-Aggression Pact, Germany attacked Soviet Union in June 1941. Soviet Union immediately aligned itself with Britain. Meanwhile, Italy had entered the War in June 1940 by declaring War on France and siding with Germany. The Axis suffered their first setback when Italy was attacked in 1943. Mussolini was dismissed by the king and later Italy surrendered unconditionally, although for sometime Rome was occupied by Germans. Soviet Union was fighting against Germany to liberate Eastern Europe. After a second front was opened by UK and USA, Germany not only lost France but was forced to surrender in May 1945. Japan continued to fight in the Pacific till two atom bombs were dropped by American in August 1945 forcing Japan to surrender. Thus the War ended with the defeat of the three fascist powers; and victory of the Allies.

Peace-making efforts after the war proved to be a very difficult task. The Allies had convened the Potsdam Conference (1945) for drawing up peace treaty with Germany. No peace treaty could be concluded with any of the defeated countries immediately after the war. But after prolonged diplomatic activities, peace treaties were concluded with Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland; and later with Austria and Japan. Germany remained occupied for several years and naturally no peace treaty could be concluded for several years.

The most significant outcome of the war was the partition of Germany into four occupation zones. Later three Western Zones became one sovereign country, and in the

east a Soviet-backed government was established. As east European countries were liberated by the Soviet army, they were given communist governments. The cold war began between two power blocs into which the world was divided.

The United States was lucky that no battle was fought on her territory and her civilian losses were negligible. It was the first country to develop and use the atom bomb. Soviet Union acquired this power five years later. As other big Powers had lost much of their capability, the US and USSR emerged as Super Powers and led the two power blocs.

## 6.7 KEY WORDS

<b>Reparation</b>	: The fine imposed on defeated countries to compensate for the damage done to civilian population and property.
<b>Sanctions</b>	: Coercive measures taken against an aggressor or a country defying international law; sanctions may be economic or military.
<b>Axis</b>	: Term used for three Fascist Powers viz. Germany, Italy and Japan who had come together on the eve of the Second World War.
<b>Non-Aggression Pact</b>	: An agreement binding two countries not to wage war against each other for a specific period of time.
<b>Cold War</b>	: A situation of acute tension between two power blocs; but no weapons were used against each other.

## 6.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Langsam, W.C. and Mitchell, **The World Since 1919**, New York, The Macmillan Publishing Co.

Albrecht Carrie, **A Diplomatic History of Europe since the Congress of Vienna**, New York, Marper and Row.

Johnson, Paul, **A History of Modern World from 1917 to the 1980s**, London, Weidenfield and Nicolson.

Dhar, S.N., **International Relations and World Politics, Since 1919**, New Delhi, Kalyani Publisher.

## 6.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Dictated, unfair and unjust Treaty of Versailles; failure of collective security; appeasement by Britain; attack on Poland.
- 2) Failure of Anglo-Soviet negotiations and signing of Soviet German non-aggression Pact paved the way for German attack on Poland in September 1939. Britain and France fulfilled their guarantee given to Poland and declared war on Germany. Soviet Union (June 1941) and U.S.A. (December 1941) were attacked by Axis Powers and they also joined the war.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) U.S. entry in the war strengthened the Allies. Germany was unable to fight on two fronts; USSR liberated east European countries, and Western Europe freed by Britain and U.S.A. Faced with defeat, Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945.

**Cold War Period**

- 2) Allied Victory in Europe left them free to fight and defeat Japan; America dropped two Atom Bombs in August 1945 forcing Japan for unconditional surrender.
- 3) Total defeat of the three Axis Powers and Victory of the Allies, which also meant defeat of fascism and dictatorship and victory of democracy.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) Territorial gains for France, Greece and Yugoslavia; Trieste became independent, Albania and Ethiopia (Abyssinia) regained independence, Armed forces reduced.
- 2) Independence of Korea recognised; Japanese rights in Formosa, Sakhalin and Kurile Island surrendered; all Chinese territory liberated; Japan accepted her responsibility for the war, but was not required to pay any reparation.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- 1) The United States was the first country to have manufactured and used atom bomb; it secured Japanese surrender; earlier U.S. role was largely responsible for defeat of Germany and Italy. No battle was fought in US territory. In 1945, USA had the world's strongest airforce and a leading navy.
- 2) U.S.S.R. even before acquiring nuclear weapons, had become second most powerful country. Its army established communist regimes in Poland and other East European countries. Its ideological thrust was a challenge of U.S.A.
- 3) The U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. both were much better placed than other victors. US suffered negligible civilian losses, USSR's vast territory and ideological commitment gave it advantage. US led capitalist world, and the USSR became the rallying point of world communism.

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# **UNIT 7 COLD WAR : MEANING, PATTERNS AND DIMENSIONS**

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## **Structure**

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Meaning
- 7.3 Origin
- 7.4 Spread of the Cold War
- 7.5 Cold War in the Far East
- 7.6 Relaxation of the Cold War
- 7.7 The Rebirth of the Cold War
- 7.8 Patterns and Dimensions
- 7.9 End of the Cold War
- 7.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.11 Key Words
- 7.12 Some Useful Books
- 7.13 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## **7.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This unit discusses the Cold War, its meaning and dimensions. After going through the Unit you will be able to:

- define the concept of the Cold War;
- trace the origin of this non-military conflict;
- understand the pattern and dimensions of the Cold War;
- identify the causes for the demise of the Cold War; and
- assess the impact and aftermath of the Cold War.

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## **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The First World War (1914-18) ended with the birth of a new system, the socialist system in the world. The war also sowed the seeds of another world war. These two developments have conditioned the subsequent decades in a big way. In 1939 the Second World War broke out. The Second World War was fought between the two blocs—the Allied powers and the Axis powers. The socialist bloc joined the Allies. The Allies won the war. The war ended with the destruction of the old capitalist imperialist dominated world. The world now was divided into two blocs—Western or capitalist bloc, headed by the neo-colonialist power, the United States of America (USA) and the Socialist bloc headed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The USA and the USSR emerged as the two super powers. Two blocs represented two contradictory systems. Conflict between them was inevitable. The conflict was turned into Cold War because the world meanwhile experienced a qualitative change.

At the end of the Second World War, a world body named United Organisation (UN) was founded to make the world safe for peace. The two superpowers acquired highly sophisticated destructive weapons. Europe became dependent upon the USA. Decolonialization became the reality. Above all world public opinion disfavoured any world wide holocaust. But these developments failed to stop the local or civil wars in different countries and to refrain the two superpowers from tension ridden competition for establishing supremacy over the world. The hostile competition turned into Cold War.

## 7.2 MEANING

The term "Cold War" is of recent origin. It has been in use since the Second World War for denoting the non-military hostility between the United States of America (USA) and the former Soviet Union. In course of time it has been used as a concept in international relations. The term Cold War means a state of hostility between nations without actual fighting (i.e. non-military hostility). The concept stands for struggle for supremacy waged by the nations or states through propaganda, economic measures, political manoeuvres, etc. Nations or states, engaged in Cold War do not go for actual war (military action). It is a state of cut-throat competition, but the competing parties remain far away from armed conflict between them. It was a conflict between two ideologies : Capitalism vs. Socialism.

### Check Your Progress 1

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What do you mean by the term of Cold War?

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## 7.3 ORIGIN

The origin of the Cold War may be traced back to the 1917 Russian Revolution, which gave birth to a new system. The system came to be known as socialist system, opposed to exploitative capitalist system. Whole of the capitalist world got terror stricken and rallied to crush the new state of the USSR, failing to destroy it they encouraged the emergence of the Nazi power in Germany, so that it might be used against the USSR. The USSR made serious efforts to get the Western powers involved in checking the rapid rise of Nazi Germany. But the Western powers did not respond to the USSR's call. Meanwhile the Second World War broke out in 1939. Germany attacked the USSR violating the non-aggression pact between them. The USSR joined the Allied powers and made great contribution to defeat the Axis powers. Despite its sincere efforts to crush the Axis powers, the West always looked at the USSR with deep suspicion. The West is alleged to have desired the end of the USSR in the process of fighting against the Nazi led Axis powers. That is why perhaps the Allies did not respond to the USSR's repeated appeal for opening second front in the Eastern Europe against Germany. After the war the Allies did not hide their fear and hatred towards the USSR which now emerged as one of the superpowers in the world. The USA emerged as another superpower at the end of the Second World War. the Wartime Allies including the USSR founded the world body the United Nations (UN) to make the planet safe for peace. But they failed to forestall the local wars because the UN does not have the necessary powers to compell the super or major powers to keep away from encouraging conflicts. As a result they went on their own ways. They have organised their rival defense organisations, and have gone on reacting to each crisis as per their respective interests. They either have used the world body or have ignored it. The world thus drifted towards the Cold War in the wake of the Second World War.

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
- ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Critically discuss the circumstances leading to the beginning of the Cold War.

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## **7.4 SPREAD OF THE COLD WAR**

Russia (USSR) assumed a sum of \$ 10 billion indemnity from Germany following the Second World War. The USA and Britain violating the decision of the July 1945 Potsdam Conference stopped the delivery of the reparations to Russia. It created a crisis which has come to be known as German Crisis. In order to overcome the crisis the big four powers, Russia, France, Britain and the USA met in a Conference in early 1947. The USA and Britain insisted the economic Unification of Germany. France and Russia opposed the proposal. The Conference ended without resolving the crisis. Meanwhile the USA violating all norms intervened the Greek Civil War in March 1947. President Truman of the USA delivered a speech to the US Congress on 12th March, 1947 to justify the intervention in Greece and asked the Congress to provide authority for financial assistance to Greece and Turkey for suppressing the Communist led Civil War in those countries. The principles which Truman elaborated in the Congress have come to be known as Truman Doctrine, the essence of which is that the USA has the right to intervene anywhere to check the spread of the Communism. The Truman Doctrine is the naked manifestation of Cold War. The Cold War further was deepened in early 1950s. In December 1951 the USA came forward with European recovery programme, which is commonly known as the Marshall plan and is often interpreted as the economic counterpart of the Truman Doctrine which was basically political. Though, the USA declared that the plan aimed at reconstructing the War-torn Europe, it was generally called an attempt to protect Europe from being taken over by the Communists. Because throughout Europe there was a surge of Communist movements immediately after the Second World War. All West European states readily accepted the US assistance under Marshall Plan. The East European nations are alleged to have refused to accept the assistance because of the USSR machinations. The USSR immediately founded the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), commonly known as Molotov Plan. Thus Europe got divided into two blocs which were further formalised when the defensive treaties were signed.

The surge of Communist movements throughout Europe, coupled with the growing tension between the USA and the USSR led the USA to propose a defensive alliance with the Western powers. Thus, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in April, 1949 to found North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The signatories of the Treaty were the USA, Canada, France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland and Norway. Subsequently Greece, Turkey and West Germany joined the treaty which provided that an armed attack against one or more of the signatories in Europe, and North America would be considered an attack against the all signatories. In response to the NATO, USSR got together the former East European socialist states into Warsaw Pact. Its terms and conditions were similar to that of the NATO. These developments (i.e. division of Europe into two economic and military blocs) deepened the Cold War.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Write short notes on :

- a) German Crisis
- b) Truman Doctrine
- c) The Marshall Plan
- d) NATO

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## 7.5 COLD WAR IN THE FAR EAST

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The Cold War, although originated in Europe, did not remain confined there. Cold War spread over the Far East immediately after Europe. In China Communist Revolution became successful in 1949. Chiang Kai Shek though got full support from the USA, failed to withstand the Communist attack. The Communists inflicted a crushing defeat to Chiang's unpopular nationalist forces and drove them away from the mainland China. The success of the Communists in China was a great set back for the USA which had been following the policy of containment of communism world over. The USA along with its Western allies signed the peace treaty with Japan, much to the chagrin of the USSR. The treaty reduced Japan to almost a dependent of the USA, and made Japan the main US base in the Far East. The US military base in Japan is maintained by a massive financial support provided by the Japanese government: Japan meets almost 70% of the expenses incurred in the maintenance of the U.S. military bases and Korea was liberated by the Allies from Japan's occupation. The communist led army consolidated its position in North Korea and the anti-communist, pro-west forces, captured South Korea. In 1950, a civil war between North Korea (supported by China) and South Korea (supported by the U.S.) broke out. The country was divided along the 38th parallel and reached to the Yalu river which separates China from Korea. Now China backed by the USSR joined the fray in support of the communists. Immediately the North Korean army drove away the invaders. The war, however, continued for another two years. In July 1953 an armistice agreement was signed and the war ended but the tension over the Korean issue between the two superpowers continues even now.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Critically discuss how the Cold War spread over the Far East.
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## 7.6 RELAXATION OF THE COLD WAR

In 1952 Dwight Eisenhower was installed in power replacing Harry S. Truman in the USA. Disregarding the Truman Doctrine, he adopted necessary effective steps to end the Korean war. In April 1953 Joseph Stalin died. He was succeeded by more liberal and young leaders in the USSR. To some extent they liberalised both domestic and foreign policies of the USSR. Meanwhile the USSR gained the capability of making the hydrogen bomb which was nearly 800 times more powerful than the atomic bomb used on Hiroshima. With the gaining of the capability of H-bomb, the USSR obtained parity with the USA. Now the world leaders got frightened and started feeling more comfortable in peace than in war.

