Twenthieth Century World

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Edited by
Dr. Manu Sharma

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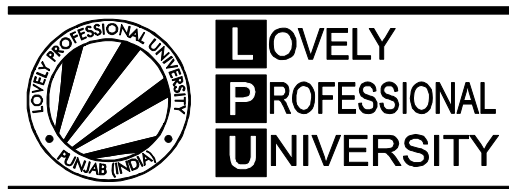
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Content

Unit 01: Legacy of the Nineteenth Century I

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Understand the historical legacy of the world history in the nineteenth century.
- Define the two major concepts,capitalism and imperialism in the nineteenth century world.
- Know the causes and factors regarding the growth of capitalism and imperialism.

Introduction

We notice the differences and similarities between other times and our own when we learn about the past through books, films, television, or stories told by older people. We are aware that certain materials and technologies that we use today did not exist or were used by a small number of people at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet, in terms of the organization of human life, we share a lot with people.The human population was approximately 1.5 billion at the beginning of the twentieth century. China and India were the most populous countries at the time, as they are today. Nonetheless, Asia had a smaller share of the world's population at the beginning of the twentieth centurythan it does today. Most people around the world were settled agriculturalists who cultivated crops and animals and lived in villages. People existed in many parts of the world as nomads, grazing herds of animals, and many were tribal hunter-gatherers, though their numbers were lower at the beginning of the twentieth century than a few hundred years earlier.

At that time, Europe had the highest density of cities in the world: more than 100 cities had a population of at least 100,000 people, and there were six European cities with a population of at least 10,000 people. Europe and America had the most cities, whereas large areas of Asia and Africa had few cities, many of which stagnated or declined in comparison to hundreds of years ago. Most large cities outside of Europe were only a hundred or two hundred years old, such as Sydney and

Chicago, and were mostly populated by people of European origin. Some grew under British rule, such as Calcutta in Bengal.

1.1   The Emergence of Capitalism

Background

The term "capitalist," means "owner of capital,". It predates the term capitalism and dates from the mid-17th century. "Capitalism" is derived from capitale, a late Latin word based on caput, meaning "head"—which is also the origin of "chattel" and "cattle" in the sense of movable property (only much later to refer only to livestock). Capitale first appeared in the 12th and 13th centuries to refer to funds, stocks of merchandise, sums of money, or money bearing interest.By 1283, it was used to refer to a trading firm's capital assets and was frequently interchanged with other words such as wealth, money, funds, goods, assets, property, and so on.In 1633 and 1654, the HollantseMercurius refers to capital owners as capitalists. Étienne Clavier used the term capitalistes in French in 1788, four years before Arthur Young used it in his work Travels in France in the last decade of the eighteenth century. David Ricardo used the term capitalist several times in his Principles of Political Economy and Taxation inthe year 1817. In his poem Table Talk, English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge used the word capitalist. In his first book, What is Property?Pierre-Joseph Proudhon used the term to refer to capital owners.

In Das Kapital (1867), Karl Marx frequently used the terms capital and capitalist mode of production.According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the term capitalism first appeared in the English language in 1854, in novelist William Makepeace Thackeray's novel, The Newcomes. In this novel, it meant "having ownership of capital." According to the OED, the term "private capitalism" was coined in 1863 by Carl Adolph Douai, a German American socialist and abolitionist.

History of capitalismvaries and the concept of capitalism has many contested roots. The last five decades have been concerned with the evolution of capitalism in its various forms. Capital accumulated in a variety of ways and scales became associated with significant variations in the concentration of wealth and economic power. Capitalism gradually replaced feudalism as the world's dominant economic system.Historians have conducted extensive research and debate on the processes by which capitalism emerged, evolved, and spread. Debates sometimes centre on how to apply substantive historical data to key questions.

The extent to which capitalism is a natural human behaviour versus the extent to which it arises from specific historical circumstances; whether its origins lie in towns and trade. It is also in rural property relations; the role of class conflict; the role of the state; the extent to which capitalism is a distinctively European innovation. Its relationship with European imperialism; and whether technological change is a primary or secondary driver. There are two major schools of thought in the historiography of capitalism. One is associated with economic liberalism, with Adam Smith who was an 18th-century economist, as a foundational figure. The other is associated with Marxism, which takes its cues from the 19th-century economist Karl Marx.

