



## **WORLD HISTORY, PART – 2**

*(Supplementary Material)*

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

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

The necessary but insufficient factors include:

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

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

### **1) Hitler's Role**

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 The evidence of Hitler's desire for occupying Russia comes from the Mein Kampf (My Struggle) and an unpublished secret book that he wrote in 1928.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

**2) The Role of Appeasers:** The appeasers share the blame equally with Hitler. The Policy of Appeasement raised Hitler's prestige at home. After Hitler was offered Sudetenland on a plate in Munich Conference (1938), Hitler was convinced of British and French inaction when he invaded Poland in 1939. Also, it can be argued that the British Prime Minister Chamberlain picked a wrong issue to act militarily against Germany. Danzig and Polish Corridor were more genuine demands than Sudetenland. This was so because in Danzig the Germans formed 95% of the population and the Polish corridor was important for connecting East Prussia with the rest of Germany. The British justification for Munich Conference (1938) - that it chose to appease Hitler because it needed time for rearmament - is hard to digest since Czechoslovakia was militarily strong and had excellent fortifications in Sudetenland against a Germany invasion. Thus, Czechoslovakia would have formed a better ally when it had Sudetenland than Poland. Also, the inaction during annexation of the rest of Czechoslovakia is condemnable.

**3) The Treaty of Versailles and the German People:** It can be argued that without the support of the German people, the rise of Hitler would not have been possible. Hitler did not do any coup to come to

power and rather he came to power through a democratic process of elections. He headed the Nazi party that fought elections and won a good number of seats. It can be said that Hitler said those things, which the Germans wanted to hear. His propaganda against the Treaty of Versailles capitalized on the anger among the Germans against the humiliation the treaty brought. The German public thus approved of Hitler's action. But it can be said that the public was responsible for the rise of Hitler but it cannot be blamed for the atrocities Hitler committed. There was a Department of Propaganda, which continuously brainwashed the Germans and fed them with antisemitic views. The school curriculum was changed accordingly. Hitler stoked the public phobia towards communism and thus manipulated them in his favor. The weak politicians before the rise of Hitler who worked only in self interest and did not stand up against Hitler are also to blame. The German capitalists contributed monetarily to the Nazi party as it helped restore law and order. The people and businessmen supported Hitler because he ensured law and order stability and because they were against communism in general.

- 4) **Non-aggression Pact between USSR & Germany:** It can be argued that USSR made world war inevitable by signing the Non Aggression Pact of 1939 with Germany. Had this not happened, the German aggression would probably have been nipped in the bud. The activities by Comintern in India and other British colonies were also responsible for the distrust. In their defence, the Russian scholars argue that Russia knew that it would be attacked in future and thus needed the pact to buy time to bolster its defences.
- 5) **Distrust between USSR and the would-be Allied Powers:** This was also a reason. The conservatives in France and Britain were more suspicious of communists in USSR than the Nazis. The right wingers in France were sympathetic to Hitler and in awe of his achievements. The conservatives in France prevented addition of a clause for Military cooperation in the agreement signed by France and USSR in 1935. If the military alliance between the two had materialized then Germany would have been defeated in a localized war in Eastern Europe or it might have not ventured into a war at all.

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

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

The war could be divided into four phases:

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

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

### Phase II: Increase in Axis Offensive:

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

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

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

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

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

## **3] Important Events and Analysis**

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

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

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

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

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

In the East, when **Finland** was attacked by USSR in 1939, the League of Nations expelled the Russians. Finland had gained independence from Russia during the Russian Revolution and the Russian Civil War (1917, 1918-20 respectively). Russia did not occupy the whole of Finland but forced it to cede a large part of its territory. Only

those areas were taken away from Finland which would help the Russians deal with an attack from the West. In 1940, Russia invaded and occupied the **Baltic States** of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were taken away from it by the Germans under the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917) and then made independent states under the Treaty of Versailles (1920). Stalin wanted them back under the Russian fold.



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

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

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

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

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

## FRANCE OCCUPIED BY AXIS POWERS 1940-1944



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

Following are some of the reasons:

- The French were psychologically not prepared for a war. Although the French were aware of the German threat, the split between the Left and the Right wings resulted in lack of unity and preparedness. Even though there was a split between the Left and the Right wingers, yet both were against a war with Germany. The Left was not in favour of war after the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, while the Right wingers admired Hitler's achievements and wanted truce. They argued that since the Poles had been defeated, there was no reason to fight a war against the Germans as France had a role in the war only because of its guarantee of Polish frontiers.
- The slow troop mobilization: The mechanized divisions were slowed down by infantry that moved along them. This gave an advantage to the Germans who were faster in troop movements.
- France neglected air support for its troops, while the German air support was very effective.
- Most importantly, in the First World War, Germany was fighting the battle on two fronts simultaneously viz. against Russia in the east and France in the west. The genius of Hitler was the Non Aggression Pact with Russia in 1939 which allowed him to concentrate all his forces on a single front against France. Thus France missed the ally in Russia which had served it well during the First World War.

**Battle of Britain (1940):** This was fought in the air between the German Luftwaffe and the Royal Airforce of Britain. It is crucial because it was a turning point and served as the first defeat for Germany. Although Britain served huge loss of infrastructure in its cities due to bombing by the Luftwaffe, yet Germany could not defeat the British Airforce. Germany lost 1400 airplanes while Britain lost only 700. The answer to why Britain won the

war lies in the early warning of the airplanes given by the British Radar stations. Also German Airplanes focused on bombing London and during this the British airfields got time to mobilize the air-force.

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

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

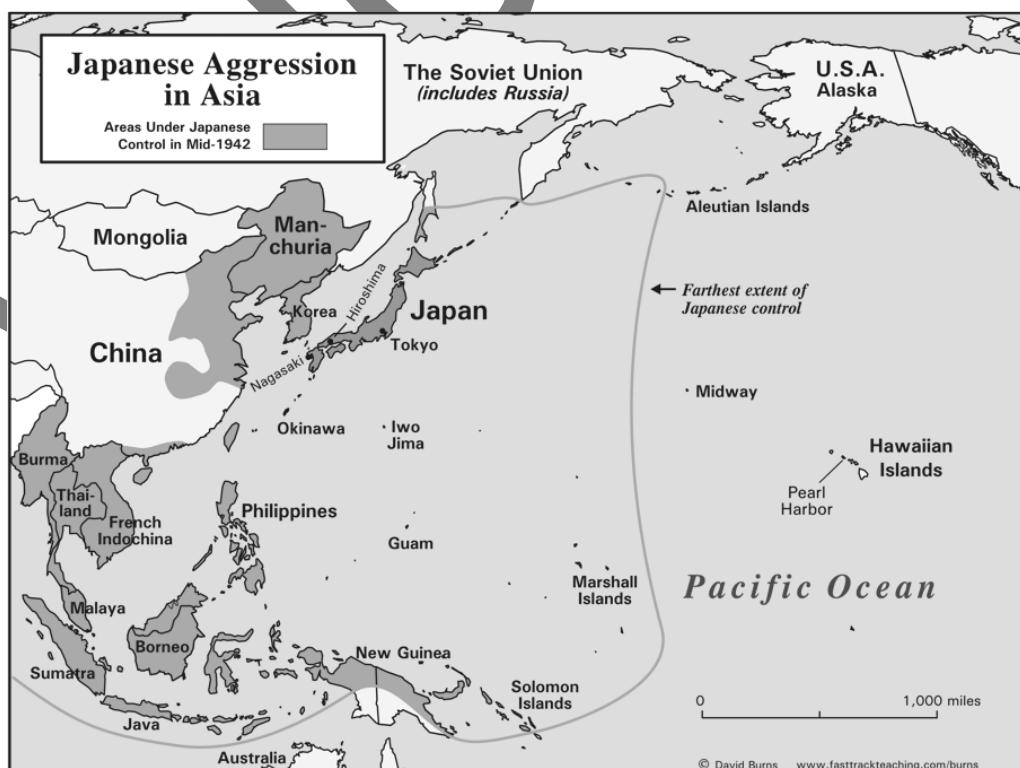
- 1) **North Africa and Greece:** Hitler sent forces to help Italy. German forces drove British out of Libya and partially from Egypt. They also invaded Greece and forced out the British troops. Yugoslavia and Greece were attacked simultaneously by Germany. The effect of German victory was :
  - a) There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

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



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

- 3) **US enters the War (December 1941):** Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and with this attack the US ended the Policy of Isolation and joined on the side of Allies. Although through the Lend-Lease Act (April 1941), the United States of America had already been supporting the Allies with massive financial aid to Britain and war material to Russia. Pearl Harbour was a Naval Base in Hawaii islands. At the Washington Conference, Japan had reached an agreement on the naval limit with Britain, France and the USA. In 1930, it had reiterated its commitment to the naval limit but it soon breached it, thus breaking its Washington conference pledge. It had also agreed to maintain the neutrality of China under the Washington Conference (1921-2) but in 1931 it invaded Manchuria. By 1937, Japan had begun the full invasion of China and this 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino-Japanese war merged into the second World War. The reasons for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour are as follows:
- a) Japan wanted domination of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. This was an imperial concept and implied all the Asian nations in East Asia under the Empire of Japan and free of western powers.
  - b) Japan wanted raw material and thus desired British possessions of Malaya and Burma which were rich in rubber, oil and tin. It also wanted to colonize the Dutch East Indies which was rich in oil.
  - c) Japan did not want a war with US but the latter was proving to be a hurdle in the Japanese plans. US was helping China in the war against Japan. The US had also placed oil embargo on Japan because Japan would not heed to the US demand of withdrawing from the French Indo-China (Indo China is the region comprising of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia). The Japanese had got Indo-China from Vichy France which was a puppet government installed by Hitler after Battle of France (1940). The negotiations had reached a deadlock when US continued to demand withdrawal of Japan from Indo-China and China.
  - d) Also war became inevitable when the aggressive General Tojo became the Prime Minister of Japan.



After the attack on Pearl Harbour:

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4] Role of the Navy in WWII

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

- a) The navy protected the Merchant ships of Allies. This ensured continuous supply of food. The British navy, especially, was important in maintaining the supply of arms, aircraft and meat to Russia by escorting the convoys via the Arctic.
- b) The navy of the allied forces played important role by sinking German U-boats (submarines) and

surface raiders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Invasion of Germany (1944-5):** There was disagreement over this, between US and Britain. While Britain wanted to reach Berlin before the Russians, the US demanded to practice caution due to an earlier failed attempt at German invasion in 1944. The Battle of Bulge was fought in December 1944. It is named so due to the fact that German troops were able to break through American lines and advanced 60 miles leading to a huge bulge in the front line between the two forces. US and Britain pushed them back. The result was that Hitler had spent all

resources in this battle and they could not be replaced. The fall of Germany was now certain. Russia captured Berlin in April, 1945 and Hitler committed suicide.

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

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

This can be summed up in the following points:

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

## 8] Impact of World War II

1. **Destruction:** More than 40 million people were killed of which half were Russians. Many people were uprooted from their homes. The German industrial areas and cities were devastated. Similarly, cities in France and West Russia were devastated by air strikes. Holocaust was another feature of the war. Hitler engaged in systematic execution of six million Jews in the concentration camps. The nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed and disabled countless Japanese and continued to affect the health of succeeding generations for years to come.
2. **Peace Settlement:** Multiple separate treaties were signed. Italy lost all of its African colonies along with Albania and Ethiopia. USSR took East Czechoslovakia, parts of Finland and did not free the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which were captured in 1939. Trieste came under United Nations administration. Japan (1951) surrendered all territories acquired in the past 90 years and thus completely withdrew from China. USSR refused any settlement over Germany and Austria except that they would remain under the occupation of Allied troops, while East Prussia would be divided between Poland and Russia.
3. **Migration:** Many Germans migrated to Germany from their homes in Allied occupied areas outside Germany. This was done to ensure that no future German government claimed these territories.
4. **Nuclearization:** World War II led to production of nuclear weapons.
5. **Balance of Power:** The European domination of the world ended with the World War II and the balance of power shifted in favour of the USSR and US. Due to high war costs, Italy, Germany, Britain and France were on the verge of bankruptcy. Britain was under high US debt which it acquired due to the US aid provided under the Lend-Lease Act (1941). After the war, Britain was forced to ask for another US loan. Also, the European exports declined. The US was economically strong while the USSR had the largest army. The world

after the World War II was a bipolar world, which became engulfed in a Cold War rivalry between the two super powers.

6. **Third World Concept emerged:** The Third World meant to be non-Aligned to any of the two world powers. In 1973, the leaders of the independent states that emerged after the war gathered at Algiers and declared themselves as the Third World. The Third world was suspicious of both Communism and Capitalism.
7. **Decolonization:** The defeat of European powers at the hands of Japan decreased their prestige upon which their colonial rule depended. It was said that the British was able to maintain its colonial empire not through military but through prestige. The war was fought against oppression and for freedom from fascist regimes. Also many soldiers from colonies fought in Europe where they got exposed to the ideas and the prosperity of the West which was in stark contrast with the poverty at home. All this led to rise of nationalism in the colonies. Also the European powers were militarily and economically weak. USSR was now a world power. Communist ideology was against colonialism. Many erstwhile European colonies which came under Japanese rule during the war witnessed rise of nationalist struggles under Communist leaders. India was the first colony to gain independence after the war. Thus, decolonization first began in Asia which led to demands for independence in Africa and Middle East. The decolonization process led to emergence of many new nation states in the 1960s.
8. **United Nations** was established in 1945 for maintenance of world peace, protection of rights of individuals and for socio-economic development across the world.

## 9] Different Socio-Economic Systems

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

### 9.1 Capitalism

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

### 9.2 Communism

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

### 9.3 Socialism

Before we move on to discuss the rise and evolution of socialism, it is important to clearly understand the meaning of the term. Most generally, **socialism refers** to state ownership of common property, or state ownership of the means of production. Alternatively, socialism is any of the various systems of social organization in which the means of producing and distributing goods can be privately or collectively owned or

dictated by a centralized government that often plans and controls the economy. Although, socialism does not always co-exist with only communist or fascist governments, the implementation of socialism in many countries generally requires that a strong central government exist to implement this philosophy.

Socialism has the following characteristics:

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

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

## 10] Forms and Shades of Socialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- i. **Democratic Socialism:** The propounders of Democratic Socialism argue for a socialist order which is truly democratic. In their view in a true Socialist society, the masses would have the power to take decisions regarding the management of economy. Their thrust is therefore on "**Socialism from Below**" which has been further explained below:
  - a) It favours active participation of population as a whole and workers in particular in the management of economy. This is the fundamental feature of Democratic Socialism or Socialism from Below. The means are secondary in nature and such a socialist order may be achieved through reformist or revolutionary means. Within the Democratic Socialists there are sub-groups who support one set of means over another with most favouring revolutionary means, yet their real stress is on ends rather than means.
  - b) Socialism from below is an anti-Authoritarian view of Socialism in contrast to Stalinism and Social Democracy, both of which are forms of Authoritarian State Socialism. *Authoritarian* here implies

concentration of power as against decentralization of power. Stalinism, among other things, implies concentration of power in the hands of a paramount leader who rules the state. The economy is centrally planned with top down decision making in management of economy. In a Social Democracy also, the economic decision making is concentrated in the State and the Capitalists. Here also the real producers of wealth i.e. the workers do not get to make decisions. Thus according to Democratic Socialists both Social Democracy and Stalinism are against the notion of decentralization of power in the hands of the masses.

- c) Democratic Socialism is against State Socialism which includes nationalization of industries and command economy (centrally planned economy where the state commands the industry what, when, how much and how to produce). In capitalism the decision making power on the questions of economic production is in the hands of Capitalists. Democratic Socialists argue that through nationalization the capitalists are replaced by the State and the worker is again left out.
- ii. **Social Democracy:** It is a political ideology where the main thrust of Social Democrats is on the means to achieve ends of a socialist society. They oppose violent revolutionary means and believe that a socialist order which is equitable should be achieved through gradual reforms in a non-violent manner. Some important features of Social Democracy can be listed as below
  - a) The goal is similar to that of Democratic Socialism viz achievement of a Socialist society where there is less concentration of wealth and more equality.
  - b) The means are reformist - gradual methods rather than violent means. . They favour peaceful and evolutionary change towards a socialist economy from a capitalist economy.
  - c) Social Democracy can also be defined as a political ideology that aims a welfare state with socialist policies and where workers have the power of collective bargaining within the framework of a Capitalist Economy and Democracy.
  - d) The form of polity preferred is Democracy with rule of law. Democracy stressed here is both political and economic.
  - e) They favor a mixed economy but are against excess intervention by the State. They are equally against 100 per cent free market economy and 100 per cent planned economy.

<b>Two Political ideologies</b>	<b>Democratic Socialism</b>	<b>Social Democracy</b>
Vote Bank	Workers and poor peasants	Middle Class
Degree of Radicalism	Much more radical	Less Radical
System of Economy preferred	Fully socialist economy	Mixed Economy. Not fully socialist economy but a capitalist economy with socialist features like collective bargaining and a welfare state.
Means	Two groups- <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Reformist Democratic Socialists- prefer peaceful gradual reforms.</li> <li>2) Revolutionary Democratic Socialists- prefer violent immediate revolution. They criticize the Reformist Democratic Socialists of supporting "Socialism from Above" because the latter do not want an instantaneous end to Capitalism.</li> </ol>	Gradual; reformist; peaceful; evolution rather than revolution.
Role of State	Minimum role of State. Even a welfare state should only be a temporary measure	Some role of State. Against 100 per cent free market economy as well as against 100 per cent state planned economy.
System of Polity	Decentralization of Power is main focus be it under a democracy or a communist state.	Democracy with rule of law.

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

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

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

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

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

### **Beginning of the Rise of Workers:**

After industrial revolution there was an increase in the number of workers in towns where the factories were located. The workers were exploited by the factory owners and the management. They had unsafe conditions of work, working hours were as long as sixteen hours, child labor was rampant, provisions of social security were lacking and their wages were paltry. Trade Unions (organization of workers), began to emerge but they were illegal for a long period of time as the capitalists had influence in the law making bodies of the State. In the French Revolution (1789), workers were a major force and they had organized themselves into secret societies for overthrow of Feudalism. In England and other countries, the governments were forced to pass laws against some of the worst features of capitalism due to the pressure of working class. For Example, laws against unsafe conditions of work were passed in many countries and limits were placed on the maximum hours of work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**League of Just:** It was one among the many socialist organizations. Its major contribution was the idea of Internationalism. Internationalism implied unity of all the workers in all the countries and rejection of borders as

a source of disunity among workers. It had members from all across Europe. It gave the slogan “all men are brothers”.

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

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

## 12] Ideas of Karl Marx

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

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

**Communist Manifesto (1848)** was authored by Marx and Engels on instructions by the Communist League. It changed the slogan “from each according to his capacity, to each according to his *work*” to “ from each according to his capacity, to each according to his *need*”. This was so as to have a more inclusive society which would care for those who cannot contribute enough due to old age, disability etc.

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

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

His ideas can be further discussed under following heads:

- 1) **Capitalism, conflict and classes:** Karl Marx tried to analyze why there is conflict in the society. He concluded that the conflict is result of division of society into classes. Further, he blamed Capitalism for division of the society into classes. Thus Capitalism is responsible for conflict which in turn is responsible for stratification of society into classes. According to Karl Marx, it is natural for people to

come together for production of goods. Thus originally, there exists a harmony among people for joint production but Capitalism ruins this harmony and results in conflict in the society. To put it in another way, the classes do not lead to conflict but it is the conflict that pushes people to organize themselves into classes to seek superiority of "us" vs "them". This is how a classless society changes into a class based society. Karl Marx desired a society without conflict, without Capitalism, and without classes. [No Capitalism-->No Conflict-->Classless society].

- 2) **Exploitation of Workers:** Karl Marx argued that the workers (i.e. the proletariat) are the real producers of value in the economy and they are exploited everywhere by the Capitalists (i.e. the middle class or the Bourgeois). Thus eventually they would rise against this exploitation and there will be Dictatorship of Proletariat. By this he meant that when a society becomes "fully industrialized", the workers will eventually revolt to take control and run the government/society in their interest. This is what Marx referred to as "Dictatorship of Proletariat".
- 3) **Industrialization:** It is to be noted that Marx was not against Industrialization but only against Industrial Capitalism dominating an industrialized society.
- 4) **Means for Ends:** Marx believed that since the State controls all the power and is itself a tool of the Bourgeois, a violent revolution is the only way ahead to destroy capitalism.
- 5) **Communist Society:** Marx argued for a stateless society. He was against all the existing institutions viz the army, the government and bureaucracy as he viewed them as institutions on which the State relies for its existence. State only protects the interests of the Bourgeois. Bureaucracy was not neutral according to Marx. It gradually develops its own class interests. It has interests in secrecy and derives power by concealing information. In place of Capitalist society, Marx desired a Communist society. Commune means a body of people living together in harmony and sharing everything. Marx argued that in a Communist Society "*each would contribute according to his ability and get according to his need*". But, Marx did not give a detailed view of how a communist society would be organized. His proposition was to a great extent ideological without a comprehensive implementation plan for operationalizing this Communist ideology.
- 6) **Anti-Rule of Law:** Democracies thrive on and advocate the principle of Rule of Law. Marx believed that laws are always the product of human will and, more specifically, the arbitrary will of the ruling social class. He sought, therefore, to displace the ideal of the rule of law. "*Law, Religion, Art, Morality and Literature are the opium of the masses, a mere construct devised by the bourgeois class to subjugate the proletariat*" – Karl Marx. Marx viewed the state and the law as mere instruments of the elite to subjugate and oppress the lower class, thus hindering the capacity of human evolution to peak at its finest in prime. Thus, Marx sought to dispel the Rule of Law and put in its place a secular utopia where there would be equality in wealth and power. Thus while liberalism insists that the law is neutral and non-partisan, Marx opposes it as a cloak used by the elites to oppress the masses.
- 7) **Internationalism:** The aim of all workers in all countries was overthrow of Capitalism. He argued that free development of each is a precondition for free development of all. Thus every worker should be seen as a comrade or brother.
- 8) **Inevitability of Socialism:** Marx believed in inevitability of socialism because Capitalism doesn't serve the needs of man and therefore like Feudalism, the Capitalism will also come to an end.
- 9) **Surplus Production:** Marx was against surplus production because for him it was the reason for colonialism and exploitation of natural resources.

#### **Impact of Communist Manifesto (1848)**

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

- 1) to end the domination of Aristocratic class
- 2) End the rule of the autocratic government and establishment of democracy

- 3) In case of Italy and Germany the protesters desired unification of their respective countries.
- 4) Specifically, through these revolts, the workers desired an end to Capitalism itself.

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

### **Internationalism**

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

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

**1<sup>st</sup> International (1864):** The trade unionists who formed the International Workingmen's Association (IWA), sometimes called the First International, recognised that the working class was an international class which had to link its struggle on an international scale. The aims of the 1<sup>st</sup> International was the total abolition of all 'class rule'. It also stressed international unity of the working class and the socialist leaders. The 1<sup>st</sup> International influenced and aided the worker's movement in Europe and North America. It arranged aid for helping the workers of one country by collecting funds from workers of other countries. It took up an anti-war stance. Workers of both Prussia and France were opposed to initiation of the Franco-Prussian war (1870) and the consequent secession of Alsace Lorraine by France to Germany.

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

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

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

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

The 1<sup>st</sup> International witnessed a split in 1872 over the methods and aims of the organization. It was finally disbanded in 1876. But by 1876 it had played an important role in awareness among the workers. They had

become more politically assertive. By 1876 socialist parties in many countries were strong and had a healthy membership.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- a) Unlike the 1<sup>st</sup> international, the 2<sup>nd</sup> International was a loose federation of socialist parties from different countries. The 1st International was in contrast a well-knit close group, more united, smaller and thus easier to coordinate and manage.
- b) There were some internal differences which weakened the 2<sup>nd</sup> International.

- i. It was divided on the question of the method of struggle to bring about socialism. Some preferred the method of a violent revolution while others favored gradual reforms by pressuring and lobbying with the governments. Those who favored gradual reforms supported their governments.
- ii. Some sections within the 2<sup>nd</sup> International favored colonialism, their respective countries engaged in.
- iii. On the issue of war, the different groups within the 2<sup>nd</sup> International had unanimity of opinion over the basic principle of opposition to war but they differed over what actions to take. For example, some socialist parties feared repression from their governments if they opposed the war. Also some socialist parties were unwilling to use the crisis created by the war to promote their revolution.
- iv. When the World War I broke out-most socialist parties supported their governments. This led to an end to the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. Thus it can be argued that Nationalism was a reason for downfall of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International. The rift between Internationalism and Nationalism played out during the last years of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International and the latter prevailed.

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

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

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

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

## Russian Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **1917 Revolutions:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This can be explained by the following factors:

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

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

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

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

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

b) **Immediate Cause:**

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

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

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

power be vested in the soviets, that there should be no support to the Provisional Government and that Russia should immediately withdraw from WW I.

- e) Kornilov affair: Kornilov was an army general. He decided to send troops against the Soviets but the Petrograd troops and many troops of Kornilov as well mutinied. After this, the public opinion swung against participation in WW I and in favor of Soviets.
- f) Lenin offered attractive reforms for bringing the masses on his side- viz- Land Redistribution, decreased food inflation and withdrawal from WW I if the public supported his revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

#### **14] Lenin and Marxism**

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

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

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

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

- a) Lenin signed a trade agreement with Britain in 1921 for getting British investment (FDI) that would spur growth.
- b) Lenin introduced the **New Economic Policy (1921-27)** with following features:
  - i. Broadly the policy focused on Peasant welfare and boosting growth.
  - ii. The NEP was to be a temporary measure to boost growth.
  - iii. Allowing for private ownership of land and using capitalist incentives to increase production of food. Peasants were allowed to keep surplus produce after payment of tax (which was a percentage of the surplus produce).

- iv. Private ownership of small scale industries with Heavy Industries like coal, iron, steel, chemicals remaining under State ownership. Similarly, Power, Transport, Banking continued to remain under the State control.
- v. Private ownership in trade of goods produced by the small factories.
- vi. Lenin allowed introduction of capitalist measures like bonus, piece wage rates etc.
- vii. Lenin brought back old managers who were removed after the revolution of 1917. This was done to improve factory output.
- viii. The left wing members of party opposed the NEP as they felt that this will lead to rise of Kulaks (wealthy peasant landlords).
- ix. Long term solution of Lenin was state control of economy, collectivization of farms to bring about economies of scale in agricultural production. Collectivization (1929) could only be brought after death of Lenin who died in 1924.
- x. NEP had moderate success. The ordinary people were better off but the food shortages continued.

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

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

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

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

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

- 1) **Rapid Industrialization:** One approach was to abandon the pro-peasant NEP and focus on rapid industrialization. The proponents of this approach argued that a communist state thrives on the support base of workers and not peasants. They feared that the NEP would lead to rise of Kulaks (wealthy peasant landlords) who would threaten not just the goal of equality but the communist revolution as well. This idea was similar to what Mensheviks proposed earlier -focus on workers and focus on industrialization.
- 2) **Socialism in One Country:** This was the approach of the right-wing communist leaders who were- pro-peasant and pro-NEP. They were advocates of limited private ownership of wealth and use of feature of capitalism to spur growth. This approach mandated:
  - a) **Prosperity of Peasants:** Consolidate power of Soviets in Russia by focusing on the prosperity of peasants by allowing private ownership of property because it were the peasants who formed the

majority of population and their support is necessary for strengthening the Communist party. [Soviet is the Russian word for Council. The soviets were the councils created for governance at local level. They had membership from workers as well as the peasants (the peasants had to be included because they formed the majority of population especially in hinterland). The Soviets, as per Marxist thinkers and Lenin, are the bodies that represent the democratic will of the workers and thus are essential for bringing about the Dictatorship of Proletariat.]

- b) **Gradual Industrialization:** A very gradual industrialization as opposed to rapid industrialization. An approach similar in principle was followed by Mao through his Great leap Forward (1958) as we will discuss later.
- 3) **Permanent Revolution:** This approach was advocated by Lenin's confidante Trotsky. It implied working for the communist revolution outside Russia and once this is achieved there would be no threat to communist revolution in Russia. Thus the revolution would be 'permanent' as the whole world or at least the immediate neighbourhood of Russia would be communist. Once this is achieved, then the countries of Western Europe, which have already industrialized, would help Russia industrialize.

## 15] Socialism in India

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

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

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

- 1) Equal opportunities for all.
- 2) Reduction of inequalities through state legislation and through state implemented welfare schemes. Indian constitution has tried to incorporate protective measures to check the major negative features of capitalism. Child Labor in factories, mines and other hazardous employment for children below 14 years of age is banned by Article 24 and the Minimum Wages Act 1948 is in place to ensure security of livelihood of the workers.
- 3) Prevention of concentration of wealth in the society through state regulation and laws.
- 4) Public control over important areas of economy. A strong public sector especially in Heavy Industry and other capital intensive areas.
- 5) Focus on Heavy Industries and mechanization.
- 6) India tried to implement a programme for land redistribution after banning Zamindari. Also we tried to implement collectivization of agriculture through cooperative farming. Under, cooperative farming the peasants voluntarily organize themselves into cooperatives of farmers by submitting their land for collective farming. They continue to retain the legal right to the land but jointly cultivate the land. The cooperative body provides the farmers with credit, better seeds and fertilizers which otherwise are not affordable for the individual farmers. But cooperative farming in India was a voluntary drive unlike USSR which forced the peasants to give up their lands in favor of collective farms. India was only partially successful as some sections were suspicious that in time the farmers would lose their land ownership. Also since Agriculture is a state subject, so different states implemented different versions of cooperative farming and with different success rates.
- 7) Indian Socialism can be termed as evolutionary and reformist.
- 8) It focuses on harmony between individual interest and collective interest. We adopted a mixed economy i.e. an economy with features of both public and private ownership of wealth. Thus it can be said that India has a socialism that coexists with capitalism and democracy.

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

#### **Critical Analysis of Indian Socialism**

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

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

There is no doubt that socialism is necessary but mere provision of services and government regulations on economy doesn't lead to socialism. Centralized planning, which has been adopted in India creates a uniform system of economic development, which does not fully take into account local variation of individual aspirations. Decentralization of political power is therefore important to achieve the goals of socialism in country. It has also

been realised that public ownership and economic subsidies only help big corporations in increasing their profits. They reduce the risks of business competition. Even the system of progressive taxation is alleged to favour the super-rich over the wage earner. This kind of system has contributed very little to redistribution of the wealth of the super-rich among the masses.

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

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

## 16] Stalinism

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

### 16.1 Challenges before Stalin & his Solutions

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

1. He introduced the Five Year Plans with focus on heavy Industries.
2. Nationalization of industries.
3. Abandoning the New Economic Policy in 1929.
4. Collectivization of Agriculture by violent eviction of Kulaks (big & rich peasants).
5. Introduction of a totalitarian regime, which was characterized by greater use of secret police and killing any voice of dissent. Trotsky, an important ally of Lenin, was deported out of Russia.
6. Remilitarization
7. Focus on science and technology development.
8. An aggressive foreign policy which viewed the Western powers, especially USA as hostile.

### 16.2 Why Stalin focused on heavy industrialization?

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

USSR adopted this policy of heavy industrialization because:

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

### 16.3 Introduction of the Five Year Plans

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

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

The general aspects of these plans were:

- a) They focused on heavy industries and were quite successful. Hundreds of factories were setup in the area, east of the Ural Mountains, in order to
- b) Impressive growth was recorded in the heavy industries sector but other sectors including agriculture sector under performed.
- c) Many hydro power plants were setup.
- d) Oil refineries were setup in the oil-rich region of Caucasus.
- e) Domestic sources of investment were deployed.
- f) Promotion of education skilled workers.
- g) Extra focus on efficiency by using Taylor-ism principles which argued for breaking the work into specific parts and executing each part with maximum efficiency. The workers who achieved record outputs were known as Stakhanovites.
- h) Social security was available to the masses by mid-1930s.

### 16.4 Collectivization of Agriculture (1929)

The aims of collectivization of agriculture were three fold:

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

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

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

## 16.5 Result of Stalinism

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

- 1) **Purges:** Another feature of Stalin's rule was the 'Purges'. It implied sending to exile, putting to trial and imprisonment or even assassinations of any member of the party who opposed Stalin or his policies.
- 2) Leon Trotsky was the most prominent leader who was purged from the Soviet Union. Trotsky's ideas were the basis of Trotskyism, a major school of Marxist thought that is opposed to the theories of Stalinism. He was exiled and deported from the Soviet Union in 1929. Later in 1940, he was assassinated on Stalin's orders in Mexico. Most of his family members were also killed in separate attacks.
- 3) The result of Stalin's policies was a brutal regime characterized by authoritarian socialism and one man rule (rather than the one-party rule as all dissent was crushed). Stalin promoted the cult of his personality. He took the title of 'Man of Steel' which translates as Stalin in Russian. His real name was Iosif (Joseph) Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili. The party's defacto power declined under Stalin's rule. Although all decisions were taken by the Party (on paper), in reality all decision making power was concentrated in the hands of Stalin.
- 4) **No freedom of speech and expression:** Writers, artists, musicians were expected to produce work glorifying the soviet achievements. Education was made a tool of indoctrination of students by making it free and compulsory.
- 5) **Social Services:** Social services in form of education, healthcare and social security increased during Stalin's rule.
- 6) **Forced Labour:** Under Stalin's rule the prisoners were made to do forced labour. Gulag was a government agency under Stalin which managed the Soviet forced labour camps. The Gulag became a major tool of political oppression as the opponents of Stalin were also put into these camps.
- 7) **Clampdown on Orthodox Church:** Stalin clamped down on the Orthodox Church. Many churches were closed and the clergy prosecuted. This was part of consolidation of political power by Stalin.
- 8) **Zero tolerance against separatism:** Stalin had no sympathy towards demands for autonomy or independence by a non-Russian part of USSR. Stalin played an important part in the Russian success in bringing back territories of Ukraine and Georgia during the Civil War (1918-20). Stalin had also ensured that Azerbaijan and Armenia, who had declared independence during the Civil War, continued to remain a part of Russia. Stalin continued this policy of iron hand rule under his term. The real problem lay in the fact that 47 per cent of USSR had non-Russian population.
- 9) **Economic front:** On the economic front, there was some improvement. Heavy industries grew the most but other sectors witnessed a poor performance. Food shortages continued for a long time. Also the basic consumer goods, which are essential to the daily life of common man, were in shortage.
- 10) **Cold War:** Under Stalin, Russia also got heavily involved in the Cold War with USA. Thus deep suspicion towards USA and worsening ties between USA & USSR were a feature of Stalin's rule. USSR spent a lot of money on arms build-up.

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

supported opposite sides in wars between other nations e.g. the Korean War (1950), first phase of Vietnam War (1946-54) etc.