Many analysts feel that had there been no H-bomb with the two superpowers, some of the explosive situations that arose in subsequent years, would have exploded into actual wars between the superpowers. They cite the Cuban crisis as an example. In early 1960s a crisis situation developed in Cuba after the installation of the communists in power. A communist Cuba was considered to be the sword of Damocles pointed at the heart of the USA. The US wanted to crush the infant communist state at its door step. But the prompt action, taken by the USSR by sending missiles for the protection of Cuba, softened the aggressive mood of the USA. The crisis brought the two powers on the brink of war but the war, however, did not break out. The US relaxed its attitude towards Cuba, the USSR withdrew the missiles. Thus the Cuban crisis ended in peace.

Following the end of the Cuban crisis both superpowers entered into several pacts for limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1963 an agreement was signed for controlling the tests of nuclear weapons known as Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT). In 1967 test of nuclear weapons in the space was prohibited, and also Latin America was declared a nuclear weapons beyond the nations already possessing them was signed in 1968. One agreement of prohibiting emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed and another, prohibiting the use of biological weapons were signed in 1971. In 1972, SALT-I was signed between the U.S. and USSR. It was followed by an interim arms control agreement signed in between the two Moscow in 1974, which subsequently was converted into SALT-II in 1978. These agreements collectively decreased the tension of the Cold War.

Meanwhile Europe has restored itself from the Wartime destruction. The resurgent Europe began to compete with the US economy. France under Charles De-Gaulle declined to remain dependent upon the USA. Germany also recovered quickly. The monolithic international communist movement faced split. China and the USSR plunged into a kind of Cold War. these developments also greatly aided to relax the Cold War.

### Check Your Progress 5

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Mention the factors responsible for the relaxation of the Cold War.
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## 7.7 THE REBIRTH OF THE COLD WAR

In late 1970s Afghanistan experienced a sort of revolution. A communist government was installed in power. But anti-communist force in collaboration with the religious fundamentalist forces opposed the new government. As a result Afghanistan soon plunged into an ending civil War. In this civil war the USA supported the anti-communists and the fundamentalists via Pakistan. The communist government in order to stem the tide of the civil war sought military and economic aid from the USSR who promptly sent a large contingent of armed forces and other military and economic aid in December 1979. The USA termed the presence of USSR army in Afghanistan as an invasion. The US attitude thus sensitized the already strained USA-USSR relations. The new conflict between the two super powers has been termed as the rebirth or the beginning of the new Cold War. The Cold War further deepened when in Poland martial law was imposed in 1981 to quell the pro-democracy unrest. The USA termed the action as the USSR intervention in Poland. The relation between the USA and the USSR reached already a breaking point in 1983 when the USSR shot down a South Korean civilian airliner which was alleged to be on the spy mission. The US condemned the shooting down of the airliner and immediately deployed new intermediate-range missiles in Europe, in retaliation the USSR broke off arms talks with the USA. The USA meanwhile invaded Grenada in 1983, launched invisible war against the popular Sandista government in Nicaragua and pushed ahead the development of the Strategic Defensive Initiatives (SDI) or star wars. Thus spread the new Cold War through out the world. President Ronald Reagan of the USA adopted a strategy of rolling back of the expanding 'evil empire' of the Soviet Union.

### Check Your Progress 6

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the incidents responsible for the beginning of the new or second Cold War?

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## 7.8 PATTERNS AND DIMENSIONS

World was divided into two blocs during the Cold War period, basically on ideological grounds. Since the Russian Revolution in 1917 which had given birth to a new system in the world, the capitalist and imperialist forces declared invisible war against the new state of the USSR. Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Cold War took birth on the issue of expansion of the communist powers in Europe and other parts of the world. The Communist movement and the national liberation struggle against the age old imperialist rule in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America joined together in many areas. The USA and other imperialist states found it difficult to stem the tide of the emerging liberation struggle duly supported by the international communist movement. They, therefore, developed alliances, encircling the communist world with the aim of containing communism world over.

However, communism was not the lone issue. National interests of the warring states also played significant role in the spreading of Cold War. In the case of China-USSR conflict national interest played significant role. Religion also was an issue. Shina-Sunny issues, Hindu-Muslim issues contributed to develop tension and cold war between Iran-Iraq and India-Pakistan respectively. The Cold War that spread in South Asia between India and Pakistan, has been due to the issues of secularism, democracy and

nationalism. There has almost been an unending conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir Issue. India claims to be a secular democratic state where followers of different religions can live together. Kashmir is considered to be the test ground of Indian secularism.

The Cold War did not remain confined to the superpowers alone. There are several dimensions of the Cold War. In the international arena it was between the two superpowers. In the regional areas, there were also Cold Wars between the regional powers. There was Cold War in 1970s between Iran and Iraq, Cold War burst out between the USSR and China over the border issues. There has been Cold War between India and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan tried military solution of the problem but failed. Then the Cold War has engulfed the region.

Though the period from the end of the Second World War to the disintegration of the USSR is termed as the Cold War era, it was not a continuous phenomenon and the issues were not the same. Cold War disturbed the peace in phases and periodically. The issues were also not the same. First the German crisis was the issue, then the Korean war, the Afghan crisis, US decision to go ahead with the star war programme etc. augmented the process of Cold War.

Thus the pattern and dimensions of the Cold War are varied and multiple.

#### Check Your Progress 7

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Discuss the pattern and dimensions of the Cold War.

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## 7.8 END OF THE COLD WAR

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The depth of the Cold War started to decline in late 1980s. Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of '*Perestroika*' and '*glasnost*' were primarily responsible for the end of the Cold War. The USA and the USSR agreed to dismantle a whole category of nuclear weapons. An agreement known as the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed to that effect. Though the treaty was not fully implemented, it reduced strategic weapons by about 30 per cent. Meanwhile the world began to the less tense. Decade old Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988. The USSR under Gorbachev reversed the old Breznev system. It pulled the troops out from Afghanistan. Vietnam, which had been helping Cambodian government to quell the civil war since late 1970s, withdrew its soldiers from Cambodia. Cuba which had sent army to Angola, brought back the forces. South Africa was forced to accord independence to Namibia. All these developments were positive signs for establishing peace in the world.

But situation started changing with the turn of 1980s and beginning of 1990s. In Central America the popular Sandinista government fell. The economic crisis that had engulfed the Eastern Europe and the USSR in mid 1980s was sought to be overcome by adopting the policies of political liberalization and market economy. The USSR put into effect Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*. Both domestic and foreign policies of the USSR were drastically changed. Consequently communist regimes in Eastern Europe fell one by one. The State of East Germany was eliminated and whole of Germany was united. The infamous Berlin Wall was demolished. And the USSR got disintegrated. The Cold War thus ended with the demise of a superpower. With the disintegration of the USSR, Russia came out losing the status and position of a superpower.

At the ruins of the Cold War the unbridled supremacy of the USA has been established. The world now has become a unipolar one. The Cold War which had continued for more than four decades in one or another form, though kept the world free from any world wide conflict directly involving the two superpowers, failed to stop protracted civil wars or regional wars. During the period of Cold War most of the local or civil wars were the national liberations struggles. The Cold War period saw the decolonization of the world. Afro-Asian and Latin American nations who had so long been suffering from the European colonial rule, achieved independence during the period of Cold War. The end of Cold War has not eliminated the civil or local wars. But now the civil or local wars are no longer national liberation movements. They are mostly fratricidal battles which are being fought for parochial gains.

### Check Your Progress 8

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Account for the causes of the Cold War.

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- 2) What are the characteristics of the post Cold War world?

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## 7.10 LET US SUM UP

Cold War means the non-military conflict. Though it had originated in the wake of the first World War (with the emergence of the socialist system) the fury of the Cold War was being experienced in the post Second World War period. The Cold War having originated in Europe in the late 1940s, spread over other parts of the world in the subsequent decades. Although the ideology remained the basic issue, the non-ideological issues crept over periodically. The Cold War had begun with the foundation of the USSR and declined with the disintegration of the USSR. The Cold War period experienced the decolonization process in the world. The Cold War has now been replaced by a single power domination over the world and rise of certain regions into province. The post Cold War period has been experiencing the civil or local wars over the parochial and ethnic issues where as such wars in Cold War period were over the questions of decolonisation and liberation of the depressed people.

## 7.11 KEY WORDS

<b>Allied Powers</b>	: The states who came together to fight the Fascist Axis powers. The major allied powers were the USA, USSR, Britain, France and China. There were fifty states in this group.
<b>Axis powers</b>	: The fascist powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—constituted the Bloc in which a very few smaller states joined.

<b>Glasnost</b>	: Open politics and multi-party democracy. It is a Russian word.	<b>Cold War : Meaning, Patterns and Dimensions</b>
<b>Perestroika</b>	: It is the Russian term which denotes market economy. It has given greater role to market forces in the Russian economy which had hitherto been planned or controlled economy.	
<b>Star wars</b>	: It is a system to prevent nuclear war by providing the technological inputs and means to knock incoming missiles out of the air before they hit their targets.	

## 7.12 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

L.S. Stavrianous, 1983, **A Global History, The Human Heritage**, New Jersey.

James Lee Ray, 1992, **Global Politics**, New Jersey.

D.F. Fleming, 1961, **The Cold War and Its Origin, 1917-1960**, 2 Vols, Doubleday.

W. La Feber, 1968, **America, Russia and the Cold War**, John Wiley.

## 7.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

(Here points have been identified. For details the student should consult the lesson and the suggested books.)

### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Cold War means non-military conflict. Aggressive competition for supremacy.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) 1917 Russian Revolution.

Second World War

German Crisis

Greek Civil War

Emergence of USSR-led Socialist Bloc

Emergence of neo-colonialism led by the USA.

### Check Your Progress 3

- a) Struggle for the control of Germany by the Superpowers.
- b) US pledge to support anti-communist movements.
- c) Economic aid to keep away the countries from falling to communist rule
- d) Aggressive defensive organisation to contain the forces of communism.

### Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Take over of China by the Communists.

US base in Japan

Korean War

**Check Your Progress 5**

- 1) New leaderships in the USA and USSR. USSR's success in H-bomb. Resurrection of Europe. Split in the monolithic communist market.

**Check Your Progress 6**

- 1) Afghan crisis, shooting down of the Korean civil airliner  
US invisible war in Nicaragua.  
Star war programme of the USA.

**Check Your Progress 7**

- 1) Ideology, periodical Cold Wars, International Cold War.  
Regional Cold War.

**Check Your Progress 8**

- 1) Economic crisis in the Socialist Bloc—liberalization in the USSR—Distintegration of the USSR.
- 2) Single Power (USA) supremacy, civil and local wars over the parochial and ethnic issues.

# **UNIT 8 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT**

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## **Structure**

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Context and Imperatives
- 8.3 The Concept of Non-Alignment
- 8.4 Evolution of the Non-Aligned Movement
- 8.5 Goals and Achievement of the Non-Aligned Movement
- 8.6 Non-Aligned Movement Today
  - 8.6.1 The Debate
  - 8.6.2 The Relevance of Non-alignment
- 8.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.8 Some Useful Books
- 8.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## **8.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the concept of non-alignment and analyse the factors that led to its emergence;
- trace the evolution and functioning of the Non-Aligned Movement; and
- examine the relevance of both non-alignment and the non-aligned movement in a Post Cold War as well as a post Soviet world.

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## **8.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The term ‘non-alignment’ is used to describe the foreign policies of those states that refused to align with either of the two blocs led by the two Superpowers i.e. the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and instead, opted to pursue an independent course of action in international politics. The Non-Aligned Movement (N.A.M.) emerged when individual non-aligned states came together and coordinated their efforts on a common platform. It changed the nature of inter-state relations by enabling the newly independent developing countries to play a significant role in world affairs.

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## **8.2 CONTEXT AND IMPERATIVES**

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Non-alignment emerged within the context of two simultaneous global developments — Afro-Asian resurgence and bipolar world politics.

The reawakening of the nations of Africa and Asia kindled in them the urge for freedom from colonial rule and infused a determination to shape their destinies on their own. This led to the development of a distinct idea of active and independent involvement in world affairs based on one's own perspectives of national and international interests. Therein evolved an independent stand on national and international issues amongst the newly emergent nations.

This Afro-Asian resurgence occurred at a time when the world was divided into two hostile camps, each representing two different ideologies and two socio-economic as well as political systems, and led by the U.S. and erstwhile U.S.S.R. respectively. Each aspired for greater spheres of influence through military alliances with other states. In this context, the independent position of the newly emergent states came to be viewed as non-alignment, as they refused to be allied with either bloc.