Liberals see capitalism as the most beneficial way of promoting human well-being and an expression of natural human behaviours that have existed for millennia. They see capitalism as having its roots in trade and commerce and liberating people to pursue their entrepreneurial instincts.Marxists regard capitalism as a distinct mode of production involving the bourgeoisie and proletariat that emerged following the fall of feudalism and the start of the Industrial Revolution. This refutes the idea that capitalism has been around for millennia and is ingrained in human nature.

1.2   Origin of Capitalism

The origins of capitalism have been extensively debated. The commercialization model which originated in classical 18th-century liberal economic thought and is still frequently articulated is the traditional account. According to this theory, capitalism began with trade. According to this interpretation, capitalism arose from earlier trade once merchants had amassed enough wealth to begin investing in increasingly productive technology.This perspective sees capitalism as a continuation of trade that arose when people's natural entrepreneurialism was liberated from the

constraints of feudalism, partly through urbanization. As a result, it can be traced back to early forms of merchant capitalism practiced in Western Europe during the Middle Ages.

Money could only represent and convert things that existed in the present during the medieval era. This severely hampered growth by making it difficult to finance new businesses.For thousands of years, humanity has been trapped in this situation. As a result, the world's economies remained frozen. We only found a way out in the modern era, with the emergence of a new system based on faith in the future. People agreed to use a special type of money called 'credit' to represent imaginary goods - goods that do not exist in the present. We were able to build the present at the expense of the future. It is based on the assumption that our future resources will undoubtedly be far more plentiful than our current resources.A plethora of new and exciting opportunities emerge if we can construct things in the present using future income.

The issue in previous eras was not that no one had the concept or knew how to apply it. People were reluctant to extend credit because they did not believe that the future would be better than the present. They believed that the past was better than the present and that the future would be worse, or at best similar.When a landlord, a weaver, or a shoemaker has more profits than he needs to maintain his own family, he uses the surplus to employ more assistants, in order to further increase his profits. It was written by Adam Smith in his book"The Wealth of Nations". The more profits he makes, the more help he can hire. As a result, an increase in private entrepreneurs' profits is the foundation for an increase in collective wealth and prosperity.

Smith claimed that the selfish human desire to increase private profits is the foundation of collective wealth and is one of the most revolutionary ideas in human history. Revolutionary not only from an economic standpoint but even more so from a moral and political standpoint. Smith contends that greed is good and that becoming richer benefits everyone, not just himself. Egoism is synonymous with altruism.Capitalism started as a theory about how the economy works. It was both descriptive and prescriptive in that it explained how money worked while also promoting the idea that reinvesting profits in production leads to rapid economic growth. But capitalism evolved into much more than an economic doctrine. It now includes an ethic, which is a set of teachings on how people should behave, educate their children, and even think. Its central tenet is that economic growth is the ultimate good, or at least a proxy for it because economic growth is necessary for justice, freedom, and even happiness.

1.3   Different Phases of Capitalism

Capitalism in its modern form can be traced back to the early Renaissance when agrarian capitalism and mercantilism emerged in city-states such as Florence. For centuries, capital has existed on a small scale in the form of merchant, renting, and lending activities, as well as small-scale industry with some wage labour. Simple commodity exchange, and thus simple commodity production, which is the initial basis for capital growth from trade, have a long history. Arabs promoted capitalist economic policies such as free trade and banking during the Islamic Golden Age. Their use of Indo-Arabic numerals made bookkeeping easier. These innovations made their way to Europe via trade partners in cities like Venice and Pisa.Fibonacci, an Italian mathematiciantraveled the Mediterranean speaking with Arab traders before returning to popularise the use of Indo-Arabic numerals in Europe.

Agrarian Economy

As the manorial system broke down and land began to be concentrated in the hands of fewer landlords with increasingly large estates, the economic foundations of the feudal agricultural system began to shift significantly in 16th-century England. Rather than a serf-based labour system, workers were increasingly employed as part of a larger and expanding money-based economy. The system put pressure on both landlords and tenants to increase agricultural productivity in order to profit; the aristocracy's weakened coercive power to extract peasant surpluses encouraged them to try better methods. Land rents were increasingly being determined by economic market forces rather than the previous stagnant system of custom and feudal obligation.

Mercantilism

Mercantilism was the economic doctrine that prevailed from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The Age of Discovery was associated with merchant traders, particularly from England and the Low Countries, geographically exploring foreign lands. Mercantilism was a profit-seeking trading system. Though commodities were still largely produced using non-capitalist methods. The era of merchant capitalism and mercantilism, according to most scholars, is the origin of modern capitalism. Although Karl Polanyi argued that the establishment of generalized markets for what he called "fictitious commodities," i.e. land, labor, and money. As a result, he contended that because a competitive labor market was not established in England until 1834, industrial capitalism as a social system cannot be said to have existed before that date.