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

## 17] De-Stalinization

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

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

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

- 1) **Political reforms:** The primacy of the Party was restored and the cult of personality was abandoned. Places named after Stalin were renamed. Also, the use of secret police was decreased. Tourism was promoted and the common man was given more freedom. Also the controls on the press were reduced, and thus relatively more freedom of speech and expression could be enjoyed. Khrushchev tried to reduce tension with the West by arguing for peaceful co-existence, although the cold war still continued due to incidents like Cuban Missile Crisis where USSR had placed nuclear missiles in the US backyard of Cuba in response to missiles the western powers had placed in Europe (Turkey and Italy) to target Russia.
- 2) **Industry**
  - a) The five year plans continued but for the first time the light industry that produced basic consumer goods was focused upon, with an aim to raise the standard of living of the common man.
  - b) Decentralization in management of economy was attempted. For example, 100 Regional Economic Councils were formed for making decisions with respect to the respective local industries falling under their jurisdiction.
  - c) To increase factory output, the managers were given incentives to make profit rather than just meeting the quotas given to them by the headquarters.
  - d) The Gulag labour camps that were used for making prisoners do forced labour were disbanded.
- 3) **Agriculture:** Virgin Lands Scheme was introduced in 1954. It implied cultivating for the first time, the huge land tracts in Siberia and Kazakhstan. The scheme failed by 1963 because of poor quality of land and the fact that the dust storms resulted in soil erosion (top layer of soil is the most fertile). Further, to increase agricultural output, the government paid more to the collective farms for the harvested crops it procured. This incentivized the collective farms to produce more. Also, farmers on collective farms were allowed to keep or sell crops grown on their private plots. But there still remained too much centralization in the agriculture sector which continued to remain backward. USSR had to import grains from the USA.
- 4) **Revisionism:** Khrushchev was accused by radical Marxists of revising the basic tenets of Communism. This was so because, Khrushchev had argued that there existed different roads for reaching the goal of socialism. He had allowed the satellite countries to follow their own methods to attain the goal of

Socialism. (Satellite state means a state which is formally independent but is politically, economically and militarily under heavy influence of a foreign power. In case of Soviet Union, the term was used for countries in central and Eastern Europe like Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Sometimes countries outside Europe like Cuba were also included in the list of Soviet Satellite States). Also, Khrushchev had vouched for a peaceful co-existence with the capitalist west rather than supporting a violent revolution for communism in the whole world. Critics also lamented the introduction of capitalist measures and promotion of the managerial class- the methods Khrushchev used to boost factory output. The critics felt that these measures are against the basic principles of Communism. Mao in China was a prominent critic of USSR from 1956 onward and he did away with the Russian economic model that China had followed so far.

## 18] Brezhnev Era (1964-82)

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

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

## 19] Fall of Communist States

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

### 19.1 Domino Effect

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

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

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

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

communist Eastern Europe. In 1980s, due to greater contact between the people of the Eastern and Western Europe, people of Eastern Europe saw the huge contrast in the prosperity of the west and the poverty of east; they blamed communism and their leaders for this.

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

### 19.3 Mikhail Gorbachev

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

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

b) **Political Changes under Perestroika:**

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

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

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

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

- 1) **Opposition from Radicals and Conservatives:** When Gorbachev started implementing his reforms, the radicals in the party opposed him while the liberals in the party condemned him for not doing enough. The time when a repressive regime starts reforms is most dangerous for the regime. The people who desire reforms are never satisfied and want more concessions while the radicals turn against the regime itself. The same thing happened with Gorbachev. Boris Yeltsin was right wing member within the party. He was the leader of the party in Soviet republic of Russia and became popular for combating corruption. Yeltsin wanted a western style market economy as soon as possible. Soon, there was a split in the party between the left wing conservatives and the right wing liberals. Taking opportunity presented by the Glasnost, Yeltsin led public demonstrations for more radical reforms and criticised the conservatives in public. Clearly, Gorbachev could not satisfy both the left and the right wingers in the party.
- 2) **Economic Reforms did not yield quick results:** In the 1980s, USSR was going through economic problems of the kind US faced during the 1930s. The national income was falling continuously over the years and one-fourth of the population was living below the poverty line. There were also some problems due to the 'Law on State Enterprises (1987)'. After this law, the wages were a function of the output of the factories. The aim was to make factories focus on increasing the output. But the problem was that the output was calculated in terms of value of goods produced i.e. in roubles (Russian currency). Thus the factories focused on producing expensive goods at expense of cheaper goods like soap, cups etc. This led to a shortage of basic consumer goods and inflation. There were long queues at stores. **Siberian Coal Miners Strike (1989)** was a result of this. The workers were enraged when they did not have soap to wash themselves and they went on strike. Soon they were joined by other mine workers from Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Siberia totalling half a million miners. This was the first such major strike after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Gorbachev accepted the miners' demands like giving full control of the factories to the workers. This event is important because one of the major demands of the striking miners was an end to the one party system. They wanted to form a party of their own to contest elections on the lines of the Solidarity Trade Union of Poland. Thus pressure was clearly building on Gorbachev to think about an end to Multi-Party System.

- 3) **Nationalist sentiments among the Soviet Republics:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federation of 15 Soviet Republics with each having its own Parliament. Moscow was the seat of Federal Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. Because of Glasnost and Perestroika, the Soviet Republics began demanding more powers and autonomy for their own Parliament. Gorbachev was sympathetic to their demands provided the Communist Party of Soviet Union remained overall in-charge. But small concessions led to a domino effect and the republics went out of control:
- Azerbaijan and Armenia:** A small section of Christians in Azerbaijan (majority population was Muslim) demanded transfer of their territory to Armenia (majority were Christians). But the conservatives in the party were against border changes among Soviet Republics and Gorbachev refused the demands of the Christians in Azerbaijan. Soon fighting broke out between the two Soviet Republics and Moscow seemed to have lost control.
  - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania:** In 1990 these three Soviet Republics declared independence and troops were sent by USSR to check the protests.
  - Soon Boris Yeltsin who was a proponent of a voluntary union among the Soviet Republics, was elected President of the Soviet Republic of Russia (Gorbachev was President of USSR).
- 4) **Rivalry between Gorbachev and Yeltsin:** These two were the major figures and had they been able to work together, USSR might have been able to remain intact but their differences were many. Yeltsin was of the view that the Union should be voluntary and if a Soviet Republic wanted independence/secession then it should have it. Yeltsin had lost confidence in the communist party which was dominated by the conservatives and turned against the one party system. On other hand, Gorbachev wanted to balance the two forces within the party. Although he was not against the idea of multi-party system, he practiced caution and wanted gradual reforms. Also, while Yeltsin wanted a shock therapy or a quick transition to a market economy, Gorbachev wanted gradual transition because the market economy would lead to massive unemployment and high inflation (only price control kept inflation in check because there was otherwise shortage in supply of goods).
- 5) **1991 Coup:** Yeltsin resigned from the communist party in 1990. The conservatives on other hand attacked Gorbachev for he was open to a discussion on the idea of a multi-party system. Already Soviet Republics had started to demand secession. Georgia declared independence in 1991. In a last effort to preserve the Union, Gorbachev proposed the idea of a voluntary union to the 15 republics. At this point, the left wing radicals led by Yanayev led a coup against Gorbachev before he could sign the agreement on voluntary union. In response, Yeltsin began organizing huge public rallies and the government failed to arrest him. Under pressure, the coup leaders resigned and were arrested. After this, Yeltsin banned the communist party in the Soviet Republic of Russia (not USSR). Now Yeltsin had become a hero in public eyes and Gorbachev had been sidelined. Yeltsin quickly moved the Soviet Republic of Russia to a market economy. Yeltsin negotiated a voluntary union of the republics called Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in which the members were to have full political independence but would coordinate their defence and economic policies. Initially, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia joined and later 8 other republics also agreed to join CIS. In December, 1991 Ukraine voted to be independent, Gorbachev resigned from the post of President on Christmas Day (December 1991) and the USSR came to an end.

## 20] Communism after USSR

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

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

## 21] Chinese Communism vs. Russian Communism

### 21.1 Problems of China in 1949

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

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

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

Mao abandoned the Russian model because:

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

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

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

### **21.3 Similarity with the Russian Model till 1958**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **21.4 Differences with Russian approach under Khrushchev**

- 1) Mao was against the policy of peaceful co-existence with the West, spelled out by Khrushchev in his 1956 speech. He was also against the use of capitalist measures by USSR and argued that USSR was becoming soft towards capitalism. Mao was against following a capitalist road being taken by Russia. For example, Russia under Khrushchev favoured creation of an expert and technically superior managerial class to manage the factories. This as per Mao would lead to inequality between the classes and subjugation of the workers in the factories. Mao was against the use of differential piece wage rate, performance linked incentives and increase in private ownership of land (though he was not totally

against small private plots for the farmers). According to Mao, Russia was modifying the basic tenets or ideas of Marx and Lenin (i.e. of communism) to suit its own needs. Mao was in favour of violent revolution as a means for achieving communism instead of peaceful co-existence with capitalism.

2) **Great Leap Forward (1958):** Maoism manifested in the form of the Great Leap Forward initiated by Mao after the criticism he faced during the 100 Flowers Campaign. During the 100 Flowers Campaign initiated to allow people to elicit their views, many people began to criticize the party and demanded transition to a democracy. Mao realized that he needed to take steps to protect the communist revolution and increase economic prosperity of the common man to rouse their belief in communism. The majority of the population in China were peasants. Thus the Great Leap Forward aimed at focusing more on agricultural growth without abandoning Industrial growth and at saving the communist revolution. With the Great Leap Forward, Chinese Communism drifted away from the Russian model:

a. GLF implied that China would focus on having a largely agricultural economy with gradual industrialization. It desired a labour intensive economy and reduced use of machinery in the factories so that more employment could be provided to the masses. The model of industrialization to be followed was of small scale industries scattered in the countryside rather than focusing on heavy industries located at a few nodal points.

b. GLF included the innovation of **Communes**.

i. It aimed at prevention of over-centralization of power, which stifles initiative, by using Communes. A commune was a unit larger than the collective farms. It included multiple collective farms (each collective farm had 100 to 300 peasant families) and thus a commune had people numbering from anywhere between 30,000 to 75,000. Each commune included in its fold peasants, elderly people, women, children, workers and a science team comprising of 30-40 graduates and 30-40 technicians.

ii. **The communes were not just simple agglomeration of farms but they were supposed to act as institutions of local self government.** The Communes had the functions of planning and implementing small infrastructure development projects like dams, irrigation projects and construction of roads- as per the local needs. They ran their own factories (model of small scale industries in the country-side) in the form of backyard steel furnaces. Mao had talked about setting up of 6 lakh backyard steel furnaces i.e. Small scale industries/factories to provide farm equipment to the commune farmers.

iii. Role in provision of social services: The Communes ran crèches, schools and primary health centres to provide basic services to commune members and help in spread of education, providing better opportunities for women and providing other welfare services.

iv. The political structure within a commune included an elected council, brigades and work teams. In other words, people in communes were organized into brigades and work teams with an elected council.

c. **Evaluation of the Great leap Forward**

i. The people faced hardships in the short term but the GLF definitely benefited China in the long term.

ii. There were problems in the short term because of inexperience of the party cadres in the tasks they were given to perform. Also there were series of bad harvests from 1959 to 1961. The withdrawal of Russian aid after 1956 led to economic hardships that China faced during 1959-63. Nearly 20 million people died prematurely because the hardships caused by the GLF. Also the opposition to Mao increased.

iii. In the long term, the GLF proved to be an important milestone for China

- The efforts began to reap benefits and agricultural and industrial production increased significantly in the long term.
- The GLF, through its innovation of communes prevented over-centralization that stifles initiative. Communes were much more than simple tool for collective farming. They allowed for participation of the masses in local governance and thus helped pacify their

grievances. They were able to act as efficient units of LSG and allowed the Chinese Communist Party to keep in touch with the local opinion and aspirations of the masses.

- GLF was able to check unemployment due to the scattered and labour intensive industrial model.
- Spread of education, improved status of women, better welfare services - were some other benefits of the GLF.

## 21.5 Cultural Revolution (1966-9)

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

- 1) **To protect the communist revolution & to keep GLF on Marxist lines-** It was Mao's attempt to save the communist revolution, which was under the threat of right wing leaders within the communist party who advocated in favour of introducing capitalist features along Russian lines (Russia under Khrushchev had allegedly chosen the Capitalist road to socialism). Thus, the Cultural Revolution was aimed at countering the right wing leaders who demanded introduction of incentives like greater wage differentials and larger private plots to farmers which they felt were necessary for improving the efficiency of communes. They also argued for the creation of an expert managerial class on the Russian lines for giving a push to heavy industry instead of relying on the inexperienced party cadres. The debate that the 100 flowers campaign aimed to resolve was obviously continuing. But such measures were characteristic of the capitalist road adopted by Khrushchev, which Mao had criticized as Revisionism. According to Mao, such an approach would lead to emergence of affluent classes in form of wealthy peasants and managers who would soon exploit the weaker sections, effectively ending the communist revolution.
- 2) **To garner support for Great leap Forward-** Mao's experiment of the Great Leap Forward was characterized by hardships in the short term and in its early phase, from 1959 to 1963, the GLF was yet to show results. Thus the opposition to Mao had grown within the party and there was a great debate over the GLF and many advocated that capitalist measures should be introduced. Thus, Mao needed a propaganda programme to garner public support for his programme of GLF.
- 3) **Features of the Cultural Revolution:** Mao in his capacity as Chairman of the Chinese Communist party launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966. The Mao supporters were the Red Guards (most of them students who had recently quit schools and colleges in support of Mao's Cultural Revolution) who toured across the length and breadth of China arguing Mao's case. During the Cultural Revolution - four 'olds' were criticized viz -old culture, old habits, old ideas and old customs. Also, intellectuals were sent to the countryside to understand the rural life and the challenges and opportunities it offered.
- 4) **Criticism of Cultural Revolution:** The Cultural Revolution brought caused a certain degree of chaos and a civil war like situation developed in China. Initially the Red Guards (mostly students) targeted their violence against the critics of Mao, but soon in their enthusiasm, they began to attack anybody and everybody. Teachers, professionals, the local party officials -all were targeted. Once the student masses had been roused, they were difficult to control. The infamous '**Gang of Four**' which included important leaders and Mao's wife were responsible for inciting the Mao supporters for committing excesses. It is said that the Gang of Four were more Maoists than Mao himself. Many lives were ruined and huge disruptions were caused. The economic growth stagnated during the Cultural Revolution due to the chaos it brought. Millions of people were harassed and ruined. Within a year, i.e. by 1967, the extremists among the Red Guards were out of control and Mao had to call in the army, which brought the situation under control. Mao blamed the Red Guard leaders and the Defence Minister for the situation spiralling out of control. Consequently, many Red Guard leaders were tried and executed for committing excesses. In 1969, the Cultural Revolution was formally ended with Mao being cleared of all blame.
- 5) **Positive Impact of Cultural Revolution:** Even though the Cultural Revolution held up the economic growth by approximately 10 years, some economic recovery did happen in mid 1970s. By the time of Mao's death in 1976, China was on path of economic recovery.
  - a. Thanks to focus on light industry, consumer goods were not in shortage unlike the situation in Russia.

- b. A high percentage of population lived in the rural areas and this population was well educated, skilled and well organized in form of Communes.
- c. There were no famines in China and the grain production was able to keep pace at least with the pace of population growth.
- d. Industrial development tripled China's steel production and a good foundation had been laid for a significant petroleum industry. China had been able to create a machine building industry from scratch. The industrial development provided the base for China to become a nuclear power.

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

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

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

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

allowed to fluctuate in the open market as per the demand-supply forces.

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

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

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

- 1) It is important to note that **China implemented the economic reforms before going for the political reforms** that would give more political freedom to the masses. The implementation of economic reforms without initiating political reforms helped China preserve Communism. Deng gave choice in the market to the people i.e. choice to buy and sell and to have private ownership of goods and businesses but without giving them a

choice in politics as China continued to have a one party system. Economic prosperity and independence pacified people's demands for political freedom. In contrast, Mikhail Gorbachev tried to introduce political reforms and economic reforms through Glasnost and Perestroika in 1991 simultaneously. The people blamed poor economy on the political system of USSR and this led to disintegration of USSR.

- 2) The **Left-Right split** within the Communist party never deepened to the critical level of splitting the party. In contrast, the left-right divide in Russia was very strong. Boris Yeltsin openly criticised the socialist policies of the party in the last years of USSR.
- 3) **Deng Xiaoping vs. Mikhail Gorbachev:** Both of them favoured a capitalist road and both were pro-economic reforms. But Xiaoping executed his policies much before from 1976 onward while Gorbachev came late to power (in 1985). Deng was ready to use force and believed firmly in one party system, but this was not the case with Gorbachev. Example, Deng used force during the Tiananmen Square (1989). Gorbachev even began to give in to the demands of a multi-party system after which the conservatives removed him in a coup. Also Gorbachev was not ready to use force and was sympathetic to the demands for autonomy of the Soviet republics.
- 4) Ethnically and culturally China was a much more homogeneous society as compared to Soviet Union where around half the population was non-Russian. The soviet republics had different cultures and different languages. Thus demands for secession were much more in USSR.
- 5) The **100 Flowers Campaign (1957)** acted as an early warning for China and Mao took timely corrective measures in form of the Great leap Forward (1958) to save the revolution and adopted a model of communism relevant to the needs of China. On other hand, the policies of Stalin, Khrushchev and other leaders failed to evolve to address the many problems being faced by the Russian economy.
- 6) Chinese leadership emphasized "**contact with the masses**" more strongly than USSR. The innovation of Communes helped in putting the party in touch with masses.
- 7) **Chinese Communism was flexible** and there was unity among the party leaders which enabled it to survive. It changed with changing needs. Example, Russian Model was followed till 1958, after which Maoism in form of Great Leap Forward influenced Chinese Communism. Deng Xiaoping from 1976 onward adopted market friendly economic policies which gradually culminated into adoption of Market Socialism.
- 8) Russia was much more involved in the Cold War, which hurt its economy by diverting precious resources

## FASCISM

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

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

#### 24.1 March on Rome (1922)

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

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

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

- 1) **Disappointment with the Treaty of Versailles:** Italy was not given all the territory she was promised in 1915, in exchange of entering the WW I on side of the Allies. For example, some of the territories promised to Italy were given to Yugoslavia. Also, Albania, which was promised to Italy, was made an independent country. This decreased the prestige of the government and the public sentiment turned against the government.
- 2) **Poor Economy:** This was a major reason for the rise of Mussolini. The economic conditions worsened due to high war expenditure. Also, Italy had incurred huge debt from US to fund its war effort. This debt was now to be repaid in dollars. Also there was massive unemployment as heavy industries had to cut down their wartime production levels. Because of the cost of World War I, the post-war economic crisis and the debt from US which was now to be repaid- Italy's currency "lira" depreciated (as there was outflow of dollars and decline in production) and consequently there was inflation that hurt the common people who were already under the stress of unemployment. The 2.5 million ex-servicemen were having problems in finding a job.
- 3) **System of Proportional representation:-** In the 1919 elections, voting for all "men" and the system of proportional representation had been introduced (women got right to vote in 1945 to elect constituent assembly after WW II). Under the System of Proportional Representation the parties were allocated seats in the Parliament in proportion to the votes each party got in the elections. This system resulted in a large number of parties coming to Parliament (the Liberals, the Nationalists, the Socialists, Communists, Catholic Popular Party and Italian Fascists Party). Thus, only weak coalition governments could be formed as no single party could get the majority of seats. These governments were unstable (five governments from 1919-22- all incapable of decisive action) and this led to a decline in the credibility of the Parliamentary form of government among the masses who felt that the system was incapable of providing a decisive government.
- 4) **Violence by Communists:** There were a wave of strikes led by the communists during 1919 and 1920. From 1919 onward, there were violent strikes, rioting, looting of shops and occupation of factories by the workers. Soviet like organizations began to prop up and wealthy landlords were evicted from their lands. Thus there was a real danger of communist revolution in 1920. But thereafter the threat of revolution declined because the suppliers stopped supplying raw materials to the workers and thus the factory occupation began to fail. Also the formation of Communist party in 1921 decreased the chances of revolution because it implied a split in the left wing (Socialists Party and Communists party). Yet the fear of a revolution existed among the Italians. In 1922, the communists had attempted a general strike. The credibility of the government declined because it was unable to provide for the security of property. It was in such an atmosphere that Mussolini led the March on Rome.
- 5) **Popularity of Mussolini:** Mussolini was famous as a journalist and began as a socialist but turned against them because they were against Italy's participation in WW I. He then found his own newspaper. He had a socialist outlook and in 1919 found the Italian Fascist Party with a 'socialist and republic programme'. He had supported the occupation of factories by workers during 1919-20 but when the occupations began to fail he changed course. From 1920 onward, he increasingly adopted a radical stand against the communists and his Black Shirt squads began to attack the socialist headquarters. The propertied class began to view him as a saviour by the end of 1921, especially after formation of Communist Party in 1921. He made pro-Church speeches in 1921-22 to reach out to the Catholic Church. In 1922, he dropped the republican part of his party programme and thus the King's attitude towards Mussolini softened. Thus, Mussolini's policies from 1920-22 made him popular among the conservative and right wing sections like the army, the church, the industrialists and the landlords. The socialists are also to be blamed as they failed to work with the government to check violence by Fascist squads.

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

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

## **24.3 Further movements towards a Totalitarian State**

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

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

## **24.4 Corporate State or Corporative State**

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

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

## **24.5 Lateran Treaty (1929)**

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

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

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

## **24.6 Changes**

### **Local Government**

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

### **Censorship**

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

### **Education System**

Education was closely supervised by the secret police. The focus was on promoting the idea of "believe, obey, fight" as everything was viewed in terms of a struggle. Anti-fascist teachers were removed from the system and

children were forced to join youth organizations which indoctrinated them in favour of the Duce and extreme nationalist ideology.

## 24.7 Evaluation of Mussolini's Rule in Italy

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

### 24.7.1 The Positives of Fascism for Italians

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

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

### 24.7.2 Negatives of Fascism in Italy

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

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

resulting in “real” inflation experienced by the people.

- 3) **Inequity:** There was regional disparity in economic prosperity in Italy. The north was rich and had most of the industries while the south was poor and had agricultural economy. It is important to note that today also the Italian south lags the northern part in terms of economic development.
- 4) **Social Services:** Mussolini failed in the provision of social services. For example, there were no schemes for government health insurance until 1943 and thus Mussolini’s Italy was not a welfare state.
- 5) **Corruption:** The regime was inefficient and corrupt and much money went into official’s pockets.
- 6) **Over-centralisation of administration:** A major issue was that Mussolini did not delegate work which left him overburdened. He gave a lot of orders and the officials would take those orders but not do anything as Mussolini had not put in place a comprehensive mechanism to monitor the implementation.

## 24.8 Reasons that led to the fall of Mussolini

Mussolini’s term came to an end when the King dismissed him. His biggest mistake was of entering into the WW II despite knowing that Italy could not afford participation in another war. The majority of the public was against Italy’s participation in the war given the post-WW I hardships they had suffered in the past. Also, Mussolini lost popularity when he adopted anti-Semitic policies in 1938 and sacked Jews from government jobs. This created a public perception that Mussolini had made Italy a satellite state of Germany. The participation in war led to a lot of hardships for the general public. There were food shortages and public faced increased burden of taxes which were raised to fund the war. There was a 30% fall in real wages after Italy’s entry into the war. During WW II, Italy’s military performance was poor after a few initial successes. A major embarrassment came when Italian troops surrendered to British forces in North Africa (1943). Soon Allies captured Sicily (1943) but Mussolini would still not surrender. After this the Grand Council turned against Mussolini and the King dismissed him (1943).

But after this Hitler rescued him (1943) and he was setup as a ruler in Northern Italy with protection from German troops. In 1945, as the Allies (Britain and USA) forces advanced northwards, Mussolini tried to escape to Switzerland but was captured and shot dead by his enemies (also known as the Partisans).

## 24.9 How totalitarian was Mussolini’s System

Despite his best efforts, Mussolini did not succeed in creating a completely totalitarian system in the fascist sense of either there being “no individuals or groups not controlled by the State” or like the Nazis did in Germany. Mussolini never completely eliminated the influence of the King Victor Emmanuel or the Pope. The Pope became highly critical of Mussolini when he began to attack Jews in the late 1930s. The masses only tolerated Fascism till it brought them benefits. The corporate state did not lead to complete state control over businessmen as they only made gestures of submission and rather bought their freedom by making big contributions to the funds of the Fascist Party.

# 25] Germany: Weimar Republic and the Rise of Hitler

## 25.1 German Revolution (November 1918-August 1919)

This was a period of conflict lasting from November 1918 to August 1919 which led to end of the rule of Monarchy and establishment of a Republic.

At the end of the WW I, as Germany drifted towards a defeat, the public opinion turned against the Kaiser. In November 1918, there was a revolution and Kaiser Wilhelm II was forced to abdicate and exiled to Holland. The left wing Social Democrat Party came to head the government after the January 1919 democratic elections. (Social Democrats: They had some Marxist ideas but believed that socialism is best achieved by peaceful means and through a Parliamentary democracy rather than violent revolution). At the same time the **Spartacist Uprising** (January 4, 1919 - January 19, 1919) was taking place in Germany. It was a violent revolution (including

general strike and street battles) by the more radical communists who were inspired by Russian Revolution (1917) and they took over many cities including Berlin. The Spartacist Uprising degraded the authority of the government because the government had to take the help of Freikorps (a private army raised by anti-communist ex-army officers) to crush it. A new constitution was adopted at Weimar in August 1919 (because Berlin was in turmoil in 1919 so the Constituent Assembly met at Weimar and therefore the name "Weimar Republic"). Thus Weimar Republic came into existence and it lasted from 1919 to 1933.

## 25.2 Attempts against Weimar Republic that Failed

Some sections of the German society were disenchanted with the Weimar Republic and they made several attempts to overthrow it. Weimar Republic government had agreed to the Treaty of Versailles and this was resented by the extreme right wing sections. The radical leftists wanted a communist Germany.

- 1) **Spartacist Rising (1919)** by communists.
- 2) **Kapp Putsch (1920)** by right wing sections: Putsch means a sudden overthrow of government illegally or through force. It happened because the government tried to disband the Freikorps who refused to disband and declared Dr Kapp, the Chancellor. The German army was sympathetic to the right wing nationalists and thus took no action. The government was finally helped by the communists who paralyzed Berlin by a general strike. Kapp had to resign and the Freikorps were disbanded and the Weimar Republic survived.
- 3) **Hitler's Munich Beer Hall Putsch (1923):-**
  - a) **About Ludendorff:** Ludendorff was a very important general during the WW I and was responsible for German victory in the Battle of Liege in Belgium. He was a supporter of unrestricted submarine warfare. He also played a key role in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk negotiated on very harsh terms with Russia in 1917. Ludendorff was forced to resign after WW I. He was of the opinion that Germany lost the war because the leftist elements in government stabbed the army in the back. He was highly critical of the social democrat government.
  - b) The Beer Hall Putsch was an attempt by Hitler with the help of Ludendorff to overthrow the Bavarian state government in Munich and then lead a national revolution overthrowing the national government in Berlin. The Putsch was launched in the background of the French occupation of the Ruhr and the consequent depreciation of the German currency. The Putsch failed and Hitler was tried for treason. Hitler utilized the platform provided by the trial to propagate his ideas. The failure of the putsch brought Hitler national publicity for the first time. He got a 5 year jail term but served only 9 months since the authorities in Bavaria were sympathetic to his goals. The lasting outcome of the putsch was the development and furthering of Nazi propaganda.

## 25.3 Three Phases of Weimar Republic

1. **Instability (1919-23):** During this phase, the Republic was struggling to survive due to various attempts to overthrow it viz. Spartacist Uprising, Kapp Putsch and the Beer Hall Putsch. The harsh clauses of the Treaty of Versailles weakened the economy of Germany, degraded the image of the government and hurt the self esteem of the people.
2. **Stability and Economic Growth (1923-9):** Under the able leadership of its foreign minister Gustav Stresemann, Germany eased tensions with the Britain, France and USA. Germany got US loans under the Dawes Plan (1924) and its economic recovery began.
3. **Instability (1929-33):** Due to the Great Depression of 1929, US economy was down and thus no more US loans were available. This hurt the German economy. Its exports declined and the currency depreciated. Also there was high unemployment. Simultaneously, the Nazis had been carrying on an anti-government propaganda blaming the government for all the ills of Germany.

## 25.4 Collapse of Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic collapsed due to the following reasons:

- 1) **Lack of Credibility of the Government:**

- a) **Treaty of Versailles:** The government had accepted the Treaty of Versailles which was very humiliating due to its harsh clauses and the nationalists could never forgive them.
  - b) **Anti-Democracy sentiments:** Unlike France and Britain, democracy as an ideology had not entered the mainstream consciousness in Germany. There was a traditional lack of respect among the public towards democracy as German people had been accustomed to viewing the officer class and the army as the rightful leaders of the country. Many sections like teachers, lawyers, civil servants and judiciary were against the Weimar democracy.
  - c) **Instability:** Weimar Republic failed to provide a stable decisive government. Instable coalition governments kept coming and going because Weimar Constitution had adopted the system of proportional representation, leading to all political groups (Social Democrats, Communists, Catholic Centre Party, National Socialists or Nazis) getting seats in proportion to the votes polled by them. This led to a situation where no single party was in a majority ever. Thus no party in power could fully implement its programme.
  - d) **Inexperience:** Lack of experience among the political parties in running the government resulted in lack of smooth conduct of Reichstag (Parliament). Before Weimar Constitution, the real power was vested in the office of Chancellor and the Reichstag had less powers. This system had run for many years. But the Weimar Constitution vested more powers in the Reichstag and the Chancellor's powers were decreased. The Chancellor was now made responsible to Reichstag which had the final decision making powers. But there was continuous chaos in Reichstag due to lack of consensus among the parties and thus Reichstag failed to get the admiration of the people.
  - e) **Private Armies:** Private armies of political parties decreased the authority of the government. The disagreements among the parties had become so bitter that they organized their own private armies to get done what they wanted and for their protection from rival parties.
  - f) **Communists and Nationalists** did not believe in the Republic anyway and refused to cooperate with the Social Democrats. The Communists wanted to a violent overthrow of capitalism while Nationalists were in favour of a dictatorship or military rule.
- 2) **Increase in violence** on the streets as private armies fought each other (especially after 1929) and workers organized violent strikes. Other events included the Spartacist Uprising, the Kapp Putsch and the Munich Beer Hall Putsch. Also there were a series of assassinations, especially of the Communist leaders by the ex-Freikorps men. The government could not crack down on perpetrators due to opposition from the right wing parties. The courts also let off ex-Freikorps men on easy sentences because even the judiciary was sympathetic to the right wing nationalists. The violence was low during the prosperous years of 1923-29. But it increased after the 1929 economic crisis, especially between the Nazis and the Communists.
- 3) **Economic Problems of Weimar Republic:**
- a) Due to high war costs a situation of bankruptcy existed in 1919. Thus, Weimar republic inherited a very poor economy.
  - b) WW I costs: High costs of war reparations imposed by the Treaty of Versailles resulted in the depreciation of German Mark.
  - c) War Reparations: By 1921 Germany had to request temporary suspension of annual instalments. In 1922, Germany defaulted on annual payment. In 1923, France occupied Ruhr, an important industrial area. The Germans responded with passive resistance by refusing to produce anything for the French. This led to galloping inflation in Germany and the Mark collapsed.
  - d) 1923-29: were the years of prosperity characterized by Dawes Plan (1924) and Young Plan (1929). Through Dawes Plan, Germany got US loans, it was to pay whatever it could annually and the French agreed to vacate Ruhr. Consequently, economic recovery began in Germany. By Young Plan (1929), the total war reparations to be paid by Germany were reduced to 2000 million pounds instead of 6600 million pounds.
  - e) The Impact of the 1929 Economic Crisis on Germany:
    - i. US stopped giving loans and demanded repayment on many short term loans.
    - ii. German exports were hurt because of low demand from export markets.
    - iii. US actions led to a crisis of confidence in German currency and there was a run on the banks.
    - iv. Stresemann, the best man to deal with the crisis, died in 1929.
    - v. Many factories closed down and nearly 4 million Germans were unemployed by 1931.
    - vi. The new Chancellor Brüning's (1930-32) solution to crisis was decreasing pensions, wages and

unemployment benefits. This led to loss of working class support to the Weimar Republic and right wingers were already against it. Thus by 1932 Weimar Republic was on the verge of collapse.

- 4) **Hitler's propaganda** was constantly targeted against the government. Hitler became Chancellor (1933) under the Weimar Republic but did not believe in the Weimar Republic and its constitution. He constantly referred to the politicians who had agreed to the terms of Treaty of Versailles as the 'November Criminals'. Hitler argued in his propaganda that Germany was "stabbed in the back" by the November Criminals because they signed the Treaty. (It was in November 1918 that Social Democrats seized power in German Revolution and signed Armistice with Allies).

## 25.5 Reasons that led to the Rise of Hitler and made Nazis Popular

The factors behind rise of Hitler can be listed as follows:

- 1) **Economic problems faced by Germany:** Hitler's propaganda increased in effectiveness because of economic problems and inefficiency of the Reichstag. The number of seats won by Nazis in Reichstag increased with increase in economic problems because public began looking towards the Nazis for maintenance of law and order and for a solution to economic problems. Germans felt that the discipline of the Nazis would help their country in achieving higher economic growth.
- 2) **Fear of Communism:** The fear of communism spreading in Germany led to mass support for Nazis not only among the lower middle class but also among the workers who went on to support Nazis rather than Social Democrats. The fear of communism also led to support from wealthy landowners and Industrialists who funded Hitler especially after his ascendancy to power.
- 3) **Nazi Propaganda:** The Nazis were master propagandists and it was their modus operandi for shaping and influencing public perception. Following were the elements of their propaganda:
  - a) Nazis blamed the government for all social, economic and political ills and also for signing the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. They popularized the "stabbed in the back" notion- that Germany need not have surrendered in WW I and could have won the war.
  - b) Nazis promised national unity, prosperity and full employment by ridding Germany of the 'November Criminals' (the Marxists, the Social Democrats who signed Treaty of Versailles, the Communists, the Jews and Jesuits). Nazis promised overthrow and reversal of Treaty of Versailles by promising that they would not pay war reparations and would bring all Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria together into the Reich.
- 4) Hitler had extra-ordinary political abilities and the gift of swaying public emotions through his oratory. He seemed to have unending energy and was said to possess a very strong will power.
- 5) Nazi Private Army i.e. Sturmabteilung or the SA (Storm Troopers) offered the unemployed youth a small salary and more importantly a uniform. Thus, a lot of unemployed youth were attracted to the SA.
- 6) There was a striking contrast between the governments of Weimar Republic and of Nazis. While the Weimer governments were indecisive and prone to disunity and factionalism, the Nazis ensured law and order, a decisive government and restoration of national pride.
- 7) Nazis were successful in crushing any political alternative or opposition from the communists or the Catholic Centre Party.

## 25.6 Why Hitler was made Chancellor (1933)

In 1932, the right wing (Nationalists) came to power. They invited Hitler's Nazi party into a coalition government by offering him first the post of Vice-Chancellor but later on agreed to confer upon him the Chancellorship, upon his insistence. The right wing politicians wanted Hitler to join them because:

- a) They were afraid of a violent overthrow by a Nazi-led Putsch
- b) The inclusion of Nazis could provide them with a more comfortable majority which would provide not just stability but also pave way for a return to pre-Weimar situation when the Reichstag had fewer powers.
- c) It would help them to check the popularity of the communists.
- d) Many felt that Hitler could be best controlled by co-opting him.

## 25.7 Hitler Consolidates Power

After getting Chancellorship in 1933, Hitler called for general elections in hope of winning a single party majority for the Nazis.

- a) He used the State machinery before elections to benefit Nazis. The police was asked not to act against violent SA and SS when they killed communists. He also appointed Nazis to top police posts.
- b) **Reichstag Fire (1933):** There was a fire in the Reichstag started by a few radical communists but it was not a planned act by the communist party. Nevertheless, Hitler blamed the fire on communists and used the incident to stir up the fear of communism and thus gain mass support in the elections.
- c) In the 1933 elections, Hitler won 44 per cent of the total votes.
- d) **Enabling Law (1933):** This law gave unfettering powers to Hitler and brought an end to the Weimar Constitution. Under this law:
  - i. Government's laws would not need the approval of Reichstag for four years. This implied that Hitler from now on became a dictator and Weimar Republic came to an end as the Chancellor's or Government's law can be against the constitution and still be valid since no parliamentary approval was required for these laws to come into effect.
  - ii. This law needed 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority which was achieved by force. During voting, the SA troops manned the Reichstag and the SS troops chanted "Bill or Fire/Murder" outside, thus creating a highly intimidating atmosphere.
- e) After the passage of Enabling law, Hitler followed the **policy of "Gleichschaltung"** (Forceful Coordination) that turned Germany into a totalitarian/fascist State. He used the notorious Gestapo (Secret Police) to crush any opposition.