The impetus for the non-aligned approach stemmed from many sources. One of the foremost objectives of these states was economic development for which they needed resources in the form of economic assistance as well as increased trade. Non-alignment enabled them to have economic relations with all countries. The second imperative was the need for peace without which there could not be real development. A third source was that their need be secure from global threat perceptions emanating from Cold war politics. Other domestic imperatives also existed which varied from country to country. For example, in the case of India, its internal political plurality, its political processes, its historical role and geographical position were important contributing factors for the emergence of non-alignment.

### 8.3 THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment means the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of the cold war. Non-alignment can be defined as not entering into military alliances with any country, either of the Western bloc led by the U.S. or the communist bloc led by the U.S.S.R. It is an assertion of independence in foreign policy.

Some Western scholars have persistently confused non-alignment with isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralism and non-involvement. Non-alignment is not neutrality. Non-alignment is a political concept, whereas, neutrality is a legal concept. Unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not a law written into the Constitution of the state. Neutrality is a permanent feature of state policy, while non-alignment is not. Further, unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not negative, but is a positive concept. It stands for (a) an active role in world affairs and (b) friendship and cooperation with all countries. It consists of taking an independent position based on the merits of each issue, and, on the requirements of national interest. It is not directed against any ideology but seeks to promote peace and friendship in the world, irrespective of ideological differences.

Non-aligned nations continuously opposed the politics of Cold War confrontations. They underlined the necessity of building peace and "peace areas" in a world of clear bipolarism. Non-alignment was also not a policy based on opportunism which tried to gain advantage by playing one power against another.

#### Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What kind of historical situation led to the development of non-alignment?

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2) Which of the following statements are right or wrong. Mark (✓) or (✗).

- a) The newly independent states chose the path of non-alignment because the consequences of world war-alliance building and armament production threatened these backward economy states with neo-imperialist control. ( )
- b) The attitude of non-alignment is anti-imperialist in nature because it does not allow domination or control of any state from outside. ( )
- c) Yugoslavia did not choose the path of non-alignment because it did not feel threatened by the hegemonic role being played by the Soviet Union. ( )
- d) Non-alignment does not mean equidistance from the two power blocs and it is an attitude which asserts independence in world politics. ( )

## 8.4 EVOLUTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The non-aligned movement evolved out of the concerted efforts of individual non-aligned states to build a common front against the superpower and neo-imperialist domination. Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Gamal Abdal Nassar from Egypt and Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia took the first step in building this movement. Among these first architects Nehru would be specially remembered. His early perception about the rise of neo-imperialism and the consequent insecurity that would be faced by the smaller states, made a major contribution towards building this movement. Nehru believed that the countries of Asia and Africa, should build up an alliance of solidarity to fight neo-imperialism. As a first step he tried to organise an Asian front in the forties. In 1947 he called an Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi. In the fifties as the states of Africa started gaining independence from colonial rule it became necessary to expand the base of this front. In April 1955, therefore, Nehru together with leaders of Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Pakistan convened an Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. Both these Conferences highlight the political and economic insecurity that was threatening the newly independent states at the time. However, Bandung Conference failed to build a homogenous Asian and African front as a number of these States did not agree to conduct their foreign relations under the banner of anti-imperialism. They had either already joined the various Western military alliances or had closely identified their interests with that of the Western Powers. The rift between the two groups was visible at Bandung itself. In the post-Bandung years, thus, it became necessary to build up an identity for the non-aligned states on the basis of principles and not on the basis of region. The effort united these states with Yugoslavia which was similarly looking for a political identity in international affairs. The embryo of the later non-aligned conferences first came into being at Brioni, in Yugoslavia, in June 1956, where Tito conferred with Nehru and Nassar on the possibility of making real the unspoken alliance which bound them together. The efforts finally resulted in the convening of the first non-aligned conference at Belgrade in 1961.

Five basis were determined and applied, for countries to be members of the Non-aligned Movement. Only such countries as fulfilled these conditions were actually invited to the conference. There were :

- a) independent foreign policy, particularly in the context of Cold War politics;
- b) opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;
- c) should not be a member of any of the military blocs;
- d) should not have concluded any bilateral treaty with any of the two superpowers;
- e) should not have allowed military bases on its territory to a superpower, qualified for attendance at the Belgrade summit.

The NAM summit conferences from time to time, have discussed several issues and problems. At the first summit (Belgrade, 1961) 25 countries, who attended it, discussed the situation in Berlin, question of representation of People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Congo Crisis, imperialism as potential threat to world peace, and Apartheid. The Conference expressed full faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. India was represented by Nehru.

The Cairo summit, held in 1964 was attended by 46 countries. The Indian delegation was led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. The conference emphasised the urgent need for disarmament, pleaded for peaceful settlement of all international disputes, urged member-governments not to recognise the white minority government in Rhodesia and reiterated the earlier stand of NAM against apartheid and colonialism. The demand for representation of People's China in the United Nations was also reiterated.

The third summit at Lusaka in 1970 (attended by 52 countries) called for withdrawal of foreign forces from Vietnam and urged the member-states to boycott Israel which was in occupation of certain neighbouring Arab countries territories. It requested governments of member-nations to intensify their struggle against Apartheid and as a part of the struggle, not to allow the fly over facility to the South African aircrafts. The summit resolved to increase economic cooperation. It rejected the proposal to establish a permanent secretariat of the Movement. The Indian delegation was led by Indira Gandhi.

There were signs of detente in Cold War Politics by the time the next summit met at Algiers (1973 attended by 75 countries). It welcomed easing of international tension, supported detente, and repeated NAM's known stand against imperialism and apartheid, and resolved to encourage economic, trade and technical cooperation amongst member-states. The conference demanded a change in the existing international economic order which violated the principle of equality and justice.

In 1976, the Colombo summit was attended by 85 countries. The U.N. General Assembly had given a call for a New International Economic Order in 1974. The NAM at Colombo not only gave whole-hearted support to this demand, but asked for a fundamental change in the world monetary system and form. It was proposed that the Indian ocean be declared a zone of peace.

As there was a caretaker government in India, the then Prime Minister Charan Singh decided to send his foreign minister to represent the country at the sixth summit at Havana (1979). The number of participant rose to 92. Pakistan was admitted to the Movement and Burma (a former member) left the NAM. The Cuban President Fidel Castro described the former U.S.S.R. as a natural friend of the Movement. The summit reiterated the well known position against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. The summit resolved to support freedom struggle in South Africa and to stop oil supply to that country. As Egypt had resolved her differences with Israel, some of the anti-Israel countries sought suspension of Egypt. The summit merely discussed the proposal.

The Seventh Summit (due in 1982 at Baghdad) could not be held in time due to Iran-Iraq War. It was held at New Delhi in 1983 and attended by 101 countries. The New Delhi declaration sought to reiterate the known position of NAM on various issues. It hoped for any early end to the Iran-Iraq War and for liberation of Namibia. However, the conference failed to take any stand on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet occupation was openly supported by Vietnam, S. Yemen, Syria and Ethiopia. It was strongly opposed by Singapore, Nepal, Pakstan, Egypt and Zaire.

The Harare Conference (1986) adopted the Harare declaration and sought greater economic cooperation among its members and North-South cooperation for faster development in the South. The summit gave a call for new International Information and Communication Order to end the western monopoly over news disbursement. In view of likely retaliation by the apartheid regime of South Africa against Frontline countries who were applying sanctions, the NAM decided to set up a fund called Action for Resistance against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid. In abbreviated form it came to be known as the AFRICA Fund.

The 1989 Belgrade Summit was the last one to be held before Yugoslavia disintegrated and at a time when Cold War was just ending. It gave a call against international terrorism, smuggling and drug trafficking. The principle of self-determination was reiterated particularly in the context of South Africa and her continued rule over Namibia.

The tenth conference at Djakarta in 1992 was the first assembly of NAM after the end of Cold War. The summit was at pains to explain that even after the collapse of Soviet Union and end of Cold War, there was utility of the movement as a forum of developing countries struggling against neo-colonialism and all forms of big-power interference. The main issue was preservation of NAM and strengthening its identity as an agency of rapid development for its members in a tension-free world.

The eleventh NAM Summit was held at Cartagena (Colombia) in October, 1995. India was represented by a high-power delegation led by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The summit, second after the end of the Cold War, tried to find its role in the changed circumstances of a world without blocs. An effort was made by Pakistan, at the foreign ministers level, to persuade NAM to evolve a system in which bilateral disputes may be sought to be settled by the movement. This was a clever way of bringing Kashmir on the agenda of NAM. Pakistan did not succeed in its design. An important decision taken by the 113-member NAM summit was to give a call for general and universal disarmament. India won a spectacular victory in its lone battle against the monopoly of the nuclear power countries over atomic weapons. The NAM resolved to take the issue to the United Nations by moving a resolution for the complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. This endorsement of India's position gave encouragement to India's consistent stand against signing the discriminatory Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). The endorsement of India's position on NPT by NAM was all the more significant because 111 out of 113 members of NAM have already signed the NPT. They had earlier in 1995, voted at New York for indefinite extension of the NPT. Pakistan continued to favour a regional nuclear arrangement and did not share India's concern about discriminatory nature of the NPT. Pakistan's view was also accommodated in the final communique which urged states to conclude agreements for creation of nuclear weapon free zones, wherever they did not exist. Pending creation of such zones, Israel was called upon to renounce possession of nuclear weapons, to accede to NPT, and to promptly place all its nuclear abilities under full scope of International Atomic Energy safeguards. This summit also called for total and complete prohibition of the transfer of all nuclear-related equipment, information, material and facilities.

### **Check Your Progress 2**

- Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.  
 ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How did Jawaharlal Nehru contribute to the development of the Non-aligned Movement?

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### **8.5 GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NAM**

A major goal of the Non-aligned Movement was to end colonialism. The conferences of the NAM continuously supported the national liberation movements and the organisations that led those movements were given the status of full members in these conferences. This support greatly facilitated the Decolonization process in Asia and Africa.

It also condemned racial discrimination and injustice and lent full support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Namibia. Today in both countries this obnoxious policy has ended with independence and majority rule.

A third area in which the NAM made a significant contribution was towards the preservation of peace and disarmament. Its espousal of peace, of peaceful co-existence and of human brotherhood, opposition to wars of any kind contributed to the lowering of Cold War tensions and expanded areas of peace in the world with less states joining military blocs. It also continuously strove for disarmament and for an end to the arms race stating that universal peace and security can be assumed only by general and complete disarmament, under effective international control. It underlined that the arms

race blocked scarce resources which ought to be used for socio-economic development. They first called for a permanent moratorium or nuclear testing and later for the conclusion of a treaty banning the development, production stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons.

Fourthly, the non-aligned states succeeded in altering the composition of the U.N. and consequently in changing the tenor of the interstate relation conducted through its organs. In the forties and fifties deliberations in the U.N. organs were entirely dominated by the super power and their associate states. The emergence of non-alignment has changed this situation. It has created not only a new voting majority in the General Assembly but also common platform from where the third world can espouse its cause. It is no longer possible to ignore this platform. Thus we see that non-alignment has facilitated third world's participation in world politics and in the process has democratized the international relations.

The fifty important contribution was with regard to economic equality. It was the NAM that called for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Despite their political sovereignty, the newly independent states remained economically unequal. They remained the same raw materials producing countries, which sold their commodities to the developed world at a lower price, and bought manufactured good from them at a higher price. The tragedy was that they were and continue to be part of an oppressive economic system and that have to function within it. This makes them perpetually dependent on the developed North for capital goods, finance and technology. In order to end this economic exploitation, termed as neocolonialism, the NAM called for a restructuring of the international economic and monetary systems on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and cooperation.

Non-aligned Movement's struggle for economic justice has demonstrated how realistic it is to divide the world between the North and the South rather than between the East and the West. It has proved that what concerns the majority of humanity is not the choice between capitalism and communism but a choice between poverty and prosperity. Preachings of non-alignment has made the developed world realize, to some extent, that deprivation of the third world would some day affect adversely their prosperity too. This has, to a large extent, forced them to come to the negotiating table. Besides the general success in making third world's economic demands negotiable, non-alignment has won its battle for some specific issues also. For example, economic sovereignty over natural resources is now an accepted principle. Non-alignment has also succeeded in legitimizing the interventionist trade policy that the developing countries want to pursue. It has successfully turned world attention to the problem created by the role as played by multinationals, specially in the context of transfer of technology. It has also succeeded in pursuing the IMF to establish system of compensatory finance which help the developing states in overcoming their balance of payments difficulties.

In the cultural field the establishment of the Pool of News Agencies needs to be considered as an achievement. This is the first time in history that politically and economically weaker nations have been able to gather information and communicate with the outside world without the aid of the western communication system.