During the Elizabethan period, England began a large-scale and comprehensive approach to mercantilism. Thomas Mun argued that England's Treasure by Foreign Trade or the Balance of Our Foreign Trade is the Rule of Our Treasure, making public a systematic and coherent explanation of trade balance. It was composed in the 1620s and first published in 1664.European merchants made the majority of their profits by buying and selling goods, aided by state controls, subsidies, and monopolies. The purpose of mercantilism, according to Francis Bacon, was the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufacturers; the banishing of idleness.It was the repression of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulation of prices.

Following the proto-industrialization period, the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company, with massive contributions from Mughal Bengal, launched an expansive era of commerce and trade. These corporations were distinguished by the colonial and expansionary powers granted to them by nation-states. Merchants who had traded during the previous stage of mercantilism invested capital in the East India Companies and other colonies during this period, seeking a return on investment.

Industrial Revolution and Capitalism

A group of economic theorists led by David Hume (1711-1776) and Adam Smith (1723-1790) challenged fundamental mercantilist doctrines in the mid-18th century. They believed that the world's wealth remained constant and that a state could only increase its wealth at the expense of another state.During the Industrial Revolution, industrialists supplanted merchants as the dominant factor in the capitalist system, causing the traditional handicraft skills of artisans, guilds, and journeymen to decline. During this time, the surplus generated by the rise of commercial agriculture encouraged increased agricultural mechanization. Industrial capitalism ushered in the factory system of manufacturing, characterized by a complex division of labor between and within work processes, as well as the routine of work tasks, and eventually established the capitalist mode of production's dominance.

The protectionist policy prescribed by mercantilism was eventually abandoned by industrial Britain. Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and John Bright (1811-1889), who was inspired by the Manchester School of thought, launched a tariff-cutting movement in the nineteenth century. With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the Navigation Acts in 1849, Britain adopted a less protectionist policy in the 1840s. Britain reduced tariffs and quotas in accordance with David Ricardo's free trade advocacy.

Modern forms of Capitalism

Capitalism spread across the globe as a result of broader globalization processes. By the early nineteenth century, a collection of loosely connected market systems had coalesced into a relatively integrated global system, accelerating processes of economic and other globalization. Late in the twentieth century, capitalism triumphed over centrally-planned economies to become the world's dominant economic system with the mixed economy as its dominant form in the industrialized western world.

Industrialization enabled low-cost production of household items through economies of scale, while rapid population growth ensured that commodities were in high demand. Eighteenth century imperialism shaped globalization in this period decisively.Following the conclusion of the British conquest of India and the First and Second Opium Wars, vast populations in Asia became eager consumers of European exports. During this time, Europeans colonized Sub-Saharan Africa

and the Pacific islands. European conquest of new parts of the globe, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, yielded valuable natural resources such as rubber, diamonds, and coal, and fueled trade and investment between European imperial powers, their colonies, and the United States.

In 1821, the United Kingdom formally adopted this standard. Canada arrived in 1853, Newfoundland in 1865, and the United States and Germany in 1873. New technologies such as the telegraph, transatlantic cable, radiotelephone, steamship, and railways enabled goods and information to travel around the world to unprecedented levels.From 1950 to the present, contemporary capitalist societies developed in the West, and this type of system continues to spread throughout the world—relevant examples began in the United States after the 1950s, France after the 1960s, Spain after the 1970s, Poland after 2015, and others. Capitalist markets are being considered at this time.The postwar boom ended in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the economy deteriorated as stagflation rose. Monetarism, a variant of Keynesianism that is more compatible with laissez-faire analyses, rose to prominence in the capitalist world during the administrations of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. Public and political interest began to shift away from Keynes' managed capitalism's so-called collectivist concerns and toward a focus on individual choice, dubbed "remarketized capitalism."

1.4   Imperialism

Historical Background

Imperialism is derived from the Latin term imperium. It literally means "to command." Imperialism is the policy or act of extending a country's power into other territories or gaining control over the politics or economy of another country.Imperialism is the naked assertion of power. ... "since your strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others", Joseph Conrad wrote in his 1902 novel "Heart of Darkness." They grabbed what they could in order to obtain what was to be obtained.In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine declared that the United States would defend the Americas against European imperialism. It laid the groundwork for continued US intervention in the Western Hemisphere. In 1898, the Spanish American War brought an end to Spain's colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere. Spain relinquished its claims to Cuba, and the United States assumed control of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. A few years later, it defeated Philippine nationalists.