## 25.8 Hitler's Rule or Nazism in Practice

Following were the features of Hitler's rule in Germany:

- 1) Germany became a one party state as all other parties were banned.
- 2) A Nazi Special Commissioner (an appointed dictator) was appointed in each state and state legislatures were stripped of their powers. There were to be no more state or municipal elections.
- 3) Civil Services were cleansed of Jews or anyone who was opposed to Nazis.
- 4) Trade Unions were abolished and were replaced by a single German Labour Front which was under the strict control of Nazi Party. All workers were to be members of this front. Strikes were banned and government was responsible for the redressal of all grievances.
- 5) Education system was closely monitored for indoctrination of children
  - a) Stereotypes about gender, anti-Jewish propaganda, racial superiority (i.e. Aryans are the sole master race), pro-Hitler propaganda- were features of this indoctrination.
  - b) Gestapo closely monitored teachers and children could complain to the Gestapo about anti-Nazi teachers.
  - c) Jewish children were taken out of schools.
  - d) Hitler Youth (for boys) and League of German Maidens (for girls) - all German children were required to join these organisations when they turned 14 years of age.
  - e) Slogans like "Führer is always right", "must obey Führer" etc. were made popular.
- 6) Media was controlled by the Ministry of Propaganda.
- 7) Economic life of country was closely organized with two main aims of decreasing unemployment and decreasing Current Account Deficit (CAD) by increasing exports and minimizing imports in order to make Germany self-sufficient. Features included:
  - a) Telling industry what to produce
  - b) Price control on food prices
  - c) Control on foreign exchange rate to avoid inflation i.e. Currency was pegged.
  - d) Big schemes of Public Works for activities like sanitation, road construction and slum clearance.
  - e) Tried producing biofuel for reducing oil imports.
  - f) Forced trade partners to buy German goods in exchange for imports. This was done by refusing to pay in cash and seizing bank accounts of foreigners in Germany.
- 8) Religion was brought under State control and Hitler cracked down on nuns, priests by arresting them and sending them to concentration camps.

- 9) Euthanasia campaign: here Nazis killed the mentally ill. It was based on the Nazi Party's policy of 'racial hygiene'; the belief that the German people needed to be 'cleansed' of 'racially unsound' elements, which included people with disabilities. It was an example of the Nazi's belief in Social Darwinism, a theory which seeks to apply biological concepts of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest' to politics and sociology.
- 10) Germany became a police state under Hitler.
- 11) Concentration Camps were introduced in 1933.
- 12) Anti-Semitic Policy:
- Jews were blamed in Nazi propaganda for every German problem.
  - Jews were removed from jobs.
  - The campaigns were given legal status by the **Nuremberg laws (1935)** which:
    - Deprived Jews of German citizenship
    - Forbade Jews from marrying non-Jews to preserve purity of the Aryan race.
    - Person with even one Jewish grandparent was to be classified as a Jew.
  - The "Final Solution" was the Holocaust with an aim to exterminate all Jews by starving them to death or to put them in poison gas chambers in the concentration camps after making them work to death.
- 13) Ostentatious display of state power through grand processions, parades and rallies every year.
- 14) Hitler was successful in eliminating unemployment by 1939 because of:
- Public Works Schemes
  - Large party bureaucracy provided additional employment opportunities.
  - Jews and anti-Nazis removed from jobs. This created vacancies.
  - Conscription introduced in 1935 which provided additional jobs.
  - Rearmament introduced in 1934 gave boost to employment in industry.
- 15) Hitler got support from all sections viz.
- Farmers- reasonable prices were fixed for produce. Also sops were given with an aim of attaining self-sufficiency in food.
  - Workers- the "Strength Through Joy" organization gave subsidized holidays, free movie tickets etc.
  - Businessmen supported Hitler because he provided them safety from communists and banned trade unions.
  - Army- was happy with Hitler as he introduced rearmament and conscription. Hitler using SS killed Rohm in the "Night of Long Knives". Rohm was the SA head who was opposed by Army Generals due to his insistence on merging SA with Army and wanted to be a General. Army Generals were aristocrats and they considered SA as a bunch of gangsters. Moreover, they did not want Rohm to be seen as an equal, as he was allegedly a homosexual.
- 16) Hitler's foreign policy was a brilliant success as discussed earlier. Example- Introduction of Rearmament and Conscription, breaking up Stressa Front (1935) by signing Anglo-German Naval Agreement (1935), Anschluss with Austria (1938), Munich Conference (1938), annexation of Czechoslovakia (1939), Non-Aggression Pact with USSR (1939) etc.

## 25.9 Assessment of Hitler's Reign

- Positives:** He had successes in the domain of economy, unemployment, law and order and if Hitler could have prevented WW II then he would have been a total success.
- Negatives:**
  - Economic success was achieved only through
    - Violent means
    - Employment at expense of removing Jews from jobs.
    - Measures like - employment creation through Public Works schemes, increasing wages of workers and giving them subsidized holidays & other benefits, introducing rearmament (1934), conscription (1935) and paying high price to farmers for their produce-- led to increase in government expenditure and unsustainable fiscal deficit. Thus war became inevitable because war was the only solution to meet the costs of above measures as a victory would have allowed Hitler to source raw material from conquered territories and helped in creating the Lebensraum (living space) for getting farm land to sustain the rapidly expanding German population.

## **26] Japan: Military Fascism**

Fascism in Japan lasted from 1931 to 1945. It was characterized by ruthless repression of Communists, assassination of all leaders who opposed the military, tight control of education with focus on extreme nationalism, rearmament and following an aggressive foreign policy of war to capture Asian territory for getting raw material and export markets.

Japan turned into a military dictatorship in early 1930s which gave a boost to its imperialistic campaigns in China. Economic and political problems plunged Japan into control of the Army. Japan had enjoyed economic boom till the middle of 1921. It had greatly benefited from World War I (1914-19) as after the war European powers were weak economically and were involved in quarrels over Treaty of Versailles. Economic weakness of European nations made their exports less competitive. Also they were militarily exhausted and thus not in a position to check Japanese aggression. The only nation powerful enough to check Japan's imperialist march was USA but it was had followed a policy of isolation which entailed non-interference in world affairs and avoidance of military conflicts with other nations at all costs. Thus, Japan took benefit of this whole situation. By 1918 it had profited economically by exporting shipping and other goods to the Allied Powers during WW I. It had replaced European companies in export markets, especially in Asia, and got supply orders which Europeans could not service. During World War I, Japan's cotton exports had tripled and its merchant ships doubled.

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

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

## **27] Spain: Franco's Fascism**

Spain was a constitutional monarchy under King Alfonso XIII since 1885. It was never able to provide an efficient administration and the defeat by the Moors of Spanish Morocco in 1921 served a blow to the prestige of the regime. In 1923, General Primo came to head the government in a bloodless coup and won the war for Spain in Spanish Morocco in 1925. But Primo had to resign in context of the mass protests that happened after the Great Depression (1929). The economic crisis had led to unemployment, depreciation of Peseta and withdrawal of support from the Army finally made Primo (who wasn't a Fascist) to quit office. Even King Alfonso XIII had to abdicate in 1931 to prevent bloodshed and Spain became a Republic. A coalition government of Socialists and Middle Class radicals came to power.

### **27.1 Situation on the eve of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9)**

Following conditions existed on the eve of Spanish Civil War that happened after formation of Republic:

- 1) There was much hostility between the Church and the new Republican government.
- 2) Two provinces wanted independence from Spain.
- 3) The 1929 economic crisis led to an economic depression in Spain. Prices of agricultural commodities fell, wine and olive exports decreased and land went out of cultivation.
- 4) There was also a threat of a coup by the army generals.
- 5) The Spanish Civil war was result of a conflict between the left wing and the right wing factions. The left wing in general included trade unions (anarchists and syndicalists), the socialists and the communists while the right wing factions included the church, the army, the landowners and the industrialists.
- 6) The right wing and the left wing both opposed and thus weakened the Republic which was trying to follow a middle path (as the government was a coalition of left wing socialists and the middle class radicals, thus trying to balance the demands of both the sides). Example right wing opposed government decisions like:
  - a) Granting self government to one of the two provinces that were demanding independence.
  - b) Implementation of Secularism: The Church and the State were separated. The Priests were removed from the payroll of the government. Church's control of education was removed. Thus the powers of the Church were reduced and thus Church and other Right Wing factions were opposed to the government.
  - c) To remove the threat of coup, many important Army Generals were removed.
  - d) Nationalization of large private estates (land) to meet demands of the left wing sections.
  - e) Increase in wages of the workers which antagonized the industrialists.
- 7) The left wing opposed the socialists for cooperating with middle class radicals. They wanted a violent revolution against capitalism for establishing a communist state and started general strikes, riots and assassinations of the right wing leaders.
- 8) In 1933, a right wing government came to power and reversed most of the steps taken by the former coalition government. This angered the left wing factions who now organized themselves into **Popular Front** that increased revolutionary activity. The Popular Front was repressed brutally by the right wing government and the army under **General Franco**. For example, Franco ordered shooting on striking miners. Meanwhile, the right wing fascists organized themselves into a new Falange Party.
- 9) Due to severe repression, the Popular Front came to power in 1936. One of the right wing leaders was murdered and this triggered the Civil War which was begun by the Army and the Falange Party with an aim to overthrow the government and establish a Military Dictatorship.

## 27.2 Spanish Civil War (1936-9)

- 1) The civil war was fought between the right wing and the left wing forces. The Right Wingers called themselves the Nationalists while the Left forces called themselves the Republicans.
- 2) The trouble began when the Nationalists under General Franco began a revolt in Spanish Morocco.
- 3) During the Civil War, Italy and Germany supported the Nationalists with tanks, troops, air shelling, food supplies and raw material. Germany bombed the town of Guernica in 1937 and 1600 innocent civilians died.
- 4) Russia supported the Republicans while Britain and France refused to intervene. Also, anti-fascist volunteers came to Spain from US and Europe to support the Republicans. **Jawaharlal Nehru** with his daughter Indira Gandhi, visited Barcelona in 1938. Later in his autobiography Nehru wrote "*It was the Europe of 1938 with Mr. Neville Chamberlain's appeasement in full swing and marching over the bodies of nations, betrayed and crushed, to the final scene that was staged at Munich. There I entered into this Europe of conflict by flying straight to Barcelona. There I remained for five days and watched the bombs fall nightly from the air. There I saw much else that impressed me powerfully; and there, in the midst of want and destruction and ever-impending disaster, I felt more at peace with myself than anywhere else in Europe. There was light there, the light of courage and determination and of doing something worthwhile*".
- 5) The Nationalists won the civil war due to:
  - a) Able leadership of Franco.
  - b) Disunity among the left wing (example Anarchists and Socialists fought against each other in Barcelona).
  - c) Support from Italy and Germany who aided Franco with a hope of creating another Fascist state in Europe.

### 27.3 Fascism in Spain (1939-75)

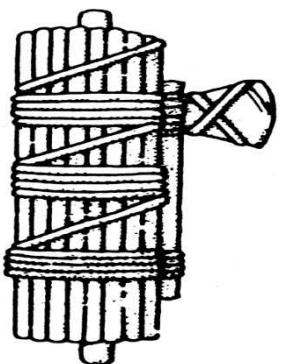
The end of Civil War resulted in establishment of Fascist state in form of Spain which existed till death of Franco in 1975. Following are some important points in this regard:

- 1) Franco was shrewd enough to keep Spain out of the Second World War disappointing Hitler.
- 2) The rule of Franco was similar to that of Hitler and Mussolini with features of repression, military courts and mass executions. He took the title of "Caudillo" (the Leader) like Il Duce and Führer like Mussolini and Hitler respectively.
- 3) During 1960s, Caudillo took steps to reduce repressiveness of the regime. Example, military courts were abolished, workers got a limited right to strike and elections were introduced for Parliament.
- 4) Franco's Spain was not truly fascist. For instance,
  - a) Franco supported the Church and restored its powers (for example, education was brought back under the control of the Church). This would not ever happen in a Fascist state where all control and power rests with only the government.
  - b) Anti-War stand: Franco refused to enter WW II and Spain remained neutral during the war. This is against fascist policy of using war as an important policy tool for rebirth of a great nation.
- 5) In 1977, first free multi-party elections were held to establish a democracy with constitutional monarchy. Spain joined the European Economic Community in 1986 and its tourism industry grew by leaps and bounds.

### 28] The Philosophy of Fascism

There is no clear definition of Fascism because there has been no great fascist writer like Marx for Communism who had deeply studied and provided a theory of fascism. Thus there exist no clear tenets of Fascism. There is a tendency among the left wingers to label anyone with right wing views as a fascist. (Many a times the radicalism of the majority group in a country is termed as Fascism while radicalism of a minority is termed as separatism). We can only arrive at the answer to the question of what is fascism by studying the actual actions taken by the leaders who came to be labelled as fascist (as discussed under the case studies above). Some leaders that have been called fascist include Hitler (Germany), Franco (Spain), Mussolini (Italy), Salazar (Portugal) and Peron (Argentina).

The term **Fasces** means a bundle of rods with a protruding axe, which symbolized the authority and power of ancient Roman consuls. The figure can be analyzed as coming together of all the people from all classes to work in unity towards building a great nation.



**Mussolini** kept changing his aims before 1923. He was initially pro-working class but later turned against communism. Therefore it can be argued that his main goal was to attain power rather than spreading Fascism. Yet, Fascism as Mussolini put it in practice has following basic tenets:

- 1) **Extreme Nationalism** was stressed with focus on rebirth of the nation in ruins into a great nation. This also included propagating the belief of superiority of one's nation over other nations.
- 2) **Totalitarian Government:** The state controls and organizes as many aspects of people's life as possible. This is because it is necessary to ensure greatness of the state, which is much more important than an individual's interests.
- 3) **One party system:** Mussolini's Fascist state had no place for democracy and it was especially hostile to communism. The hostility to communism was also a reason due to which the Fascist regime gained popularity as it stoked the fear of communist takeover among the middle class. There was only one party—that of the Fascists. The members of the fascist party were elites of the nation.
- 4) **Charismatic Leader:** There was very high emphasis on charisma of the leader who deployed thrilling speeches and skilful propaganda for building a strong image among the masses. He was to be projected as the supreme leader or Il Duce.
- 5) **Autarchy:** Autarchy means having economic independence as a national policy. Elimination of

unemployment would be possible once a country is economically self-sufficient as all production would be done within the country. If all economic production is taking place within the country then the country is utilizing its full potential to provide employment to every citizen. The focus is on reducing imports and promoting exports so the country is able to provide for its own needs. Thus, economic self-sufficiency of the nation was stressed and to achieve this- the complete control of the State over the market and the economy was advocated.

**Why did fascism grow?** Many thinkers argue that fascism was essentially a movement of the middle class for the purpose of having more economic prosperity. Thus, some do argue that capitalism may lead to fascism because the former has the basic feature of economic prosperity of the capitalist class.

## 29] Nazism (National Socialism)

Nazism or National Socialism has nothing to do with Communism. It is term used for Fascism as it was witnessed in Hitler's Germany. Thus Nazism is nothing but a type of fascism. Following can be listed as some of the basic tenets of Nazism:

- 1) **Against Socialism/Marxism/Communism:** Although Hitler after coming to power was able to improve the conditions of workers, the term socialism in National Socialism was used by the Nazis only to attract the workers to their party.
- 2) **Extreme Nationalism:** Nazism was described as a way of life dedicated to the rebirth of the nation. Nazism requires that all classes must be united to restore nation's greatness or pride. Thus the class differences must always be secondary to the national interest.
- 3) **Single Leader:** There is need for a single leader in which the whole nation believes so he is able to lead the country to glory. The cult of personality is thus promoted through systematic propaganda. The leader makes thrilling speeches and promotes a heroic public image. The education system is used as a tool for indoctrination of children to submit themselves to the service of the Führer (the leader).
- 4) **One Party System:** This was so because only the Nazis can restore the German pride and therefore all parties especially the communists must be eliminated.
- 5) **Totalitarian Government:** A Totalitarian government with high focus on efficiency in organization of all aspects of life of the masses. The interest of the individual was to be always second to the national interest. A high role of propaganda was recognized to popularize this message among the masses.
- 6) **Military Strength:** The nation must be strong militarily. The entire state must be organized on a military footing. This was so because the war was viewed as a tool for restoring greatness of the nation.
- 7) **Race Theory:** This was a unique and a very important part of Nazism. It argued that the whole mankind can be divided into two groups viz the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. The Aryans were the Germans. They were tall, blue eyed, handsome and a master race who were destined to rule the world. The Non Aryans like Slavs, Asians, Coloured and especially the Jews were destined to be slaves. They were inferior and greedy.
- 8) **Economic Self Sufficiency:** The nation must be economically self-sufficient. The aim was to decrease unemployment. It should not be dependent on imports as far as possible. The state should aim for import substitution by developing the indigenous industry and even annex foreign territory to meet its raw material requirements.

## 30] Commonality between Nazism and Italian Fascism

Nazism as Hitler put into practice and Fascism in Mussolini's Italy had following similar principles:

- a) Both focused on Extreme Nationalism for rebirth of the nation.
- b) Totalitarian government, supremacy of State and one party system were other common features.
- c) Economic independence as a national policy (This would help achieve the goal of reducing unemployment)
- d) Glorification of war, focus on building the military strength of the country and the perception that war was a tool for restoring greatness of the nation.
- e) Radically Anti-Communist.
- f) Unity among all classes for achievement of national goals.

- g) Promotion of the Cult of the Leader through systemic propaganda.

### **31] Differences between Nazism and Fascism**

Fascism can be called as vague compared to Nazism as there is more clarity with respect to principles espoused by Nazism. Another point of difference is regards to the policy towards Jews. Italian Fascism was not anti-Jewish or racist until 1938 when Mussolini adopted Hitler's anti-Semitic policy.

There were also some differences in how Hitler and Mussolini put Fascism into practice and the growth of fascism in respective countries. These differences can be listed as:

- 1) Nazism spread much more deeply and widely in Germany than Fascism in Italy.
- 2) The German Nazi system was more efficient and successful with respect to the goal of economic self-sufficiency and Hitler was able to eliminate unemployment. In contrast, unemployment increased in fascist Italy and thus failed to achieve economic self-sufficiency.
- 3) Nazis were more brutal in their oppression and violated the human rights to a much greater extent. The concentration camps were setup by Hitler for systemic execution of Jews and even non-Jewish population of Poland was sent to these camps. In the camps the people would labour for free and were not given food. Many died of starvation and many were sent to poison gas chambers. In contrast, there were no such mass atrocities in Italy.
- 4) Mussolini was more successful in his policy towards Church. He was able to reach an agreement with the pope in 1929 to withdraw the Church from political domain and in return enjoy freedom in religious domain. Hitler on other hand was impatient for such diplomacy and did not want any influence of the Church in the society. He followed a very harsh policy towards the Church and many members of the clergy were killed in the Nazi attempt to suppress the church.
- 5) Constitutional positions of Hitler and Mussolini were different. In Italy, the monarchy had continued exist and the King played an important role in the end of Mussolini's rule by ordering his dismissal in 1943. In contrast, there was no authority above Hitler in Germany to constitutionally dismiss or arrest him.

### **32] Commonalities between Communism and Fascism**

Although the two concepts are at extreme opposite ends of the Left-Right continuum, yet as they were put into practice in different countries, we can try to arrive some commonalities.

- 1) One Party system.
- 2) Focus on self sufficiency (example stressing on food security and reduction in imports).
- 3) Stress on building a great nation or rebirth of the nation.
- 4) Totalitarian regime i.e. every aspect of social and economic life of the people organized by the state. The state tells industry what to produce and controls the economy of the country.
- 5) Aggressive foreign policy- The Fascists believed in using war as a tool for restoring nation's glory. The communists believe in violent revolution and export of this revolution by stressing on internationalism. Stalin followed an aggressive foreign policy. He brought Eastern Europe into his sphere of influence and also supported other nations like Cuba, Angola, and Vietnam etc in their struggle against external powers.

### **33] Differences between Fascism and Communism**

These are many but to list a few:-

- 1) The difference in ideology- i.e. communism follows a left wing ideology while fascists follow a right wing ideology.
- 2) The leader is treated as supreme and the cult of personality is promoted in fascism. For example Hitler took title of Fuhrer and was promoted as a Messiah who would bring Germany out of its misery. In contrast, communist system, as it came to exist in Russia and China, establishes the communist party as supreme. When communist leaders like Mao and Stalin promoted the cult of personality, they were criticized for subverting the party. Thus they were the exceptions and outliers. In an ideal communist system, it is the collective will of the Party which is supreme and not one leader.

- 3) Communism is in principle against war. Socialist leaders opposed the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1), Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the WW I etc as they view war as a by-product of capitalism. Although, earlier USSR and today China follow an aggressive foreign policy stand- they do not recognize war as necessary for restoration of a great nation. Stalin justified his aggressive foreign policy stance to defend the communist revolution from capitalism. In contrast, the fascist powers during WW II viewed war as an unavoidable tool for restoration of nation's glory.
- 4) The economic system followed by the two forms a major point of difference. The Communists believed in collective ownership of wealth whereas the Fascists were in favour of private ownership of wealth (even though the State's control on economic policy of the country is a common feature among the two systems).

## 34] Cold War

### 35] Introduction

Cold war was a sequence of events after the World War II (1939-45) till the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, whereby the two super powers, USA and USSR, competed for hegemony in domains of economy, science and technology, politics and military. Each side adopted policies to strengthen itself and weaken the other falling short of an actual war. **It is called as the “Cold” War because US and USSR did not fight directly in a war and all the wars fought among third countries remained localized and there was no general widespread war.** During the cold war the world was divided into two blocs- the **communist bloc led by USSR** and the **capitalist bloc led by the USA**. Europe was itself divided into communist Eastern Europe and capitalist Western Europe.

### 36] Why Cold War

Before we begin to explore its various facets, it is important to understand the underlying reasons behind the Cold War.

Cold war was made possible due to presence of various factors viz:

- 1) **Bipolar World:** Presence of two equal super powers with two very different ideologies of state/society/government clubbed with competing military, political and economic interests.
- 2) **High role of old suspicions:** After the **Russian Revolution (1917)**, Bolsheviks had tried to export the communist revolution to the rest of Europe and USA including the colonies of Britain and France, by sending their secret agents in aid of the local communist revolutionaries. Thus capitalist states were distrustful of USSR. Consequently, Russia was not invited to the **Treaty of Versailles** and capitalist western countries refused to recognize the government in USSR for a long time. During the **Russian Civil War (1918-20)**, the western powers (US, France, Britain) and Japan sent troops to fight on the side of the “Whites” (Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries Party, Cadets) against the Bolsheviks. During the WW II, Britain and France delayed opening of the **Second Front** against Germany until 1944 (i.e. attack Germany from the West so it is forced to fight on two fronts) which Stalin had been demanding since the German attack on USSR in 1941. Stalin believed that Britain and France deliberately delayed opening of the Second Front because they wanted to exhaust USSR and destroy communism.
- 3) **Clash of interests of classes** in each country was also responsible because each class had stakes in one form of economic system rather than the other. Thus workers supported communism while the propertied class supported capitalism. They feared that the spread of communism will result in an end to private wealth and loss of political power by the wealthy class. Without local support, USSR and US wouldn't have been able to interfere so frequently and successfully in internal affairs of a third country.
- 4) **As a Defensive Approach:** Cold War was followed as a defensive approach rather than as an offensive approach. The intention was to preserve one's own system (capitalism or communism) and one's frontiers. The two super-powers tried to create as many buffer capitalist/communist states as possible in this process.
- 5) **Role of Leaders:** **Stalin** tried to occupy as much territory as possible in Finland, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Germany during the WW II. This alarmed the Western powers. **Truman** was more suspicious of USSR than Roosevelt. **Roosevelt** gave arms, raw material, food supplies etc to USSR during

the WW II under the Lend Lease Act of 1941. After death of Roosevelt (April 1945), Truman became the President of USA. He dropped Nuclear bomb on Japan (1945) without taking Stalin into confidence. Stalin was not told about the exact nature of the atom bomb before its use on Japan (while Churchill was duly informed). Truman also did not allow Russia to participate in sharing of Japanese territory and its colonies after WW II. Statements by leaders like Stalin and Churchill aggravated the tensions in international relations. For example, Stalin had argued that “peaceful coexistence with the west is impossible until a final victory over capitalism”. Truman doctrine has been cited as one of the key reasons for Cold War (*discussed later in the document*)

- 6) **Domino Effect:** Communism was a threat to the governments of the Capitalist countries and thus the leaders of these countries feared communism. Eisenhower (1953-61) feared a Domino Effect whereby if one country was allowed to become communist then the neighbouring countries would soon follow the suite, thus threatening capitalism, democracy and US economic & military interests. It was the fear of Domino Effect that forced US participation in the Vietnam war (1961-75) because after China and North Korea, turning of Vietnam into a communist state would have put Japan under threat of communism (where US had pumped in a lot of aid after WW II to make Japan a thriving capitalist economy in a region which was coming under greater influence of communism).
- 7) **Psychological fear** of communism among the public due to massive anti-communist propaganda brought the public in support of the actions taken during cold war.
- 8) **Failure of UN:** Lack of confidence of major world powers in United Nations to provide a solution to the important problems, lack of impartiality in functioning of UN and lack of powers available to UN- all these weaknesses added to reasons for causing the cold war.

### **37] Who is to be blamed for the Cold War**

There are three views- Traditional, Revisionist and Post-Revisionist.

- 1) **Traditional View:** Under the traditional view, Stalin is blamed for the Cold War. He wanted to spread communism outside USSR and destroy capitalism. Formation of NATO (1949) and US actions like intervening on the side of South Korea in the Korean War (1950-53) were only in self-defence of “Free World” (as the capitalist bloc called itself) against communism.
- 2) **Revisionist View:** This view became prominent due to criticism of the aggressive foreign policy followed by US in Vietnam war (1961-75) and US support for brutal regimes like that of Pol Pot in Cambodia (1975-79). It was now argued that, Stalin acted only in self-defence and it was Truman (1945-53, American President) who is to be blamed as he provoked Russian hostility unnecessarily. As per this view Russia had suffered huge losses during the WW II and therefore it was in self-defence that USSR tried to ensure formation of friendly governments in Eastern Europe. US and the West should have accepted Eastern Europe as a Russian sphere of influence (as was agreed to by Churchill in 1944).
- 3) **Post-Revisionist view:** This view is based on the evidence that came to light after declassification of government documents. As per this view, both US/West and USSR share the blame for the Cold War. US economic policies like Marshall Aid (under Marshall Plan of 1947) were deliberately designed for increasing US influence in Europe at expense of USSR. Stalin did not have long term plans to spread communism outside USSR but he was an opportunist and took advantage of any opportunity that presented itself to increase Soviet influence. Further, both the super powers failed to develop mutual trust and due to high mutual suspicion, any action of one side was viewed as having an aggressive intent by the other.

***Let us now look at the evolution of Cold War through some important events in the European History.***

### **38] Evolution of Cold War (1945-53 Stalin era)**

**Yalta Conference (February 1945):** It was held before the end of WW II, when the victory of the Allied Powers was assured, to decide how to deal with the Axis Powers and was attended by Roosevelt (US), Churchill (Britain) and Stalin (USSR). **Following agreements were reached during the conference:**

- 1) Stalin promised conduct of free elections in all Eastern European nations. This is also known as **“Declaration of Liberated Europe”**. According to this, the three Allied powers were to assist the liberated countries of Europe to establish democratic institutions through free elections.

- 2) **United Nations** will be formed (established October 1945) to replace the League of Nations.
- 3) **Occupation Zones:** Austria, Vienna, Germany and Berlin would be divided into occupation zones of Britain, US and USSR (occupation zones for France were carved out later). This was so because there was no agreement over the future system of government (capitalist or communist) in Austria and Germany and Stalin only agreed to presence of Allied troops here.
- 4) **On Poland:** Russia had setup a provisional Polish communist government after driving out the Germans, but there was also a Polish government in exile in London. It was agreed that some members of the Polish government in exile in London would join the Polish Communist government. But the demand of Stalin that Poland gets all German territory east of River Oder & Neisse was rejected by Britain and US.
- 5) **On Japan:** Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan on condition that it would get the whole of oil-rich Sakhalin Island (half of Sakhalin Island was taken by Japan after Russo-Japanese war 1904-05. India's OVL has invested here), Kuril Islands and some parts of Manchuria in China.



#### **Potsdam Conference ( July-August 1945):**

The conference was held in occupied Germany and witnessed the participation of Stalin, Truman and Churchill. Churchill was later replaced by Clement Attlee as Labor Party came to power in Britain. At the time of the conference, Germany had lost the war but the nuclear bomb on Japan was not yet dropped. **Following agreements were reached during the Potsdam conference:**

- 1) **German Disarmament:** It was agreed that Germany would be disarmed. The war potential of Germany was to be destroyed by destroying or bringing under control all industrial installations producing military equipments.
- 2) **German Economy:**
  - a) It was to be ensured that the standard of living in Germany should not exceed the average standard of living in Europe, and the type and amount of German industry to be dismantled for this purpose was to be decided later. This included putting a cap on German steel production, reducing German Heavy Industry to 50% of 1938 levels and other such measures. But later the Allies gave up this policy and worked for a prosperous East Germany through Marshall Plan (1947) to increase capitalist influence in Europe.
  - b) Most of the German reparations were awarded to USSR since it had suffered the maximum damage. USSR was given the right to take away non-food goods from its occupation zone in Germany as well as from Western zone, provided that USSR fulfilled food supply needs of the western zone.
- 3) **German Frontiers:**
  - a) **Occupation Zones:** Germany and Austria and their respective capitals (Berlin and Vienna) were divided into 4 occupation zones. This was agreed in principle at Yalta and implemented by Potsdam conference.
  - b) **Oder-Neisse line:** Germany's eastern border was to be *temporarily* shifted westwards to the Oder-Neisse line. Thus the Oder-Neisse border was temporary and it was agreed that final delimitation of

Germany's eastern frontier would take place later (this happened under *Treaty of Final Settlement with respect to Germany (1990)*). Thus defacto, the size of Germany was reduced to three-fourth of its 1937 borders. The territories east of the new border were to be given to Poland and comprised East Prussia, Silesia, West Prussia, and two thirds of Pomerania. These areas were mainly agricultural, with the exception of Upper Silesia which was the second largest center of German heavy industry.



- c) **Reversing German Annexations:** Territory annexed by Germany before and during the WW II was taken back, including, Sudetenland, Austria and western parts of Poland.
- 4) **De-Nazification:** Nazi Party was to be disbanded and Nazis would be tried as war criminals. These trials became famous as Nuremberg trials.
- 5) **Altering the Demography:** Orderly and humane expulsion of Germans living beyond the new eastern border of Oder-Neisse line (i.e. from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia).

*But on many issues there was dissatisfaction and disagreement:*

- 1) There was a lack of agreement on the possibility and the timing of unification of four zones of Germany.
- 2) The German territory east of Oder-Neisse line had been occupied by Russian troops and was being administered by communist Polish government. Britain and US were unhappy over this, although they agreed shifting of German frontier westward to Oder-Neisse line for the time being.
- 3) **Over Japan:** During the Potsdam conference, Stalin was not told about the US plan for dropping nuclear bomb although Churchill was taken into confidence. The bomb was dropped two days after the conference.

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## Europe after 1945:

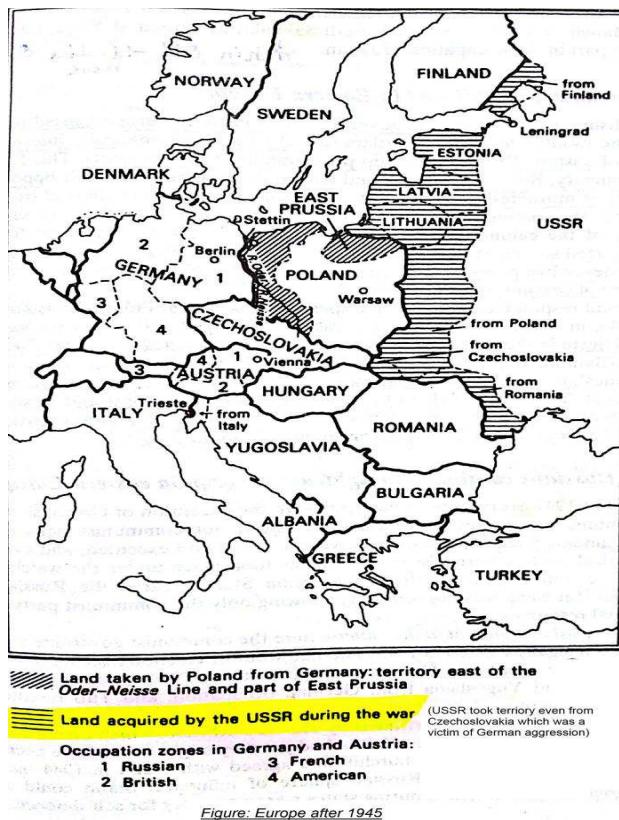


Figure: Europe after 1945

## *Communism established in Eastern Europe:*

- 1) **War of words:** In February 1946, Stalin gave the infamous speech where he argued that “peaceful coexistence with the west is impossible until final victory over capitalism”. This meant that future wars were inevitable between USSR and capitalist western nations. In response, Churchill gave his **Iron Curtain speech** in March 1946 while on a trip to US. He said that “an Iron Curtain has descended over Europe”. He called for a western alliance to counter the communist threat. Churchill was criticized by Stalin and Labor party Members of Parliament in Britain for being a warmonger.

*What was Iron Curtain?*

*It symbolized non-interaction between Eastern and Western Europe in all domains viz economic and trade ties, political relationship and people to people contact. Churchill had referred to it in his 1946 speech in US in response to Stalin’s speech in 1946. The Iron curtain seemed a reality when Stalin prevented Eastern Europe nations, especially Czechoslovakia from accessing the Marshal Aid (1947). When the only democratic state in Eastern Europe- Czechoslovakia became communist through an armed coup, the iron curtain seemed firmly in place. Further events like West Berlin Blockade (1948-9) and Berlin Wall (1961-89) were validation of existence of an Iron Curtain in Europe.*



*Figure: Central and Eastern Europe during Cold War*

- 2) **Stalin consolidates communism:** After Potsdam and use of Nuclear bomb on Japan, Stalin politically interfered in Eastern Europe and pro-communist governments were established in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania. In some cases the opponents were imprisoned and even murdered. By 1947, all states of Eastern Europe, except Czechoslovakia, had communist governments. Elections were rigged, non-communist members of coalition governments were expelled and parties except the communist party in these states were dissolved. All this happened under watchful eyes of secret police and Russian troops. The capitalist west was antagonized as Stalin had breached the promise of "free elections" in Eastern Europe made during Yalta conference. But it is to be mentioned in the defence of Stalin that in 1944, Churchill had agreed to the notion of Eastern Europe being the Russian sphere of influence.
- 3) **In Yugoslavia,** it was Tito who had led the communists while defeating the Germans and not the troops from USSR. He was a popular leader and was elected in 1945 in free and fair elections. The government thus formed under Tito was a communist government but Tito was against Soviet interference in internal affairs and foreign policy of Yugoslavia.