The most significant achievement of non-aligned movement lies in the fact that it has taught the developing world how to pursue independent economic development in spite of being a part of the world capitalist economic order which makes them dependent on the developed states for capital and technology.

### Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Which one of the following is not a pre-condition for the maintenance of peace that non-aligned movement emphasizes?
  - a) Dissolution of the military blocs.
  - b) Armament

- c) Avoidance of conflict between the super powers.
  - d) Democratisation of interstate relations.
- 2) Which of the following statements are correct?
- a) Political liberation is a kind of self-determination supported by Non-aligned Movement.
  - b) The non-aligned states ask for restructuring of the existing international economic order because colonial exploitation had made them unequal economic partners.
  - c) The Non-aligned Movement does not emphasize of the economic sovereignty of the developing countries.
  - d) Better deal in international trade is an economic demand put forward by the Non-aligned Movement.

## 8.6 NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT TODAY

### 8.6.1 The Debate

According to some scholars, Non-aligned Movement was the product of Cold War and bipolarism. Since the Cold War has ended and the Soviet Union has disintegrated, the NAM has lost its relevance. Whereas some others consider, NAM's work programme which was charted out earlier, has been accomplished. For instance, colonies have gained independence, apartheid has been dismantled, foreign bases have lost their significance, a modest beginning has been made in the nuclear arms reduction and more particularly when alliances have been distintegrating where is the importance for non-alignment? Still there are some others who think that Non-aligned Movement has to be disbanded because of its ineffective performance which became particularly evident after the recent Gulf Crisis.

These critics of non-alignment need to remember that although NAM had emerged as a new additional foreign policy choice in the years of Cold War and the bipolar world, its continued relevance had little to do with either of contexts. It is a mere coincidence that the policy originated and evolved at the time it did. While decolonisation was the central basis of the Non-aligned Movement, the Cold War—or rather the aversion of Cold War bipolarity—only helped the course that the Movement would take in the years to come.

It also needs to be remembered that the end of the Cold War has not made the essence of non-alignment irrelevant. The essence is the right to consider every issue on merit and the right to take whatever action is considered feasible, against what is regarded as a wrong, irrespective of whether that wrong is perpetuated by one power bloc in a unipolar world or by one or both the superpowers in a bipolar world. As Nehru stated in his address to the United Nations in New York “where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral”. To say it in another way, “taking the essence of non-alignment as the assertion of independence in foreign affairs, non-alignment does not become irrelevant at any time. What is perhaps being objected to is the name.”

### 8.6.2 The Relevance of Non-alignment

Today the world is no longer bipolar. But there is also no consensus about the nature of its configuration. Some writers feel that it is unipolar with the U.S. being the sole Super Power. Other writers argue that it is multipolar with the European Union, Japan, Russia and China being important centres of power together with the U.S. Still others have referred to it as “uni-cum-multipolar. Whatever the terminology, that may be used, there is no doubt that the U.S. and the G-7 powers together are in a position to work in concert and manage the rest of the world. There has arisen what has been called the new Northern concert of Powers. Within this global scenario, the practice of non-alignment becomes difficult because there is no longer the space for manoeuvering nor

does there exist the intermediary role. Nevertheless, there is a vital need for its practice, precisely because the developing countries of the South need to assert their independence and act together, if they are not to be totally overwhelmed by the North.

The imperatives for a revitalized Non-aligned Movement springs from many sources.

For the developing countries this multipolarity presents an uncertain, complex and gloomy environment in which there may not be many new opportunities, but increased vulnerability. At present there seems to be no change of the developing countries being able to exploit the differences that are seen among the major economic powers. Of course, the situation may change in the medium or long-term.

The Third World countries are also being pressurised to agree to all the demand of the developed world on the question of opening of markets and intellectual property rights, even though the fact of the matter is that trends towards protectionism are rising in the developed countries at the time when most of the developing countries are seriously reforming their economies and providing for market deregulation. So also is the impression being fostered that the Third World is somehow responsible for environmental pollution when actually it is the wanton wastage of resources by the Northern when actually it is the wanton wastage of resources by the Northern countries that has been the chief source of environmental degradation. The Northern governments are bent upon maintaining their unsustainable production and consumption systems. At the same time, they expect the Southern governments to make all the adjustments and sacrifices necessary to keep the environment safe for the North. Now the prospects of the North imposing sanctions and other punitive measures on the South in the name of environmental protection looms large before us.

Thirdly, there is a tendency on the part of the developed countries to impose stringent restrictions on the transfer of technology to the developing countries. The ever-growing list of items subjected to the so-called dual use restrictions effectively threatens to deprive the developing countries of the fruits of technological progress in many key areas. Such restrictions have come to cover everything from computers to machine tools, to specialised alloys to chemicals and even to medical equipment. They are imposed in the name of preventing proliferation even though the major responsibility for proliferation often rests with the very countries that are imposing the restrictions. This is extremely unfair.

Fourthly, the world continues to be divided into the nuclear 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The nuclear 'haves' seem to be determined to retain their arsenals of the nuclear weapons, albeit on a reduced scale and to prevent others from acquiring such weapons. The irony is that the targets of nuclear weapons are now the countries of the Third World as these are being looked upon as the main threat to the security of the nuclear-weapons powers. Instead of being discarded after the end of the Cold War, deterrence is being retained and honed for being used discriminately against the countries of the Third World. The countries of the Third World are now under tremendous pressure to desist from developing weapons of mass destruction and to reduce their alleged excessive military expenditure.

Fifthly, instead of revitalising multilateralism under the United Nations, the new alliance headed by the United States has successfully mounted an all out campaign to destroy the multilateral character of the world body to alter its agenda and to undermine its functioning to certain areas. Hard-core economic issues like the removal of poverty, developmental plans, trade, money, finance and debt have been taken off the agenda of the United Nations and transferred to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, over which they have greater control and which permit them to use cross-conditionalities and cross-relation. Organisation forming part of the UN family are being held in leash through denial of the finances due to them. And in the UN Security Council, it is the permanent members which, acting in close cooperation, take all the decisions affecting world peace and security.

There are a number of ad hoc discriminatory regimes aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These include regimes for chemical weapons (the Australian Club), nuclear weapons "London Supplier Group" (LSG) and Missiles (the Missile Technology Control Regimes, or MTCR). The lists of dual purpose

technologies, substances and equipment which cannot be exported to the countries of the Third World under these regimes are so extensive as to have the effect of freezing the technological and industrial development of the developing countries in those vital areas. It is also very difficult to judge whether the restrictions applied in any particular case are motivated by the commercial consideration of preventing the country concerned from developing competitive capacity or by the consideration of ensuring non-proliferation. These regimes have no sanction of international law. As they are outside the United Nations and their membership is restricted, they have the effect of undermining multilateralism.

All the Third World countries are facing today the threat of the disintegration of nation-states. The examples are Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Being sure of their own national integrity, which is underpinned by their military power or that of their allies and in view of their own relative political stability and economic prosperity, the countries of the new alliances have started espousing causes and championing principles aimed to encourage fissiparous tendencies in those countries of the Third World where the economic and political situation is far from stable. This may lead to further disintegration of nation-states; recently discovered enthusiasm of the new alliance for self determination use its political and economic leverage to interfere in the affairs of other states in the name of human rights and good governance and the sanctions that it has successfully sought for intervention in other countries on humanitarian grounds—are all pointers in this direction. Sovereignty, of late, has never been absolute, but now it is being subjected to further curtailment and abridgement.

Then, there is a trend at present in the field of trade to resort increasingly to unilateral and bilateral coercive measures as exemplified in the application of the Special and Super 301 of the US Trade and Competitiveness Act, to negotiate reciprocal access to markets and to use cross-retaliation. This practice has not been stopped even after signing the GATT Treaty at Marrakesh by 115 countries including America in April, 1994. Moreover, the attempt by the developed countries to raise new issues not directly linked to trade, such as labour standards, social conditions and environment at the recently concluded GATT Treaty clearly proves that the newly formed world trading system is not likely to serve any better the interests of the developing countries.

The above analysis shows that with the end of the Cold War, the threat to and pressure on the independence of the non-aligned countries have assumed new forms. The present negative trends in the world are contrary to the aims and objectives of the Non-aligned Movements for a just, equitable and democratic world order. None of the NAM countries or group of countries, however, big or rich they may be, can face these new realities alone. Hence, the countries of NAM must continue to stay and act together for common thought and action. But question is how to bell the cat? The answer is: the non-aligned countries can reverse the above negative trends by three important ways:

- a) reforming and strengthening the United Nations;
- b) encouraging South-South Cooperation; and
- c) consolidating the Movement through necessary reforms.

Thus the realities of current global politics make non-alignment equally relevant today for the developing countries of the world as it was during the Cold War period.

However, while Non-alignment continues to be relevant, the role of the Non-aligned Movement in current global affairs has been somewhat declining. The NAM could not first prevent the conflict between two of its members—Iraq and Kuwait and neither could it play an effective role in the subsequent Gulf crises. Nor could it halt the civil war in Yugoslavia, itself an important member.

One of the reasons for its inefficiency is that today the NAM is faced with serious internal problems. Some of these include the membership criteria which is too liberal and often violated, the lack of self discipline amongst its members, the weaknesses in the method of consensus and the absence of any mechanism for monitoring of global events.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- Note :** i) Use the space below for your answers.  
 ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.
- 1) Discuss the achievement of the Non-aligned Movement.

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- 2) Can the Non-aligned Movement serve an useful purpose in future?

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### 8.7 LET US SUM UP

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Non-alignment emerged in the context of two global developments: the national liberation struggles of colonies and the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. leading to two military blocs and alliances. Despite political independence, the new states were economically underdeveloped and vulnerable to new imperialist pressures.

The term non-alignment denotes the perspective of states that wanted to remain outside this system of alliances in order to follow an independent course of action in external policy and relations. The imperatives for non-alignment sprang from economic, political, strategic and indigenous sources.

These states came together on a common platform and formed the Non-aligned Movement. It provided an important forum for the discussion of common problems facing the developing countries of the South and for arriving at Concerted Action to achieve common aims. It upholds principles which seek to promote political and economic justice in the international system. Its achievement were significant. There is debate about the relevance of non-alignment in a world without Cold War or bipolarism. But while the context of Cold War may have changed, the world remains divided into the rich and the poor nations. The developing countries which constitute three-fourth of the worlds population remain only on the periphery of the international system. The policy of non-aligned will remain valid until the system operates on the basis of genuine equality and reciprocity. There is an urgent need to reactivate the Non-aligned Movement in order to work concertedly for a more egalitarian world order.

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### 8.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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Willettes, Peter, 1978: **The Non-Alignment Movement: The Origin of a Third World Alliance**, Popular Prakashan: Bombay.

A. Appadurai & Rajan M.S., 1985: **India's Foreign Policy and Relations.**

Bandopadhyaya, J., 1970 : **The Making of India's Foreign Policy: Determinants, Institutions, Processes, Personalities.**

Rajan, M.S., 1990: **Non-alignment and Non-aligned Movement.**

Rajan, M.S., 1990: **The Future of Non-alignment and Non-aligned Movement.**

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## **8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES**

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### **Check Your Progress 1**

- 1) a) Cold War rivalry encouraged United States to launch a world-wide battle against communism.  
b) In this pursuit it tried to make the Asian states its political allies.  
c) This threatened the freedom of those states.  
d) To protect their freedom these states decided to become non-aligned.
- 2) a) ✓      b) ✓      c) ✗      d) ✓      e) ✗      f) ✓

### **Check Your Progress 2**

- 1) a) First Nehru tried to form an Asian-African front by convening the Asian Relations Conference and the Asian-African Conference.  
b) Later he endeavoured to make this a world-wide front by joining hands with the like-minded countries like Yugoslavia and others.

### **Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) b)
- 2) a)      b)      d)

### **Check Your Progress 4**

- 1) The movement has facilitated decolonisation, increased the chances of securing peace, helped in democratising international relations, made the world recognise the problem of economic justice and has partially won the battle for economic rights; and subverted the cultural imperialism of the West.
- 2) Yes. Since economic division is, and will remain in future, as the most significant division among states, non-aligned movement would be required to perform the important task of fighting for the economic demands of the third world.