Despite the fact that its people are U.S. citizens, the United States has not allowed Puerto Rico to become an independent nation or a full state of the Union. Between 1870 and 1900, European countries seized approximately 9 million square miles of territory in Africa and Asia, accounting for one-fifth of the world's landmass. During that time, imperialism affected approximately 150 million people. World War I was caused by European imperialism, as Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom relied on imperialism to build their wealth. The Austro-Hungarian Empire included countries bordering Russia in southeastern Europe. Germany's empire included the former French regions of Alsace and Lorraine, and Italy's empire included African countries.

On the Allied side, the Russian Empire included the majority of eastern Europe, including Serbia. The British Empire controlled countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, while the French Empire controlled Vietnam and the majority of northern Africa. When Germany and Austria-Hungary took over small countries like Bosnia and Morocco, the Allies felt threatened. Before World War I, conquered nations were experiencing an increase in nationalism. Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks were especially fed up with being treated as minorities in the Austro-Hungarian and German empires. Serbian nationalists desired the end of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. This drew in Russia and, eventually, the other Allies. To protect their empires, they resorted to militarism, and the results were disastrous.

Imperialism, also known as empire building, is the practice of a nation imposing its rule or authority over other nations by force. Imperialism which typically involves the unprovoked use of military force, has historically been regarded as morally unacceptable. As a result, accusations of imperialism, whether true or false, are frequently used in propaganda opposing a country's foreign policy.

- Imperialism is the expansion of a nation's authority over other nations through land acquisition and/or economic and political dominance.

- The colonization of the Americas between the 15th and 19th centuries, as well as the expansion of the United States, Japan, and European powers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, typify the Age of Imperialism.
- Many indigenous societies and cultures have been destroyed by imperialistic expansion throughout history.

1.5   Functions of Imperialism

Imperialism regards economics as a "zero-sum" game in which the world's wealth is limited. According to this theory, someone must become poorer in order for someone else to become richer. Imperialism justifies forceful expansion by citing social Darwinism, or "survival of the fittest." According to J.A. Hobson, an early twentieth-century economist, in his book "Imperialism: A Study," history has shown that imperialism frequently exploits the conquered country's resources. This could be the economic justification for establishing an empire by controlling other countries.Because nature is viewed as nothing more than a resource to be exploited for the lowest possible price, imperialism has also contributed to climate change. If businesses in the developed world are to thrive in a zero-sum economy, someone else must suffer from reduced resources or pollution.

Objective of Imperialism

Historians divide imperialism's supporters into four or five categories: economic, cultural, political or strategic, and moral or religious.

Economic: Proponents argue that acquiring goods such as cotton, silk, tobacco, gold, and land, as well as access to trade routes, is advantageous.

Cultural: This motive regards some groups as superior to others and thus capable of ruling over them.

Political or Strategic: Nations seek to control as much territory as possible in order to protect themselves from potential threats and to establish their power.

Moral or Religious: This motive claims that it will protect people from the dangers of an oppressive government or religion, usually by imposing a different one.

1.6   Periodization of Imperialism

For hundreds of years, imperialistic takeovers have occurred all over the world. It occured with the colonization of America being one of the most notable examples. While the nature of colonization in the America between the 15th and 19th centuries differed from the late 19th and early 20th-century expansion of the United States, Japan, and European powers, both periods are examples of imperialism.Imperialism has evolved since prehistoric clans competed for scarce food and resources, but it has retained its bloody roots. Many cultures have suffered under the dominance of their imperialist conquerors throughout history, with many indigenous societies being intentionally or unintentionally destroyed.

An unending succession of empires defined the histories of ancient China, Western Asia, and the Mediterranean. The tyrannically authoritarian Assyrian Empire was replaced by the more socially liberal and long-lasting Persian Empire between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. The Persian Empire eventually gave way to ancient Greek imperialism. Imperialism peaked under Alexander the Great from 356 to 323 BCE. While Alexander succeeded in uniting the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia, his vision of the world as a "cosmopolis". According to which all citizens coexisted peacefully remained a pipe dream until the Romans built their empire from Britain to Egypt.The idea of imperialism as a force for unification faded quickly after the fall of Rome in 476 BCE. As imperialism became a divisive force it would remain in the modern world. European and Asian nations that arose from the ashes of the Roman Empire pursued their own imperialist policies. Three periods of vast imperialism and aggressive colonialism would characterize the modern era. From the 15th to the 18th centuries, England, France, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain established empires in America, India, and the East Indies. A strong anti-imperialism reaction

resulted in nearly a century of relative calm in empire building. The period between the middle of the nineteenth century and World War I (1914– 1918) was marked by a rapid spread of imperialism.