#### **Truman Doctrine (March 1947):**

Disturbed with the events in Europe, US adopted what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine through which US made it clear that it would not revert back to the Policy of Isolation after the WW II as it did after the WW I. Rather, Truman Doctrine implied adoption of the **Policy of Containment** whereby US would be committed to 'containment' of communism not just in Europe but throughout the world. **Following are some aspects dealing with the Truman Doctrine (1947):**

- 1) It was aimed to "contain" communism from spreading to the Free World (as the capitalist bloc liked to

call itself).

- 2) It was introduced because of the events in **Greece** where Britain had restored Monarchy after defeating Germany in WW II, but now a civil war led by communists had broken out with support from communist governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Britain was exhausted fighting the Greek communists. It appealed to US for help and withdrew from Greece in 1947. Consequently President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine which said that "*US will support the free people against subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures*". The US took over the burden and thereafter supported the Greek government in its fight against communists. *The US intervention in Greece in 1947 was the formal beginning of the Cold War.*
- 3) **The Policy of Containment** in the coming years took the following form:
  - a) Use of economic measures like aid under Marshall Plan (1947).
  - b) Military bloc building like NATO (1949).
  - c) Aiming military superiority by trying to lead in arms and space race.
  - d) Politically interfering and rigging elections in third countries to ensure that pro-capitalist governments come to power. The aim was to protect economic and strategic interests of US.
    - i. **In Italy:** CIA officially accepted giving \$ 1 million in aid to Christian and other anti-communist candidates, who favored a capitalist multi-party democracy, in 1948 elections. By all estimates, the Italian Communist Party was well poised to win the elections but with help of CIA aid the Christian Democratic Party emerged victorious with a comfortable margin.
    - ii. **In Central America:** In Nicaragua, from 1981-90, US through CIA helped rebels to overthrow a leftist government. In El Salvador, in 1980s, US helped an authoritarian regime that was under threat of leftist guerrillas.
    - iii. **In South America:** the US support to brutal right wing governments led to much violence and instability.
    - iv. Around late 1950s, the anti-West sentiment among the Arab countries was high because of western support to the state of Israel and the Suez War (1956). US and Britain sent troops to **Lebanon and Jordan** to prevent the pro-Western governments in these countries from falling.
    - v. **In Iran,** Mohammed Raza Pahlavi was the ruler since 1941. In 1951, the Parliament of Iran (Majlis) ordered nationalization of Anglo Iranian Oil Company, a British controlled company and Mohammed Mussadeq was made the Prime Minister of Iran. CIA played an important role in the coup against the democratically elected Prime Minister Mussadeq and thereafter helped Shah of Iran, Pahlavi, establish his despotic rule. The coup was done because the US felt that Mussadeq was aligned with USSR. Thereafter, the Shah became closely aligned with US. He made Iran enter the **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and US. He gave US oil companies concessions to develop oil reserves of Iran. The Shah was finally overthrown in 1979 Islamic Revolution because he fell out with the Shia clerics who were against the reforms initiated by Shah for western style modernization of Iranian society.

#### **Marshall Plan (June 1947):**

This was officially called the European Recovery Programme. It was aimed at helping Europe economically to increase its prosperity, increase US influence in Europe and thus to contain communism. Officially it sought "removing hunger, poverty and chaos" but it had the hidden political aim of containment. From 1947-51, \$ 130000 million were given in Marshall Aid to Western Europe. Following was the **impact of Marshall Plan**:

- 1) It led to quick recovery of western Europe from devastation caused by the war.
- 2) It led to prosperity of West Germany and West Berlin that was in stark contrast to poverty in the East Germany under USSR. The Soviet Union did not work enough for prosperity of its occupied zone in Germany and exploited it to fund growth of USSR. The long term result of the Marshall aid was the fall of the Berlin Wall (1961-89) and finally of communism in Eastern Europe.
- 3) It led to boost in US exports as the growing standard of living, rise in incomes and economic development of Western Europe provided a market for US businesses.

### **Stalin's response to Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan:**

The Marshall Aid, or the aid available under the Marshall Plan, was technically available to all interested European nations but Stalin forbade the Soviet Satellite states (i.e. Eastern European nations) to access aid under the Marshall Plan. Stalin denounced the Marshall Plan of US as “**Dollar Imperialism**” devised to increase US influence over Western Europe and interfere in Soviet sphere of influence (i.e. Eastern Europe). Stalin instead announced **Molotov Plan (1947)**, **Cominform (1947)** and **Comecon (1949)** as a response to the US Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan:

- 1) **Molotov Plan (1947):** to provide aid to Soviet satellite states.
- 2) **Cominform (Communist Information Bureau 1947-56):** It was a successor to Comintern (1919-43) and included communist parties of Europe. The aim of Cominform was to increase the Soviet control of its Satellite states in Eastern Europe. To be communist was not enough, it had to be Russia style communism i.e. The communist parties had to follow diktats of Soviet Union:
  - a) Eastern Europe was to be industrialized, collectivized and centralized.
  - b) Member nations were expected to trade primarily with other Cominform members and all contacts with non-communist countries was discouraged.
  - c) Yugoslavia was expelled in 1948 when it objected.
  - d) The Cominform was disbanded in 1956 when Nikita Krushchev came to power. He had argued in his famous 1956 speech that there existed different roads to socialism and thus no need to impose the Russian way on other communist countries.
- 3) **COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance 1949-1991):** This was formed to coordinate economic policies of Cominform.

**Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia (1948):** Czechoslovakia was the only multi-party democracy in Eastern Europe. The government here was a coalition of communists and other left wing parties elected in the 1946 elections. Czechoslovakia hoped to act as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Europe. In 1948, elections were due and the communists had no chance of winning because the public opinion was very much against the government for rejecting the Marshall Aid under Soviet pressure. The communists did an armed coup before the elections. Meanwhile USSR had sent its troops from its occupation zone in Austria to the Austrian frontier with Czechoslovakia so as to ensure that coup went ahead without a problem. Elections were held but only communists were allowed to contest. United Nations protested but could not act because was unable to prove the Russian involvement (Coup was an internal affair - USSR had argued). Thus it was clear, that USSR would intervene if a satellite state tried to become pro-capitalist.

### **Division of Germany:**

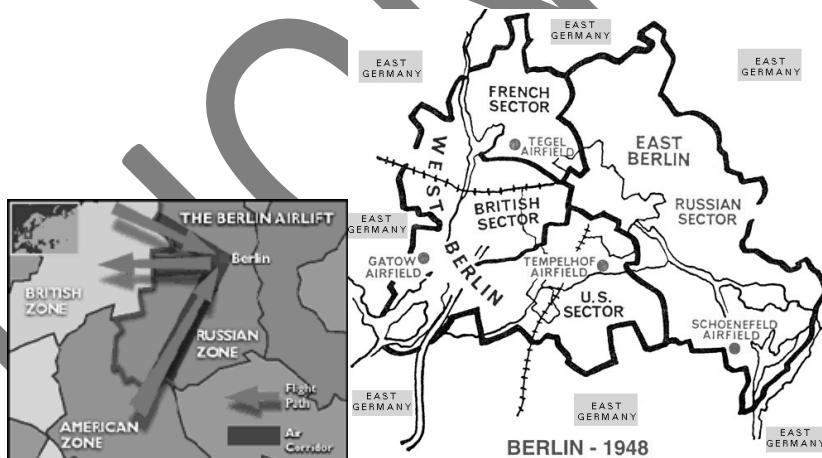
Germany and Berlin were divided into 4 occupation zones (Britain, France, US, USSR) after Yalta Conference (1945).



### **West Berlin Blockade and Airlift (1948-49):**

US, France and Britain tried for economic recovery of their occupation zones in Germany while USSR did the opposite. The result was that:

- 1) This difference in policy led to a stark contrast between the prosperity of the western zones and Russian zone in Germany. This put pressure on USSR as discontent among the natives of its zone increased.
- 2) US, Britain and France introduced a new currency in the western zones. USSR found it impossible to have two currencies in the same city (Berlin). Soon US, Britain and France started putting pressure on USSR to merge the four zones into a united Germany. East Germany seemed to be slipping out of Soviet hands. The USSR responded with the infamous **Blockade of West Berlin (1948-9)**:



*Let us understand this blockade by USSR in greater detail.*

- a) **What?:** In 1948, USSR closed all links (rail, road, canal) between West Berlin and West Germany and this came to be known as the West Berlin Blockade.
- b) **Intent?:** With the Blockade, USSR wanted to starve West Berlin and therefore force US, Britain and France to withdraw so USSR captures the whole of Berlin which lay in its occupation zone.
- c) **Why?:** USSR took this action because it was facing difficulties in keeping control over East Berlin due to contrast in prosperity of the East Germany/East Berlin and the West Germany/West Berlin which was a result of the different economic policies followed by the West and USSR in their respective zones and the substantial aid under Marshall Plan. When Western powers introduced a new currency, USSR found it impossible to have two currencies in the same city.
- d) **Airlift:** To nullify Berlin Blockade, the western powers especially the US, airlifted and dropped food supplies into West Berlin for one year. Thus the Blockade failed and USSR was forced to remove the blockade.
- e) **Brink of War:** US placed its Bomber planes in British airfield to deal with any emergency.

f) **Impact:** After the West Berlin Blockade (1948-9)

- I. The relationship between US and USSR became bitter. It was certain now that Germany was to remain divided in foreseeable future.
- II. US, Britain and France united their zones into **German Federal Republic (1949)**. USSR also followed suit by declaring its zone as **German Democratic Republic (1949)**. This completed the division of Germany into two nation states.
- III. **US formed NATO (1949)** after the West Berlin Blockade because the capitalist bloc found itself unprepared for a military conflict. The Brussels Defence Treaty (1948) was the precursor to NATO and it included Britain, France, Holland, Luxembourg and Belgium. **Under the North Atlantic Treaty (1949)** which included Britain, France, US, Canada, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Ireland- the members placed their defence forces under a joint NATO command organization. It worked on the principle of collective security- that if one nation was attacked then all others would jump into its defence. No member country was to allow a non-member military base on its territory. In 1952, Greece and Turkey became part of NATO while West Germany joined in 1955.
- IV. **Formation of NATO was a turning point** because with NATO, US abandoned its policy of "no entangling alliances" and US for the first time pledged for a military action in advance.

*As discussed above West Germany was far more prosperous when compared to its Eastern counterpart. It therefore becomes important to understand the reasons for economic prosperity of West Germany:*

- 1) **Policy of Western nations in West Germany:** US, Britain and France tried for economic recovery of West Germany & West Berlin via following measures:
  - a) US introduced Marshall Aid in 1947.
  - b) In 1948, the three powers united their occupation zones in Germany into a single economic unit.
  - c) In 1949 after the failed West Berlin Blockade (1948-9), US, Britain and France took the lead and politically merged their three zones into united West Germany or German Federal Republic (1949).
- 2) **USSR's economic policy in East Germany:** Stalin was determined to make Germany pay war reparations for destruction of Russia during the WW II :
  - a) He treated the Soviet zone as a satellite and drained all of its resources to Russia.
  - b) Stalin laid no focus on economic recovery of East Germany. It was treated only as a source of raw material and as an export market for Russian goods.
  - c) Another problem was that USSR was not as rich as US to dole out massive aid and needed resources for its own recovery. The Molotov Plan could not have matched the Marshal Plan .

Communism finally came to an end in East Germany in 1989 December and Germany was reunited in 1989.

*The phase of cold war we are going to study now was perhaps the most crucial one as it created a lot of tensions between nations.*

#### **The beginning of the Arms Race**

Arms race began in earnest when USSR developed the Atomic Bomb in 1949. Thereafter, US planned and produced the much more powerful Hydrogen Bomb. By 1953, USSR also caught up and developed the Hydrogen Bomb.

**USSR in Far East:** Three months after surrender of Germany and three days after dropping of nuclear bomb on Hiroshima, Stalin invaded Sakhalin and the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in August 1945 as agreed during the Yalta Conference (February 1945). This came to be known as Soviet Japanese War (1945). USSR prevented KMT from entering Manchuria, reserving it for Mao's CCP. Later USSR kept the Sakhalin and the Kuril islands but gave full control of all territories in mainland China to Democratic People's Republic of China. Today, Kuril islands are a bone of contention between Russia and Japan. The San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan (1951) states that Japan must give up all claims to the Kuril islands, but it also does not recognize the Soviet

Union's sovereignty over the Kuril Islands. Russia maintains that the Soviet Union's sovereignty over the islands was recognized following agreements at the end of the Second World War.

USSR and China supported the independence struggle of Indochina against France (1946-54) while US supported the French with economic and military aid.

**China:** In 1949, China emerged as a Communist State after Mao Zedong's CCP defeated Chiang Kai Shek's KMT in the civil war. Chiang who fled to Taiwan and setup a government in exile claiming sovereignty over whole of China. USSR and China signed a **Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship** in 1950. These developments alarmed the USA. When North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, US did not want emergence of another communist state. It intervened in favor of South Korea after UNSC approval. China on other hand militarily intervened on side of communist North Korea.

**McCarthyism (1950-4):** McCarthyism has its origin in the controversy that followed after USSR successfully tested the atomic bomb in 1949 and continued during the Korean War (1950-3). Some analysts argued that USSR had been able to get the technology for atomic bomb through collusion with people in the US administration. McCarthy was a US senator who became the lead figure in promoting the spy angle. He got heavily engaged in the anti-communist propaganda after the WW II and suspected presence of Soviet spies in US administration and everywhere. He got so much obsessed with the communists that he began to promote the spy angle behind every problem of the US.

McCarthyism is a term used to describe the era after the WW II when there was high suspicion among many sections in US that Stalin's spies have been able to penetrate the US government. Anyone who would prescribe socialist policies or argued for caution in foreign policy against the communists was branded as a communist or a USSR sympathizer. Every failure and any inefficiency of the US administration was attributed to the Soviet spies. McCarthy condemned every critic of his as a communist and even accused the army generals of communist sympathies during questioning in the Senate to investigate the possible nuclear proliferation to USSR. The Senate condemned McCarthy by passing a resolution against him with a significant majority. McCarthy committed the grave mistake of criticizing President Eisenhower (1953-61) when the latter supported Senate's action and by 1954, McCarthy was discredited in US. The 1956 speech by Nikita Krushchev and the consequent improvement in US-USSR relationship ended McCarthyism. The spy scare although, continued throughout the cold war and varied in intensity in inverse proportion to the goodwill in US-USSR ties. USSR was also wary of US spies. In 1960, USSR shot down a U2 spy plane of US in Russian mainland territory and this incident deteriorated the US-USSR relationship.

Today, **McCarthyism is referred to as the practice of making accusations of disloyalty, subversion, or treason without proper regard for evidence.** It also means "the practice of making unfair allegations or using unfair investigative techniques, especially in order to restrict dissent or political criticism."

#### **Partial Thaw in Cold War post-Stalin (1953):**

There was a partial thaw in the US-USSR relationship after the death of Stalin in 1953.

#### **Reasons for Thaw:**

- 1) Emergence of new leaders in USSR like Nikita Krushchev and Bulganin who wanted a better relationship with US.
- 2) By 1953, both US and USSR had a Hydrogen Bomb. Thus to avoid a nuclear war, both sides desired a better relationship.
- 3) Under Krushchev, Russia changed its policy for spread of Communism. Communism was still to be promoted but not by defeating capitalist nations in a war but by proving the superiority of Soviet economic system. Krushchev increased aid to neutral states to turn them towards communism.

- 4) McCarthy was discredited in US by 1954. The decline in the anti-communist propaganda, helped create an environment for improvement in relationship.

**Events that characterized the Thaw:**

- 1) The Korean War had ended by 1953. Also the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina War (1946-54) between Vietminh and France had ended by 1954.
- 2) Russia made some concessions in 1955:
  - a) USSR gave up its military bases in Finland.
  - b) It lifted veto and this allowed 16 new nations to enter UN. USSR was not allowing entry to Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Sri Lanka and other countries because these countries were pro-West. Ireland did not have diplomatic relations with USSR. US was vetoing Mao's People's Republic of China taking the permanent seat in UNSC. In 1955, a deal was struck in which pro-West countries and also the Soviet satellite states got UN membership.
  - c) Krushchev tried to improve relations with Yugoslavia by paying a visit to Tito. Yugoslavia had objected to trade restrictions placed on Cominform countries and had been expelled from Cominform in 1948.
  - d) In 1956, Cominform was disbanded, therefore giving more freedom to Soviet Satellite countries in trade and economic policies. This was in line with the Krushchev's speech in 1956 where he had argued in favor of each communist country following its own brand of socialism.
- 3) **Agreement on Austria (1955):** Austria, like Germany was divided into four occupation zones. Unlike Germany, Austria was allowed to have its own government because it was treated as a victim of Nazi aggression rather than as an aggressor. The economic situation was same as in Germany with the West trying for economic recovery of its zones and USSR draining its zone of resources.

USSR and the West were able to resolve their disputes regarding Austria through the **Austrian State Treaty of 1955**. USSR agreed to the treaty because of two reasons. One, the Austrian government was able to persuade a more flexible USSR after Stalin's death. Two, USSR was afraid of a possible merger between West Austria and West Germany and thus to prevent such a course of events USSR agreed for creation of a united Austria. **Under the Austrian State Treaty (1955):**

- a) Austria was made independent with 1937 frontiers except that the South Tyrol was to remain with Italy (this made Austria unhappy). (\*South Tyrol, then in Austria, promised to Italy in 1915, annexed by Italy in 1919. Germany did not annex it even when had majority German speaking because Italy was an ally. Later allied powers did not take away because Italy joined them in 1943.)



- b) As a concession to USSR, Austria was not allowed to join NATO or European Economic Community (a precursor to European Union formed in 1958 by a treaty signed in 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany).

### ***“Partial” in the Thaw:***

As we have discussed the “partial” thaw in US-U.S.S.R relations earlier this thaw was only partial in nature as illustrated by following events:

- 1) Hungarian uprising (1956) by the Hungarian people against their communist government was crushed by Russian tanks.
- 2) Warsaw pact (1955) was initiated by USSR in response to NATO admitting West Germany. It was signed by USSR and all satellite states except Yugoslavia. Under Warsaw Pact, the members promised to defend each other against any attack from outside and the armies of all members came under overall control of Moscow.
- 3) USSR continued building nuclear warheads and delivery systems.
- 4) Berlin Wall was erected in 1961.
- 5) Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) when the world came at the brink of a nuclear war. (*discussed in detail later*)

**Berlin Wall (1961):** In 1960, a U2 spy plane of US was shot down in Russia but Eisenhower refused to apologize. In 1961, Krushchev asked the new President elect J.F. Kennedy to withdraw the Western powers from Berlin. This was a time when USSR was being continuously embarrassed by the fact that a high number of people were escaping to West Berlin from East Germany. Thus, when US refused the Russian demand, USSR erected the Berlin Wall to block the escape route into West Berlin from East Germany.

### ***Tensions in the Communist Bloc in Eastern Europe:***

Russia at times used force to clamp down on dissent among the communist bloc in Eastern Europe.

- 1) **Yugoslavia:** It was first to stand up against Russia. Tito was a popular leader and he was determined to follow his own brand of communism, not Stalin's. He was opposed to Stalin's interference in internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Tito wanted freedom of trade with the west as well as USSR. Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from Cominform in 1948 and stopped giving economic aid. He did not invade Yugoslavia because Tito was too popular a leader. Thus Tito stayed in power and implemented his own brand of communism by trading freely with the west and accepting aid from IMF. Tito began decentralization of industries and instead of State control the factories were brought under workers control by giving powers to Workers organizations. The Agricultural policy focused on primacy of communes. There was an elected Commune Assembly that acted as an institution of local self-government dealing with matters of education, health, and local economy. The system was extraordinary as it gave powers to ordinary people to take decisions with respect to their factories and community. It can be cited as an example of Democratic Socialism. Many Marxists believed that this was a more genuine way of running a communist government rather than over centralization being followed in the USSR. The capitalist elements like wage differentials and free market helped overcome some negatives of a Marxist economic system like workers paying themselves too much salary and not sacking their colleagues which led to higher cost of production and inflation. Later, many African states, like Tanzania, adopted this system. Krushchev restored good relations with Tito after 1953.
- 2) **Stalin acted against other leaders who tried to follow independent policy:** In Hungary, the Foreign Minister and Interior minister were hanged (1949). In Bulgaria, the Prime Minister was arrested and executed (1949). In Czechoslovakia, some cabinet ministers were executed (1952). In Poland, the communist party leader was imprisoned and in Albania the communist premier was executed because they both supported Tito.
- 3) **Poland (1956):** Here workers held anti-USSR demonstrations and protested against poor living standards, wage reductions and high taxes. Soon, Russian tanks surrounded Warsaw and finally, Russians arrived at a compromise. Poland was allowed to choose its own way of communism while Poland in return aligned with USSR in foreign affairs.
- 4) **Hungarian Uprising (1956):** People rose against the government in October 1956 because of many reasons

- a) The regime here was repressive and brutal.
- b) Living standards were getting worse.
- c) There was an intense anti-Russian feeling
- d) Krushchev's 1956 speech encouraged Hungarians to resist their government.

The communist leader of Hungary was overthrown and a more moderate leader Nagy came to power. Russians were ready to compromise like in Poland but lost patience when Nagy announced the plan to have a government with members from other political parties and talked about withdrawing Hungary from Warsaw Pact. Soon Russian tanks surrounded Budapest, the Hungarian capital. Hungarians fought and resisted but couldn't stand up to the might of USSR. After this Nagy was executed and Hungary brought under control.

- 5) **Czechoslovakia (1968):** After Hungarian uprising, Russia did not intervene directly until 1968. It had allowed the satellite states to follow their own road to socialism. The government in Czechoslovakia was pro-Moscow but the opposition escalated because Czechs opposed the Russian control of their economy for example, Russia dictated to Czechoslovakia from where it could import iron ore. Also the Czechs resented curbs on their liberty like lack of freedom of speech and expression, censorship of media etc. Peaceful protests were crushed brutally by the police. In 1968, the communist leader was forced to resign in the favour of a liberal leader Dubcek. He proposed a new programme which he called "**Socialism with a Human Face**". Some of the aspects of this program were as follows:

- a) Communist party would no longer dictate policy.
- b) Industry would be decentralized and brought under workers councils instead of party officials. Trade Unions would have more powers.
- c) Farms would not be collectivized, rather they would become independent cooperatives.
- d) More trade with the west and freedom to travel abroad. The border with West Germany, closed since 1948, was thrown open immediately.
- e) There was to be freedom of speech and of press. Criticism of government was encouraged.

Dubcek assured USSR that it would remain in Warsaw Pact and continue to be a staunch ally. Thus the programme was implemented in 1968. But the freedom of speech clause irked USSR and Russians soon became anxious and invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Czechoslovakia did not resist USSR to prevent bloodshed (like in Hungary 1956), the new programme was abandoned and Dubcek was replaced by a Russian puppet. Soon, Brezhnev (1964-82) announced **Brezhnev Doctrine** which said that Russia has the right to intervene in internal affairs of a communist country if socialism was threatened.

#### **Why Detente began in 1970s?**

The relations between the communist bloc and the Free World (as the capitalist bloc liked to call itself) began to improve in the 1970s. **SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) treaty** was signed in 1972. The reasons for this relaxation in tensions was:

- 1) Western European nations agreed to West Germany's OSTPOLITIK ("new eastern policy" in German) that was aimed at better relations between Eastern and Western Germany in particular and East and West Europe in general. The reason was that Europe would be at the frontline of any nuclear attack by Russia and having a non-confrontational relationship within Europe was thought as being wise.
- 2) China was unhappy on the account of worsening ties with Russia and was nervous of US involvement in Vietnam. Thus it felt a threat of being isolated and therefore sought to improve relations with the US.
- 3) Both US and the USSR feared a nuclear war especially after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. They were both sickened by horrors of Vietnam War (1961-75) where Napalm Jelly and Chemical weapon were used.
- 4) After its failure in Vietnam, US realized that war was no solution to communism and talks of reverting back to Policy of Isolation started.
- 5) Arms race (discussed below) was proving a drain on the resources of USSR. In early 1970s, there was

unrest in Poland due to worsening economic situation and thus USSR feared for stability in the communist bloc countries.

- 6) USSR was at bad terms with China and thus wanted good US-Russia relationship when China was moving closer to US after 1971.

### **Arms Race**

Arms race is as old as rivalry among international powers and was prevalent during Colonialism, Imperialism and New Imperialism but it took a crucial turn in the two World Wars. The 1<sup>st</sup> World War witnessed use of poison gas, machine guns, tanks etc on a massive level while shelling was used for the first time via German Howitzers in the Battle of Liege against Belgian forts. The World War II had the spectacle of Blitzkrieg where there was sudden onslaught on the enemy by tanks, mechanized divisions of troops along with massive air support. Use of Atomic Bomb on Japan at the end of WW II marked another landmark.

During the Cold War, arms race reached horrifying proportions. After the Korean War (1950-53), US foreign policy was dominated by the US Secretary of State Dulles whose propositions in form of Policy of Rolling Back Communism, MAD, Brinkmanship and Nuclear Deterrence along with Eisenhower Doctrine gave a boost to the arms race.

During the Cold War, there were several dangerous weapons started to be developed including the Atomic Bomb, Hydrogen bomb, Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABMs), Cruise, Trident and Pershing Missiles. The development of MIRVs (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles) and SS20s further made the arms race reach another level. The Star Wars concept of US where it wanted to launch missiles from space was another landmark. A timeline of development of weapons has been given below.

<b>Timeline</b>	<b>Weapons</b>
1949	US and then USSR developed the <b>Atomic Bomb</b> .
1952-3	US developed <b>Hydrogen Bomb</b> at end of 1952. This bomb was much more powerful than the Atomic Bomb. By 1953, even USSR was able to develop the Hydrogen Bomb.
1957	USSR was first to develop ICBMs ( <b>Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles</b> ) in 1957. ICBM was a nuclear warhead carried by a rocket so powerful that it could reach US from USSR itself. Soon US developed its American counterpart called <b>ATLAS</b> missiles.
Also in 1950s and early 1960s	US developed and placed Short Range Nuclear Missiles named <b>Jupiter and Thor</b> and placed them in Turkey which threatened USSR.
1958 onward	<b>Disarmament:</b> There were public protests in Britain under a campaign for Nuclear disarmament but Britain took a stand that there should only be Multilateral Disarmament and discarded any unilateral disarmament.
1961-75	Here in general USSR was able to take the lead in arms race because US expenditure was targeted toward the Vietnam War.
1962	Cuban Missile crisis where Russians placed nuclear missiles in US backyard in Cuba.

1963	<p><b>Disarmament:</b> Russia, Britain and US signed the <b>Nuclear Test Ban Treaty</b> where they agreed that from now on only underground nuclear tests would be conducted and no tests would be conducted underwater, in air or in outer space.</p> <p>US agreed to remove <b>Thor &amp; Jupiter</b> (short range Nuclear missiles) from Turkey after the Cuban Missile Crisis.</p>
1967	<p><b>Disarmament:</b> An agreement banned the use of Nuclear Weapons in outer space.</p>
1970s	<p>As discussed earlier, a relaxation in US-USSR tensions began in 1970s.</p> <p><b>Disarmament:</b> In 1970 the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (<b>NPT 1968</b>) came into effect. It allowed only the existing Nuclear Weapon States to have nuclear weapons and the signatory nations were barred from assisting non-Nuclear Weapon States in getting the technology to develop nuclear weapons. As a carrot to NNWS, they were to be assisted and were to have the right to develop nuclear technology for civilian purposes like power generation, use in labs etc.</p> <p><b>NSG:</b> Nuclear Supplier Group was setup in 1974 when India conducted nuclear tests in the same year. The NSG is a group of nations which have the nuclear technology and the aim of NSG is to prevent nuclear proliferation.</p> <p><b>SLBMs</b> (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles) were developed first by US (e.g. Poseidon and Polaris missiles). The SLBMs could be launched from submarines stationed in East Mediterranean sea. Soon Russia also started stockpiling SLBMs and ICBMs.</p> <p><b>ABMs</b> (Anti-Ballistic Missiles) that could shoot down ballistic missiles in flight were first developed by USSR.</p> <p><b>MIRVs</b> (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle) was first developed by US. These vehicles carried multiple missiles which could be independently launched when in flight towards multiple targets located in different directions. USSR developed its own version named <b>SS-20</b> missiles but they were inferior as they could only be used against three targets.</p> <p><b>Disarmament:</b> An important step was taken in 1972 towards Nuclear Disarmament. <b>SALT-1 treaty</b> (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) limited the number of ICBMs, ABMs and SLBMs each side could stockpile but there was no agreement on MIRVs which hurt the spirit of disarmament.</p> <p>To overcome the shortcomings of SALT-1, the negotiations for <b>SALT-2</b> started through summit level talks between Brezhnev and Nixon with an aim to limit MIRVs and SS-20s but due to USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the SALT-2 treaty was rejected by the US Senate.</p> <p><b>Helsinki Agreement (1975)</b> was signed by Brezhnev from USSR and Gerald Ford from US along with Canada and many European nations (totaling 35 signatory nations). Here Russia promised to respect Human Rights, Right to Speech and Right to Leave the country in the communist states. The member nations recognized the existing frontiers in Europe (and thus accepted division of Germany). But the accord was non-binding as it did not have treaty status.</p> <p><b>Cruise Missiles</b> were developed by US in late 1970s. These missiles could fly at a low height and thus could evade detection by Russian radars.</p> <p><b>Afghanistan was invaded</b> in 1979 by USSR which increased tensions between US and USSR.</p>

1979-83	<p><b>During 1979-83</b> the west and the Soviet Union seemed to be on the <b>brink of a war</b>.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) West was suspicious of USSR due to Afghanistan's invasion by USSR in 1979 and this led to increase in stockpiling of nuclear warheads by both sides.</li> <li>2) NATO deployed Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe against USSR's deployment of SS-20 (which were Soviet counterparts of MIRVs). The US Senate rejected SALT 2 which would have led to reduction of MIRVs by both sides.</li> <li>3) Ronald Reagan (1981-89) began in 1983, the Star Wars or the Strategic Defence Initiative programme which would have given US the capability to launch missiles from Space.</li> </ol>
1985-91	<p>In 1980s, there were public protests in Europe against nuclear weapons development.</p> <p><b>Detente between US and USSR:</b> Gorbachev tried to improve relations with the US in a more stable manner.</p> <p><b>Disarmament: INF Treaty (1987):</b> The Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty was signed in 1987 by US (Reagan) and USSR (Gorbachev). It aimed at complete denuclearization of the world in a step-by-step manner over a 15 year period. Under the INF treaty, US and USSR agreed for destruction of all intermediate range 'land based' nuclear weapons i.e. Russian missiles placed in Czechoslovakia and East Germany and US Cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe. The treaty established a strict procedure of mutual verification of progress made by each country.</p> <p><b>Criticism of INF Treaty:</b> The land based intermediate range missiles of Russia and US amounted only to 4% of total nuclear weapons in the world at that point of time. Also, Britain and France were not part of the treaty. In fact <b>Margaret Thatcher</b>, the then Prime Minister of Britain was against denuclearization of Britain. Under her, Britain began developing the <b>Trident Missiles</b> which were better than the US Cruise missiles.</p> <p>Under the <b>NATO-Warsaw Agreement</b> (1990) both sides agreed that they would use their weapons against each other only for purposes of self defence.</p> <p>After <b>disintegration of USSR in 1991</b>, Russia inherited the nuclear stockpile of USSR. The fall of USSR led to new concerns of proliferation because now USSR and US ceased to operate as a policemen and thus there was a fear that nuclear, chemical and biological weapons may fall in hands of irresponsible states like Iran, Iraq, Libya and North Korea.</p> <p>Through the <b>1994 Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances</b>, Ukraine agreed to give its Nuclear weapons to Russia in return for assurances of territorial integrity by US, Britain and Russia.</p> <p><b>Megaton to Megawatt (1993)</b> was an agreement between US and Russia whereby the enriched Uranium from the Russian nuclear warheads was to be transported to US for degradation to enrichment levels suitable for use in civil nuclear power generation.</p> <p><b>CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty)</b> was established in 1996 and it bans all nuclear explosions in all environments, for military or civilian purposes. But it has still not been able to come into force because it has not been ratified by the required minimum number of nations. CTBT requires ratification by 44 nations before it can come to force. Recently, Indonesia has ratified it and now 8 more ratifications are left. India along with US, North Korea, China, Egypt, Iran, Israel and Pakistan has not ratified it.</p>

	<p><b>Other efforts at Nuclear Disarmament</b> include START I (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 1994-2010) , SORT (Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty was in force from 2003-11), START II (failed), and NEW START (will be in force from 2011 to 2021).</p> <p><b>International Bodies:</b> Many international weapon control regimes were setup in the process. These include, Wassenaar Arrangement, Australia Group, Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), CTBTO (UN), NSG, World Nuclear Association, OPCW (UN).</p> <p><b>Wassenaar Arrangement:</b> Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies</p> <p><b>Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG):</b> A group of countries that controls nuclear related technology and global nuclear commerce.</p> <p><b>Australia Group (AG)</b> : Informal forum of countries that aims to harmonize export controls to ensure that exports do not contribute to the development of chemical or biological weapons.</p> <p><b>Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR):</b> Informal and voluntary association of countries that share the goals of non-proliferation of unmanned delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction.</p>
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Thus it can be said that during the Cold War, the Arms Race saw expansion in respect to quantity, quality and launch sites:

- a) Quantity: The quantity of nuclear, chemical and conventional warheads increased.
- b) Quality: Accuracy, precision and range of missiles increased.
- c) Flexible launch sites: now missiles could be launched not just from land but from under water, space and mobile trucks. Missiles were now characterized as
  - a. Surface to surface
  - b. Surface to air
  - c. Air to Air
  - d. Air to Surface
  - e. Submarine launched

The negative impact of arms race was on the development of the poor. The money could have been well spent on uplifting millions of people from poverty especially by focusing on development among the Third World nations which would have laid firm foundations of a North-South cooperation. The Arms Race drained the USSR of its resources and was an important reason for the fall of USSR. The arms race led to nuclearization of the world and it has led to the present day situation where there is a threat of nuclear warheads landing in the hands of non-state actors.

**Brink of War:** The world reached at the brink of war many a times during the Cold War:

- a) **West Berlin Blockade & Airlift (1948-9):** Here US placed its Bomber planes in Britain to deal with any contingency.
- b) **Cuban Missile Crisis (1962):** There was a chance of direct military conflict between the US and the USSR. It was averted by UN mediation.
- c) **1979:** In context of the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan, the tensions between the Capitalist and the Communist Bloc increased. NATO deployed Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe after Russia deployed SS-20 missiles.
- d) **1983:** US was holding war games in 1983 but Russia believed that US had launched the first nuclear strike. This brought the world at the brink of a nuclear war until the misperception was dealt with.

There is a view among experts that the Arms race did not end with end of the Cold War and it still continues. India has become the largest arms importer in the world. Japan is gradually adopting a more aggressive stance along with Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam, Philippines etc due to increased assertiveness of China. Russia and US continue to compete, and in recent years Russia has become more assertive, be it in the case of Iran or Syria. Fears of non-state actors getting access to a nuclear warhead remain strong. Even economically weak countries like Lebanon are highly militarized. In recent years, efforts at non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament have failed as new Nuclear Weapon States like India, Pakistan, North Korea have emerged.

### **Spread of Communism outside Europe:**

By the end of 1940s, Cold War began spreading outside Europe as communism spread to Asia, South America and Africa with each country adopting its own brand of Marxism.