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# **UNIT 9 ARMS RACE AND THE NUCLEAR THREAT**

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## **Structure**

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Background to the Nuclear Arms Race
  - 9.2.1 The Beginning : Birth of the Nuclear Arms Race
  - 9.2.2 The Manhattan Project
  - 9.2.3 Rationale for the Arms Race in the Post War Period
- 9.3 The Nuclear Arms Race : How it is different from all the Previous Arms Races in History
  - 9.3.1 The Trinity Test
  - 9.3.2 Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombings
  - 9.3.3 'New York Times' and the Trinity Test
- 9.4 Different Phases of the Nuclear Arms Race in the Post-War Period
  - 9.4.1 Fear of the Soviets and Communism
  - 9.4.2 1945 to 1953 : Period of US Monopoly
  - 9.4.3 1957 to 1968 : Period of 'Missile Crisis' and the ICBM Race
  - 9.4.4 1968 to late 1970s : Period of MIRV and ICBM Race
  - 9.4.5 1981 : Reagan's Strategic Modernization Plan
  - 9.4.6 1983 : Militarization of Space—Reagan's Star War Programme
  - 9.4.7 1984-1991 : Nuclear Arms Race in the Gorbachev Era and the last days of collapsing Soviet Union.
  - 9.4.8 1991 to 1997 : Nuclear Arms Race after the Collapse of Soviet Union
- 9.5 Nuclear Arms Race in the Third World and South Asia
  - 9.5.1 Acquisition of Nuclear Capability by China and start of Arms Race in South Asia
  - 9.5.2 India, Pakistan and the Nuclear Arms Race
  - 9.5.3 'Domino Theory' in South Asia
  - 9.5.4 General Complexion of Arms Race in South Asia
- 9.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.7 Key Words
- 9.8 Some Useful Books
- 9.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

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## **9.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This unit deals with Arms Race and the Nuclear Threat in the present day world. After studying this unit, you will be in a position to:

- understand the background to the nuclear arms race;
- explain how the nuclear arms race is different from all the previous arms races;
- discuss the different phases of the nuclear arms race in the post-war period; and
- examine the nuclear arms race in the Third World and especially in South Asia.

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## **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

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This unit on 'Arms Race and Nuclear Threat' is part of Block 3 which deals with what is called the 'Cold War Period'; i.e., after the Second World War and the emergence of what is termed as Superpower Dominance. In Unit 6—'World War II: Causes and Consequences (Emergence of Super Powers)' you have read about how the USA and the USSR emerged as Superpowers in international politics after the end of the Second World War.

In Unit 7 : 'Cold War: Meaning, Patterns and Dimensions', you have learnt how the collapse of Germany and its allies in 1945 led to the emergence of what has been termed as 'Cold War' between the two main powers of the post-1945 international order

i.e. USA and USSR. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which was dealt with in Unit 8 of this block was a consequence of the cold war power bloc politics.

One thing common to the post-1945 international order as well as the pre-1945 world was the arms race. When studying about World War I and II, you would have surely read about the arms race which was both quantitative and qualitative in character. It would also have been noticed that the arms race in its qualitative dimension in both the world wars was itself one of the greatest causes of the two wars. From the invention of dynamite by Sir Alfred Nobel of the Novel Industries in the First World War period, to the invention of rockets by Germany in the Second World War, it is the search for the ultimate weapon which could win all wars that constituted the greatest push for the arms race. In this madness scientists, nations, people, soldiers, politicians all fell prey and ended up only killing greater and greater number of civilians.

In the present unit, we will concentrate on the arms race in the post-1945 international order. As has been stated before, this quest for a qualitatively more destructive weapon was the greatest motivating factor in bringing the world a step closer to war, be it the First or the Second World War. The key difference in the arms race before 1945 (i.e. in the interwar period) and after 1945 was the nuclear dimension. Prior to 1945, all the arms races in human history never confronted what is now popularly known as the 'Nuclear Threat'. After 1945, the arms race that humanity got engaged in became the greatest living threat to life itself as known on this planet. The difference lies in one single qualitative step in the arms race, and that step was the creation of the Atomic or Nuclear bomb in 1945. Thus, from 1945 the arms race we discuss in this Unit, remained no longer 'conventional' but acquired a nuclear character and from then till today, man is engaged in an arms race that puts both parties who engage in it, under a perpetual 'Nuclear Threat'.

## 9.2 BACKGROUND TO THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

### 9.2.1 The Beginning : Birth of the Nuclear Arms Race

The nuclear arms race between the superpowers began initially in the pre-second world war period between the Germans and the Allied Powers. It was in the context of this conflict prior to the Second World War that in 1938, at the Kaiser William Institute in Germany, Otto Hann and Dr. Fritz Steersman first split the atom. Lise Meitner and Otto Hann later declared this successful splitting of the atom amounting to a nuclear fission. It was a matter of coincidence that at this juncture in history, the greatest minds working on the 'atomic problem' were Jews and that too, German.

Hitler's rapid anti-Semitism during the period sent most of these great minds in Germany rushing to the USA where they were welcomed. These fleeing scientists informed the American military who were closely monitoring events in Europe. There was widespread apprehension that Germany might be the first to produce the nuclear bomb as the knowledge of splitting the atom was already available to it. Albert Einstein too was one of the refugees and he knew fully the significance of this discovery, for it was he who first unlocked the secret power of the atom to the modern world. He warned the President of the United States about it.

### 9.2.2 The Manhatten Project

The Americans under President Roosevelt were fully aware of the international implications and so began the race to build the bomb first. Roosevelt commissioned what was the top secret 'Man Hatten Project', the biggest scientific effort ever made costing 2 billion dollars under Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves to construct the atomic bomb in a record time. Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, Herbert York, Edward Teller, Hans Bethe and a host of other scientific luminaries were involved in the production of the first three nuclear bombs.

The interesting aspect of this bomb construction was that though the initial enemy was Germany, slowly the real enemy for whom the bomb was constructed turned out to be the Soviet Union. In fact, Gen. Leslie Groves stated that he had no illusions that Soviets were the real enemy. This fact is critical to an understanding of the post-1945 world.

### 9.2.3 Rationale for the Arms Race in the Post War Period

Germany, the first nation with whom the US engaged in the N-Arms race surrendered in May 1945 and all its nuclear facilities were destroyed, thus ending the first phase of an incipient nuclear arms race. Despite this the arms race had to continue once the weapons had been built. A new enemy across the horizon was discovered Communist Soviet Union. The fear of communism was ideologically fueling the furious pace of the A-Bomb construction. In that sense the emerging U.S. military-industrial complex was not wrong.

Communist USSR was definitely the biggest power confronting USA and its western allies once Germany collapsed. The world was definitely getting divided into two camps, the capitalist and the socialist and Europe including Germany was its first victims. The Allies could not do anything about it. Something had to be found, a new ultimate weapon which could stop and possibly destroy the march of communism. That something designed initially for fascist Germany and used for experimentation in Japan was to be probably used later against the Socialist Soviet union. This was the underlying ideological war cry in the American establishment and the subtle reason for continuing the arms race into the post-Second World War world era.

The discovery of the split atom gave confidence to the United States that it could fight the 'cold war' or 'iron-curtain' that Winston Churchill said had descended over Europe. It was an indication that the new war after 1945 would be fought against the USSR.

#### Check Your Progress 1

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Examine the background to the nuclear arms race.

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- 2) What are the rationale for the arms race in the post-war period?

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## **9.3 THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE : HOW IT IS DIFFERENT FROM ALL PREVIOUS ARMS RACES IN HISTORY**

### **9.3.1 The Trinity Test**

Of the three bombs constructed, the first was tested on July 16, 1945 at Alamagordo, New Mexico. It is known as the Trinity Test. The successful Trinity Test heralded the birth of the Nuclear-Bomb in human history and the dawn of the nuclear age. Neils Bohr, the famous Danish Physicist, prophetically observed the insetting arms race and its qualitative difference. In a letter to President Roosevelt on 3 July 1944 he mentioned that a weapon of unparalleled power was being created which would completely change all future conditions of warfare. Some scientists anticipating the arms race between the US and the USSR urged the American Government to share the nuclear secrets with Soviet Union and thus prevent an arms race.

However, it is obvious that the scientists were too naive of the game of politics as well as the intensity of international politics. Such advice was never heard, and the race was continued in the hope of victory. To the military desperately looking for a way to deal with the Germans, the Japanese and finally the Soviets, the Trinity Test held out hope that they could win.

### **9.3.2 Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombings**

Two more historical events, however, finally sealed the destiny of mankind. They were the dropping of the two remaining untested nuclear devices, i.e., the 5 ton uranium bomb on Hiroshima on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 8, 1945. Over 250,000 people died in both the cities and the 'living corpses' who survived bled incessantly and were blackened with their skins hanging in shreds, their hair scorched to the roots. Most were totally naked, their clothes burnt from their bodies. George Bernard Shaw observed in 'Man and Superman' about the art of killing that man, "out does nature herself... when he goes out to slay, he carries a marvel of mechanism that lets loose at the touch of his finger all the hidden molecular energies and leaves the javelin, the arrow and blow pipe of his fathers far behind". Hiroshima and Nagasaki exemplified that.

### **9.3.3 'New York Times' and the Trinity Test**

It would be easier to comprehend the qualitative significance of nuclear arms race if we take note of two observations made at the time of the Trinity Test. The 'New York Times' reporter who witnessed the test observed "... a light not of this world, the light of many suns in one. It was a surprise such as the world had never seen, a great green super can climbing in a fraction of a second to a height of more than 8,000 ft. rising even higher until it touched the clouds, lighting earth and sky all round with a dazzling luminosity. Up it went, a great ball of fire about a mile in diameter, changing colours, as it kept shooting upward, from deep purple to orange, expanding, growing bigger, rising as it was expanding, an elemental force freed from its bonds after being chained for billions of years. For a fleeting instant the colour was unearthly green, such as one only sees in the corona of the sun during a total eclipse. It was as though one had been privileged to witness the birth of the world to be present at the moment of creation when the Lord said: 'Let There Be Light'.

Robert Oppenheimer perhaps summarized in one line the destiny of modern man's predicament vis-a-vis his own creation, when he quoted the Gita to exclaim "I have become death, destroyer of worlds". The roar created by the explosion at Alamagordo could be heard 50 miles afar and the pillar of fire that the New York Times reporter talked about rose 6 miles into the sky. These observations of the Trinity Test and the dropping of the bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki sum up why the arms race mankind got caught in after 1945 is totally different in its complexion from all the previous arms races in human history. The sad part, however, for any idealist scholar of international relations is that despite these evidences of destruction, the arms race continued with greater vigour and vengeance.

**Check Your Progress 2**

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
 ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.
- 1) What is the Trinity Test?

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## **9.4 DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD**

### **9.4.1 Fear of the Soviets and Communism**

It was the Trinity Test on July 16, 1945 that truly sparked off the nuclear arms race between the US and the Soviet Union. Despite the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the race never stopped. The second fact that fuelled the nuclear arms race was the Soviet Communist enemy. This was, in fact, testified to by Gen. Leslie Groves who said he had no illusions as to whom the bomb was really being built for, i.e., the Soviets. The ideological, political and military threat to capitalism by rising communism had to be dealt with. The discovery of the nuclear bomb was truly the biggest boost to the arms race. United Kingdom followed US-Soviet acquisition of the bomb in 1952, France in 1960 and China in 1964. The nuclear arms race passed through the following phases, they cannot be clearly distinguished from each other.

### **9.4.2 1945 to 1953: Period of US Monopoly**

During this period, the United States first enjoyed a total monopoly until 1953 and then, nuclear superiority. In this phase, the US territory was regarded as a sanctuary because the Soviets did not have any reciprocal delivery capability to reach the American targets from USSR. The United States, on the other hand, could attack the Soviet targets from American bases in Western Europe.

### **9.4.3 1957 to 1968 : Period of 'Missile Crisis' and the ICBM Race**

The monopoly enjoyed the US during the first phase was broken when the Soviets successfully tested the ICBM in 1957 creating what has been called the 'Missile Crisis' in America. The advent of ICBMs shifted the focus of the nuclear arms race to strategic weapons; i.e. Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Sea Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) and strategic or inter-continental bombers which provided the strategic tripod. In 1967, USSR tested what is called a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System. This accelerated the qualitative dimension of the nuclear arms race further into space.

### **9.4.4 1968 to Late 1970's : Period of MIRV and ICBM Race**

The third phase in the nuclear arms race began when the American delivery technology took a gigantic leap by introducing what is called the Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) capability in their ICBMs in 1968. This meant that now one single ICBM could carry many small nuclear warhead fitted missiles which on re-entering Soviet airspace would go in different directions hitting many targets. MIRV marked a tremendous exponential upgradation of the arms race. This sent shivers down the Soviets who, however, mastered the technology by 1974. During this phase, the Soviets deployed two other weapon systems. First, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM)

system in 1968 and second, the first Anti-Satellite (ASAT) missile and warhead, thus ensuring that the arms race went on.

### Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Briefly examine the period of US Monopoly in the Arms Race.

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- 2) Describe the efforts made by the erstwhile Soviet Union to break the US Monopoly in armaments.