As indirect, particularly financial, control came to be preferred over direct military intervention, Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan, and the United States emerged as new imperialistic states. Following World War I, the League of Nations' promise of a peaceful world caused another brief pause in imperialism. Japan's empire-building campaign resumed in 1931 when it invaded China. A new era of imperialism dominated the 1930s and 1940s, led by Japan and Italy under Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party, Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler, and the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin.

1.7   Theories of Imperialistic Justification

A broader definition of imperialism is the extension or expansion of a nation's authority or rule over territories not currently under its control, usually through the use of military force. This is accomplished through direct land acquisition and or economic and political dominance. Empires do not incur the costs and risks of imperialistic expansion unless their leaders believe there is ample justification. Throughout recorded history, imperialism has been justified by one or more of the five theories listed below.

1. Conservative Economic Theory

The more developed country views imperialism as a means of sustaining its already prosperous economy and stable social order. The dominant nation is able to sustain its employment rate and redirect any social conflicts of its urban populations into its colonial territories by securing new captive markets for its exported goods. Historically, this rationale embodies the dominant nation's assumption of ideological and racial superiority.

2. Liberal Economic Theory

The dominant nation's growing wealth and capitalism result in the production of more goods than its population can consume. Its leaders see imperialism as a way to cut costs while increasing profits by balancing production and consumption. As an alternative to imperialism, the wealthier nation may choose to address its under-consumption problem through liberal legislative means such as wage control.

3. Marxist-Leninist Economic Theory

Socialist leaders such as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin opposed liberal legislative strategies to combat under-consumption because they would inevitably take money away from the middle class of the dominant state, resulting in a world divided into wealthy and poor countries. Lenin blamed World War I on capitalist-imperialist ambitions and advocated for a Marxist form of imperialism instead.

4. Political Theory

Imperialism is the unavoidable result of wealthy nations' attempts to maintain their positions in the world's balance of power. According to this theory, the true goal of imperialism is to reduce a country's military and political vulnerability.

5. The Warrior Class Theory

Imperialism serves no practical economic or political purpose. Instead, it is a meaningless reenactment of the age-old behaviour of nations whose political processes have become dominated by a "warrior" class. Initially created to meet a genuine need for national defence, the warrior class eventually creates crises that can only be resolved through imperialism in order to sustain its existence.

1.8   Capitalism Versus Imperialism

Imperialism and colonialism are inextricably linked, but imperialism can exist without colonialism if the invading country does not send settlers.While both imperialism and colonialism result in one nation's political and economic dominance over others, there are subtle but significant differences between the two systems. In essence, colonialism is the physical practice of global expansion, whereas imperialism is the concept that underpins this practice. In a simple cause-and-effect relationship, imperialism is the cause and colonialism is the effect.In its most common form, colonialism entails the permanent relocation of people to a new territory. Once established, the settlers maintain their loyalty and allegiance to their mother country while working to harness the resources of the new territory for the benefit of that country's economy. In contrast, imperialism is simply the use of military force and violence to impose political and economic control over a conquered nation or nation.

For example, during the 16th and 17th centuries, British colonization of America evolved into imperialism when King George III stationed British troops in the colonies to enforce ever more restrictive economic and political regulations imposed on the colonists. Objections to Britain's increasingly imperialistic actions led to the American Revolution.Others, however, argue that capitalism does not always lead to imperialism. When the factors of production—entrepreneurship, capital goods, natural resources, and labor—are not owned by the government, capitalism emerges. The owners profit from their property. A market economy is required for capitalism. The market determines prices and distributes goods and services in accordance with supply and demand laws. According to the law of demand, a product's price rises as demand for it rises. When competitors realize they can make a higher profit, they increase production.