**China:** The Chinese Communist Party (formed in 1921, encouraged by Russian Revolution of 1917) emerged victorious in the civil war against Kuomintang. Its pro-peasant programme and its resilience in fighting the invading Japanese made it immensely popular among the masses. China tried to nullify the threats to communism by intervening in the Korean war (1950-3). It expanded its frontiers by invading Tibet in 1951 and then crushed the 1959 uprising (during which the Tibetans declared independence from China). After end of the 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan that ran on Soviet lines with focus on heavy industrialization, Mao introduced the Great Leap Forward (1958) with focus on Agricultural economy, gradual and decentralized industrialization. GLF was the Chinese brand of Marxism different from Soviet style socialism.

### **Korean War (1950-53):**



**Background:** Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910 and remained under Japan till the end of WW II after which Korea was divided so that US and USSR can jointly organize Japanese surrender and withdrawal of US-USSR troops. North Korea was occupied by Soviet troops while the South Korea came under the domination of US. The division was not to be permanent. **United Nations and US** wanted free elections for the whole of country. The reason behind the stated position of US was that South Korea had 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Korean population and US was sure of victory of the capitalists in the elections post-unification of Korea and because of this Korea became a part of Cold War like Germany. In 1948, independent **Republic of Korea (South Korea)** was created and elections held under UN supervision. Soon after, USSR created a **Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1948)** under a communist government of Kim Il Sung.

In 1949, Russian and US troops were withdrawn but amidst a volatile situation where the Koreans resented partition and leaders of both, North and South Korea, claimed the right to rule over whole of Korea.

**Korean War begins:** The Korean War began when North Korea invaded South Korea in a bid to unite the country. The reason why North Korea took the drastic step is unclear but following aspects encouraged it:

- 1) USSR had supplied it with tanks with an aim to increase Soviet influence in the Pacific and to consolidate communism in the newly created North Korea after recent failure at Berlin Blockade. Thus North felt militarily superior.
- 2) US Secretary of State in a speech mentioned areas US will defend in the Pacific but did not mention South Korea.
- 3) China was mobilizing troops in the province facing Taiwan island which gave an impression as if China is preparing to attack Taiwan. This encouraged North Korea as it hoped that newly emerged communist China will support North Korea.
- 4) North Korea blamed South Korea for starting the war as North Korea alleged that South Korea's troops had crossed 38<sup>th</sup> parallel first.

**Role of UN:** US got alarmed at the prospect of emergence of a new communist state. North Korea was on the verge of victory when US decided to send its troops. A day after this decision US tried to get UN sanction for the military intervention. But USSR at that point of time was abstaining from meetings of UNSC and there was a debate if abstention means veto. It was during this time that UNGA adopted historic "Uniting for Peace" resolution and overruled any possible veto percolating from Russian abstention. This led to passage of UNSC resolution. It is to be noted that US had decided to intervene a day before UNSC meet and thus UNSC resolution saw light of the day only because USSR was abstaining. It was a US intervention under the cloak of UN. Also, the UNSC resolution was only to restore frontiers along 38<sup>th</sup> parallel north but the after achieving its goal, the US extracted the UNSC approval for invading North Korea. Thus UN was being dictated by US.

US was successful in pushing back North Korean forces but it now desired to unite Korea. US crossed over into the territory of North Korea and reached the Yalu River near the Chinese border.



China, had warned US not to invade North and limit itself to the restoration of original border along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. Threatened by the possibility of a pro-capitalist Korea in its immediate neighbourhood, China intervened militarily and captured Seoul. McArthur (US commander) suggested use of nuclear bomb on China and was subsequently removed from his post. The UN forces bounced back and finally the frontier was restored along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel north. The Korean war came to an end with an armistice and no peace treaty was signed. Thus the Korean war has not ended yet officially.

#### **Impact of Korean War:**

- 1) Both NK and SK were devastated by the war that resulted in nothing and the division seemed permanent. Both developed high mutual suspicion and an arms race began that culminated in North Korea becoming a full fledged nuclear power in 2009 (first nuclear tests in 2007). South Korea did not

itself develop nuclear weapon but has umbrella protection from US. Efforts are still on for peace and creation of a united Korea.

- 2) Korean War was the first instance where US (under Truman) used military action instead of economic measures under the Policy of Containment (Truman Doctrine 1947).
- 3) Radicals in US were against not invading China and considered it as a loss of opportunity.
- 4) UN begun to be perceived by the communist countries as a tool of capitalist powers.
- 5) The Korean War improved China's image in the world as a military power and many sections began to view it as legitimate claimant of permanent seat in UNSC (finally attained in 1971 until which it was occupied by Chiang Kai Shek's government)
- 6) **Policy of Rolling Back Communism, MAD, Brinkmanship, Nuclear Deterrence:** The Korean War intensified the Cold War. The US foreign policy was dominated by the US Secretary of State Dulles who remained in office from 1953-59. He believed that the policy of "containment" of communism was inadequate and suggested a more aggressive **policy of "rolling back" communism** by "liberating" people from communist tyranny. He proposed some dangerous doctrines like
  - a) **"Massive Retaliation"** which meant us of nuclear weapons.
  - b) **Doctrine of "Brinkmanship"** which meant creating situations which would bring the country on the verge of a war with USSR without ever actually fighting a war. The aim was to push USSR to the brink of the war after which it would be forced to grant concessions to US. By 1953, both US and USSR had Atomic and Hydrogen bombs and the brinkmanship doctrine threatened the existence of humanity itself.
  - c) **Doctrine of MAD:** This was used to justify the arms buildup. According to the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction, a Nuclear Weapon State wont risk using nuclear weapons against another Nuclear Weapon State because in such a situation both would end up destroying each other.
  - d) **Doctrine of Nuclear Deterrence:** This meant development of nuclear weapons to ensure that no other country would risk a war with a Nuclear Weapon State for fear of a retaliatory nuclear attack. This policy justified the development of nuclear weapons in world on pretext of maintaining peace in world. This doctrine led to Britain developing its own nuclear weapons in 1957. China, France and more recently India, Pakistan and North Korea have developed their own deterrent.
- 7) Cold War became intense because Korean War led to strained relations between China-US and USSR-US. Also several military **alliances began to appear in Asia and the Pacific:**
  - a) China supported communist Vietminh in Indochina's struggle for independence against France. China offered aid to underdeveloped nations in Asia, South America and Africa. With India and Burma, China signed agreements for "peaceful coexistence". China wanted to capture Taiwan but US had setup a military base in Taiwan and committed itself to Taiwan's protection.
  - b) After the end of Suez War (1956), the Arab countries drew closer to Soviet Union. This prompted President Eisenhower to propose **Eisenhower Doctrine** which implied giving economic and military aid to countries of this region to check "international communism".
  - c) US began encirclement of China by setting up military bases. Example, US signed a defence agreement with Australia and New Zealand in 1951. **SEATO** (South East Asia Treaty Organization 1954-77) was formed by Manila Pact in 1954 and led by US, Britain, France, New Zealand and Australia. US was disappointed when only three Asian nations joined SEATO viz Pakistan, Philippine and Thailand. It was intended to check spread of communism and was to be a NATO like organization. It failed due to internal differences and was dissolved in 1977.
  - d) Soon after formation of SEATO, the **Baghdad Pact** was signed which brought Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan into a military alliance with US. When Iraq, left the Baghdad Pact after a revolution which overthrew the monarchy, the Baghdad Pact was renamed as the Central Treaty Organization (**CENTO**). These military alliances were used to support many undemocratic regimes in Asia. US armed these regimes to their teeth and this led to tensions between the members of these alliances

and the neighboring countries who refused to join these alliances. It was in this context that NAM (1961) was born. Example, India did not join SEATO and followed policy of Non-Alignment culminating in **Non Aligned Movement (1961)**.

### **Cuba:**

Cuban revolution served as a precursor for the Cuban missile crisis. Therefore, it is important to understand the Cuban revolution and history behind it.

#### **Causes of Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) or of resentment against US:**

- 1) **Interference in internal affairs:** In 1898, US helped Cuba gain independence from Spain (Spanish American War, 1898). Since then there was resentment among many Cubans over excessive influence of US in Cuba. US troops were deployed frequently to restore order. Also Cuban economy came under US domination.
- 2) **US control over Cuban economy:** US companies invested a lot in Cuban economy. They owned more than 50% of land in Cuba, 3/5<sup>th</sup> of railways and all electricity production. US companies had controlling shareholding in all Cuban industries (nickel, copper, sugar, tobacco, iron etc) and monopoly over Cuban oil refineries. US influence may not have been resented, had it brought some prosperity to the Cubans.
- 3) **Poor Social Indicators:** There was concentration of wealth and of ownership of land in the country. There was huge contrast between the poverty of the masses and the wealth of the corrupt officials. Thus increasing the social tension. Cuba had poor social indicators and lack of any unemployment benefit. Seasonal unemployment became a serious problem as unemployment varied from 8% during months of sugarcane harvest to 30% during rest of the year. The trade unions were dominated by sugar mill workers who had all-year-round jobs and they failed to do enough for workers from other sectors.
- 4) **Weaknesses of Economy:** Cuba was over dependent on sugar exports and the economy did not witness sufficient industrial diversification. Cuba depended heavily on US for its exports (especially sugar) and US aid.
- 5) **Lack of good governance:** No effective political system was developed. There was lack of institutions that could ensure good governance. In 1952, Batista, a former army sergeant, seized power illegally and began to rule like a dictator. His government was readily recognized by US. Batista's regime was brutal and corrupt. The students were especially opposed to Batista.
- 6) **Violent revolution became necessary:** In 1952, elections were supposed to happen and anti-corruption protests by students were happening simultaneously. Fidel Castro, a lawyer activist from middle class background, emerged as a leader. Batista did a coup preventing Anti-Corruption Party of Castro winning elections. Castro started protests against Batista and made a failed attempt in 1953 to overthrow Batista. Castro was released after 2 years as public pressure mounted on Batista who then had to grant amnesty to political prisoners. Castro toured US to gather support among US Cubans & to gather funds. He went to Mexico as well and there he met Che Guevara and formed a revolutionary group with Che as 1st commander of Castro's Guerrilla force. Castro came to Cuba with 82 men via sea to attempt another coup. Many were captured by Batista's forces & only 21 escaped including Che & Castro. Castro & Che trained the villagers in warfare and they even raised a women battalion. Fidel Castro implemented land reforms in mountain areas that came under his control and this made him gain popular support of the masses.
- 7) **Batista's repression:** It was brutal and many suspects were tortured and killed and this shifted the public opinion (especially of the middle class which was crucial for Batista) further against Batista. The morale of poorly paid army (which formed the main support base of Batista along with businessmen & middle class) was down by 1958 because of failure to defeat Castro's forces. US had supported Batista earlier but stopped supplying arms after the gross violations of human rights. This was a big blow for Batista and the guerrilla's victory seemed certain.
- 8) **Success of Revolution (1959):** Che Guevara, an Argentinian, gave crucial support to Castro's campaign. In 1959, at age of 32, Castro overthrew Batista who flew to Dominican Republic. Many of his supporters fled to Miami in US (thus till today Miami has a strong anti-Cuba lobby). A liberal government was established in Cuba with Castro at its head.

- 9) **Fidel in Power (1959-2010):** Batista's supporters who didn't flee Cuba were tried. Some CIA members were also among these people and thus US was opposed to these trials. Then Castro went to US to build better understanding. Eisenhower was President and Nixon the Vice President. Eisenhower refused to meet Castro and Nixon labeled him a Communist. During his visit, a hotel in Harlem had refused to allow Castro to stay. Then a black owned hotel named Theresa invited Castro to stay. In this hotel, many world leaders including Nikita Krushchev came to meet him. Nikita said "I don't know if Castro is a Communist but I am a Fidelist". Leader of Black Americans, Malcolm also visited Theresa Hotel. Some of the important landmarks in Cuba during Castro's regime were:
- Fidel's Reform Programme:** Back home disappointed, Fidel began his reform programme:
    - Land Reforms:** Fidel began by redistribution of land to reduce concentration of land ownership. 70% of land belonged to foreigners in Cuba, especially US, and thus US government was opposed to Castro's land reforms.
    - Social Reforms:** After Land Reforms, Cuba targeted education & health. Many young people went to remote areas to teach the farmers kids.
    - Nationalization:** Castro next wanted US Oil Refineries to process Soviet Crude but they refused & Castro began nationalization of Oil Refineries. In response US put sanctions on Cuba. Angered, Castro responded by nationalization of all utilities.
    - US trade embargo:** As a response, US put Trade embargo on Cuba (US stopped import of Cuban Sugar from 1960). Cuban economy was always heavily dependent on sugar exports and US was its main export market. The embargo hurt Cuban economy and it was now that USSR promised to buy Cuban sugar.
    - Castro always supported Sports. With many Cubans being descendants of African immigrants, Cuba has consistently been in top 10 ranks of Olympic medals.
  - Bay of Pigs:** It was a US supported invasion of Cuba by Cubans in exile in US. The attack was planned under Eisenhower and executed during Kennedy's term. Kennedy vetoed use of US forces and thus the Bay of Pigs was carried out by Cubans in exile (particularly in Miami). Fidel Castro himself led the Cuban defence and won the battle in 72 hrs. The perpetrators were captured & later exchanged with US for baby food.
  - Cuban form of Socialism:** After 1961 Bay of Pigs, Cuba became communist state and cemented the One Party System. (It is to be noted that the term "**Communist State**" is used in the west and not by communist regimes themselves because the latter consider Communism to be phase that would begin after consolidation or full maturation of socialism in the society and thus they prefer to use terms like "Democratic People's Republic", "Republic", "Socialist Republic" etc e.g. Cuba is called Republic of Cuba).
- In Cuba, only one party, the Communist Party, is allowed and even this party cannot campaign for candidates or field candidates for election. Candidates are elected on an individual referendum basis without formal party involvement and thus the elected assemblies can consist of candidates who are not members of Communist party.
- Fidel's declaration came after Bay of Pigs (1961)** because Fidel wanted Soviet support to protect the Cuban revolution and to sustain his Universal Health & Education reforms. Thus Castro wasn't a communist (was a liberal nationalist) to begin with but he became one. He declared that *he was a Marxist & Cuba a socialist country. His is a policy of Socialism.*
- Cuba and USSR:** As Cuba-US relations worsened, Cuba-USSR relations improved and so did the Soviet aid. Fidel constantly strove for Cuban independence in foreign policy from Soviet Union and to balance Cuban dependence on USSR with Cuban autonomy and sovereignty. He joined NAM (1961) in the first year of its formation. But ironically, he soon got embroiled in Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962).

- e) **Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962):** Here Cuba agreed to keep Soviet nuclear surface-to-surface missiles (surface to surface missiles are for offensive while surface to air missiles are for defence). The reason behind Nikita's action who had espoused peaceful coexistence with the west in 1956, lay in the events like
- i. shooting down of U2 spy plane of US (1960),
  - ii. Tensions in Berlin (Berlin Wall erected in 1961. Krushchev probably wanted to use missiles in Cuba to pressurize US, Britain and France to withdraw from West Berlin.)
  - iii. Vietnam War had begun in 1961 where US was militarily intervening against the communists while China and Russia were supporting the communists.
  - iv. USSR wanted to show solidarity with Fidel Castro who was at receiving end of US. In 1961 US had ended diplomatic relations with Cuba and the trade embargo by US was hurting Cuban sugar exports. The Bay of Pigs event happened in 1961.
  - v. USSR had lost lead in ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) to ATLAS missiles.
  - vi. The more important reason was presence of Jupiter and Thor missiles in Turkey (Russian backyard) and USSR wanted to teach a lesson to US about how it feels to have enemy missiles in one's backyard and to bargain for removal of these missiles.

US soon detected Soviet missiles. This was a time when the world reached on the brink of a nuclear war. US began blockade of Cuba to keep out Russian ships bringing missiles to Cuba. Finally, in 1963, UN negotiated a compromise between J.F Kennedy and Krushchev whereby:

1. USSR took the decision to remove the missiles. But the decision was taken without taking Fidel into confidence. Fidel was furious but later Krushchev invited him to USSR & the old good relationship was restored. Some argue that US-USSR agreement involved a secret clause of US promising not to attack Cuba again.
  2. US removed Thor & Jupiter (short range Nuclear missiles) from Turkey
  3. A hotline was established between Washington and Moscow.
  4. Russia, US and Britain signed a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Now only underground Nuclear tests were allowed to prevent any environment pollution from nuclear tests.
- f) **South African Border War (1966-89):** This war was part of the Cold war and was fought in Angola and South-West Africa (now Namibia). On one side was South Africa aided by US while on other side was Angolan government, South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and allies (mainly Cuba). During WW I, South Africa had invaded and took control of German South West Africa on behalf of allied powers and then the League of Nations had given it to South Africa as a mandate. SWAPO was fighting for freedom in South-West Africa. In 1975, Angola gained independence from Portugal and the Marxist MPLA government (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) came to power. MPLA had fought the Angola war of independence from 1961-75. From 1975 onward, MPLA provided safe havens for SWAPO guerrillas and USSR also supported SWAPO through aid and training of fighters - which led to South African invasion of Angola.

Cuba sent troops to prevent South African troops from invading Angola. They defeated the South African forces and this served as an important event in progress towards end of Apartheid in South Africa. It was a big moral defeat and enthused Blacks in their movement in South Africa.

- g) **South American Revolutions:** Then some Latin American nations witnessed violent revolutions e.g. Bolivia.
- h) **Death of Che (1967):** After 1959, Che held important offices like finance minister, head of the National Bank and he was responsible for military training of Cuban soldiers. Che could not fight in Bay of Pigs 1961 as one day before the invasion he was sent to deal with an attack (turned out to be fake) by US warships on the west coast. Later Che left Cuba in 1965 to support other communist revolutions unsuccessfully first in Republic of Congo (in favor of anti-American guerrilla groups. He blamed the corruption among African revolutionary fighters for failure) and then in Bolivia (against the military dictatorship) where he was captured by CIA assisted Bolivian forces & executed in Bolivia

(1967).

- i) **Peaceful 2nd phase of Communist Revolutions in South America:** Later revolutions in Latin America were through peaceful means (e.g. Chile under Salvador Allende 1970-3). Castro agreed that arms have less efficacy in changing the society as the masses become more aware and intellectual.
  - j) **Cuba after USSR:** Fall of USSR put Cuba into a crisis and everyone thought the government will fall in a year or so. But Castro leadership helped preserve Cuban revolution. Castro signed trade agreements with EU & Canada which led to some JVs & agreements in Tobacco & Sugarcane sector. After this many MNCs like Bayer & DHL set shop in Cuba. All this led to good forex earning.
  - k) Castro is one of the greatest symbols of 3rd world resilience. If David is remembered for fighting Goliath, then Cuba will be remembered as a much smaller David fighting with a much bigger Goliath.
  - l) **UN for Cuba:** Many resolutions were passed many times asking US to end Trade Embargo.
- **Socialism in Cuba today:** Under Raul Castro (2010), Cuba has moved towards China type model of Socialism with presence of market forces. As late as 2013, Raul Castro has defended the essentiality of One Party system in preserving socialism. He argued that Multi-Party democracy eventually gets hijacked by the capitalist class and threatens socialism. Raul Castro has issued a diktat that limits the term of important leaders to two terms. Thus, like China, Cuba has for economic reforms without going for political reforms. Following were some of the reform initiatives introduced by Raul Castro (2010):
    - a) Slimming down of State operations. Lay offs from government companies to check Fiscal Deficit and encourage laid off government employees to start small businesses.
    - b) Government also released many political prisoners
    - c) Still Socialism/Communism is not given up by Cuba. There is a thrust to the private sector without giving up Communism. Planned development will continue to be paramount rather than a free market economy. Thus, Cuba under Raul aims to have a mixed economy.

### Vietnam

Indochina refers to a region in South-East Asia comprising of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. It was part of French colonial empire. Indochina had come under Japanese occupation during the WWII as Vichy France had agreed to Japanese control of Indochina. During the WWII the struggle for independence in the colonies was many a times led by communist organizations. Vietminh or League for Vietnamese Independence under Ho Chi Min was leading the independence struggle in Vietnam. After Japanese defeat in WWII, the French refused to decolonize Indochina. Thus Vietminh fought against the Japanese during the WWII and then against the French. Vietminh declared independence from France in 1945 and this led to beginning of first phase of struggle in Vietnam or what is also known as the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina war(1946-54).

USSR supported Ho Chi Min. China supported Vietminh with arms and equipments after 1950. This led to US helping the French with arms and economic aid as they viewed China's intervention as part of the Cold War. In the neighborhood Korea was also under the communist threat (Korean War 1950-3). Thus Vietnam became part of the Cold War. But the French were weak after the WWII and they could not deal with the guerrilla war tactics of Vietminh. The French were economically weak and could not afford a long drawn military engagement. Finally, **Geneva Agreement (1954)** was signed after the French suffered a debacle where the Vietnamese besieged 12000 French troops at a place called Dien Bien Phu. According to this agreement, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia were given independence and Vietnam was divided along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The division was to be temporary and elections were to be held after which the country was to be united.

### **Why Civil War in Vietnam after Geneva Agreement (1954)?**

Elections were to be held in 1956 for formation of a government for united Vietnam. Ho Chi Min (who had formed a temporary government in North Vietnam) was confident of victory in the elections. But Vietnam suffered from the same fate as in Korea. The government in South Vietnam refused to hold elections fearing a

communist victory. This resulted in a civil war in South Vietnam with an aim for uniting the country. The Ho Chi Min government in North Vietnam actively supported the revolutionaries in South Vietnam while the US was determined to prevent emergence of a united Vietnam under communist rule.

### **Vietnam War (1961-75)**

US President Eisenhower (1953-61) was a supporter of the **Domino Theory**. He feared that a domino effect was in play. After China, North Korea had emerged as communist and if South Vietnam also goes the communist way then sooner or later the communist revolution would reach all other Southeast Asian nations and entire Asia would come under communism. In Japan, this would threaten the huge US investments (US had invested a lot in Japan after the WW II to make it a thriving capitalist country to contain the spread of communism in the Far East).

The government of Diem in South Vietnam was unpopular due to rampant corruption and inefficiency in governance. He neglected all criticism of his government as communist propaganda. Also, 3/4<sup>th</sup> of Vietnamese population was comprised of Buddhist peasants who felt discriminated against under the government of President Diem who belonged to a wealthy Roman Catholic family. The peasants in South Vietnam demanded Land reforms on line of China and North Vietnam but this demand was not fulfilled. Also Diem was seen by the people as a US puppet.

All this led to all opposition groups, the former Vietminh communists and the non-communists, forming the National Liberation Front in 1960. The NLF demanded a coalition government which would peacefully negotiate with the North Vietnam for forming a united Vietnam.

The demand of NLF being rejected, the **Vietcong**, the communist organization in South Vietnam, began guerrilla warfare. Many Buddhist monks self-immolated to protest against the government. Diem rejected every criticism as a communist propaganda. In 1963, Diem was murdered in an Army coup and till 1975, South Vietnam was ruled by military generals. Meanwhile the guerrilla war by Vietcong continued.

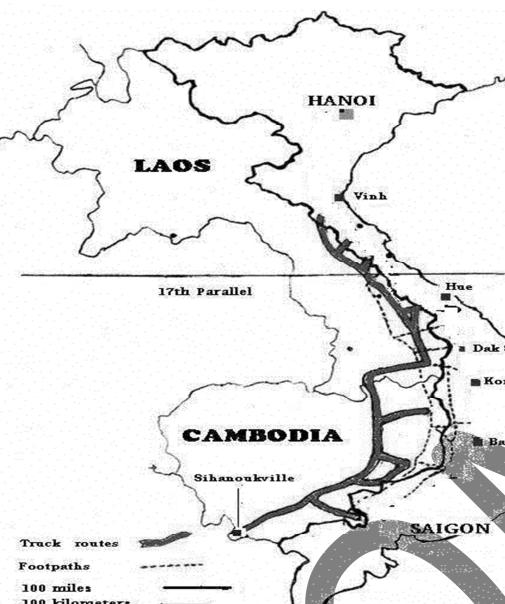
From 1961 to 1975, under Presidencies of Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, US got militarily involved in South Vietnam against the Vietcong which was being actively supported in form of troops, arms and aid by Ho Chi Min's North Vietnam. USSR and China also got involved and supported the communists.

**US efforts in Vietnam:** US used brutal power in the Vietnam war including heavy bombing, use of Napalm jelly that burnt people alive and use of chemical gas that destroyed all vegetation and forests (this was done to expose the guerrillas who would seek refuge in agricultural fields and forests to escape.).

- 1) **Under Kennedy (1961-3):** Safe Village Policy was initiated. It entailed moving peasants into safe or fortified villages and thus isolate and freely attack the Vietcong cadres. Kennedy kept US role to minimum and limited to anti-guerrilla campaign. He sent helicopters and 16000 "advisers" to aid South Vietnam government.
- 2) **Under Johnson (1963-69):** He bombed North Vietnam from 1965 to 1968 as he believed that Vietcong and NLF had no local presence/control in South Vietnam and to win the war in South Vietnam requires destroying North Vietnam. Under Johnson, US dropped more bombs on North Vietnam than were dropped on Germany during the WWII. Under him US got heavily involved and sent a million US troops to South Vietnam. Johnson had to stop bombing North Vietnam due to high public opposition within US. In 1968, US troops had shot 500 people at point blank.
- 3) **Under Nixon (1969-74)** US did not send more troops. He followed a policy of Vietnamization which entailed withdrawal of US troops in a gradual manner and to simultaneously rearm and train South Vietnam's army to make it solely responsible for the defence of South Vietnam. Nixon also restarted bombing North Vietnam and began bombing the Ho Chi Min trail. Thus Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia all came under US shelling. The government in Cambodia was overthrown and a pro-US military dictatorship was installed. So what actually led to the failure of US troops in Vietnam.

## The US failed in Vietnam because:

- 1) There was wide public support for Vietcong and the National Liberation Front. Within the NLF, the communists were only of the groups and not the only group. Had US focused its energies on pushing the government for solving the public grievances against inefficient governance, US would have been in a better position to contain communism but by not doing so it indirectly encouraged communism.
- 2) **Guerrilla tactics and Camouflaging:** Vietcong, like Vietminh, was very efficient in its guerrilla campaign. The members of Vietcong easily mixed up with the peasants evading US military campaigns. This camouflaging technique helped the Vietcong guerrilla to defeat the US Safe Village Policy that entailed vacating peasants from villages to isolate and then freely attack Vietcong.
- 3) **Ho Chi Min Trail:**



- 4) It was a supply route used by Ho Chi Min's North Vietnam and Vietcong to supply food, arms, aid etc to South Vietnam from the North Vietnam. The route followed was - from North Vietnam move parallel to Laos Vietnam frontier, then cross Laos Cambodia border and move parallel to Cambodia Vietnam border to finally enter South Vietnam at its southern most edge. The US heavily bombed the Ho Chi Min trail but still it failed to cut the trail and thus the Vietcong got continued supply from North Vietnam, USSR and China.
- 5) **Support of USSR and China** in form of arms and other supplies was crucial. Especially after 1970, Russian military aid in form of anti-aircraft missiles, tanks and machine guns proved vital for Vietcong's victory.
- 6) **Resilience of North Vietnamese:** They suffered high casualty yet continued to resist the US. They built factories outside the cities and evacuated people from the cities to minimize casualties from US shelling.
- 7) **End of the War:** By 1973, the public opinion in US was heavily in favour of ending the US involvement in the war. Many US soldiers had lost their lives, US forces had used inhumane means like Napalm Jelly and chemical weapons and yet the victory was nowhere in sight. Also USSR and China were tired of the war. In 1973, Nixon signed a ceasefire agreement. All US troops were withdrawn but the division along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel was to be respected by North and South Vietnam. In 1975, Vietcong brought South Vietnam under its control and North Vietnam and South Vietnam were united under a communist regime. Laos and Cambodia also emerged as communist states in 1975. Thus by 1975, US policy of containment had failed in the South East Asia.

## Chile

Chile became the first multi-party democracy where a communist leader was elected to power and this came to be known as the first peaceful communist revolution. The Marxist leader was Salvador Allende ruled Chile from

1970-3. The election of Allende made Fidel Castro to remark that as the society become more intellectual, the violent means begin to lose their efficacy for bringing about a communist revolution.

Salvador Allende believed that communism can be brought about without a violent revolution. Chile had a tradition of a thriving democracy unlike most other South American nations that had brutal right wing governments supported by US.

**Frei** was the leader before Allende and his government lasted from 1965 to 1970. During his regime, US had supported Chile with aid and investments even when Frei had attempted socialist reforms in form of land redistribution and nationalization of some US owned copper mines. Copper was Chile's most important industry. This was because Frei's government did some good work. It was able to decrease inflation and it invested a lot in building housing infrastructure and schools. Moreover, the US companies were fairly compensated for their losses due to nationalization.

### Why Allende won 1970 elections?

Despite good work by Frei, Allende was able to win the 1970 elections. This was because:

1. Both the left and the right wing leaders were against Frei. The left wing parties wanted complete nationalization of copper mines while the right wing leaders felt that the government has already went too far with the socialist reforms.
2. In 1969 Chile witnessed a serious drought and there was high food inflation. High amount of food imports had to be made. The industry was also stagnating and there was high poverty. In such a scenario, when miners called for a strike demanding higher wages, many of them were shot dead in police repression. This led to Allende coming to power in 1970.

### Allende's policies:

- 1) He imposed price caps on companies.
- 2) Implemented all round increase in wages.
- 3) Went ahead with nationalization of banks, copper and textile industry.
- 4) Hastened the program of land reforms.
- 5) Restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, China and East Germany.

### Why Coup?

There was a fear among the right wing parties that Allende would bring in constitutional amendments to be able to run for 2<sup>nd</sup> term as President. Also some other reasons were:

- a) Land redistribution led to decrease in agricultural production that led to food shortages and consequent food inflation. This was so because farmers whose land was due to be confiscated stopped sowing and slaughtered cattle like the Russian Kulaks during collectivization in Stalin's USSR.
- b) The socialist reforms frightened away the private investors and thus government was short of funds for its social reform programme.
- c) Nationalization of Copper industry, which was mainstay of Chile's economy, led to frequent strikes by the workers that led to decrease in copper production which further hurt government revenues.
- d) The communists grew impatient with Allende's caution and themselves began violent programme of land redistribution.
- e) US and the right wing governments in rest of South America feared a spread of communist revolution in the continent.

**The Coup:** The Right wing political leaders and the military was responsible for the coup. The CIA and the repressive military government in Brazil played an important role in preparation of the coup. In 1973, Allende was removed in a military coup by General Pinochet with help of US support and later killed. Pinochet's military dictatorship regime (1973-89) was brutal and was characterized by gross violations of human rights. It was ironical that the flag bearer of democracy and human rights, the USA, supported Pinochet's rule in Chile. In 1989,

Pinochet allowed elections and his candidate was defeated heavily. Pinochet allowed the winner to become President but continued to remain the Army Chief.

**Africa:** Mozambique and Angola came under governments with strong Marxist connections after their independence.

#### **China-Russia relations during the Cold War:**

- ❖ **Good relationship till 1956:** Stalin maintained a good relationship with Mao's China.
  - 1950: China and USSR signed a Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship.
  - USSR gave economic aid to China and Russian advisers helped China in preparation of its 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan (1953-8).
  - China sided with USSR in the Cold War. It invaded Korea in favor of communist regime in North Korea. USSR had aided North Korea in its rearmament.
- ❖ **Why did relations deteriorate post 1956:**
  - China was against Revisionism of USSR under Nikita Krushchev. Mao opposed the soft approach of peaceful existence adopted by Krushchev towards the capitalist west. Under Krushchev, Russia aimed at spread of communism not by violent means but by showing supremacy of Soviet economic system. In response of Chinese criticism, USSR decreased aid to China.
  - **Boundary dispute (1970s):** China demanded back the huge area taken by Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1858, Russia had forced China to hand over huge territory north of the River Amur establishing much of the modern border between Russian Far East and Manchuria (China).
  - **Vietnam, USSR and China:** In 1970s, USSR and China were both competing amongst each other for leadership of the communist world. Things became complicated when Vietnam supported USSR. China had been embroiled in a territorial dispute with Vietnam over Paracel and Spratly islands in South China sea since 1940s and in 1974, China took over whole of Paracel islands from Vietnam in the Battle of Paracel Islands.



In 1988, there was a naval conflict between the two over Spratly islands and Chinese naval vessels sunk Vietnamese transport ships killing 64 Vietnamese soldiers. The China-USSR relations hit the rock bottom when China invaded Vietnam (February 1979) in opposition of Vietnamese invasion of Pol Pot's Cambodia. Vietnam had invaded communist Cambodia in December 1978, overthrew the Khmer Rouge government of Pol Pot who was a Chinese puppet and installed a pro-Vietnam government. [\***Khmer Rouge** was the name given to the followers of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in Cambodia. It supported North Vietnam and Vietcong in the Vietnam War (1961-75). Cambodia emerged as a communist state in 1975. The party was formed in 1968 and ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 under Pol Pot]. Vietnam did this under considerable provocation, as the Pol Pot regime was extremely hostile to Vietnam, carried out a major ethnic cleansing of Vietnamese within Cambodia, and mounted a series

of cross-border attacks that cost many Vietnamese lives. There was a border dispute between Vietnam and Cambodia and the latter invaded an island of Vietnam. There Cambodian forces engaged in a massacre. Vietnam's invasion was therefore based on, and a response to, serious Cambodian provocations.

China withdrew from Vietnam after three weeks after "teaching a lesson" to Vietnam but actually China had lost as it failed to capture Hanoi. In 1989, Vietnam withdrew troops from Cambodia and China-Vietnam relations improved thereafter until recently when disputes over islands in South China Sea resurfaced.



Fig: The skulls of Khmer Rouge victims are displayed in a memorial to the genocide at the Killing Fields Museum outside of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. In 2012, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen said Vietnam had saved his country in the 1970s, not invaded it.

- **In 1984 China listed its grievances against Russia:**
  - ◆ Presence of Russian troops in Afghanistan since 1979.
  - ◆ Russian support to Vietnam troops in Cambodia (1978 onward).
  - ◆ Russian troops buildup at Chinese borders along Mongolia and Manchuria.
- ❖ **Detente post 1985:**
  - Gorbachev tried for improvement in relations with China. Both countries signed agreements on Trade and Economic cooperation. Gorbachev began troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1986.
  - In 1989, Vietnam withdrew troops from Cambodia and this eased tensions between China and Vietnam & Russia.

### China-US relations during the Cold War

#### **Mutual hostility till 1971:**

- 1) The relationship was hostile since Korean War (1950-3).
- 2) US supported Chiang Kai Shek
- 3) US military base in Taiwan has always been a bone of contention.
- 4) US blocked People's Republic of China's entry into UNSC till 1971 claiming that Taiwan (Republic of China) was the legitimate representative of China.
- 5) China supported Ho Chi Minh during the second phase of war in Vietnam (1961-75).

#### **Detente since 1971 :** Detente implies a permanent relaxation in tensions.

In 1971, China gave a surprise invite to the US Table Tennis team to China to which US responded by allowing China entry into UNSC. This came to known as Ping Pong diplomacy. Thus China became UNSC member in October 1971. But this development had more to it than an invitation to a sports event. At that time the relationship between China and Russia was not very warm. In the 1970s, both China and USSR were vying for being the leader of the communist world. There was also a boundary dispute between the two as mentioned earlier. Also in 1971 Bangladesh War of independence from Pakistan, China and US supported the Pakistani

cause while India and USSR were in favor of Bangladesh's independence. Further, by 1971, China and US were tired of their involvement in Vietnam and wanted truce.

Nixon (1969-74), Ford (1974-77) and Carter (1977-81) - all maintained a healthy relationship with China. But Taiwan continued to remain the irritant in the eye. US had a military base in Taiwan and US government continued to support the Nationalists (KMT) even after the death of Chiang Kai Shek in 1975. Finally, it was in 1978 that US President Carter withdrew recognition to the government of the Nationalists in Taiwan as government of the whole of China. In 1979, US recognized the People's Republic of China and the two countries exchanged ambassadors.