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#### 9.4.5 1981 : Regan's Strategic Modernization Plan

The next major technological tussle took place between the two Superpowers over the MX-Missile. On October 2, 1981 President Regan announced a strategic modernization plan at an estimated cost of \$ 160 billion. The weapons systems planned included :

(i) Missile Experimental or MX missile : 100 of these were to be built; (ii) B-IB Bombers : 100 of them to be built; (iii) STEALTH Bombers that are radar resistant by 1990s; (iv) TRIDENT-II D-5 missiles—one per year between 1983 and 1987; (v) Command Control and Intelligence system (C<sub>3</sub>I) to be modernized; (vi) NAVSTAR Satellite global positioning system; (vii) Encapsulated dormant missiles; (viii) TERCOM for precision guided cruise missile; an advanced communication system; (ix) Global Positioning System (GPS) for guidance of the ICBMs during the boost phase; (x) Route encrypted communications to missiles or launchers; (xi) slackwire buoys radio reception by submarines; (xii) Fuel-Cell propulsion.

#### 9.4.6 1983: Militarization of Space—Reagan's Star Wars Programme

The militarization of space began from 1958 and since then, over 2219 satellites—military and civilian have been launched by the superpowers and other nations, and 75% of the satellites launched have been for surveillance and military use, thus clearly violating the Space Treaty of 1967. On March 23, 1983 President Reagan announced the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) popularly called 'Star Wars' Programme costing 1 trillion dollars to raise the militarization of space to a qualitatively new high. The aim being to build both a ground based and space based Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) to protect US territory against Soviet strategic missile attacks.

Theoretically, the SDI programme, was supposed to be an alternative to the Mutual Assured Destruction or MAD dogma as it would provide Mutual Assured Survival. It was thought the render nuclear weapons obsolete by relying on three new types of non-nuclear weapon systems. These were :

- i) Kinetic Energy Weapons
- ii) Directed Energy Weapons and
- iii) Microwave Energy Weapons

All these weapons were based on various types of chemicals, electromagnetic forces, and x-rays and lasers. The SDI programme did not take off for many reasons. They being:

- a) It was too expensive.
- b) It was not a sure technological venture, in the sense that it was far too complicated and thus not feasible.
- c) The Soviets could easily render SDI ineffective by building a counter SDI.
- d) Reagan never consulted his European NATO allies and in fact, surprised them by his announcement thus creating opposition to the programme in Europe.
- e) Reagan by signing the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) completely ended the political rationale of the SDI programme.
- f) In the USA itself, in the Congress and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, both the Republicans and the Democrats were of the opinion that they would not allow SDI to pass at any cost and thus, damage the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972.

Thus, they rejected SDI as otherwise it would have meant that the ABM Treaty alongwith SALT I and II would be nullified. Same would be the fate of START negotiations thus destroying the whole edifice of arms control and the start of an unbridled nuclear arms race.

Added to this, many important scientists in USA, important people like James Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense McGeorge Bundy, cold warriors like George F. Kennan and Robert McNamara, former Secretary of Defence Harold Brown and a host of other people opposed the very fundamental logic of SDI that it would make the world safe of USA by removing the stability provided by the MAD capability of both the superpowers. Later on, the sweeping changes initiated by Michael Gorbachev within the USSR vide '*Glasnost*' and '*Perestroika*' and allowing democracy in Eastern Europe ended the whole logic of SDI.

#### **Check Your Progress 4**

**Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.

- ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.
- 1) What were the main components of US President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Modernisation Plan?

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- 2) What were the reasons for the criticism of Regan's SDI Programme?

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#### **9.4.7 1984-1991: Nuclear Arms Race in the Gorbachev Era and the Last Days of Collapsing Soviet Union**

Arms Race and Nuclear Threat

By January 1985, due to the damage already done by SDI of Ronald Reagan, massive rearmament programmes were on the both the sides, and the future direction of the arms race was dependent upon the two superpowers.

The arms race was on at three levels of nuclear weaponry, i.e.,—space weapons, intercontinental weapons, and intermediate nuclear weapons. The US position on militarization of space through SDI really put the arms negotiation in difficult state. The Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said, "If there were no advancement on the issues of outer space, it would be superfluous to discuss the possibility of reducing strategic armaments."

The US in 1984 had a massive programme for rearmament of many types of weapon systems. The rearmament programme of USA consisted of more Sea Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs); about 800 more nuclear warheads to be fitted on sea and air delivery systems; MX missile testing; Midgetman Missiles; the eighth Trident submarine fitted with more accurate SLBMs and 100 B-1B bombs. On the Soviet side, in 1984-1985 the rearmament meant rearmament of all Soviet SS-17s SS-18s and SS-19s into the MIRV ed mode, a new TYPHOON class submarine and testing a new type of more accurate SLBM. There was a reported attempt to make 40% of Soviet ICBMs on the movable mode instead of the existing 25% and all 243 Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) were to be deployed. All in all, 1984-85 was a period of massive rearmament of all weapon systems.

In 1985-86, the picture as regards arms race was the same. There was no restraint. The only hope that some kind of arms control was possible was generated by the November 1985 summit meeting at Geneva between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev where both in a joint statement stated that, "The sides .... have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought." They also agreed to hold summit level meetings in 1987 and 1988. These words were an indirect admission by USA that the SDI was not workable. In other words, it recognised as unfeasible that the MAD doctrine could be replaced and a limited nuclear war waged by militarizing space was recognised as unfeasible. Apart from this, there was little progress in the talks on arms reduction in Europe.

As regards the nuclear arms race in 1986-87, the situation was still more or less the same except that there was a little movement towards arms control. The US put its first MX ICBM and B-1B bomber on operational position and on a 24 hour alert.

Deployment of Pershing II missiles and SS-20s continued in Europe. However, certain positive developments took place which definitely halted the arms race in the long run.

First, the 27th CPSU Congress in February 1986 decided on *Perestroika* (Restructuring of Economy), *Glasnost* (Openness and Democratization) and reversal of military confrontation in Europe and opening up of Eastern Europe. Second, the Raykjavik summit on 11 and 12 October 1986 declared that a nuclear war could never be won and should never be fought. Third, within the USA a tattered Reagan's economy and the Senate's opposition to SDI hit US arms race plans. Fourth, there were differences between USA and its NATO Allies who were never consulted on SDI. Thus, though the arms race went on in 1986-87 it was definitely going to end soon.

As regards 1987-88, on December 8, 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) was signed for the elimination of all intermediate and short range missiles. The agreement required the USA and USSR remove 2695 intermediate range GLBMs with a range of 1000 to 5500 kms. It also envisaged the removal of GLBMs short range i.e., 500 to 1000 kms. USSR agreed to remove 1836 missiles while USA removed 867 missiles. The INF Treaty saved the ABM Treaty from being neutralised by SDI, because with this treaty the rationale for SDI became even weaker and Reagan found it very difficult to push the matter in the Congress as well as with US public. In this sense, it saved the world from another dangerous dimension of arms race i.e., the space opening up.

1988-89 was another significant year as it too had something to show in terms of peace.

1988-89 can be characterised as the year of settlement of disputes in Afghanistan, Namibia, Iran-Iraq War, Israel-PLO and South Africa. It was also the year Gorbachev announced at the UN, unilateral reduction of Soviet troops and armaments in Europe amounting to 40% reduction of Soviet tank divisions and 50% of Soviet tanks deployed in GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This was a very significant political and military move as regards the continuation of conventional and nuclear arms race in Europe.

1989-90 can be characterized as the Year of Europe. By the end of 1989, almost all Soviet Allies in Eastern Europe and Central Europe except Rumania and Albania were free. In August 1989, the first non-communist government got elected in Poland. By November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall had crashed. Elections also took place in Hungary, GDR and Czechoslovakia. On 29 December 1989 Vaclav Havel took over as the President of Czechoslovakia. At the Malta summit in December 1989, President Gorbachev showed readiness to regulate further and move ahead on the START process. George Bush, the US President, hesitated a bit though he committed US towards a Chemical Weapon Ban and the required agreement in the future.

1990 was a year full of events. While Europe and the two superpowers were moving towards peace the Gulf was in flames with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on August 2, 1990. Apart from this, in 1990, the WARSAW Pact was dissolved on 3rd March. On June 1, 1990, US and USSR signed a treaty on the destruction of and non-production of chemical weapons and on multilateral measures to ban chemical weapons. It was decided that by 31 December, 1992, all chemical weapons in the world would be destroyed and only 5000 tons of agents would be kept. Then, the membership of the Missiles Technology Control Regime (MTCR) expanded. On November 20, 1990 there was the Treaty and a Joint Declaration of Conventional Armed Forces (CFF) forever reducing the nuclear threat in Europe.

#### Check Your Progress 5

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What were the salient features of the Nuclear Arms Race in the Gorbachev era?

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#### 9.4.8 1991 to 97 : Nuclear Arms Race after the Collapse of Soviet Union

1991-92 was a historic year in the sense that due to the collapse of USSR, the enemy that fueled the arms race for US militarists broke up into 14 new states. Yugoslavia also broke up and in one stroke the enemy in so far as the US was concerned was gone and so, the whole political ideological basis of the nuclear arms race.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2nd August 1990 led to the launch of US and Allied coalition attack under UN auspices against Iraq on 17th January, 1991. It ended on 28th February, 1991 with the complete defeat of Iraq. Arms trade as a result showed a down-ward trend. In 1991 the total value of global arms trade touched \$ 22, 114 million. This was 20% less than in 1990.

In 1992-93 USA, the Russian Federation, France, and Britain all agreed to halt the nuclear arms race totally except vis-a-vis R & D. At the regional level, there was further concretization of Europe's complete demilitarization by the signing of the Helsinki Document by all Eastern and West European countries. Added to this, there was the world summit on environment at Rio and UN Secretary General's declaration of the 'Agenda for Peace'.

The period between 1993 and 1997 saw two other significant events taking place in the nuclear arms race. First, in 1995 the NPT review Conference took place for an indefinite extension of the treaty and on 24th September 1996, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was up for signature. US and the other nuclear weapons states and 60 other non-nuclear states signed the CTBT. India did not sign either the NPT or CTBT. The government argued that it did so to keep the nuclear weapons option open. This position taken by India brings us to the question of nuclear arms race in the Third World, dealt with in the following section.

#### Check Your Progress 6

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.  
1) Examine the nuclear arms race after the collapse of the USSR.

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## 9.5 NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN THE THIRD WORLD AND SOUTH ASIA

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The nuclear arms race that went on in the First World throughout the Cold War definitely had its impact on the Third World. The quest of the German Bomb fueled the American 'Manhattan Project' initially, and as the Second World War came to a close it was the Soviet ideological and military power manifest in the occupation of Eastern Europe that really put Americans firmly on the track of nuclear bomb making.

However, at that time the Allies needed the Soviet Communists to destroy fascist Germany, Italy and Japan. Stalin's intelligence agencies were well aware of the secret American nuclear programme and at Postdam, his suspicions were confirmed when President Roosevelt informed Stalin of a secret weapon. This knowledge fueled the Soviet desire to build the bomb at a feverish pace to counter the threat from capitalist west. The bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, though not really necessary were also a veiled threat to Soviets of the American resolve. These events in a way led to the nuclear arms race. After 1949, when Communist China emerged under Mao, it is believed that the Chinese through Soviet help (prior to Sino-Soviet split) too got the nuclear capability and tested in 1964. China was considered a Third World state and one can see how the ideological and political nature of nations deeply affected their decision to develop a nuclear capability.

### **9.5.1 Acquisition of Nuclear Capability by China and start of Arms Race in South Asia**

Thus, the acquisition of nuclear capability of China in 1964 signalled the beginning of a nuclear arms race in South Asia. The Indo-Pak conflict was not actually the factor responsible for India's quest for nuclear capability as many scholars claims, though it came in much later. The Kashmir conflict and partition and the three subsequent wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971 did fuel the conventional arms race.

### **9.5.2 India, Pakistan and the Nuclear Arms Race**

The nuclear arms race in South Asia however was not of India's making.

It rather came after the massive defeat India suffered at Chinese hands in 1962, which hit our whole defense and foreign policy. This followed by the news of Chinese exploding the nuclear device in 1964 shook the Indian political and military establishment and they decided to develop India's nuclear capability. The decision was also influenced, perhaps, by the Chinese collusion with Pakistan in the 1950s prior to the 1962 war. It brought home to the Indian strategists the real possibility of Chinese and Pakistani joining hands against India. After 1962, there was thus no looking back and the nuclear arms race reached South Asia.

When India conducted the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) in 1974, the Pakistanis too decided to go for a nuclear programme. The onset of the Second Cold War with the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan 1979 put Pakistan on the high priority zone of US in its fight against communism. It signalled deeper military cooperation and aid to Pakistan and some say, the beginning of some help even in fledgling Pakistan nuclear weapons programme.

As of now, the South Asian region, is definitely a zone of nuclear competition with India consciously 'keeping its option open' and not exercising its capability. This is expressed in its refusal to sign both the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty in the 1995 Review Conference and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on 24th September, 1996.