This can also help to attract new businesses. The increased supply drives down prices to the point where only the best competitors remain. However, in a pure free market, these competitors will not be able to maintain their position unless they continue to innovate and increase efficiency. Imperialism has been demonstrated by a number of non-capitalistic countries. In order to develop Tibet's resources, Communist China forcibly annexed it in 1951 and sent Chinese volunteers to colonize it. China has also invested billions of dollars to extract resources in African nations, claiming natural resources in the name of "partnership" while failing to develop local communities.

Summary

Imperialism had a negative impact on the colonies. Native culture and industry were destroyed under foreign rule. Local craft industries were wiped out by imported goods. Colonial powers prevented colonies from developing industries by using them as sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods.According to Karl Marx, the expansion of imperialism was directly related to the growth of capitalism for one fundamental reason: capitalism was a global system that could not be contained within the borders of a single country or nation-state.Throughout history, capitalism has been criticized for a variety of reasons. Among them are the unreliability and insecurity of capitalist growth, the production of social harms such as pollution and inhumane worker treatment, and forms of inequality attributed to capitalism such as mass income disparity.

Keywords

Allied Powers: The countries that allied against the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) in World War I or the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) in World War II were known as Allied powers.

Axis Powers:Axis powers, the coalition led by Germany, Italy, and Japan that fought against the Allies during World War II.

Commercialization: The process of bringing new products or services to market is known as commercialization.

Historiography: Historiography is the study of history and history methodology as a discipline.

League of Nations: The League of Nations was the first global intergovernmental organization whose primary goal was to keep the world at peace.

Monopoly: The seller has no competition in a monopoly market because he is the sole seller of goods with no close substitutes.

Political Economy: Political economists are responsible for determining how the government affects the market. The concept of wealth distribution within a country is a good example.

Self Assessment

1. In 1905, the human population was approximately____
A. 1.5 Billion
B. 2.0 Billion
C. 2.5 Billion
D. 3.0 Billion

2. Capitalism is a Latin term derived from the word___
A. Capitel
B. Capitela
C. Capitulu
D. Capitale

3. Capital words first appeared to refer to funds, stocks of merchandise, etc., in the centuries___
A. 11-12th
B. 12-13th
C. 13-14th
D. 14-15th

4. 'Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, is the work of___
A. David Arnold
B. David George
C. David Ricardo
D. None of the Above

5. The term private capitalism was coined by___
A. Karl Marx
B. Carl Adolph Bouai
C. Karl Mannheim
D. All are Correct

6. There are how many school of thoughtin the historiography of capitalism?
A. One
B. Two
C. Three
D. Four

7. Who is the author of the book "The Wealth of Nations"?
A. Adam Smith
B. Steve Smith
C. Adam Anderson
D. All options are Correct

8. Mercantilism was the doctrine of___
A. Economic
B. Political
C. Cultural
D. Interregional

9. Imperialism is derived from the Latin word imperium. The meaning of this term is___
A. To Observe
B. To Realize
C. To Command
D. To Dominate

10. Among the following, in 1823 who stated that the that the United States would defend the Americas against European imperialism
A. Monroe
B. Gramsci
C. Arnold
D. Sarkar

11. Survival of the Fittest theory was given by___
A. Charles Darwin
B. Charles Prince
C. Karl Marx
D. David Arnold

12. Who is the author of the book "Imperialism: A Study"?
A. Adam Smith
B. Max Weber
C. Antonio Gramsci
D. J. A. Hobson

13. Empire building campaign of Japan was resumed in the year___
A. 1930
B. 1931
C. 1932
D. 1933

14. Among the following who was the chief leader of the Nazy Party?
A. Benito Mussolini
B. Pierre Saraffa
C. Tatiana Schutch
D. Adolf Hitler

15. Among the following who was the chief leader of the Fascist Party?
A. Adolf Hitler
B. Julia Schutch
C. Adolf Eichmann
D. Benito Mussolini

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	D	3.	B	4.	C	5.	B
6.	B	7.	A	8.	A	9.	C	10.	A

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11. A   12. D   13. B   14. D   15. D

Review Questions

1. Discuss the origin and development of capitalism in the modern world.
2. Critically evaluate various phases of capitalism.
3. What do you mean by imperialism? Write the functions and periodization of imperialism.
4. Describe the theories of justification for imperialism.
5. Write the similarities and differencesbetween capitalism and imperialism.

Further Readings

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Unit 02: Legacy of the Nineteenth Century II

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Understand historical development and various interpretations of the term liberalism, socialism and nationalism.
- Know the various discourse regarding the ideas of liberalism, socialism and nationalism.
- Assess the meanings and definitions of these three ideas that varies according to time period and regions.
- Critically evaluate the importance of liberalism, nationalism, and socialism in the nineteenth century.