Both US and China were against USSR's invasion of **Afghanistan** in 1979. In 1980s relations continued to be good because of poor relations between USSR and China (like Russia was opposed to Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979 because it considered Vietnam as its ally). In 1985 US and China signed a landmark Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement.

**End of Detente:** The Tienanmen Square incident (1989) where Deng Xiaoping cracked down heavily on pro-democracy protesters was deeply criticized by US. Further, in 1996, the tensions between US and China were high when China held naval exercise in Taiwan Straits against forthcoming democratic elections in Taiwan. The recent aggressive posturing of China with respect to its claims over the whole of South China Sea and some islands in East China Sea have caused alarm among US and its allies. The US consequently has rebalanced its naval presence in favor of Asia Pacific at expense of Atlantic. This is famously called as US's Asia Pivot. US is opposed to lack of transparency in China's fiscal and monetary policies. It opposes China's policy of administered exchange rate of currency as US feels China deliberately keeps its currency devalued to make its exports more competitive. In other areas like Climate Change and Cyber Security, US and China are many times at loggerheads. Yet from time to time there appear blinks of healthy cooperation between the two nations.

### 39] End of Cold War

With end of communism in Eastern Europe from August 1989 to December 1991 and disintegration of USSR in December 1991, Cold War came to an end.

**Reverse Domino Effect operated:** US had been worried about domino effect in emergence of communist countries. The reverse of the same happened when fall of communism in Poland in August 1988 started a wave which resulted in fall of communism in whole of Eastern Europe and later in USSR.

**Death of Stalin:** Leaders who followed Stalin propounded peaceful co-existence of nations

**Poland:** In August 1988, the Solidarity Trade Union's huge anti-government strike forced the communist government to hold free elections in which the communists were defeated.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)** In 1972 an agreement was signed between US and the USSR to limit the number of certain types of missiles.

**Undermining of military alliances:** Albania walked out of the Warsaw pact because of several reasons. At the same time, Romania began taking independent decisions. France not only withdrew military contingency from NATO but also removed all the NATO bases.

**Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1963** The treaty banned nuclear testing in atmosphere, outer space and underwater and agreed to carry out nuclear test only underground. Some of the countries to sign this treaty were US, UK and USSR.

**Fall of Communism in East Europe:** Soon revolutionary public protests spread to all Russian satellite states. Free elections were held in Hungary and the communists were defeated. Communist government in East Germany resigned at end of 1989 and the Berlin wall was breached. In summer of 1990 Germany was united. Similarly, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania overthrew the communist governments at end of 1989. Free multiparty

elections were held in Yugoslavia in 1990, in Albania in 1991 and finally in December 1991 the leader of the communist bloc USSR disintegrated bringing 74 years of communist rule to an end.

Economic failure of communism in Eastern Europe & USSR and the policies adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev, as discussed under the topic of Socialism, were the reasons behind fall of communism and thus the end of cold war.

#### ***Effect of end of Cold War on International Relations:***

- 1) Decrease in East-West enmity:** The newly emerged states of former USSR were not viewed as enemies by the Western countries. In 1990 Warsaw (1955) and NATO (1949) had signed an agreement to use weapons against each other only for self-defence.
- 2) Separatism among and hostility between former communist countries:** This was because of nationalism within each of the erstwhile communist country. This nationalism was earlier suppressed by communism which brought these countries together. Sometimes disputes were settled peacefully like Czechoslovakia (formed in 1918) was divided into Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993. But many a times the disputes turned violent like
  - a) War between Azerbaijan and Armenia (both former republics of USSR) over a territorial dispute.
  - b) Violent civil war in Georgia because the northern part wanted secession.
  - c) The breaking up of Yugoslavia broke into five states of Serbia (with Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia was one of the worst violent events.
  - d) In Bosnia there was a civil war for secession that was fought between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. A ceasefire was achieved only in 1995. It is to be noted that during Cold War, US would interfere and send help in the name of its international responsibility but here it refused to contribute troops to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force and this caused temporary strain in Europe-US relations. Similarly it refused to intervene to stop the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 because it had no vested interest at stake.

Thus it can be said that while the Western Europe was in process of economic unity at the turn of the century, the Eastern Europe was in process of witnessing disintegration and disharmony.

- 3) Threat of nuclear proliferation has increased because now there is no USSR to police other states along with US.
- 4) Economic problems of former communist states have continued.
- 5) The creation of a united Germany led to immigration problems. As the Eastern Europe was burning after the Cold War many refugees from these regions immigrated into Germany in 1992. This led to protests in Germany by neo-Nazis.

## **European Unity**

### **40] Europe after 1945**

Let us first have a brief recap of situation after World War II. The period from 1945 to 1959 saw an era of beginning of co-operation between the nations. Europe had to witness a second catastrophe, World War II (1939-1945), so that it fully becomes aware of the suicidal tendencies that nationalist rivalry had led the continent to. The necessity of some type of European integration in a new way to reorder the European political map became evident.

Three realities evinced the necessity of this new orientation towards the European integration:

- Firstly, the Europeans' awareness of their own weakness. 2nd World War had put a definitive end to the traditional European hegemony in the world. The two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had a very superior economic, political and military might than the heterogeneous group of European States.

- Secondly, the conviction that it was necessary to avoid, by all possible means, coming back to a confrontation among European States. The two world wars had begun as European civil wars and European continent had been the main battle field in both. Essentially, it was a question of searching an accommodation between France and Germany. A compromise that would be endorsed by the USA. The European integration would have paved the way to guarantee peace.
- Thirdly, the extended desire among many Europeans to create a freer, fairer and more prosperous continent in which the international relationships were developed in a framework of concord.

**Suggested solution:** Some suggested that a joint effort is best and therefore Europe should move towards a US type of federation.

**Splitting up of Europe:** But then the Europe split into Eastern and Western Europe (capitalist and communist bloc) because of introduction of Marshall Aid (1947-51) dashing the dream of a united Europe and from 1947 onward the two parts of Europe developed separately because of Iron Curtain imposed by Stalin. **Now let us study the Efforts at unity of Western and Eastern Europe separately.**

**Western Europe recovery:** The Western Europe recovered quickly thanks to the Marshall Aid. The United States, applying the denominated Truman Doctrine to curb the expansion of communism and of the Soviet Union, launched the Marshall Plan to alleviate the difficulties of European countries. It was to foster economic development in a destroyed Europe with the political objective of impeding the extension of the communism.

Several efforts were made to ensure the unity of Western Europe some of them have been discussed below in detail.

**Efforts at unity of Western Europe:** This included striving for economic, political and military unity. The major steps included formation of NATO (1949), Council of Europe (1949), Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC 1948) and European Economic Community (1957). **Some of these have been discussed below under different heads.**

#### 40.1 OEEC (1948)

- a) It was the first step towards **economic unity in European countries**.
- b) Organization for European Economic Cooperation was a precursor to present day OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development).
- c) **Trigger:** Trigger was the Marshal Aid (1947). Britain organized a group of 16 West European nations to decide how to best use Marshal Aid. The consequent plan was called European Recovery Programme (ERP). This group became permanent under the name of OEEC.
- d) **Functions of OEEC:**
  - i. To distribute Marshal Aid among members of OEEC.
  - ii. Increase trade among OEEC members by reducing trade barriers. In this it was helped by **European Payments Union** and **UN GATT** (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). The aim of GATT was to reduce tariffs and of EPU was to facilitate payment by a member country in its own currency.
  - iii. **High success of OEEC:** Trade doubled among OEEC in 6 years.
  - iv. **OECD vs OEEC:** US and Canada joined OEEC in 1961 and it became OECD. Other countries joined later. Thus OEEC was Euro-specific but not OECD.

#### 40.2 Council of Europe (1949)

- a) It was first attempt at **political unity or Europe**. It was a grouping of Foreign Ministers. Important founding members (total 10) were Britain, France and Italy.
- b) By 1971 it had 18 members including all states of Western Europe except Spain and Portugal.
- c) **Powers:** It had no powers because Britain and others wouldn't have joined an organization that threatens their sovereignty.
- d) **Work:** It debated pressing issues and made some recommendations but Federalists were disappointed.

## 40.3 European Economic Community (EEC, 1957)

The **European Economic Community (EEC)** was an international organization created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Its aim was to bring about economic integration, including a common market, among its six founding members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany. The EEC was also **known as the Common Market** in the English-speaking world and sometimes referred to as the European Community even before it was officially renamed as such in 1993.

**Evolution of European Economic Community:** Belgium and France took the lead in uniting the Western Europe. Some of the precursors to EEC were:

- i. **Benelux Customs Union (1947):** negotiated before end of WW II in 1944 between **Belgium, Netherlands & Luxembourg**, it came in force in 1947 and reduced tariffs and custom barriers.
- ii. **Treaty of Brussels (1948):** By France, Britain & Benelux countries for “military, economic, social & cultural collaboration”.
- iii. **European Coal & Steel Community (ECSC, 1951):** an initiative of France with aim of better France-Germany relations and industrial growth. It had 6 countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Benelux). Britain did not join because felt it will imply loss of control on their industries.

### Outcomes of EEC:

- All custom duties were removed gradually for promoting free competition and common market.
- High tariffs against non-members, but even these were reduced soon.
- In 5 years, EEC was world's biggest exporter, biggest importer of raw material and second largest steel producer after USA.

### Some of the Institutions of EEC:

- **European Commission:** ran day to day work of EEC and was staffed by civil servants. It was the main center of decision making. Britain's main opposition was to this body as it could interfere in their economic policy i.e. Internal affairs of Britain.
- **Council of Ministers:** CoM had representatives of each member state.
  1. Functions: exchange information about and coordinate respective national economic policies. The thrust was on having common economic policies in member nations.
  2. CoM in theory approved decisions of European Commission but in practice CoM and European Commission collided frequently over rules and regulations framed by European Commission.
- **European Parliament:** Its members were nominated by Parliaments of member countries. It had no control over European Commission or CoM. From 1979 onward, members of EP were not nominated but directly elected by people after every 5 years. Each member nation is allotted seats in the EP. Political parties in a country fight elections for EP like they fight for national Parliament.
- **European Court of Justice:** Aim was to settle disputes arising from interpretation or implementation of Treaty of Rome (1957) that setup EEC. Even people could complain to ECJ about their country violating rules of EEC.
- **Court of Auditors:** to audit the accounts of EEC's institutions (EU's institutions today).

## 40.4 Other miscellaneous organizations/initiatives

**EURATOM:** 6 members pooled money to develop atomic energy through this organization.

**European Community (1967):** formed by merging EURATOM, EEC, and ECSC.

**Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM, 1979):** The ERM linked the currencies of member nations so only limited variation in currency exchange rate was allowed. The aim was to check inflation and ensure stable currencies of member nations so that in future a single currency could be introduced. Britain did not join ERM until 1990.

**European Community's Budget Contribution:** Each member was to contribute part of earnings made through custom duties levied on imports made by that country. This resulted in a problem for Britain in 1980 because it imported far more than other members of the community.

*Let us now explore the relationship between Britain and EEC, which went through several ups and downs.*

## 41] Britain and EEC

### 41.1 Why Britain did not join EEC?

- 1) It did not want to share control of its economic policies with an outside body, European Commission.
- 2) Its economy was largest in Europe after WW II, the standards of living were high and there was little unemployment. Britain was the only European country that was not invaded during WW II. It did not need EEC as much as others needed. Also after victory in WW II, its international prestige was back to 1919 levels. It expected to be a leading power in world affairs, second only to two super powers. Thus it was not in favour of submitting its sovereignty to any organization.
- 3) **Commonwealth:**
  - a) Britain had huge trade with Commonwealth countries. It felt that if it would join EEC then this would ruin her relationship with Commonwealth. Commonwealth had five times more population than EEC and thus the former was a much more attractive market to Britain than EEC.
  - b) Joining EEC, would have hurt Britain-Commonwealth relationship because then Britain would not have been able to give preference to goods from Commonwealth. Joining EEC would have implied more preference to goods from 6 EEC countries because of lower custom duties.
- 4) **Britain-US:** Britain had 'special relationship' with US which no other European state had. Britain wanted to be more aligned with US than Europe. It only wanted to be associated with Europe but not absorbed by it. It felt its special relationship with US would be hurt if it gets too deeply integrated economically with US.
- 5) **Suspicion of future political unity:** Britain feared economic unity will soon lead to political unity which it disfavoured even more.
- 6) **European Free Trade Association (EFTA, 1960):** This was led by Britain and included other non-EEC countries (Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland). **The reason for EFTA's formation was**
  - a) The fear that the export of these countries to EEC countries would be hurt due to high tariffs on non-member countries. Thus to compensate for loss on trade with EEC, they formed EFTA.
  - b) Britain was comfortable because EFTA did not require common economic policies of members and did not have European Commission type overarching authority that could interfere in internal affairs.  
**EFTA today:** has only 4 member - Liechtenstein, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. All EFTA members are part of EU except Switzerland.

### 41.2 Why Britain wanted to join after 1961?

- **High success of EEC as compared to EFTA in Production & Trade.**
  - i. Production of EEC countries increased rapidly. While French production increased by 75%, West Germany's by 90%- British production increased only by 30%.
  - ii. EFTA was less successful than EEC with respect to increasing trade among members.
- **British imports increased faster than exports.** Britain faced a balance of payment crisis. Commonwealth was failing to prove a better export market for Britain because purchasing power of Commonwealth was far lower than of EEC.
- **Make indigenous industry efficient:** Britain felt that after joining EEC, the competition from EEC countries will push its industry to become more efficient. It had nationalized some sectors after the WW II.

### **41.3 Why General De Gaulle (French President) blocked British entry after 1961?**

- France felt Britain's economic problems would weaken EEC.
- Britain felt France wanted to continue dominating EEC.
- France felt that US would start dominating European affairs because of Britain's special relationship with US. Britain had recently agreed to receive Polaris missile from US without informing France. US had not offered Polaris (SLBM) to France. This irked De Gaulle. US-France friction led to De Gaulle withdrawing from NATO in 1966 arguing that being part of NATO diminishes independence of France in world affairs. It only rejoined as full member in 2009.
- To protect French farmers from cheap subsidized agricultural produce of Britain. EEC's custom duties protected French farmers from competition from Britain.

### **41.4 Britain entered EEC in 1973**

This was possible because De Gaulle had resigned in 1969. In 1974, Labor Party came to power. It was split on the question of joining EEC and held a referendum in 1974 asking Britshers whether they wanted to stay in EEC or not. 67% voted in favor. In 2017 there is going to be a similar referendum (for EU membership) if Conservative Party comes to power again.

## **42] Situation in France and Italy**

Before moving on to the situation in Eastern Europe let us first understand the issues which gained prominence in France and Italy.

### **42.1 Situation in France**

Under 4<sup>th</sup> Republic (1946-58), France was weak both politically and economically (agriculture stagnated though Industry was performing well).

- **Political instability:** The President had very less powers. There were 25 coalition governments in 12 years of 4<sup>th</sup> Republic because there were five major parties.
- **3 major disasters:** French were defeated in the 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina war (1946-54). They were embarrassed in Suez War (1956) fought over Suez Canal with Egypt. The rebellion by the French Army in Algeria (Army did not want to give independence to Algeria) was most crucial. These disasters brought down the 4<sup>th</sup> French Republic.
- **5<sup>th</sup> Republic:** Then General De Gaulle, a veteran of WW II, was requested to come out of retirement in 1958. He put the condition of forming new constitution where the President will have more powers. This was accepted and 5<sup>th</sup> Republic was established. Algeria was given independence . De Gaulle had to resign in 1969 because of protests against his undemocratic regime. Thereafter 5<sup>th</sup> Republic has provided France with stable governments.

### **42.2 Situation in Italy**

The new constitution led to the new Republic of Italy from 1946 onwards. There was prosperity and stable government from 1946 to 1953 but thereafter old problems reappeared. There were series of coalition governments. Additionally, there were failure in solving problems of inflation and unemployment.

## **43] Situation in Eastern Europe**

- **Efforts at Eastern European unity:** The Eastern Europe also moved towards unity. The major steps included Molotov Plan (1947), COMINFORM (1947), COMECON (1949) and WARSAW PACT (1955).
- **Tensions in Eastern bloc:** These have been discussed earlier and include the resistance of Yugoslavia against Stalin's diktats, the Hungarian Uprising (1956) and problems in Czechoslovakia in 1968.
- **Economic Development of Eastern Europe:** In 1970s, the prosperity in the communist bloc increased. In 1980s, they were hit by world depression. From mid 1988 till 1991, communism collapsed in Eastern

Europe mainly due to lack of political freedom and ability to deal with economic challenges. In 1990, Germany was united. From 1991-95, with end of communism, Yugoslavia entered a period of civil war that led to its disintegration.

**Common Agricultural Policy (1962-till now):** Through this huge subsidies were given to farmers to increase production. This led to problem of over-production and exports were made to India, USSR and Bangladesh. CAP continues till now under EU in a modified form.

**Lome Convention of 1975:** It allowed duty free import of goods from Africa and Caribbean. Other Third World countries were added later.

**1986 Changes in European Community:** These included:

- 1) A completely free and common market (i.e. Single European Market with no restrictions of any kind on internal trade and movement of goods) by 1992.
- 2) More powers to European Parliament so that laws could be passed more quickly. Thus national Parliaments were losing some control over their internal matters.
- 3) More powers to European Community in sectors of health, environment protection and consumer protection.

#### 44] Situation of Europe in the 1990s

- a) **France:** In 1990s important debates in France were centered around
  - i. Continuing recession and unemployment.
  - ii. Doubts over continuing with EEC (formed 1957) and signing the Maastricht Treaty.
  - iii. Concerns regarding a united Germany (1990) which may emerge as a threat again.
  - iv. In 1995, there were huge protests when President Chirac's government introduced Fiscal Consolidation measures to meet criteria for joining Eurozone as it required members to curtail Budget Deficit to maximum 3 % of GDP.
- b) **Italy:** In 1990s Italy was still struggling to solve basic problems:
  - i. North-South divide: North was prosperous with industrial economy while South suffered economically and had agrarian economy.
  - ii. Mafia was still powerful.
  - iii. Politics was riddled with corruption.
  - iv. Huge fiscal deficit, government debt and a weak currency.
- c) **Germany:** In 1990, Germany was united. It faced challenge of
  - i. Bringing East Germany's economy to the levels of Western Germany.
  - ii. The people of West Germany resented supporting the East Germany.
  - iii. Fiscal Deficit increased as government pumped in money to revive East German economy.
  - iv. Concerns whether Germany would be able to qualify for Eurozone membership as it required members to curtail Budget Deficit to maximum 3 % of GDP.

#### 45] European Union

European Union is Political, Economic and Monetary Union of 28 European nations. 17 of them are part of Eurozone and have adopted the currency called Euro. European Union was established by the Treaty on European Union in 1993 replacing its predecessor European Community.

**What is Maastricht Treaty or Treaty on European Union (1991, in force from 1993):** It led to greater integration among the EC which by now had 12 members. From now on EC was known as European Union. Agreement was achieved on:

- a) More powers for European Parliament.
- b) Greater economic and monetary union to adopt single currency (Euro) by 1999.
- c) Common foreign and security policy.
- d) Established Maastricht Criteria or Convergence criteria - to join EU and to join Euro Zone.
- e) The Treaty of European Union (including amendments) provides for establishment of 7 institutions of EU, many of which were already part of erstwhile European Economic Community. These include:
  - i. **European Central Bank:** It is the central bank for Europe's single currency. It administers the monetary policy of Eurozone
  - ii. **European Commission:** It is the top executive body and operates as the Cabinet government of EU. It has 28 commissioners/members appointed by European Council, one each from each EU member. President of European Commission is proposed by European Council and elected from among these 28 members by the European Parliament. Its work includes running day to day work of EU, implementing treaties and proposing laws. It is supported by civil servants.
  - iii. **Council of the European Union** (earlier Council of Ministers): It is the upper house of EU's Bicameral Legislature (EP is the other legislative body). It consists of ministers representing each EU member. For each sector, like agriculture, foreign affairs, there is a different council (within CEU) comprising of national ministers for Agriculture and Foreign Affairs respectively. Both Council and Parliament share legislative and budgetary powers equally, meaning both have to agree for a proposal to pass.
  - iv. **European Parliament:** Members of Parliament are directly elected by people after every 5 years. Each member nation is allotted seats in the EP. Political parties in a country fight elections for EP like they fight for national Parliament.
  - v. **European Council:** It comprises of the head of states of member nations, the President of European council and President of European commission
  - vi. **Court of Justice of the European Union:** It is the EU's judicial branch and interprets EU law and treaties. It can also hear complaints by citizens on certain matters.
  - vii. **Court of Auditors:** to audit all EU institutions EU has permanent missions in other nations and is also represented at UN, G20, G8, WTO etc.

## 45.1 How to join EU

Any European nation can join, subject to, if they demonstrate that they would be complying with all the EU's standards and rules. It must respect and be committed to promotion of democratic values of EU. Applicant must get the consent of the EU institutions and EU member states. It should also get consent of their citizens through resolution in National Parliament or by Referendum.

Applicant should meet the "**Copenhagen Criteria**" established in 1993 for accession which include:

- i. Stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and protection of minorities;
- ii. A functioning market economy and ability to cope with competition and market forces in the EU;
- iii. The ability to implement the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.
- iv. The EU rules that the applicant must adopt are non-negotiable. Only the timing and manner of implementation are negotiated.

- ✓ **The EU Mission:** As in 1949 when it was founded with the creation of the Council of Europe, the European Union's mission for today is to continue prosperity, freedom, communication and ease of travel and commerce for its citizens. The EU is able to maintain this mission through the various treaties making it function, cooperation from member states, and its unique governmental structure.

## 45.2 Challenge of 2008 Economic Crisis

After the economic crisis of 2008, banks in European countries, especially Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain and later Cyprus, had to be bailed out. This led to strain within EU. Especially the public opinion in Germany which is the

largest economy of Europe today got split as many Germans believed that they are being made to pay for mistakes of other member nations. With help of IMF, EU was able to rescue these nations in return for austerity measures. The imposed austerity measures themselves created strain in the member nations that were being bailed out because they led to increase in unemployment. Now, EU has moved towards creating **European Stability Mechanism** which will be a permanent fund to be used for helping member nations in future.

## 46] Eurozone

- a) It comprises of 17 nations (out of total 28) who have adopted Euro as the common currency. Euro as a single currency was launched in 1999.
- b) Britain and Denmark have voluntarily kept out of it - the '**opt-out' states**- for reasons of economic sovereignty.
- c) '**Derogation states**' are the EU member nations who are taking steps to adopt Euro. **All EU member nations except 'opt-out states' have to adopt Euro**, though each member is given time to take measures to be eligible to adopt Euro i.e. They are given time to meet the Convergence Criteria.
- d) The monetary policy for Euro is the sole prerogative of European Central Bank i.e after joining Eurozone the control of Monetary policy passes on to ECB.

**Euro Area vs Economic & Monetary Union:** All EU Member States are part of Economic and Monetary Union, which means they coordinate their economic policies for the benefit of the EU as a whole. However, not all EU Member States are in the euro area – only those having adopted the euro are members of the euro area.

What are the **convergence criteria to join Eurozone?**

These are the macroeconomic indicators which measure:

- a) Price stability, to show inflation is controlled;
- b) Sound government finances, through limits on government borrowing and national debt to avoid high Fiscal Deficit;
- c) Exchange-rate stability, through participation in the Exchange Rate Mechanism for at least two years without strong deviations from the ERM II central rate;
- d) Long-term interest rates, to assess the durability of the convergence achieved by fulfilling the other criteria.

## 47] Schengen Group

Schengen is in Luxembourg. It is a the group of 26 European countries which have abolished passport and immigration controls at their common borders. It functions as a single country for international travel purposes, with a common visa policy. Of 26, 22 are EU member states and 4 are EFTA members. Bulgaria, Cyprus and Romania (all EU members) will join once they meet the criteria.

**Recent problems:** After Arab Spring many illegal immigrants from the conflict rid region crossed over to France and Italy - then to other states.

## Decolonization

**Broadly Colonialism impacted Africa in the following manner:**

- a) White settlers became elites and exploited the Black natives.
- b) Slavery became prevalent throughout the continent
- c) Mass killings by Colonial powers
- d) Policy of Divide and Rule created problems after independence.
- e) Extreme neglect of education and health
- f) Colonialism hurt economic development

**Introduction:** World War II was fought by the Allied powers on the principles of democracy and self-rule, but the colonial powers tried to continue their rule for as long as possible. When the wave of change hit Africa, the

colonial powers could no longer delay the decolonization process and many African colonies were made independent with the system of Parliamentary Democracy.

**Colonial Powers in 1945:** Britain had the largest colonial empire with colonies in Asia, Africa and Caribbean. France had second largest colonial empire with colonies in Africa and Indochina. Other colonial powers in Africa were Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy while Netherlands ruled over Dutch East Indies.

**What were the triggers for decolonization in Africa?** It happened due to three factors viz National movements, World War II, and outside pressures from US, USSR and UN. Moreover, Britain was confident that it will be able to exercise influence over former colonies even after their independence by keeping them under Commonwealth i.e. through Neo-colonialism.

**1) Nationalist movements:**

- a) Before WW II, only India (1885 onward), Vietnam (1920s) and East Indies (1930s) had strong nationalist movements.
- b) Nationalism was boosted by WW II because soldiers from colonies saw contrast between west and the colonial world. They were exposed to the ideas of being against aggression of Axis powers which made them to oppose aggression of colonial power at home. Through participation in WW II, they developed the desire for freedom of homeland rather than just fighting for the liberation of occupied Europe.
- c) African nationalism spread rapidly after 1945 because more and more Africans were now educated in the US and Britain where they gained awareness regarding racial discrimination and colonialism was seen as humiliation especially by the working class which was much more receptive to nationalist ideas.

**2) World War II:**

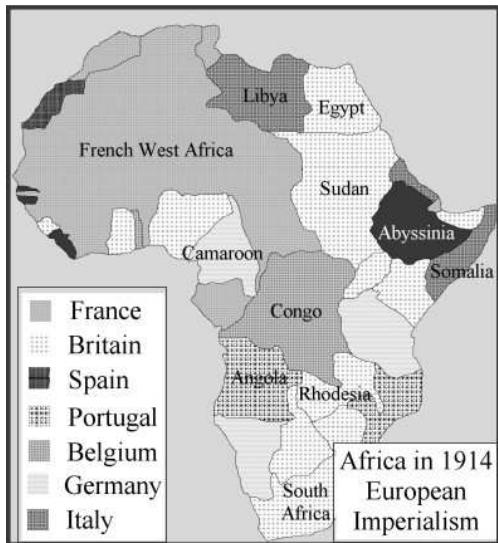
- a) Japanese successes changed the notion that it was "impossible to defeat European powers". Some Asian leaders worked with Japan in the belief that such cooperation will hasten the end of European colonization of their country. E.g. S.C. Bose, Sukarno (of Indonesia).
- b) Some European colonies fought against the Japanese invasion. They developed guerrilla tactics (like communist guerrillas in Malaya) and used this as an opportunity to develop skills in this kind of warfare. After defeat of Japanese in WW II they were not ready to accept European rule again. Nationalists now deployed guerrilla tactics against European powers in Indochina, Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma when the Europeans tried to regain their colonial empire.
- c) European policies and propaganda during WW II encouraged colonial people to expect freedom post-war. The **Atlantic Charter of 1941** that contained the Declaration of United Nations- discussed how the world should be organized after the war. The two important points were
  - i. **No territorial expansion**- Nations should not expand by occupying other's territory.
  - ii. **Self-rule**- All people should have right to form their own government.
- d) War weakened Europe economically and militarily. This led to a change in Britain's policy. Britishers delayed independence but gave it once the nationalist struggles reached a threshold.

**3) Outside pressure:**

- a) US:
  - i. US was somewhat empathetic to the cause of freedom struggle because of its own colonial past.
  - ii. US opposed Churchill when he argued that "self government" of Atlantic Charter was only for European people. US adopted this stance because it wanted to contain the spread of communism in colonies as USSR supported freedom struggles in the colonies. Also US wanted to get export markets in form of newer nations where US could enter after Europe's exit and exercise economic and political influence.
- b) UN and USSR consistently criticized imperialism. Communist philosophy had always been opposed to imperialism and colonialism and USSR found it natural to do so.

Let us now look into detail the decolonization experience of the British in Africa.

## British Decolonization of Africa:



### **Reasons for Decolonization in British Empire in Africa:**

#### **1) Education:**

- a) In British Africa, there was slow but relatively much more penetration of education as compared to other European colonies in Africa.

#### **2) African Nationalism:**

- a) African nationalism rose due to the western education which instilled ideas of liberty, equality and freedom. Education raised their awareness against racial discrimination. Especially the working class in towns were much more receptive to the ideas of nationalism and formed the major force of resistance against colonialism.
- b) British were weak after the WW II and wanted a good relationship with the Commonwealth countries, thus they thought it was better to grant independence.

### ***British Policy of Decolonization:***

#### **1. The British policy after World War II can be divided into two phases-**

- a) **1945-51:** The Labour Party was in power in Britain during 1945 to 1951 and they were willing to give independence because they had the confidence of maintaining British economic influence through the framework of Commonwealth of Nations, in short, through Neo-colonialism.
- b) **1951-57:** After 1951, Britain followed the policy of delaying independence and to move the colonies towards sovereign rule in a very gradual manner, in short, step-wise self-government. This policy helped in hindsight as it allowed the Africans to gain experience in governance. Yet the Africans had to protest and at times violently for independence.

#### **2. British Policy in West Africa vs East & Central Africa till 1957:**

- a) **Demographic profile's link with Decolonization:** West Africa had very few European settlers. East Africa had a good number of settlers while the Central Africa had a maximum concentration of settlers. Independence was easily and generally peacefully achieved in West Africa, achieved with some difficulty in East Africa and with very high difficulty in Central Africa.
- b) Britain was pro-independence in West Africa because it had very few settlers.
- c) Britain delayed independence in East Africa and Central Africa where settlers formed a significant percentage of the population. They had the numbers and the capability to curb African struggle for independence and thus provide a stable pro-British government.
- d) Also the settlers desired British presence to ensure continuation of their supremacy and for safety of their life and property.

e) Even when Britain considered independence as an option, they stressed that the post-independence government should be a multi-racial government with adequate representation to the Asians and European settlers.

**Post 1957- Wind of Change:** Wind of Change refers to the realization on part of the British that independence in Africa cannot be resisted anymore. The reason was the enhanced strength of Black African nationalism and the Arab Nationalism. Also, Britain's influence had decreased in Northeast Africa and it was weak after its loss in Suez War (1956). From 1957 to 1963 there was significant change in British policy towards independence to colonies in East and Central Africa.



#### ***British Decolonization in West Africa:***

- 1) **Gold Coast (1957):** In West Africa, before 1951, Gold Coast leaders led an independence struggle through means of boycott of foreign goods and there were violent demonstrations and strikes by the workers. Succumbing to the pressure, a new constitution was framed and elections were held with universal adult franchise. In 1952, self-government was introduced but without full independence. From 1952-57 the African leaders gained experience in governance under the western educated Prime Minister Nkrumah and in 1957, Gold Coast rechristened as Ghana became the first African colony to gain full independence with Nkrumah as the first President.
- 2) **Nigeria (1960):** Nigeria was an oil rich country. It faced special problems of large size of territory and demographic division into three main ethnic groups viz Muslims in the North and other two tribes in the Western and Eastern parts respectively. **Azikiwe**, a western educated leader successfully led a mass general strike in 1945 which prompted the British to start preparation for step-wise independence of Nigeria. In 1954 a new constitution was framed and it provided for a federation with legislative assemblies for the three regions dominated by the three ethnic groups. Nigeria gained full independence in 1960.
- 3) **Sierra Leone and Gambia:** Similarly by 1961, Sierra Leone and Gambia gained independence in a peaceful manner.

### ***British Decolonization East Africa:***

- 1) **Tanzania (1961):** In East African British colony of Tanganyika, **Dr Nyerere** led the independence struggle. He had a reconciliatory approach towards the Whites and promised fair treatment to them under the Black majority rule whenever it came. Tanganyika was given full independence in 1961 and Zanzibar Island was united with it to form the modern day Tanzania in 1964.
- 2) **Uganda (1962):** In Uganda, the independence was delayed due to the tribal rivalry whereby the tribal leader of Buganda objected to democratic form of government. A solution was achieved through a constitution that provided for a Federal form of government with Buganda's tribal leader retaining some special powers. **Dr Obote** became the first Prime Minister of independent Uganda in 1962.
- 3) **Kenya (1963):** In Kenya, the British faced the challenge of reconciliation between the whites and the blacks. Kenya was under the rule of White settlers who were violently opposed to the black majority rule and got support from the big business lobby in Britain. Blacks started a terror campaign under the **Mau Mau Secret Society**. Emergency was declared in 1952 and Britain sent in troops which were able to tide over the Mau Mau rebellion by 1960. The highly respected leader of Kenya, **Jomo Kenyatta** was a moderate and was in jail from 1952 to 1960. **The British policy in Kenya changed after 1957** and they gave Kenya independence in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta became the first Prime Minister and he followed a policy of reconciliation between the Whites and Blacks post-independence.

### ***British Decolonization in Central Africa:***

- 1) **Attempts at delaying independence- the concept of Central African Federation:** The colonies in Central Africa were under White Settlers domination. Supported by the business interests in Britain, the Whites persuaded Winston Churchill in 1953 to form the Central African Federation which constituted all the British colonies in Central Africa i.e. **Nyasaland, North Rhodesia and South Rhodesia**. The purpose was simple- continue the white domination of Central Africa.
- 2) **Response of Africans to Federation:** The Blacks protested violently demanding Black majority rule and emergency had to be declared in 1959.
- 3) **Breakup of Federation:** The Federation was broken up in 1963 because Nyasaland and North Rhodesia didn't want to be part of it anymore. By 1961-62, a new constitution had been introduced in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Consequently, these two were given independence as Malawi and Zambia respectively.
- 4) **Zimbabwe :**
  - a) **Situation in Zimbabwe:** The main problem lay in Zimbabwe i.e. Southern Rhodesia where the whites were most deeply entrenched against the Blacks and resisted the Black rule for the longest. The whites in Southern Rhodesia opposed any share in governance of the country to the Blacks.
  - b) **Britain-White Settlers Standoff:** At time of independence of Zambia and Malawi, Britain was ready to give independence to Southern Rhodesia on the condition that the Whites allowed a minimum of one-third seats in the Parliament to the Blacks under the proposed constitutional changes but the **Rhodesia Front**, a whites racist party under Prime Minister Smith refused the British offer. The whites under Rhodesia Front declared independence without the British consent in 1965 (though it continued to swear allegiance to the British Crown). The Britain applied economic sanctions and stopped buying tobacco and sugar from South Rhodesia which formed the major items of export.
  - c) **UNSC against Settlers:** The UNSC also condemned the unilateral declaration of independence and passed resolutions for trade embargo against Southern Rhodesia.
  - d) **South Africa and Mozambique,** the latter being under the rule of Portugal, another hesitant decolonizer, supported the whites in South Rhodesia and refused to comply with the trade embargo resolutions passed by UNSC.
  - e) **Effect of UNSC sanctions:** The UNSC's trade sanctions in effect failed to bring down the white rule because many companies and governments engaged in secret trade and illegally bypassed the sanctions. The economic interests silenced the voice of Black independence struggle.
    - i. **The USA** desired cheap Chrome from South Rhodesia and even the British Oil companies violated the

sanctions to make profit.