### **9.5.3 'Domino Theory' in South Asia**

The South Asian case amply demonstrates the 'Domino Theory' which fuels nuclear arms race or any arms race. First, it was the German threat to Europe which made the US go for the bomb. Then, the Soviet threat made US go in for the bomb again. The bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki led Soviets to acquiring the bomb. The common threat to world communism led to Soviets helping the new communist state of China in 1949 with nuclear technology which helped China to conduct a nuclear test in 1964. The Soviets, however, had refused to give nuclear weapon design to China, which became the cause of Sino-Soviet rift. The Indian defeat in 1962 and Pakistan's collusion with the Chines led the Indians to develop the nuclear capability by 1974. The Indian explosion coupled with successive defeats in wars with India led the Pakistanis onto the bomb. The cases of other third world countries acquiring the bomb in similar; e.g. the Iraqi and Iranian nuclear programmes. The South African case too is due to perceived survival threats. The other nuclear capable states are Argentina and Brazil—two major States in Latin America.

### **9.5.4 General Complexion of Arms Race in South Asia**

Overall one can say that the third world nuclear arms race is definitely a product of the nuclear arms race in the first world and the many conflicts within the Third World sustain it. The cold war military alliance system helped this process. Now, after the collapse of Soviet Union and the massive reduction prior to it and after it in Western nuclear arsenals, nuclear peace has been brought to the world in the sense that we aren't always 'living on the edge' of a nuclear holocaust. However, the non-resolution of conflicts in the Third World, e.g. Indo-Pak conflicts, Arab-Israeli conflict is a definite reason for the continuance of nuclear arms race in the Third World.

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the factors propelling the arms race in South Asia?

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- 2) Briefly comment on India's stand on the nuclear proliferation issue.

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## **9.6 LET US SUM UP**

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We can conclude this unit by recalling a few pertinent points. Thus:

- i) The discovery of the power of the 'atom' in both its creative and destructive senses was possibly the greatest event in 20th century history. The creation and blasting of the nuclear bomb by the US demonstrated its power with telling effect.
- ii) The ideological conflict between capitalist West and socialist East was the single biggest factor instigating the nuclear arms race until the collapse of one side i.e., of the USSR in 1991.
- iii) However, despite the demise of Socialist Soviet Union nuclear weapons still remain the basis for military power and their quest continues by many third world countries e.g. India, Pakistan, South Africa, Israel, Iran, Iraq and North Korea.
- iv) The nuclear threat to humanity remains even today and there is very little hope of complete disarmament. The only possible way is probably to reduce the number of warheads and number of nations acquiring this technology for settling their disputes.

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## **9.7 KEY WORDS**

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**ABM—Anti-Ballistic Missile System :** It is a weapon system designed to defend against a ballistic attack by intercepting and destroying ballistic missiles and their warheads in flight.

**BMD—Ballistic Missile Defense :** Systems capable of intercepting and destroying nuclear weapons in flight for defense against a ballistic Missile attack.

**CFE Treaty : The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe :** Negotiated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), a process which began in 1973 and was signed in 1990 by NATO and WTO countries and came into force on 9 November, 1992.

**NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organisation :** Created by the US and its allies in Western Europe after the Second World War to counter USSR.

**WTO—Warsaw Treaty Organisation:** Created by Soviet Union in 1955 to counter NATO military alliance. Dissolved in 1991.

**ICBM—Inter Continental Ballistic Missile:** Ground launched Ballistic Missile capable of delivering a warhead to a target at ranges in excess of 5500 km.

**INF—Intermediate Range Nuclear forces:** are nuclear forces with a range of/from 1000 km. upto and including 5500 kms.

**MIRV—Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles:** Re-entry vehicles, carried by a nuclear ballistic missile, which can be directed to separate targets along separate trajectories (as distinct from MRVs). A missile can carry two or more RVs.

**MRV—Multiple Re-entry Vehicles:** Re-entry vehicle, carried by a nuclear missile, directed to the same target as the missile's other RVs.

**MAD—Mutual Assured Destruction:** Concept of reciprocal deterrence which rests on the ability of the nuclear weapon powers to inflict intolerable damage on one another after receiving a nuclear attack.

**Open Skies Treaty —** A Treaty signed by 25 CSCE states in 1992, permitting flights by unarmed military or civilian surveillance aircraft over the territory of the signatory states, in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostock.

**SLBM—Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile:** A ballistic Missile launched from a submarine, usually with a range in excess of 5500 kms.

**START I TREATY : Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty :** Between USA and USSR to reduce strategic nuclear weapons.

**Strategic Nuclear Weapons :** ICBMs, SLBMs and bomber aircraft carrying nuclear weapons of inter-continental range of usually over 5500 kms.

**Doctrine of Deterrence :** It theoretically means that the most appropriate way to prevent your enemy employ atomic weapons against you is to put a counter threat by also possessing the atomic bomb.

**Doctrine of Massive Retaliation:** Was a strategy of employing nuclear weapons and outlined by US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles after President Eisenhower took over from President Truman in 1954. The massive retaliation doctrine was founded on responding to any communist inspired aggression, however marginal the confrontation, by means of a massive nuclear strike against major centres in the Soviet Union and China.

**Doctrine of Limited War :** Was propounded by Captain Basil Liddel Hart in the late 1940s. He argued in his book 'the Revolution in Warfare' in 1946 that "When both sides possess atomic power 'total warfare' makes nonsense... Any unlimited war waged with atomic power would be worse than non-sense, it would be mutually suicidal". He argued that war should, therefore, be a controlled affair and without barbarous excess. However, many US strategies criticized his concept of limited war as practically impossible.

**Doctrine of Flexible Response :** Adapted by NATO in 1967 and based on a flexible and balanced range of appropriate responses, conventional and nuclear, to all levels of aggression or threats. These responses, subject to appropriate political control, are

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## 9.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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Lawrence Freedman: **The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy.**

P.M.S. Blackett: **Atomic Weapons and East West Relations.**

Hedley Bull : **The Control of the Arms Race.**

Morton Halperin : **Limited War in the Nuclear Age.**

Freed Ikle : **Can Nuclear Deterrence last out the country?**

Robert Jervis : **Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics.**

Herman Kahn : **On Escalation : Metaphors and Scenarios.**

Henry Kissinger : **Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy.**

Thomas Shelling : **Arms and Influence.**

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## 9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 9.2
- 2) See Section 9.2 and sub-section 9.2.3

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 9.3

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 9.4 and sub-sections 9.4.1 to 9.4.4
- 2) See Section 9.4 and sub-section 9.4.3

### Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See sub-sections 9.4.5 and 9.4.6
- 2) See sub-section 9.4.6

### Check Your Progress 5

- 1) See sub-section 9.4.7

### Check Your Progress 6

- 1) See sub-section 9.4.8

### Check Your Progress 7

- 1) See Section 9.5
- 2) See Section 9.5 and sub-section 9.5.2

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# **UNIT 10 DISARMAMENT AND PEACE MOVEMENT**

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## **Structure**

- 10.0 Objectives
  - 10.1 Introduction
  - 10.2 The Rationale of Disarmament
  - 10.3 Brief History of Disarmament
  - 10.4 Disarmament Agreements and Treaties
  - 10.5 Concept of Peace
  - 10.6 Peace Movements
  - 10.7 India, and Peace Movement and Disarmament
    - 10.7.1 India and NPT
    - 10.7.2 India and CTBT
  - 10.8 Let Us Sum Up
  - 10.9 Key Words
  - 10.10 Some Useful Books
  - 10.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
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## **10.0 OBJECTIVES**

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Disarmament and peace are the desired goal of humanity. After going through this unit you would be in position to :

- define the concepts of disarmament and peace;
  - trace the history of the movements for disarmament and peace in the world; and
  - discuss India's role and views on disarmament treaties so far signed.
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## **10.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The word disarmament means the reduction or disbandment by a state of its military forces and weapons. The disarmament may be self imposed, externally imposed or due to international or regional treaties. Disarmament may again be partial or general. Partial disarmament stands for the reduction of special types of weapons which are generally considered to be more dangerous. General and complete disarmament stands for abolition of all kinds of weapons. Though the general disarmament is the ideal position, the partial disarmament is the pragmatic approach. The present advocates of disarmament generally talk in terms of partial disarmament. Reductions deadly weapons is the immediate goal while the general disarmament is the ultimate goal.

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## **10.2 THE RATIONALE OF DISARMAMENT**

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The concept of disarmament has originated from an understanding that weapons are the source of tension which at times create wars. The stock piling of arms instills mutual fear and hostility into interstate relations. It is being argued that in order to stop wars or hostilities and to develop trust between the states, the weapons, which are considered to be the root of all these evils, are required to be eliminated.

Disarmament is necessary for maintaining peace and progress of the human civilization. The increasing stockpiles of armaments, continuing enlargement of the armed forces and the growing investment for research and development of the weapon technology of the world pose fresh threats to peace and development of the human race. The invention and development of nuclear weapons have posed the threat of total annihilation of the human race in the event of another world war. All these have made the people more conscious about disarmament because only the elimination of these weapons can ease the tension in the world and remove the fear of any world wide holocaust. The

invention and development of sophisticated military technology has made all countries vulnerable. None can be self-sufficient in defense. It is impossible for any single country to defend itself from the attack of any other country. So disarmament is the only way to make the world safe. The increasing investment in the military industry is also consuming money and useful resources which otherwise could be diverted to the development sectors. In the context of the growing poverty in large parts of the world, the increasing investment in military industry can further increase the poverty and accentuate the social tension in every society of the world. The huge expenditure in the defence sector can only be stopped or decreased if the disarmament at least of partial type is achieved.

### Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Discuss in details the rationale for disarmament.

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### 10.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF DISARMAMENT

The concept of disarmament is an old one. It has been in use as an instrument to achieve international security for a long time. Its dated history can be traced back to 546 B.C. when warring Chinese principalities met in a conference and signed a disarmament agreement to end protracted wars between them.

With the beginning of the modern period the urge for disarmament increased among the big powers. Several attempts were made by the Western powers and Russia. But none of these attempts could become successful because of deep rooted suspicions against the big powers. So the moves for disarmament were so designed that interests of the proposers could be protected. Not all disarmaments efforts ended in failure. Probably the first disarmament agreement in the modern age which still continuing was the one signed in 1817 by the Great Britain and the USA known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement it sought to demilitarize the Canadian American Frontier.

In 1899 first international disarmament conference was held in Hague. All European major powers attended the conference which ended without much success. However, it passed resolutions proscribing certain type of deadly weapons, and asking the states to limit the military expenses so that more funds could be diverted for developmental purpose. The second international disarmament conference was held again in Hague in 1907. The conference failed to stop the contemporary growing arms race.

When First World War broke out in 1914, all warring countries broke their commitments, and undertakings which had been given by them in different conferences and meetings. After the war, the first international organisation, named the League of Nations was established in 1920. It served as a forum for holding discussions on the issues connected with the disarmament. Disarmament had been one of the cherished goals of League of Nations, under the auspices of the League conferences were held, studies on disarmament were sponsored. The League of Nations convened the first World Disarmament Conference in 1932. The Conference however contributed to augment the process of disarmament.

Disarmament conferences were also held outside the League of Nations. The United States organised a Naval Conference in Washington in 1922. The Washington Naval Conference ended with a treaty which limited the size of warships, imposed restrictions on the building of warships and aircrafts for ten years. The treaty also banned the indiscriminate raising of naval bases in the Pacific.

The large scale destruction in Second World War and the devastating impact of the explosion of atom bombs on Japan again made the people anxious for the world peace and disarmament. The war ended with formation of the new world body, known as the United Nations, (UN). The UN General Assembly in its very first session in 1946 founded the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC), which was asked to make specific recommendations for the elimination of weapons. The UN General Assembly also called the UNAEC to prepare plan for the peaceful use of the atomic energy for the developmental purpose.

### Check Your Progress 2

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Who signed the first disarmament agreement and when?

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- i) Write short notes on:

- a) Rush-Bagot Agreement

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- b) Hague Disarmament Conference

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- c) First World Disarmament Conference

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- d) U.N.A.E.C.

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## 10.4 DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES

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In the wake of the Second World war efforts for disarmament increased. Immediately after the war, the USA put forward a proposal, named as the Baruch Plan. In response

to the US plan, the USSR came out with the Gromyko Plan which was diametrically opposed to the Baruch Plan. After the failure of these plans, more plans were proposed by both the sides. In 1955 the USA proposed the Open Skies Plan. It was also rejected. The plans and proposals so far advocated by the different powers were so designed that the proposer's monopoly over its weapons remained frozen indefinitely.

However the disarmament movement started registering progress from the early 1960's. In 1950's both the USA and the USSR were placed under new administration. In USA General Eisenhower came in power following presidential election in 1952 and in the USSR due to Stalin's death a new leadership emerged. Besides, the USSR acquired the capability of making of nuclear weapons. It brought the USSR near to the nuclear capability of the USA. These developments created the way to achieve some success in disarmament.