Introduction

Liberalism, nationalism, and socialism, three powerful ideologies emerging in the first half of the nineteenth century, combined to destroy the Old Order in Western Europe and shape its future.The birth of nationalism would appear to be much easier to locate at first, because Ferdinand Baldensperger discovered it printed in 1798, in the famous book Mdemoires pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme by exiled French priest, Jacques Barruel.For obvious reasons, the story of socialisme has been thoroughly researched. In this case, the formal creation, the morpho-logical birth, came at least a half-century before the semantic innovation and its lexical stabilisation, and foreign influence is more visible.Until the end of the eighteenth century, the word liberal was only used as an adjective and had two meanings: that which is worthy of a free man, such as education liberale and arts liberaux, and that which demonstrates a generous disposition, freely giving and openhanded, such as un maitre liberal and un don liberal.

2.1 Liberalism

In The Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, Robertson's friend and fellow Scot Adam Smith used the term "liberal" in a similar context. Smith claims that if all nations followed the liberal system of free exportation and free importation, they would be like one great cosmopolitan empire, and famines would be avoided.Smith's "liberal system" was concerned with more than just international trade. He used the term "liberal" to describe applying the same principles to domestic policy issues. Smith was a strong opponent of labour market restrictions, favouring contract freedom and wishing to see labour markets "resting on such liberal principles.

In other places, Smith makes an important distinction between regulating "the industry and commerce of a great country... on the same model as the departments of a public office"—that is, directing the economy as if it were an organization—and "allowing every man to pursue his own interest his own way, upon the liberal plan of equality, liberty, and justice." Smith is once again signalling the label "liberal" for the latter, which he favours, by drawing such a contrast.

Smith also praises a school of French economists, saying that "in representing perfect liberty as the only effectual expedient" for increasing national wealth, "its doctrine appears to be in every respect as just as it is generous and liberal." Natural liberty is at the heart of Smith's idea of liberal principles.All systems of preference or restraint are thus completely removed, and the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself on its own. Every man is free to pursue his own interests in his own way, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, and to compete with the industries and capital of any other man or order of men.

Natural liberty was not an axiom for Smith. He made exceptions to it and acknowledged doing so. Nonetheless, it is his main principle, and those who would violate it bear the burden of proof. Jeremy Bentham thanked Smith in an open letter in 1787 for teaching society the presumption of liberty. Bentham then challenged Smith on one of his exceptions, claiming that Smith had failed to meet the burden of proof by making an exception to natural liberty by endorsing an existing law establishing a maximum interest rate.Shortly after the publication of The Wealth of Nations, Robertson wrote to Smith, hailing it as an antidote to "illiberal arrangements" and declaring, "Your Book must necessarily become a Political or Commercial Code to all Europe, which must be frequently consulted by men both of Practice and Speculation." Robertson's prediction, which was widely shared at the time, proved correct. And as Smith's system became more popular, so did his term for it. The term became well-known in British government circles, appearing on occasion in Parliamentary debate and even in King George III's address at the opening of Parliament in 1782.The term spread throughout Europe and the United States. Some scholars believe that the modern use of the term "liberal" originated on the European continent before spreading to the United Kingdom. However, using Google's scans of books in French, Spanish, Italian, and German, we can see that usage in these countries lags behind that of the United Kingdom. I wouldn't go as far as Arthur Herman does in the title of his excellent 2001 book, How the Scots Invented the Modern World, but Scots were the first to use the term "liberal" in a political context.

2.2 Historical Development of Liberalism

Liberalism did not start out as a self-aware social and political movement. This is evidenced by the fact that the term "liberal" did not enter the political vocabulary until the early 1800s, more than a century after what we now call liberalism became a significant force in political thought and action."Liberal" became a label applied to those who desired a more tolerant and open society—a society in which members would be free to pursue their own ideas and interests with as little interference as possible. This occurred for the first time in Spain when a faction of the Spanish Cortes of 1810-1811 adopted the name Liberales. The term quickly spread to France and Great Britain, where the Whig Party evolved into the Liberal Party by the 1840s.