- ii. **The British Commonwealth of Nations** came on the verge of collapse because the Black ruled nations opposed any favorable treatment by Britain to the whites of Southern Rhodesia.
  - iii. On the other hand, **Zambia and Tanzania** opposed any military action, while countries like **Ghana and Nigeria** demanded military action.
  - iv. **In 1970, Southern Rhodesia declared itself a Republic** and apartheid like conditions came to prevail as the rights of the Blacks were taken away.
- f) **Independence of Zimbabwe (1980):** It was not until 1976 that the Whites began to fail. There were many internal and regional forces that were behind the rise of the Blacks in Southern Rhodesia.
- i. **Role of Mozambique:** The Decolonization in the neighbourhood was an important reason as after Mozambique became independent from Portugal rule in 1975, the whites lost an important ally. Mozambique under Black rule applied economic sanctions and gave safe haven to the guerrillas from South Rhodesia which improved the balance of power in Blacks favour. Rhodesia witnessed an increase in Guerrilla activity thereafter.
  - ii. **Decreased support from South Africa:** There was decrease in support from South Africa after their military intervention of 1975 against the socialist regime in Angola failed after US persuaded it to retreat from Marxist Angola. South Africa and USA were helping the rebels in Angola in overthrowing the Marxist regime which was in turn supported by USSR and Cuba.
  - iii. **Role of US:** The USA feared that the Cuban-Russian interference will extend to Rhodesia and thus asked the Smith government to make concessions to the Blacks.
  - iv. **Guerrilla success:** By 1978, the Guerrilla forces led by **Robert Mugabe** were controlling large areas of Rhodesia and the Whites were on the verge of defeat. The independence was delayed even after the 1978 nationalists successes in guerrilla warfare due to the tribal differences.
  - v. **PM Smith capitalized on the tribal rivalry** by forming a coalition government with one tribal party but rest of the tribal groups continued guerrilla warfare.
  - vi. The British called a conference in 1979 where the British proposed and the whites accepted a new constitution with provision for black majority rule. South Rhodesia was to be made the new Republic of Zimbabwe with 100 seats in Parliament of which 80 were reserved for the blacks. Robert Mugabe agreed to cease guerrilla warfare. Finally in 1980 Zimbabwe came under the Black majority rule with Robert Mugabe as the first president.

### Decolonization of French Empire in Africa

The French policy regarding colonies could be analysed into two phases.

- 1) **Till 1954:** In the first phase France was not at all in favour of any form of Self Rule in its colonies. This was characterized by the **1944 Brazzaville Declaration** which stated that even at a distant date there would not be any self-government in French colonies. The French treated the colonies and mandates as if they were integral provinces of France and any form of self-government was opposed by the French settlers. In 1949, France decided to crush all nationalist movements and many African leaders were arrested after labeling them as communists.
- 2) **Post 1954:** The French policy changed significantly after its defeat in Indochina in 1954 and the second phase of final acceptance that decolonization cannot be delayed anymore began.

**Tunisia, Morocco: A Protectorate is a state or territory partly controlled by (but not a possession of) a stronger state but autonomous in internal affairs.** Tunisia and Morocco were French protectorates. These protectorates desired for full autonomy in all their affairs but the European settlers did not want the French influence to cease as it allowed them to maintain their control on the government.

#### 1) **Tunisia (1956):**

- a) In Tunisia, the independence struggle was led by a moderate leader named **Habib Bourghiba**.

Simultaneously, the Tunisians also launched a guerrilla campaign against the government.

b) France sent troops to thwart the movement but it failed to cope with the guerrilla tactics and the mass support with the nationalists. At the same time France was facing problems in Indo China and Morocco. Also the Guerrillas were slowly drifting towards the left wing ideology.

c) Fearing the costs of a prolonged engagement and the possible communist takeover of the movement, the French declared independence and transferred power into the hands of moderate leader Bourghiba. With a moderate leader in power, France hoped to continue its domination over Tunisia through Neocolonialism.

2) **Morocco (1956):**

a) Morocco as a protectorate was under rule of the King who was against the French interference and demanded full autonomy due to which France forcefully abdicated the King.

b) This led to Guerrilla warfare and violent demonstrations in which trade unions played an important role. Faced with the possibility of a costly anti-guerrilla campaign, France re-instated the King and gave Morocco full independence.

3) **French West Africa & French Equatorial Africa:** The French colonies south of Sahara were French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The 12 colonies of West and Equatorial Africa were given the protectorate status but the nationalists continued to demand full independence.

a) **French West Africa** was a group of eight colonies namely, Ivory Coast, French Sudan (became Mali after independence in 1960), Senegal, Niger, Mauretania, Guinea etc.

b) **French Equatorial Africa** included Chad, Middle Congo, Gabon etc.

c) **Cameroon and Togoland:** France held these former German colonies as mandates since the World War I.

d) **Madagascar:** Of the east coast of Africa, Madagascar was also under the French control.

4) **Algeria (1962):**

a) It was under the French control since 1830. The French settlers were known by the name of **Colons**. In 1954, there were 1 million French settlers and 9 million Algerians in Algeria.

b) After World War II, ten years of peaceful struggle by leader Messali paid little dividends. The French settlers made no concessions and the native Algerians were denied any role in the government.

c) Further, France treated Algeria not as a protectorate or a colony but as an integral province of France.

d) In 1954, after a decade of non-violent protests, the Algerians started a Guerrilla war under National Liberation Front (FLN) which was funded by 2 lakh Algerians living in France.

e) Despite its failures in Indochina in 1954 and the forceful abdication of its protectorates in Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, no French government dared independence to Algerians due to possible backlash by the French settlers and their lobbying groups back home. By 1960, there were more than 700,000 French troops in Algeria, fighting a massive war.

f) **The reasons for the French attitude towards Algeria** were many.

i. **The French Army** wanted to secure its reputation after losses in Indochina. The Army was so deeply against giving in to the demands of the Algerians that there existed chances of a military coup in France if the government gave way in Algeria.

ii. **The public opinion** was highly divided between those who supported the French settlers and those who wanted an end to Algerian campaign. France itself seemed to be on the verge of a civil war over Algeria.

g) In 1958, the Algerian war caused the fall of government in France. The Army pressured the government to resign and wanted former **General De Gaulle** as Prime Minister. De Gaulle agreed for heading the government but on the condition of being allowed to frame a new constitution. This demand was agreed to and the fourth French republic came to an end. After coming to power, General De Gaulle decided to hold

negotiations with the Algerians which led to a faction of military starting a terror campaign in Algeria and France. They seized power in Algeria and attempted assassination of General De Gaulle. After this General De Gaulle appeared in a Military uniform on television and this symbolic act of iron hand turned around the situation. The French public opinion shifted in favour of granting independence to Algeria which was given in 1962 with Ben Bella as the first Algerian President.

5) **French Community:** In 1958, France under General De Gaulle attempted to institutionalize the policy of Neocolonialism. De Gaulle proposed a new plan for formation of French Community on lines of British Commonwealth with following points:

- a) The 12 colonies of West and Equatorial Africa (that had Protectorate status) would continue to have self-government in internal affairs with their own Parliament.
- b) The French Community will include all these 12 colonies and France will take all important decisions with respect to taxation and foreign affairs.
- c) In return, all the members of the French Community will get financial aid from France.
- d) The members would have option to reject the membership of the community but in that case, they would not receive any economic aid.
- e) **French Equatorial & West Africa (1960):** The result of this plan was that 11 colonies voted in favour of French community except for Guinea where 95 per cent of the electorate voted against. Guinea was granted full independence under the nationalist leader Sekou Toure. Soon, inspired by Guinea, the 11 colonies along with Cameroon and Togo demanded full independence. The African nationalism and Black pride was in full swing. All these countries were granted full independence in 1960, though Neo-colonialism by France continued after 1960 in all these colonies except for Guinea, as the French continued to dominate their economic and foreign policy.

### **Belgium: Decolonization in Africa**

Belgium had two colonies namely, Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Burundi. They both witnessed chaos and civil war after independence in 1960 and 1962 respectively. This was due to the unpreparedness for independence. **Belgian policy in its colonies was twofold-** to deny any education to natives and to use tribal rivalries for prolonging its rule. The latter factor worked well in both the colonies.

1) **Using Tribal rivalries:**

- a) **Congo** was melting pot of 150 different tribes. Belgium used fighters from one tribe to control other tribes and the favored tribes got patronage in return for maintaining law and order.
- b) **In Ruanda-Burundi,** Belgium used Tutsi tribe to control the Hutu tribesmen. Still the ideas of nationalism from the neighbouring colonies of France and Britain influenced the people.

2) **Congo (1960):**

- a) In Belgium Congo, there were sudden protests in 1959 against unemployment and poor standard of living. This made Belgium to grant independence in 1960 because it feared a costly guerrilla war and thought it better to deploy policy of neocolonialism over an independent but weak Congo.
- b) **Why there was such chaos** after nationalist unity witnessed during freedom struggle? The reason was that
  - i. The natives had no education to man the bureaucratic posts and there was no African group that had any experience in governance.
  - ii. There were just 17 graduates in Congo, and no doctors, no lawyers , no engineers and no army officers.
  - iii. There was no rich movement like that witnessed in other colonies like India under Indian National Congress with proper organizational structure. The Congolese National Movement under **Lumumba** was just one year old in 1959. The civil war continued from 1960 to 1964 in Congo.

## Spanish Decolonization in Africa

Franco had little interest in colonies and he did not resist independence movements in Spanish colonies.

- 1) **Spanish Morocco** was merged into a united Morocco in 1956 when France gave independence to French Morocco. Ifni was made Morocco's part in 1969.
- 2) **Equatorial Guinea** was given independence in 1968.
- 3) **Spanish Sahara:** It was only in Spanish Sahara that Franco resisted the call for independence till his death in 1975. This was because Sahara was rich in Phosphorous resources important for Spain. Unfortunately after his death, Sahara was divided and handed over to Morocco and Mauretania.
  - a) The **Polisario Front** was a movement for Sahara's independence like that of Indian National Congress and it continued to protest for independent separate state of Sahara. It declared **Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara (or Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)** in 1976.
  - b) India along with Libya, Algeria and the Communist Bloc countries were the first to recognize SADR. Sahara, Morocco and Mauretania got embroiled in the Cold War with the communist bloc supporting the Polisario movement.
  - c) **Cold War:** Algeria and Libya sent troops which resulted in Mauretania giving up its part of the Sahara. Similarly, the Moroccans were on the verge of defeat but the USA rescued them. The USA saw the Saharan question as part of the Cold War because USSR had recognized the Democratic Arab Republic of Sahara.
  - d) The war continued into the 1980s and Morocco occupied Mauretania's Sahara as well. In 1990, United Nations proposed a referendum for deciding if the people desired independence or wanted to remain as part of Morocco but Morocco rejected the UN proposal.
  - e) The present status of **Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic or SADR** is that, the Western Sahara is the disputed territory. The SADR controls 25 percent of Western Sahara and the rest is under Moroccan control. **India favors an independent Western Sahara** under SADR which is part of Non Aligned Movement and has a government in exile in Algeria. The Polisario Front today is a politico-military organization based in Algeria. The worst affected are the people of Sahara, many of whom live in refugee camps in Algeria.

## Portuguese Decolonization in African Continent

Portuguese colonies in Africa included **Angola**, **Mozambique** and **Portuguese Guinea**.

- 1) **Effect of Colonialism:**
  - a) Portuguese for many years after World War II, followed a policy of brutal repression of Nationalist movements under the right wing Fascist government of Dr Salazar.
  - b) The economy of Portuguese colonies was mainly dependent on Agriculture and the industry was non-existent along with poor social indicators of education.
  - c) By 1956, Mozambique had only 50 people with secondary education.
- 2) **Portugal begins to fail:** The tide began to turn against Salazar when in 1956, the nationalist groups were formed in all the three colonies. Initially they could extract little from the colonial regime but the independence of many African colonies by 1960 boosted the morale of the native nationalists and they increased their protests. Salazar responded with increased repression and consequently, guerrilla campaigns against the Portuguese started in all three colonies in 1961.
- 3) **In Angola,** the Guerrilla warfare started in 1961 under Neto. In Mozambique the Frelimo Guerrillas were led by the leader named Mondlane. Similarly, Cabral led the Guerrilla forces in Portuguese Guinea. The Guerrilla forces received **Soviet aid** as all of them were Marxist in their ideology.
- 4) **Independence:** The simultaneous anti-guerrilla effort on three fronts was costing 40 percent of Portuguese national budget by 1973. Despite resentment among the Portuguese people and the Army, Salazar continued to pump money and soldiers which ultimately led to an armed coup that overthrew Salazar in

1974. Soon, independence was granted to these three colonies with Portuguese Guinea becoming independent in 1974 under the nomenclature of Guinea Bissau while Mozambique and Angola became free in 1975.

- 5) **Impact on Apartheid:** The decolonization of Portuguese empire in Africa caused a crisis for the white settlers in Rhodesia and South Africa because now these independent regimes provided safe havens to the guerrillas waging freedom struggle in the only two remaining African countries under white settler's domination.
- 6) Angola was invaded by South Africa immediately after independence and it became part of the Cold War. Later Angola witnessed invasions on multiple occasions and was gripped in Civil War in the 1990s.
- 7) Mozambique was also invaded by South Africa as it was against the Frelimo movement of the Blacks there. Like many African countries, Mozambique was also torn by subsequent civil wars for many years.

#### Italian Decolonization (Ethiopia, Libya, Eritrea, Somalia)

Italy's case was different as it lost all of its colonies after defeat in World War II. These colonies were given to Britain and France as mandates to prepare them for independence, until United Nations decided to place them under governments which happened to be aligned with the West.

In **Ethiopia**, the Italian rule came to an end in 1941 and the British mandate ended in 1951. Emperor Selassie who was in exile since the Italian invasion in 1935 was brought back and reinstated.

**Libya** was made independent under King Idris in 1951.

**Eritrea** on other hand was made part of Ethiopia in 1952 under a Federal system with provision for autonomy in matters of internal affairs.

**Somalia** was carved out as an independent state in 1960 by merging Italian Somaliland and the British Somaliland.

**Post-Independence unrest:** Soon after independence, unrest followed in these former colonies because of the poor governance by the unpopular rulers and new leaders emerged who were pro-USSR and sought Soviet aid for modernization.

1. In **Libya**, King Idris was very much pro-west and he was overthrown in 1969 by a socialist revolutionary movement. The subsequent regime of Muammar **Gaddafi** nationalized the Libyan oil industry and began the process of urbanization.
2. In **Ethiopia**, Selassie did not put in any efforts for modernization. He cancelled the provisions relating to autonomy and limited self-government of Eritrea which launched a war of independence against Ethiopia. Selassie was overthrown in 1974.
3. In **Eritrea**, Ethiopia tried to curb the demand for independence but soon two other Ethiopian provinces demanded secession. To control the secessionist movements the Ethiopian regime had to allocate more funds in its budget on Army's expenditure, while the famine and poverty hurt the common man on the street. In 1993, Eritrea finally gained independence. Eritrea is part of the Horn of Africa which is plagued by high poverty and people are fleeing to Europe via island of Lampedusa (in dangerous boat journeys) that has become an entry point to Europe from Africa and Middle Eastern countries. Eritrea suffers from excessive militarization due to compulsory lifelong military conscription.

**Now, let us try and understand the decolonization outside of Africa by the British.**

#### Decolonization by Britain outside Africa:

- 1) **India:** India was broken up into two parts, Pakistan and India in 1947. Decolonization was not peaceful and there was high violence during partition. The British were in haste to leave to escape any responsibility of the bloodbath.
- 2) **West Indies (Caribbean), Malaya (Southeast Asia) and Cyprus (Middle East):** In all these areas, British sought to organize the colonies into a Federation but only partial success was achieved. Federation is a group of states with each state having its own Parliament for managing internal affairs but constituents

work under overall authority of Federal government (e.g. USA, Canada, Australia).

- a) **West Indies:** They are a group of islands in the Caribbean.

**Why Federation sought for Caribbean islands:** There was problem of size of the colonies. The colonies would not have been viable units separately. They were not economically and administratively viable.

**On one hand** some colonies objected to the idea of Federation while on the other of them did not even want independence from Britain. Yet, the West Indies Federation was created in 1958 including all British colonies in the area (e.g. Jamaica, Trinidad, Seychelles, Barbados, Bahamas etc) except British Honduras on mainland Central America and British Guiana on the northeast coast of mainland South America. But it failed by 1962 as the constituent members opted out in favor of separate independent status.

**Why West Indies Federation Failed?** Because of disputes over number of seats to each member in the Federal Parliament and the amount of money each member should contribute to the Federal budget. In 1961, when Trinidad and Jamaica withdrew, all members were given independence in 1962.

**Later Union:** Later when they realized the benefits of cooperation, they formed the Caribbean Free Trade Association in 1968 and Caribbean Community & Common Market in 1973.

- b) **Malaya:** Here the Federation was successful. Malaya was liberated from Japan in 1945. **Organizing Malaya into a Federation was a challenging task because**

- i. It had a multiracial society.
- ii. It was a geographically complex nation to organize into a single unit. E.g. Singapore was an island few miles away from mainland. Also Malaya was a sum of 9 states, each under a separate Sultan.
- iii. Communist guerrillas (ethnic Chinese of Malaya) who fought against Japan were now fighting against Britain for setting up a communist Malaya.

**Federation of Malaya (1948)** was created by Britain (without full independence) with Singapore as separate colony. The guerrilla campaign continued and Britain had to apply emergency from 1948 onward. In 1955 elections, the ethnic Indians, Chinese and Malays came together to fight elections and they won. With single party majority the signs of stability were clear and finally independence was given to Malaya in 1957.

A temporary **Federation of Malaysia (1963)** was created on initiative of Malaya. It proposed to include Singapore and Brunei. Brunei did not join and gained independence in 1984 and joined Commonwealth. **Singapore** left the Federation and became separate independent entity in 1965.

- c) **Cyprus (1960):** Decolonization of Cyprus was a troublesome process. 80 % of the population was Greek Christians who wanted union with Greece. 20% were Turkish Muslims, who were concentrated in north and they wanted union with Turkey. Independence was attained in 1960. **A civil war** between the Christians and the Turks started in 1963. Turkish troops intervened in favor of Turkish Muslims in 1974 and the Northern Cyprus declared itself a separate nation.

**Today** Turkey's forces are still present in the North Cyprus whose government is only recognized by Turkey. UN forces are present on the ground to ensure sanctity and peace on the frontier between the Northern Cyprus and the Cyprus.

Cyprus is part of European Union. It is because of this political dispute that Greece has blocked entry of Turkey into EU.

- d) **Falkland Islands:** The region around Falkland Islands is oil rich. They were not given up by Britain.

- i. **History:** Falkland Islands were under the French to begin with. Later Spain displaced France. Some part of Falkland Islands was also under the British. After American War of Independence, British were under economic stress and they vacated the Falkland Islands leaving behind a plaque

declaring the islands as under British sovereignty. Spain ruled the islands till 1811 when it was forced to withdraw because of independence movements in its colonies of South America. Argentina became independent in 1816 and controlled the Falkland islands till 1833 when Britishers reoccupied them. Since 1833, they have been under continued control of UK. Over years, British settlers have come to inhabit the islands and form the majority of population today.

- ii. Britain under Margaret Thatcher (PM from 1979-90) went to a war with Argentina when the latter invaded Falkland islands. Falkland islanders gained full British citizenship in 1983 after British victory in 1982. A referendum was held in 2013 and the people overwhelmingly voted (~99%) to remain under Britishers.



#### Decolonization by Holland:

Netherland's colonies before WW II included

- 1) East Indies (which mainly included islands of Sumatra and Java among others),
- 2) Some islands in West Indies. Here no independence was given and only limited self-government was granted and they continue to remain parts of Holland even today.
- 3) Suriname in South America. It lies in northeast South America along the coast of North Atlantic Ocean. It was given independence in 1975.

#### **Colonialism of East Indies:**

- 1) The Dutch depended heavily on the export income from their plantations in East Indies. The Peasants on plantations had to reserve 1/5<sup>th</sup> of their land solely for growing crops for exports. The income from these exports formed a significant part of total revenue earned by Holland's government.
- 2) Leaders like Sukarno were leading the nationalist struggle even before WW II. In 1930s many leaders including Sukarno were arrested.
- 3) **Role of Japan:** Japan released Sukarno from jail after it invaded East Indies in 1942 and gave the natives a share in administration. Japan sought support in the war effort in exchange of promise of independence after the war. Sukarno rallied the people to help Japan.
- 4) **After WW II:** After Japanese defeat in 1945, Sukarno declared the Independent Republic of Indonesia but the Dutch were in no mood to give up their colony which formed the bedrock of their economy. The Dutch troops fought, failed and negotiated because
  - a) They could not sustain the high costs of fighting the guerrilla resistance.
  - b) United Nations pressure.
  - c) US and Australia were also pressurizing the Dutch because they wanted an export market and influence in Indonesia after the Dutch exit.
  - d) Dutch hoped to continue special ties with Indonesia like British Commonwealth (Neocolonialism).
- 5) **Dominion Status (1949):** Dutch recognized the United States of Indonesia (excluded West Irian -another colony of the Dutch East Indies). In return, Sukarno agreed to a Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the Dutch Crown (i.e. Dominion status).
- 6) **1950 full independence:** In 1950 Sukarno broke the dominion status and pressured the Dutch to give West

Irian by confiscating Dutch property and expelling Europeans. He was successful in integrating West Irian into Indonesia by 1963.

- 7) **1965 Military Coup:** Sukarno was removed from power in a US sponsored coup because he followed a pro-Communist (pro-China) policy. General Suharto came to power and he started the purges against communists.
- 8) **General Suharto:** His regime was a brutal military dictatorship but US supported him because of his anti-communist stance. In 1975, East Timor was invaded and occupied by Indonesia. UN, USSR and US, all remained quiet because East Timor had no importance for US and USSR.

**Verdict on Decolonization:**

- 1) **Unwillingness to de-colonize:** Decolonization was gradual, spread over decades after the end of World War II. Britain handled it better and was much more non-violent. British policy was that one cannot stop independence and can only delay it and one cannot stop national consciousness, one can only guide it. This came to be paraphrased as the “wave of change”. In India, Britain failed to prevent the violence witnessed during the partition. Other colonial powers, except Italy, were even more determined to not let go of their colonial empire and suppressed the independence struggles brutally. Here people had to wage violent freedom struggle to gain independence.
- 2) **Logistics Issues:** There were logistic issues relating to migration and also violence where decolonization meant partition e.g. India. The problem was accentuated in case of India due to bitter communal rivalry.
- 3) **Neo-colonialism started:** The newly independent nations were poor and needed investments and markets for their exports, mostly a single export item.
- 4) **Overreliance on single export items:** Export baskets of many newly independent nations were composed of a single export item. Examples include cocoa for Ghana, oil for Nigeria, copper for Zaire (now called by the name of Congo) and Sugar for Cuba. This led to asymmetrical economic development. The single export dependent economies of these nations faced financial crisis whenever the international prices of these commodities collapsed.
- 5) **Food Crisis:** Further, the external lenders continuously maintained the pressure on the African states to pay back the debt which forced the African nations to focus on exports which generally included raw materials rather than the more profiteering finished goods. The focus on exports of raw materials, including cash crops, resulted in decreased impetus to food crops which resulted in food shortages at home.
- 6) **Demographic factors:** The high population growth of more than 2% increased the demand pressures on the limited supplies. This led to inflation in consumer goods and food items. Consequently, there was loss of trust in the democratically elected governments. The shortage of skilled manpower was another demographic factor which slowed down development.
- 7) **Unprepared for independence:** Many new states were unprepared for independence because of poor education, lack of officer class to man military and bureaucratic posts and due to lack of experience of governance. **India was an exception due to gradual self-government attained by Indians through their continuous struggle against Britishers.**
- 8) **Artificial nonsensical borders:** Like the Colonization during the Scramble for Africa, the decolonization was also geographically nonsensical. The decolonization process did not include any well planned state reorganization with concerns for factors like geographical continuity, cultural similarity, economic and administrative viability. As a result, tribal groups with very different cultures found themselves in the same nation and **consequently Africa became victim of civil wars between the tribes, some of which still continue.**
- 9) **No Industry:** The colonial powers never really focused on development of indigenous industry in the colonies. This was especially true of Africa which was only exploited for its raw materials. There was no indigenous industry in many of the newly independent nations. The huge developmental challenges and the poor economy inherited due to colonial rule led to unstable governments, coups, and thus failure of democracy. **Salazar's troops** (Portugal) deliberately destroyed infrastructure while retreating from Mozambique.

- 10) **Poor Governance:** New governments in most cases were run by local militias or local elite groups who were not interested in human development.
- 11) **High Debt and Cold War:** The Third World countries came under huge foreign debt. Where the governments introduced socialist policies for welfare of the people, the Capitalist bloc cut off aid because US, Britain etc. saw the nation as a communist ally of USSR. The Western capitalist countries even engaged in Military interventions, case in point the invasion of Angola by South Africa which was supported by United States.
- 12) **Black Discrimination:** There was delay in bringing about majority rule in the African colonies where the European settlers formed a large minority. Britain failed to pressureize the South Africa and South Rhodesia to bring about a black majority rule in a timely manner. When Britain forced its hand on the white government in South Africa, it declared independence without consent of Britain in 1963, perpetuating the discrimination of the Blacks. Zimbabwe did the same in 1965.
- 13) **Tribal differences:** Oppression by the colonizer brought different tribes together but after independence, the tribal differences re-emerged. The common man, the officials and the politicians were more loyal to the parent tribe than to the nation. Under the poor economic conditions, the tribal factor led to civil war, tribal slaughters and failure of Democracy. In Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire and Nigeria tribal rivalries played important role in bringing down democracies.
- 14) **Neo-colonialism** is the policy whereby the industrialized country dominates the policies of the underdeveloped nation with the purpose of economic profiteering in disregard to the economic and social interests of the underdeveloped country. The need for capital made Africa dependent on the West. Though, the Western countries and the new institutions like International Monetary Fund did give loans but they were tied to fulfillment of certain conditionalities. These conditionalities often required the recipient nations to open up their economies to the foreign companies and give up State policies meant for social welfare and security. The externally imposed austerity by the IMF, decreased the social expenditure at a time of high unemployment, inflation and food shortages.
- 15) **Impact of World Economic situation:** The poor African nations were ill equipped to deal with the economic depression during the 1980s. This was coupled by the natural disasters in form of the crop failures and droughts from 1982-86. The recession in the export markets hurt the foreign exchange earnings of African nations as the slowed down engines of growth in the developed world demanded fewer commodities of export from Africa like oil, copper, cobalt, cocoa etc. The decreased export earnings due to the economic recession hurt the poor countries the most and increased the stranglehold of Neo-colonialism as African nations took help of IMF which imposed austerity measures.

#### Situation of Colonies today:

- 1) In Africa, initially there was political instability because of
  - a) Tribal differences
  - b) They were unprepared for independence and suffered from low education penetration.
  - c) Economically they were poor, were unable to provide efficient governance and failed to meet the aspirations of the newly independent people who had thought that independence will bring an end to their miseries. This led to political instability and armed coups. In some cases, the democratically elected regimes turned dictatorial to ensure political stability e.g. Nkrumah in Ghana who was later overthrown through an armed coup.
  - d) Today:
    - i. **AU:** African states have come together in the form of Organization for African Unity (OAU, presently African Union) in the spirit of Pan-Africanism under leader leaders like Nkrumah, to ensure political stability, check civil wars using regional pressure, solve regional disputes internally and strive for development of Africans. Thus AU serves as a mechanism to prevent foreign interference in African affairs and aims uniting Africans for solving African problems.
    - ii. African economies have started to grow rapidly especially after 2000.

- iii. There is improvement in social indicators, but inclusive growth still remains a challenge. There is need for focusing upon indigenous industry.
  - iv. Africa successfully checked Apartheid in 1990s and now there is black majority rule. It has been able to reach conciliation between the Blacks and the European settlers.
  - v. Africa, today, is even looking for a seat in UNSC with cooperation from other like minded countries like India.
- 2) **Central America:** Here lie the Caribbean nations. Initially they did not want joining a Federation in Caribbean region and desired separate independent status.
- a) After forming a Common Market in 1973, they have in 2006 formed a Single Market.
- Difference between a Single Market and Common Market?**
- Single Market** removes physical (borders), technical (standards) and fiscal (taxes) barriers. It is a trade bloc with features of
- i. **Free Trade Area** for goods with common policies on product regulations
  - ii. **Freedom of Movement** of capital, labor, goods, enterprises and services.
- Common Market:** It is the 1st step towards Single Market and may just include Free Trade Area for goods without reducing other barriers.
- b) The Caribbean nations are even moving towards a custom union with Latin American countries through **CELAC** (2011, Community of Latin American and Caribbean states).
  - c) **Today problems of Caribbean nations include**
    - i. Unemployment & high foreign debt
    - ii. Global & regional Free Trade Agreements like North American FTA (NAFTA since 1994 having Mexico, US, Canada), threaten preferential access of CARICOM to foreign export markets.
    - iii. Caribbean has small island nations which lack infrastructure, skilled manpower and are economically poor. Thus they cant compete in export markets with China.
    - iv. India is cooperating with CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market) and providing assistance in fields of ICT, Health and financing of development projects in the region.
    - v. Potential of the CELAC countries lies in the fact that they are rich in oil and gas and mineral resources.
- 3) **Southeast Asia:** The Southeast Asian nations grew rapidly in 1980s. They were called as Tiger economies. Even today, ASEAN is an economic powerhouse. ASEAN is central to India's Look East Policy. ASEAN aims to form a European Union type of community by 2015 with features like free movement of people, trade and a common foreign policy. The three main pillars of ASEAN Community would be
- a) Political Security Community
  - b) Economic Community
  - c) Socio-Cultural Community
- 4) **South Asia:** Asia is a region of wide disparity.
- a) India is today the second fastest emerging economy.
  - b) Bangladesh is said to be part of the next BRICS like group of emerging economies.
  - c) Nepal faces severe challenge of arriving at a constitution for the country after overthrow of Monarchy through a communist revolution.
  - d) Bhutan has moved towards democracy in a peaceful manner under the leadership of the Monarchy.
  - e) Maldives, an archipelago, in Indian Ocean faces challenge of political instability. Recently, the democratically elected President Nasheed was overthrown in a controversial manner.
  - f) Myanmar is immediate neighbor of South Asia region. It has moved towards democracy after a long rule of Military Junta. It is a vital link between India and ASEAN.
  - g) **SAARC:** Countries of South Asia have also sought to come together in a union named South Asian

Association for Regional Cooperation. SAARC was established in 1985 with headquarters in Kathmandu. SAFTA agreement of 2004 created a Free Trade Area in the SAARC region. It aims at bringing down the custom duties of all traded goods by 2016.

AARC countries have agreed to grant Most Favored Nation status to each other that is aimed at reducing tariff barriers. In future, SAARC aims energy security in the region by setting up a SAARC electricity grid that would provide for energy security of the region.

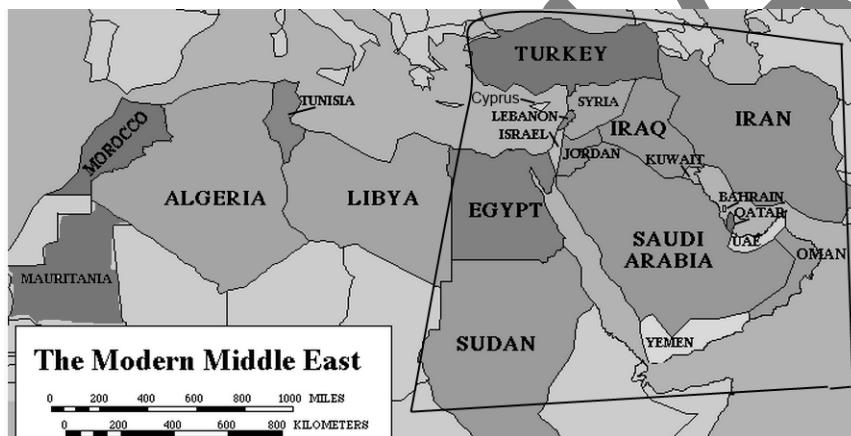
SAARC faces challenges due to frontier disputes among member nations like India and Pakistan. The high mutual suspicion between India and Pakistan has held back the emergence of SAARC as a formidable force in the region.

- h) The challenges of South Asia today include**, mutual hostility, insurgency, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, unemployment, lack of education, lack of financial inclusion, political instability, lack of regional connectivity, a history of wars, nuclear proliferation etc. Also the growing Chinese influence has the potential to hurt the unity in the region.

### **Conflicts in the Middle East**

*Before we make an effort to understand the conflicts in the Middle East let us gain an understanding of the various terms associated with the Middle East Region.*

**Middle East:** Since 1945 the region has been embroiled in wars and civil wars.



**What is Traditional Middle East ?:** It is a group of 16 nations (Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, Oman, Yemen). Sudan is at times included in Middle East.

**Modern Middle East** also includes 5 Arab states of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania taking the number to 21.

**Non-Arab States in Middle East** are Iran, Turkey and Israel. Iran has high minority of Arabs in area around the Persian Gulf.

**Arab World** = Group of 22 members of Arab League. Arab states outside the Middle East are Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and Comoros (eastern coast of Africa, between northeast Mozambique and Madagascar). Morocco is the only African country which is not part of AU because of its disputes with Western Sahara (SADR). SADR is not part of AL because of AL's support for Morocco.

**Levant= aka Eastern Mediterranean**=is a geographic and cultural region consisting of the "eastern Mediterranean littoral between Turkey and Egypt"



### Fertile Crescent

It is a crescent-shaped region containing the comparatively moist and fertile land of otherwise arid and semi-arid Western Asia, and the Nile Valley and Nile Delta of northeast Africa.

The modern-day countries with significant territory within the Fertile Crescent are Iraq, Kuwait, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt, besides the southeastern fringe of Turkey and the western fringes of Iran



### Some Issues of importance in Middle East

Western Interests	Arab Interests
Oil	Destruction of Israel (created in 1948 by UN) 4 wars of 1948-49, 1956, 1967, 1973
Strategic interests with respect to Trade	Political and Economic unity of Arabs
Strategic interests with respect to defence against Communism (e.g. Control of Suez Canal)	End to foreign interference/Neocolonialism.

### Decolonization of the Middle East:

- 1) Britain gave independence to Iraq in 1932 and to Jordan (1946) but both continued to remain pro-British.
- 2) France gave independence to Syria and Lebanon in 1945 but hoped to maintain some influence in the middle east.

### Reason for Neo-Colonialism in Middle East:

- 1) **Strategic position of Middle East:** The Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf were important trade routes. Also

middle east was the convergence point of the Capitalist bloc, the Communist bloc and the Third World countries especially Asia and Southeast Asia.

**2) Oil:** The oil resources of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were essential for the energy security of the world.

### **Iran (post 1945):**

**Introduction:** It is the only Middle East State which had a border with USSR.

The Constitution of 1906, provided for a semi-absolute rule of Shah. The western educated and pro-US, Mohammed Raza Pahlavi was the Shah since 1941.

### **During Cold War:**

- 1) In 1907, Britain and Russia had agreed to carve out Northern Iran as Russian sphere of influence while southern Iran was to be British sphere of influence with central Iran being open to both rival powers.
- 2) In 1945, USSR tried to establish a communist government in Northern Iran that had a strong and active communist party.
- 3) In 1955, the Shah signed **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and UK (United States signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the United States participated as an observer and took part in committee meetings). Shah got economic and military aid for containment of communism in Northern Iran. Shah gave US oil companies concessions to develop oil reserves of Iran.