In 1963 an agreement was signed. It has banned the nuclear tests in the atmosphere (in outer space and under water). In 1967 another agreement was signed to stop the deployment of the nuclear weapon in outer space. Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed in 1968. The treaty has banned the acquisition of nuclear power capability by non-nuclear nations. The treaty was not signed by a few countries including India. India has termed the treaty as discriminatory. In 1971 another treaty was brought into the world book of statute, which has banned the deployment of nuclear arms in sea bed and ocean floor. In 1972 the convention on banning the biological weapons was held.

SALT-I and SALT-II were signed in 1972 and 1979 respectively. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) began in early 1970's between the USA and the USSR. The first SALT agreement was signed in 1972. It is a treaty limiting the stockpiling of the Antiballistic Missile systems (ABM). The negotiations for SALT-II had started in 1974 and ended in 1979 with the signing of the agreement by the USA and the USSR. As per the terms, the high contracting states agreed to destroy a portion of the arms in their arsenals. However, the treaty has remained non-ratified. The American senate did not ratify the treaty. But it was implemented without official sanctions. Another non-ratified treaty is the threshold Test Ban Treaty which was signed in 1974 by the USA and the USSR. It prohibited all tests with a yield of 150 kilotons. In 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear forces (INF) was signed between the USA and the USSR. The Treaty sanctioned for the destruction of intermediate range land-based nuclear weapons, stocked by both countries. All these agreements though have not made the world free from deadly weapons, have registered some progress towards the desired goal of disarmament.

### Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Write short notes on :

a) NPT

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a) SALT

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## 10.5 CONCEPT OF PEACE

Peace is an eternal desire of a human being. It is considered to be one of the highest values of life. The quotations like "Peace at any price", "The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war." "Peace is more important than all justice." "I prefer the most unjust peace to the justest war that was ever waged." "There never was a good war or bad peace." Show-how precious peace has been. The New Testament defines peace as absence of dissension, violence of war. Peace is also considered as concord, harmony, agreement between the two or more, tranquillity, quiet, etc. Peace is contrary to antagonistic hostilities, violence or war. Peace is freedom from or the cessation of war. It is a state of freedom from war.

A large number of peace concepts, proposals and plans have been put forward so far for the realisation of the everlasting peace—an eternal dream of the human being. In order to achieve peace many plans have been contemplated. Proposals for establishing federations of states, signing of treaties between and over nations and people, setting up of courts of arbitration, reforming the legal system and many other proposals have so far been advocated.

The concept of peace changes in response to the change in the context and characters of the ages. In medieval Europe the concept of peace was identified with the slogan of the unification of the Christian world against the invasions of the 'infidels'. The concept of peace was given communal orientations. During the same period a few scholars of course talked about secular peace. In the subsequent ages the peace concept became more secular and acquired universal contents. In the wake of the industrial revolution in England peace was demanded because it was found to be helpful for the development of capitalist society. In the years of Revolution the French people gave different orientation to the concept of peace. Reason and basic human rights became the contents of the concept of peace. With the emergence of national states the idea of federation of states or nations and the system of arbitration in international relations started coming to the fore.

When the wars began to be considered as patriotic acts and accordingly people were being mobilized to fight in the wars, people started becoming aware of the necessity for peace. Peace now became the people's concern.

In 19th century peace societies and movements began to come up and international peace conferences and organisations were founded for the first time. With the birth of Marxism and Marxist movements in mid 19th century a new approach took birth in the peace movement. It is being propagated that peace can be achieved only through the basic social transformation of the society. A classless society is only capable to establish peace.

Today we have two concepts of peace, which are offered to each other—Bourgeois concept and Marxist concept.

### Check Your Progress 4

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Why the people desire for peace?

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## 10.6 PEACE MOVEMENTS

The publication of Saint-Simoan's "The Reorganization of European Society" coincided with the foundation of the peace societies. The first peace society was founded in the United States. Europe followed the suit. Early peace societies were engaged in the debates over the issues like just and unjust wars, need of violence, colonialism, etc. Debates gradually arose over the subjects such as linking peace with social issues, like the slavery, the emancipation of women, universal education and other human rights.

The national peace societies gradually felt the need of international movement. From mid 19th century international peace conferences began to be held. These international congresses debated over the issues of establishing world organisation of nations and of setting up of the international court of arbitration to solve the conflict. These peace congresses also discussed the questions of freedom of the colonial peoples. The individualists, came out with the concept that peace would be achieved by implementing the principle of free trade among the states. However, all these organisations and the peace movements were dominated by liberal democrats who passed many radical decisions but failed to implement any of the decisions.

In 1870, the followers of Marxism established the first International (The International Working Men's association). The Marxists consider that the transformation of society is the principal object of the working class movement and the transformed society can only guarantee the world peace. The state International passed a historic resolution which states that :

"The burden of war is borne mainly by the working class, in as much as war does not only deprive the workers of the means of subsistence but compels them to shed one another's blood. Armed peace paralyses the forces of production, asks the workers nothing but useless labour peace, which it is the first requisite of general well-being, must be consolidated by a new order of things which shall no longer recognise in society and existence of two classes, one of which is exploited by another."

The inception of the Marxist peace movement added a new dimension in the ongoing peace movement and rested the leadership of the movement from the idealist leaders of the movement.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a large number of peace societies had emerged on the international arena. But these societies failed to stop the breaking out of the First World War in 1914. During the war, most of the peace societies gave up their idealistic universal stand and responded to the nationalist call. After the War, new proposals and plans like Lenin's Decrees on peace, President Wilson's Fourteen Points, etc., were placed before the world. But the Second World War could not be stopped. The Second World war was most horrifying and most murderous weapon, the atom bomb was used in the war for the first time. The war has left a horrifying impact on the people of the world. The war ended with the beginning of a new age named as Nuclear Age. The new age gave birth to new fears and also dangers of total destruction of the civilisation if the nuclear war ever broke out. Thus the fears of nuclear war give birth to new peace concepts, new debates and new movements.

After the Second World War peace movement turned into a mass movement under the auspices of the World Peace Council. In different countries of the world the Council developed the organisational network. These organisations propagated the ideals of world peace. The writers, philosophers, artists of world fame joined this movement. Even Burtrand Russel the famous novelist cum philosopher also joined this movement. But the United States went on condemning the emerging peace movement in the post world war period as the ploy of the USSR and the communists. Despite the condemnation, the movement spread far and wide in the world. Now there are several peace organisations, which are not only propagating the ideals of peace, they have also added an academic dimension to the movement by encouraging research and identifying the problems and other connected issues. Many organizations are working as the think tank for the peace movement.

**Check Your Progress 5**

**Note :** i) Use the space below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the Marxist concept of peace?

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## **10.7 INDIA, AND PEACE MOVEMENTS AND DISARMAMENT**

India is a peace loving nation. It achieved independence from centuries old British colonial rule through peaceful non-violent movements. India has a long tradition of peace and apathy towards war of any kind. Ashoka the Great renounced the use of weapon and abandoned the principles of war. This is one of the earliest examples of disarmament. Till the arrival of the Europeans in India, the Kings had fought wars and battles. But these battles did not affect the lives and properties of the common citizens. Pursuing the tradition of peace, India at the very dawn of its independence declared peace as the cornerstone of its policies. In 1954 India took the initiative to ban the nuclear tests. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed at the U.N. a standstill agreement in respect of the atomic tests. He knew that the total destruction of the existing weapons was not possible, so he wanted to stop the tests so that there might not be further escalation of nuclear weapons. Many countries of the world supported the view, but the big powers hardly paid any heed to the proposal. However, the proposal set the ball of disarmament in motion and countries in the UN became vocal in support of peace and disarmament. Consequently from early 1960s new initiatives towards the direction of disarmament started.

### **10.7.1 India and NPT**

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was concluded in 1967, kept open for signature in 1968 and was promulgated in 1970 for a period of 25 years. The NPT has been extended unconditionally and indefinitely by its Review and Extension Conference held in New York from 17th April to 12th May, 1995. The 1995 Conference has not suggested any change, alteration or modification of its provisions. The Conference even has not produced any review document. 178 states signed the treaty and 13 countries including India did not sign the NPT.

The NPT appears to be a pious attempt to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapon technology. Its contents, however, bear ample evidences to establish the fact that the five nuclear states who are also the veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, intend to monopolise the nuclear technology and to establish their hegemony over the world. The NPT demands that the present non nuclear states, and the states which are on the threshold of acquiring the nuclear capability must stop the research and making of nuclear weapons. India objected to such a treaty calling it discriminatory. India has categorically declared that it will not sign the Treaty in its present form because its indefinite extension only serves to perpetuate its discriminatory aspects which have created a division between the nuclear "haves" and "have nots".

### **10.7.2 India and CTBT**

The concept of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was mentioned in the NPT. The CTBT has been planned to realise the objective of general and complete nuclear disarmament. The CTBT in present form, however, is not intended to make the weapon free world

free from nuclear weapons. It would neither actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons, nor decrease the present offensive capabilities of the nuclear weapon states. The treaty asks the non-nuclear states not to go for testing of nuclear devices thus preventing them from emerging as nuclear capable states. It has no provision for reducing the nuclear capabilities of the weapon states. Like the NPT, the CTBT too wants to divide the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. India has, therefore, not signed the CTBT.

After the CTBT was ratified in 1996, negotiations on another treaty to cut off fissile material production have started in January, 1997. The proposed Fissile Material production Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) seeks to put a cut-off point in the sphere of fissile material production. India has refused to be a party in the FMCT. It has opposed the treaty on the same grounds that India put forward while opposing the NPT and the CTBT.

In fact all the three treaties have been planned in a way that the nuclear weapon states can control the nuclear technology and maintain their hegemony over the world. These treaties will not deter the weapon states to sharpen and improve their technology. Because they have reached a stage, now they can further improve their technology through computer and other indoor tests which have not been banned. They are also not willing to destroy the existing weapons within a time frame.

These treaties, therefore, are not in a position to eliminate the nuclear weapons leading to general and complete disarmament.

#### Check Your Progress 6

Note : i) Use the space below for your answer.  
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Why does India refuse to sign the NPT, CTBT and FCCT?

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#### 10.8 LET US SUM UP

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Though the armaments are the cause of tension and war, the nation-states are reluctant to disband the arms. Both from political and economic points of view, the states are compelled to pile up the stock of arms. Consequently, disarmament proposals are being neutralized.

The efforts for reduction of arms to ensure peace in the world during the inter war period and during the Cold War years have failed to check the stockpiling and inventions of more sophisticated and deadly weapons. India though the initiator of the disarmament movement, has refused to sign of the NPT, CTBT, etc., because of their discriminatory character.

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#### 10.9 KEY WORDS

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**Antiballistic Missile Systems:** 'Defensive Strategy, in which missiles are deployed to counter the incoming missiles.

**Fissile:** It is capable of undergoing nuclear fission, fission means the action of dividing or splitting matter into two or more parts.

**NPT:** Treaty to check the horizontal proliferation of Nuclear weapon states.

## 10.10 SOME USE BOOKS

F.H. Hinsley, 1963, **Power and the Pursuit of Peace**, Cambridge.

Istvan Kende, The History of Peace : Concept and Organisations from the Late Middle Ages to the 1870s in **Journal of Peace Research**, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1989.

Ghanshyam Paradesi (ed.) : 1982, **Contemporary Peace Research**, New Delhi.

S.J.R. Bilgrami, **The Arms Race and Disarmament**, New Delhi.

## 10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

### Check Your Progress 1

Inventions of deadly weapons, destruction in wars, devastating impact of the explosion of atom bomb on Japan during the closing days of the Second World War and the need of more resources for socio-economic development in the developing world are some of basic reasons for disarmament.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Different Chinese Independent rulers in 546 B.C.
- 2) a) Signed between the USA and the Great Britain in 1817 to demilitarise US-Canada border. It is still in vogue.  
b) Hague Disarmament Conferences were held once in 1899 and again in 1909. First Conference prescribed the use of certain deadly weapons. It emphasised on reducing the military budget and increasing the developmental budget. Second Conference failed to stop the on going arms race.  
c) First World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932 under the auspices of the League of Nations. It passed certain pious resolutions.  
d) The UN founded the UNAEC (United Nations Atomic Energy Commission) in 1946. It was asked to prepare a plan for peaceful use of atomic power.

### Check Your Progress 3

- a) Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, first signed in 1968 for twenty five years. Again signed in 1995 for indefinite period. India has not yet signed the treaty because India considers it discriminatory.
- b) SALT I + II signed between the USA and the USSR. It is Strategic Armed Limitation Treaty.

### Check Your Progress 4

Peace is necessary for the even development of the human civilization

### Check Your Progress 5

Classless transformed society can only guarantee the world peace.

### Check Your Progress 6

Because the treaties are discriminatory, they have divided the world into nuclear haves and have-nots states.