### **De-Neocolonialism in Iran:**

- 1) The Nationalists in Iran were against foreign interference. They gradually grew strong.
- 2) In 1951, the Parliament of Iran (Majlis) elected Mohammed Mussadeq as the Prime Minister.
- 3) In 1951, under PM Mussadeq, the Majlis (Parliament of Iran) ordered nationalization of Anglo Iranian Oil Company, a British controlled company because it was felt that Britain was taking too much of profit.
- 4) From 1951-3, PM Mussadeq also sought to reduce the semi-absolute rule of Shah to move Iran towards full democracy.
- 5) **Sanctions against Iran:** After nationalization, most of the world stopped buying oil from Iran.
- 6) **Coup (1953):** In 1953, the democratically elected PM Mussadeq was forced to resign in a coup in which CIA played an important role. After this a military government was formed and Shah began to rule as an absolute monarch.
- 7) **1954- Iran-Britain compromise:** Shah reached a compromise with Britain as per which
  - a) The British Petroleum would have only 40 % shares in Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.
  - b) Iran would keep 50% profits (which Shah later used for cautious modernization of Iran and for Land Reforms)
- 8) **1979 Islamic Revolution:** Shah was toppled because
  - a) He fell out with the Shia clerics who were against the reforms initiated by Shah for western style modernization of Iranian society.
  - b) The left wing and the radical Muslims were against Shah being a US puppet and they also resented the huge personal wealth of Shah.
  - c) Shah escaped and Iran was proclaimed an Islamic Republic under a religious leader with title "Ayotollah" (High Priest) Khomeini.

**NAM & Iran:** Iran became part of NAM in 1979, as Khomeini, like Nasser of Egypt, wanted independence in foreign policy and non-alignment during Cold War.

**Let us understand the history behind Arab Unity in a brief:** Common things among Arab States:

- a) All speak Arabic Language
- b) All are Muslims except half the population (Christians) of Lebanon.
- c) Most Arab States are against Israel, favoured destruction of Israel and are pro-Palestinian Arabs.
- d) All wanted some Economic or Political union like European Economic Community.
- e) **Attempts at Political or Economic union among Arab States:**
  - i. **Arab League:** Formed in 1945 by Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. It had 20 states by 1980 and today has 22 members. India has an observer status, while Pakistan does not.
  - ii. After Suez War in 1956, **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser** (died in 1970) emerged as the face of Arab Unity who could stand up to the Western domination.
  - iii. **Egypt-Syria Union:** United Arab Republic (1958-61) was formed with Nasser as President. It ended because of Syrian grievances against Nasser domination. Later attempts at such unions failed.

#### **Arab Disunity:**

- a) Nationalists were against Jordan and Saudi Arabia because they were ruled by pro-West conservative Royal families. This was especially true of nationalists in Syria and Egypt who were socialists.
- b) Nationalists were against Egypt post 1979 Camp David Accords (Egypt Israel Peace Treaty) which led to Egypt recognizing Israel. Rest of Arab states turned against President Sadat and he was executed by right wing Egyptian nationalists in 1981.

#### ***De-Neocolonialism in Middle East***

- 1) One by one the pro-British and the pro-French governments were replaced by nationalist governments who wanted to be non-aligned.
- 2) **Egypt:** In 1952 there was a coup and Nasser became President in 1954. In 1956, the Suez War was fought by Egypt against Britain, France and Israel over control of Suez Canal.
- 3) **Eisenhower Doctrine:** After the end of Suez War (1956), the Arab countries drew closer to Soviet Union. This prompted President Eisenhower to propose Eisenhower Doctrine which implied giving economic and military aid to countries of this region to check "international communism".
- 4) **Jordan:** King Abdullah was in power after 1946 independence from Britain but in 1951 he was assassinated for being pro-British. King Hussein had to give up the pro-British attitude for his survival and thus in 1957 he ended the **Jordan-Britain Treaty** that allowed British to keep troops in its bases in Jordan and thus all British troops were withdrawn.
- 5) **Iraq:** It had pro-British King Faisal and Prime Minister Said. They signed the **Baghdad Pact (1955)**, a military alliance of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and UK (US signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the US participated as an observer).
- 6) **Iraqi Revolution (1958):** Encouraged by the British humiliation in the Suez War (1956), the nationalists killed King Faisal and Prime Minister Said and thus Iraq became a Republic in 1958.
- 7) **US intervention in Lebanon:** A series of events in 1958, including an Egyptian-Syrian union, an Iraqi revolution, and civil unrest in Lebanon threatened regional stability. In response to these developments, the United States invoked the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine as justification for intervening in Lebanon.
- 8) **Iraq leaves Baghdad Pact in 1959:** The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention, and in 1959, Iraq left the Baghdad Pact. This led to an end of all British influence in the region. Saddam became President in 1979 (remained till 2003). He had played important role in 1968 coup that brought the Baath Party to power. He was a proponent of Arab Nationalism and Arab Socialism. He nationalized oil, banking and other industries.

9) **CENTO (1959-1979):** The other signatories to the Baghdad Pact formed the Central Treaty Organization. US supported CENTO so it continues to maintain influence in the region.

*One of the major events in the Middle East during the 1980's was the the Iran-Iraq war and therefore it is pertinent to understand it in depth.*

### Iraq-Iran War (1980-88)

**Why Iraq attacked Iran in 1980 ?**

- 1) **Fear of Islamic fundamentalism:** 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was led by militant Islamic groups (Iran's fundamentalist Shias believed that the country should be run on Islamic code). Saddam was afraid of militant Islam spreading from Iran to Iraq. Iraq and Iran both had Shia majority while Saddam was a Sunni.
- 2) **Border dispute over Khuzestan:** Iraq wanted Khuzestan, a border province of Iran which was populated by Arabs rather than the Persians. The territory continues to be part of Iran today.



- 3) **Dispute over Inland Waterway called Shatt-el-Arab:** In 1975, Iran forced Iraq into joint use and control of this waterway which was an important outlet for both countries oil exports. The waterway formed part of the frontier between Iran and Iraq. The waterway is with Iraq since Iraq-Iran war.
- 4) **Saddam hoped for quick victory:** because he felt that Iranian forces would be weak after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. But he was proved wrong and the war went on for 8 years.

**War dragged on for 8 years:**

1. Saddam had Russian tanks, helicopters etc.
2. Iran got arms from North Korea, China and from US (secretly).
3. The war became a Shia-Sunni conflict with the border dispute being overshadowed.

**Result of Iraq-Iran War :**

- 1) **Arab Unity decreased: It served a huge blow to the Arab unity discussed before.**
  - a) **Pro-Iraq:** The more conservative states like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait. Also, Saudi Arabia had another strategic interest. It wanted decreased control of Iran on the Persian Gulf.
  - b) **Pro-Iran:** Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). They were against Iraq because Iraq was the aggressor and they believed that Arab world should focus on Israel.
- 2) **Oil Crisis:** The oil supply to the world decreased because Iraq attacked and blockaded Iran's oil exports. Oil shortage brought US, USSR, Britain and France's warships in the region which increased tensions. By 1987, all oil tankers faced threat of sea mines.
- 3) **UN mediated ceasefire (1988):** UN was able to do so because by 1988 both sides were exhausted. But before even accepting the peace terms, Iraq invaded Kuwait and this latter conflict came to be known as the

## **Gulf War (1990-91).**

### **Gulf War (1990-91):**

Iraq was successful in quickly occupying Kuwait.

#### **Why Iraq invaded Kuwait?**

- 1) **Oil:** Iraq wanted control over oil reserves of Kuwait because it was short of cash after long Iraq-Iran war.
- 2) **Historical Claims:** Iraq claimed that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq. The critics argued that Kuwait was created in 1899 as a British Protectorate while Iraq was only created after WW I as a British mandate from the Ottoman empire.
- 3) **Saddam didn't expect western opposition:** US and Western European nations had given arms to Iraq during Iraq-Iran war. They had also not acted aggressively against Saddam's brutal repression of Kurds in North Iraq when they had demanded independence.

#### **UN acts against Iraq**

- a) **In defence of Kurds:** At the time of invasion, Saddam had also started brutal repression of Kurds in Northern Iraq. They were demanding secession. UN applied No Fly Zone to prevent Saddam from bombing his own population.
- b) **Operation Desert Storm:**
  - i. More than 30 nations participated in military intervention coded Operation Desert Storm against Iraq.
  - ii. Initially, Trade sanctions and oil export sanctions were applied against Iraq under aegis of UN.
  - iii. Then UN gave deadline to Saddam for troop withdrawal else "UN will use all necessary means" to safeguard Kuwait's territorial integrity.
- 4) **Why US, France and Britain were against Iraqi invasion?**
  - a) Because by capturing Kuwait, Saddam now controlled too much oil in the region which hurt the balance of power in the Middle East and gave too much leverage to Iraq.
- 5) **Why Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt were against Iraqi invasion?**
  - a) Because they were concerned about the next act of aggression by Saddam Hussein which may threaten their territorial integrity. They contributed troops to UN force along with US, Britain, France and Italy.
- 6) **Criticism of outside powers:**
  - a) Russia, Syria and Turkey themselves had Kurd minority and thus they did not do anything initially when Kurds were brutally repressed by Saddam.
  - b) The Western nations only took action against Iraq because of their oil interest. They did nothing when Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 because it was of little interest to them.

## Arab-Israel Conflict

### Why Israel created in 1948 ?



#### 1) Historical grievances of Jews:

- a) **Roman persecution:** In 71 AD, Jews were driven out of Palestine by Romans and they settled in different parts of the world including US. Gradually, over years many Jews returned from exile but their population was not significant to make Arabs anxious.
- b) **World Zionist Organization (1897):** It was formed in Switzerland. **Zionist** means people who wanted Jews to return to their homeland, Palestine and form a Jewish state of their own. Problem was Palestine was now inhabited mainly by Arabs who were now threatened by loss of their "homeland".
- c) **Nazi persecution:** This resulted in high influx of refugee European Jews, who were looking for a home, into Palestine and by 1940 half the population of Palestine was Jewish. Nazi persecution and with change in demography of Palestine, the demand for Israel as a separate state grew.

#### 2) How creation of Israel became inevitable and how middle path solution failed ?

- a) **Britain:** After WW I, Britain got Palestine as a mandate. In 1917, Britain said it favored creation of Israel. This led to influx of Jews into Palestine which was opposed by Arab States who wanted an independent united Palestine under Arabs.
- b) **Zionist Terrorism:** started after WW II, targeting Arabs and Britishers who opposed Jewish influx under pressure from Arab States. **US** pressured Britain to allow Jews enter Palestine.
- c) **Attempts at middle path failed:**
  - i. In 1937, the Arabs rejected British 2 state proposal.
  - ii. In 1939, British proposed a One state solution whereby Palestine would be made independent in 10 years and Jewish immigration would be limited to 10,000 per annum. Jews rejected this proposal.
  - iii. In 1946, Britain again proposed a One State solution with two provinces, one each of Arabs and Jews. Truman rejected this plan.

#### 3) UN creates Israel in 1948:

- a) Britain asked for UN help because was unable to bear high costs of maintaining peace.
- b) **1947 UN voted** to divide Palestine into two halves. British withdrew in 1948.



### 1948 Arab-Israel War:

Immediately after its creation, Israel was attacked by Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.

#### **Result:**

- 1) **Egypt:** Egypt did not earn anything from the war. Rather, Israel captured the Egyptian port of Eilat. Egypt also faced the problem of refugees from Palestine as there was a refugee exodus due to Israel's brutal treatment of Palestinians after the war. In 1952 the Egyptian Army did a coup to dethrone King Farouk as he favored the presence of British troops in Suez Canal. **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein** became the President of Egypt in 1954 and sought to reduce British influence.
- 2) **Israel:** captured 3/4<sup>th</sup> of Palestine, more than what was given to it by UN.
- 3) **Jerusalem:** was captured by Israel (**West Jerusalem**) and Jordan (**East Jerusalem**).
- 4) **West Bank:** It is the Palestinian territory west of river Jordan. It was captured by Jordan. This led to conflict within the Arab world because Jordan wanted West Bank for itself.



- 5) **Refugee influx:** into Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.
- 6) **Plight of Palestinians:** Now most of them lived in refugee camps. Many found themselves now living under

Israel and Jordan.

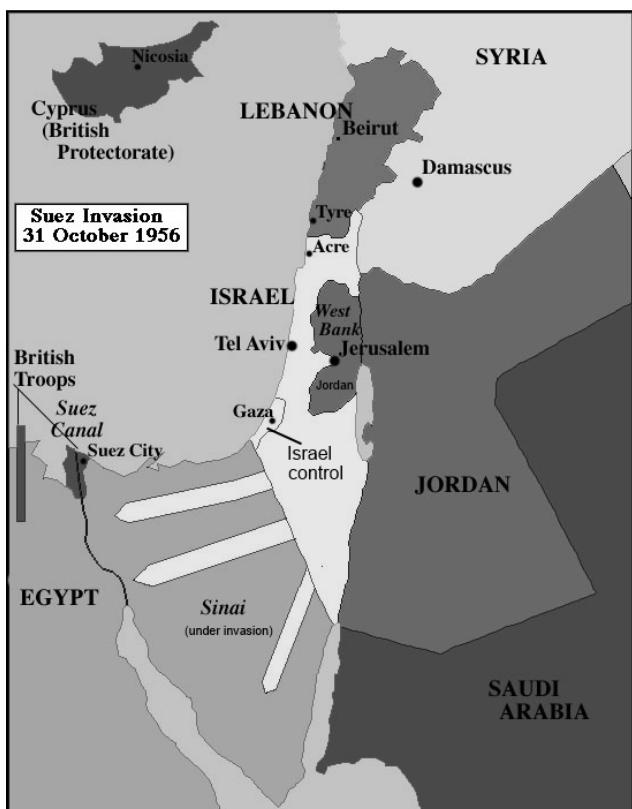
### **Suez War 1956:**

**Importance of Suez Canal:** The Suez Canal opened in 1869 and was a very important sea-route of commerce. It reduced the distance for the British merchant vessels traveling to India. It provided an outlet from the Mediterranean sea towards the Indian Ocean. Without the Suez Canal the ships would have to travel all around the Western coast of Africa and then the Cape of Good Hope to reach Asia.

**Anglo-French control of Suez Canal:** Egypt went bankrupt in 19<sup>th</sup> century while trying for industrialization. Due to this the Governor of Egypt had to sell his shareholding in the company that managed Suez Canal, to the British. Thus since 1875, control of canal was with France and Britain. Consequently Egypt was colonized by Britain. It gained independence in 1922 but British troops remained to maintain control over the canal. The British continued to meddle in the internal affair of Egypt.

Foreign control of Suez Canal was resented by the nationalist Egyptian Army.

**Suez War 1956:** Colonel Nasser persisted with the demand that the British should evacuate Suez Canal. **In 1956, Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt.**



**The reasons were:**

- 1) Colonel Nasser's anti-West policies and his pro-Palestine stance against Israel.
- 2) Colonel Nasser had organized Fidayeens to carry out murders and bombings in Israel.
- 3) Egypt had also blockaded the **Gulf of Aqaba** to prevent the western ships going to Eilat port. Eilat port was under Israel occupation after the 1948 war.



- 4) Further, Nasser refused the renewal of the 1936 British-Egypt Treaty that allowed British troops in Suez Canal zone.
- 5) Nasser had also helped the Algerian Arabs in their struggle for independence against the French.
- 6) He prodded the Arab nations to resist the Baghdad pact led by the British. **Baghdad Pact** was aimed at maintaining the British influence in Northern Africa and the Middle East.

#### 7) The Cold War:

- a) Colonel Nasser further antagonized the British by signing a **defence deal with Czechoslovakia in 1955**. This agreement provided for arms supply and training of the troops of Egyptian army.
- b) **Cancellation of US grant for Aswan dam (1956)**: USA saw the bonhomie between Russia and Egypt as part of the Cold War and it feared Russian entry into the oil-rich region of Middle East. As a result of this communist phobia, USA cancelled the grant it had promised to Egypt for building of Aswan dam.
- 8) **Nationalization of Suez Canal**: Conditions of economic stress and given the importance of Aswan dam to Egypt, the cancellation of the grant by USA prompted Colonel Nasser to Nationalize the Suez Canal. Colonel Nasser wanted to use the income from the Suez Canal to fund the construction of the dam.

In return for the nationalization of Suez Canal, Colonel Nasser promised adequate compensation to the shareholders. He also promised the use of Suez Canal by all nations except Israel.

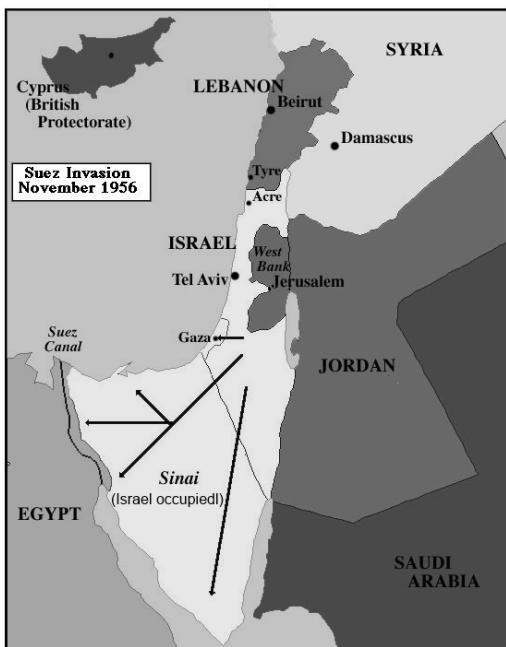
Thus the aim of Nasser's policies was not of hurting the trade regime of the British but securing his country's independence from the Neocolonialism and exercising the sovereign right of Egypt to manage its resources and infrastructure which included the Suez Canal.

But the main concern of the British and French was to maintain their influence in neighboring states and ensure the continued benefits out of Neo-colonialism. They feared the Arab unity which was taking shape since the creation of Israel. There existed an apprehension among the Western powers that Egypt desired creation of a **United Arabia** under Egyptian control which might be pro-USSR. Such Arab unity was against the economic interests of the West since Middle East and North Africa were the main sources of oil and if the Arabs decided to use Oil as a leverage then they would come under the domination of the Arab countries.

#### The result of the 1956 Suez war:

- 1. End of British influence**: Britain was weak post World War II. It expected a quick victory but the Egyptian Army fought with valour and persistence draining the British of their strength. The Suez War marked the end of British influence in Egypt and from now on Britain was heavily dependent on USA in the domain of foreign policy.

**2. Positives for Israel:** It captured the Sinai peninsula of Egypt and used it as a leverage in the peace talks and there was temporary cessation of the Fidayeen attacks on its territory.



3. **Ceasefire:** USA and the Soviet union mediated a ceasefire by working along with the United Nations. Israel returned Sinai peninsula to Egypt.
4. **Suez and Oil supply:** British and the French failed to achieve their war aims. Egypt blocked the Suez Canal till 1957 and the Arab states decreased oil supply to the European countries.
5. **Russian influence:** There was an increase in the Russian influence in the region as the US aid was replaced by the Russian aid. Also British lost an ally in form of Iraq.

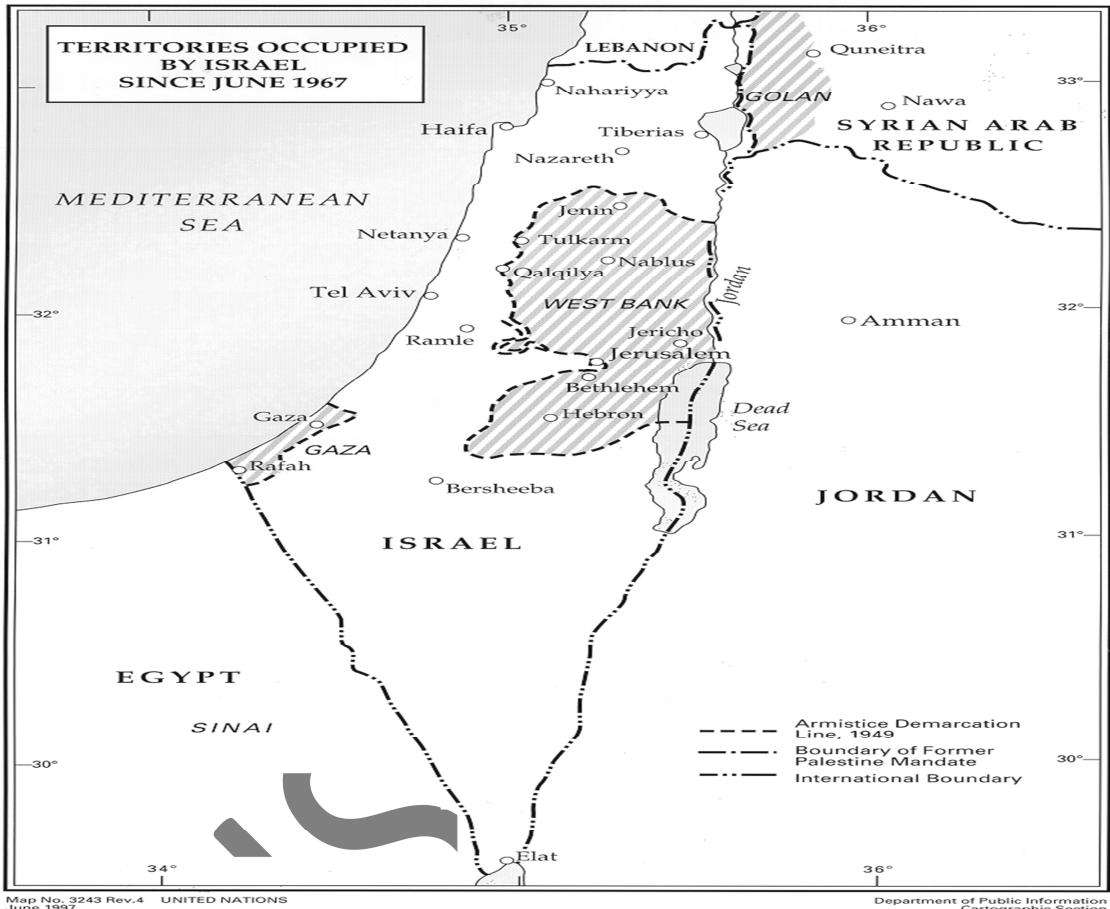


6. **Iraqi Revolution (1958):** Encouraged by defeat of the British and French, the nationalists in Iraq murdered the pro-British King *Faisal* and PM *Said* in 1958.
7. **Algerian freedom struggle:** The defeat of France in Suez War gave a morale boost to the nationalists fighting for independence which was achieved in 1962. Nasser helped Algerians.
8. **Arab Unity under Nasser:** The year of 1956, thus marked emergence of a new face of Arab Unity in form of

Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. He now emerged as the tall leader of the Arab world who had the wherewithal to stand up to the Western domination. Nasser helped the Algerians further in their independence struggle which was finally won in 1962. **India** supported the anti-neocolonialism struggle of Egypt and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru shared good rapport with Colonel Nasser. Both of them along with leaders like Nkrumah of Ghana, Tito of Yugoslavia & Sukarno of Indonesia were the founding members of the **Non Aligned Movement** in 1961.

**Six Day War (1967):** Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Algeria (independent since 1962) ordered troop mobilization but this was slow and gave early warning and time to Israel which launched preemptive strikes and destroyed the Egyptian air crafts.

#### Result:



- 1) **Israel:** The battle failed to achieve a military solution to the problem of Palestine. Israel captured
  - a) Sinai Peninsula of Egypt. Golan Heights of Syria.
  - b) **In Palestine:** Whole of Jerusalem and West Bank from Jordan; and Gaza Strip, earlier with Palestinians.
  - c) This time Israel rejected UN resolution asking return of captured territory. It desired to ensure that Sinai and Golan Heights act as a buffer zones
- 2) **Militarization of the region by Russia:** Russia started supplying modern arms to Egypt and Syria (the reason for present strength of Syria against the rebels).
- 3) **Suez Blockade:** Egypt began a blockade of Suez Canal (remained till 1975).

#### **Yom Kippur War or October War (1973):**

Boosted by the military arsenal from Russia, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. Yom Kippur is a Jewish festival and Egypt and Syria wanted to catch the Israelis off-guard.

#### Why?

- 1) To retrieve Sinai and Golan Heights from Israel.
- 2) Egypt wanted to force a negotiation on Palestine. **President Anwar Sadat of Egypt** (in power since death of Nasse in 1970) was convinced that there cannot be a military solution to the Israel-Palestinian dispute. Thus he desired a negotiated peace but the USA had refused to take the lead. With the war, Egypt wanted to force USA to act as a mediator.
- 3) Also PLO (Palestinian Liberation organization) was pushing Arab states for further action. PLO's extreme faction blew off an airplane over Jordan in 1970 and killed Israeli sportsmen in Munich Olympic (1972).

**Result:**

- a) **Oil Crisis (1973):** During the Yom Kippur war, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decreased oil supply. It resulted in inflation in the importing nations and there were oil shortages. OPEC wanted to pressurize the USA and European countries, who were supporting Israel, into submission. Some argue that OPEC was genuinely concerned towards preservation of the scarce resource.
- b) USA and USSR intervened through the UN and ceasefire was achieved.
- c) **Suez Canal:** Israel withdrew troops from Suez Canal and Egypt agreed to open the Canal in 1975 (closed since 1967 war). But Israeli ships were still not allowed to use it.
- d) Israel retained all territory captured in 1967 war (Sinai, Golan Heights, West Bank, Gaza, whole of Jerusalem)
- e) **Success for Sadat:** Egypt celebrates October 6 yearly as October War led to 1979 Camp David Accords which led to withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai. Sinai after 1979 was to be demilitarized with US satellites monitoring the peninsula.

**Camp David Accords (1979) or 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty:** In 1979, under the mediator role of USA President Carter, Egypt and Israel signed a landmark peace agreement, famously known as the Camp David Accords.

Under the Camp David Accords,

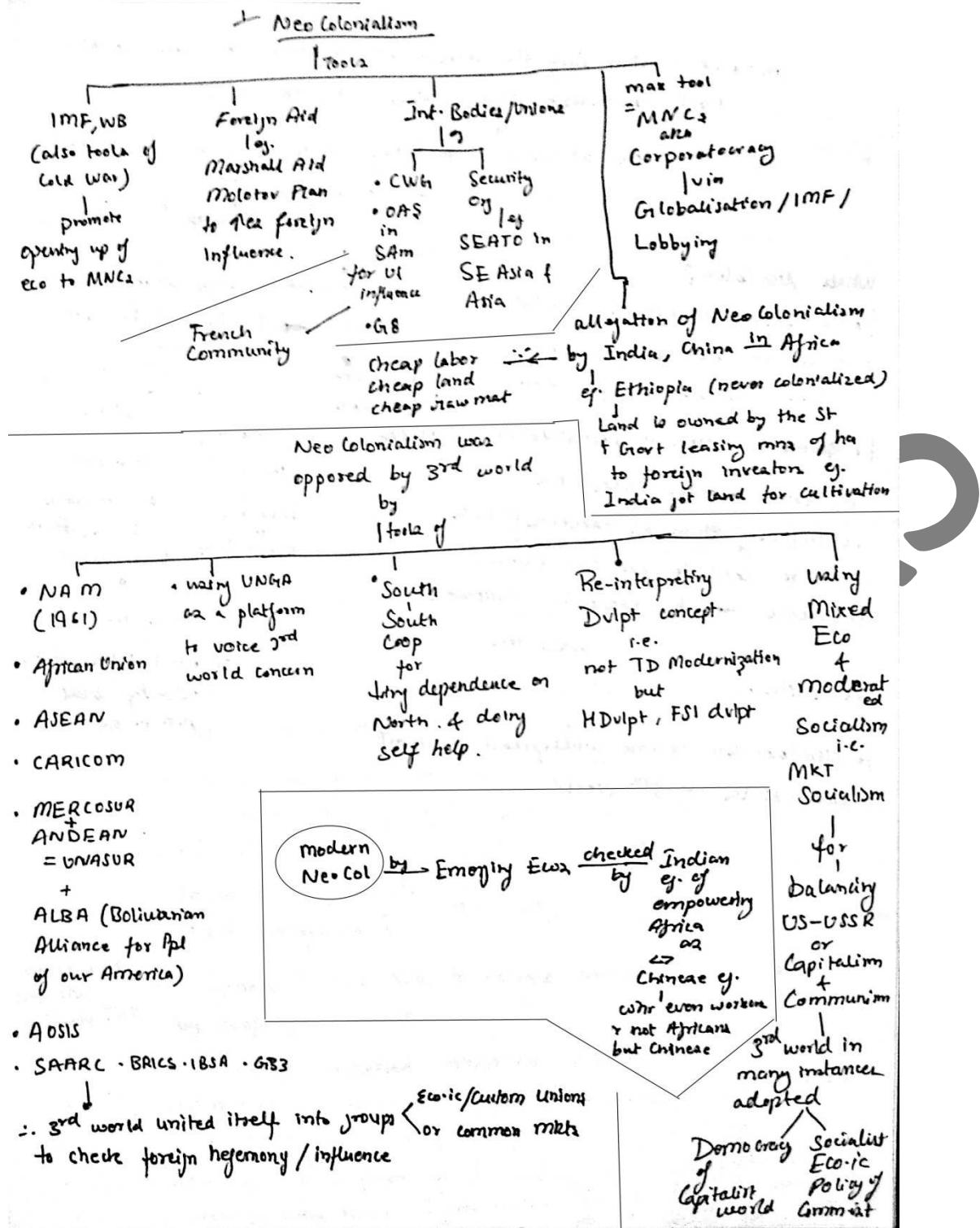
- 1) Israeli troops were withdrawn from Sinai and it was to be demilitarized with US satellites monitoring the peninsula. Only limited troops from Egypt were allowed. Presently, there is a UN force in Sinai.
- 2) Egypt guaranteed oil supply to Israel from newly discovered oil fields in Sinai peninsula.
- 3) Ended the state of war between Israel and Egypt (in operation since 1948). Egypt promised to not attack Israel again.
- 4) Egypt allowed the Israeli ships to use Suez Canal. But this bonhomie between Israel and Egypt was not accepted in principle by many Arabs and President Sadat was executed in 1981 during a public event.

**Present Status:**

- 1) **Illegal Settlements:** Israel boosted construction of Israeli settlements in legally Palestinian lands (West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza). Palestinians continued to protest in the refugee camps in West Bank and Gaza.
- 2) In 1980s, Israel declared that it won't ever give back Golan Heights to Syria & never allow West Bank to be part of Palestine.
- 3) **What is pre-1967 position frequently desired by Palestinians and opposed by Israel ?**
  - a) Palestine= West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem.
  - b) Israel = West Jerusalem, Rest of Israel, minus Golan Heights (which was then with Syria).
- 4) **Oslo Accords (1993) between Israel and PLO:** The agreement included:
  - a) Recognition of PLO by Israel. Also PLO recognized Israel's right to exist.
  - b) PLO promised to give up terrorism.
  - c) **Palestinian Authority** was established.

- d) Israel gave limited self rule to Palestinians (under PA) in parts of West Bank and of Gaza strip (not all of Gaza and West Bank). The Jewish settlers and extreme faction within PLO opposed. The latter wanted complete independence.
- 5) **2<sup>nd</sup> Oslo Accords 1995 :**
- a) A permanent solution was to be achieved by 1999.
  - b) Israel would withdraw from West Bank and Gaza. This was not done because Hamas terror campaign in 1996.
  - c) A **Palestinian Legislative Council** (agreed for during 1993) directly elected by all adult Arabs was to rule the vacated area (parts of Gaza and West Bank). Elections were held in 1996 and Yasser Arafat became Palestine's President.
  - d) **Consequence:**
    - i. Israeli extremists opposed & Israel's PM was executed in 1995.
    - ii. Hamas (Sunni organization) began terror campaign.
    - iii. Hezbollah (Shia organization in South Lebanon) shelled North Israel.
    - iv. Netanyahu a right wing leader came to power in 1996.
- 6) **2005-** Israel **unilateral pullout from area under its control in Gaza strip** and handed over control to Palestinian Authority
- a) **Aim** was to separate Palestinians of Gaza Strip from Jews.
  - b) **Result** was that Hamas took control & replaced PA . It has used Gaza to launch rocket attacks on Israel.
- 7) **2007 Blockade of Gaza** by Israel to prevent movement of goods in and out of Gaza. Turkey condemned Israel for firing at a flotilla carrying goods to Gaza. Impact of blockade was illegal trade with Egypt with goods being sold at exorbitant prices hurting poor Palestinians.
- 8) **2012 Palestine from "Non-member Observer Entity" to "Non-member Observer State":** India co-sponsored & supported the resolution on enhancing Palestine's status from '**Non-Member Observer Entity**' to '**Non-Member Observer State**' in UNGA. Palestine with new status would have access to UN agencies & also potentially the ICC. It would be able to participate in the UNGA debates. It is a global recognition to the relevant territory as a sovereign state of Palestine. **In sum, this is an important move towards Palestinian statehood, which 132 countries have already recognised.**
- 9) **2014 status:**
- a) Gaza (under Hamas), West Bank (partially under Palestinian Authority & rest with Israel), East Jerusalem (claimed by Palestinians but is under Israel).
  - b) Palestinians want a homeland with East Jerusalem as capital.
  - c) Israel continues to build settlements in West Bank and East Jerusalem.
  - d) Iran supports Hamas of Gaza.
  - e) Syria wants Golan Heights back.
  - f) India supported in UNSC, full & equal UN membership for Palestine. India has always been in favor of the Palestinian cause in UN.

**What is Neo-Colonialism?** It is the practice of exploitation or domination, especially economic exploitation, of a politically independent but non-industrialized foreign country.



### Why no Neo-Colonialism in India?

From mid 19<sup>th</sup> century there was rise of capitalist class in India. The British had also promoted the money lenders by making land a tradable commodity and charging high rents from the landlords which compelled the people to borrow from moneylenders. Also trading merchants benefited from British rule.

The capitalist class in India developed on an indigenous capital base rather than on foreign capital base like in other colonies. FICCI was setup in the 1930s and thus the capitalist class had organized itself into a pressure group to influence policies of the government.

The Bombay Plan of 1944 was formulated by the post-war Economic Development Committee of the capitalists. It suggested a middle path as the plan envisaged integration of the socialist ideas without compromising on the

essential features of capitalism. It favored partial nationalization and even cooperativization of Agriculture along with land reforms.

The Capitalist class in India was definitely against radical socialism but it was not pro-Imperialist. It calibrated its position in line with the Indian National Congress and after opposing the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920, the Capitalists supported the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-4) and nationalist struggles thereafter. The capitalists became part of the Indian National Movement even though at the most conservative end.

The Gandhian strategy of S-T-S (Struggle - Truce - Struggle) was supported by the Capitalists as they used the national struggle to seek concessions from the British and at the same time the truce provided period of stability in law and order which was good for business. Thus the INC movement's focus on non-violence provided positive conditions for growth of indigenous capital.

By the time of independence, Indian capitalists had strong grip on the finance sector.

After independence, the focus on heavy industry and infrastructure provided an important base for the Indian government companies to grow.

The Indian export basket was relatively diversified when compared to other former colonies like African nations which provided for hedging against dependency on single item of export.

Then India was rich in mineral resources and other raw materials which could provide sufficient supply for the industry.

The British did develop infrastructure and connected whole of India by a rail-road network. The thrust on higher education provided personnel for high-skilled jobs.

The food security was one aspect which could have made us dependent on the external world but the Green Revolution with help from US in the 1960s helped India overcome this hindrance as well.

India went for nationalization of important sectors of the economy and a relatively closed economy model prevented the Multinational companies from taking root in India. The policy of import substitution further strengthened the indigenous industry.

The Non-Aligned Movement helped India remain out of the Cold War and checked foreign interference in internal affairs. The strong organizational structure of Indian National Congress helped and the rich history of non-violent struggle provided stable democratic governments. A strong army also put off any military threat and acted as a deterrent. Thus with strong fundamentals India was able stave off Neocolonialism to good extent.

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