These self-styled liberals were understandably eager to claim descent from prominent political and intellectual figures—for example, Locke, Montesquieu, and Voltaire—as well as movements like the Protestant Reformation and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. They did this partly to gain credibility and support, a strategy used by political actors of all stripes, and partly to understand the foundations of their own beliefs.This meant that anyone who advocated for individual liberty and opposed various restrictions on that liberty could claim to be a liberal, even if they couldn't use the term to describe themselves. This meant, in particular, that the original liberals were those who reacted to two features of medieval European society: religious conformity and ascribed status.

When Martin Luther lit the spark that ignited the Reformation, he had no intention of encouraging people to believe and worship in whatever way they saw fit, nor of separating church and state. Apparently, he assumed that everyone who read the Bible—which he and his colleagues made easier by translating it into German for the first time—would only understand it as he did.However, contrary to Luther's expectations, his proclamation of the "priesthood of all believers," with its emphasis on individual conscience, opened the floodgates to a plethora of Bible interpretations and Protestant sects. Separation of church and state followed as the reformers' challenge to the universal authority of the Roman Church allowed secular authorities to expand their power at the expense of the Church. With Parliament's approval, Henry VIII of England established a national church, with himself at the helm.

Liberalism and Revolution

It's no coincidence that the 17th and 18th centuries are associated with revolutions and the rise of liberalism. In fact, the term "revolution" first appeared in political jargon in 17th-century England, when it was borrowed from astronomy to refer to a return, or revolving back, to a previous position or condition.However, by the time of the French Revolution, the term "revolution" meant something new and daring—a complete transformation of social order. Liberal ideas aided this revolution, as they did earlier revolutions in England and its North American colonies.The English revolution occurred in two acts, beginning with the civil war of the 1640s. Pen and ink were as important in this war as bullets and swords. From every angle, there was a flood of pamphlets, treatises, sermons, and even major works of political theory. Among the latter was Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan, the first book of philosophical significance to bear the distinctive stamp of liberalism.

The French Revolution began as an attempt to transform France into a liberal society in all of these ways. To many historians, not just Marxists, the Revolution was primarily an uprising of the bourgeoisie, because it was the bourgeoisie in particular who resented the opportunities denied them by aristocratic privilege. They desired a society that valued talent and achievement and allowed men to prove their worth through competition, including economic competition.Many liberals began to argue, in their efforts to remove barriers to individual liberty, that economic exchanges are essentially a private matter between profit-seeking individuals. This emphasis on private profit ran counter to much of the Christian and republican traditions, neither of which valued privacy or profits highly. However, the 1700s produced some forceful statements of the argument that people should be free to pursue their private interests—for example, Bernard Mandeville's Fable of the Bees (1714) and the French physiocrats, who summarised their views in the phrase, Laissez faire, laissez passer."

Picture: The Philadelphia Convention in 1787 established a federal republic with three equal branches of government

2.3   Liberalism in Nineteenth Century

Perhaps the best way to describe these new directions is to say that during the nineteenth century, the liberal attitude toward democracy and government changed. Whereas earlier liberals spoke the language of equality, liberal thinkers in nineteenth-century England went on to call for the expansion of the franchise; and where earlier liberals saw government as a "necessary evil," in Paine's words, some in the nineteenth century came to see it as a necessary ally in the struggle to promote individual liberty. Utilitarianism in general, and John Stuart Mill in particular, were crucial in both cases.Jeremy Bentham, the founder of the Philosophic Radicals, or Utilitarians, died in 1832, the year of the Reform Bill, which gave middle-class males in England the right to vote. Bentham had worked for the bill's passage, but he preferred a more democratic franchise—a vote for all men, and perhaps (he was not certain) for all women as well. He gradually came to this conclusion, guided by his belief in the utility principle. "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure," Bentham observed.

Bentham and his associate, James Mill, qualified their enthusiasm for a democratic franchise on occasion—Mill once suggested that denying the vote to women, men under 40, and the poorest one-third of the population would still allow for full representation of social interests—but they were still at the forefront of their time. John Stuart Mill, Mill's son, raised the issue in the mid-1800s. Mill advocated for adult suffrage as a staunch supporter of women's rights, including the right to vote. However, there were qualifications in his case as well, the most significant being the scheme of plural voting he propozed in Considerations on Representative Government (1861).By appealing to the elevating qualities of political participation, Mill recommended representative democracy as the best possible form of government. Political participation, he claimed, exercises the mental and moral faculties, promoting intelligence, discipline, and devotion to the public good. To reap the greatest benefits from this exercise, society must extend the right to political participation to nearly all adult citizens. However, it would be foolish to trust everyone, including the ignorant working class, and as the welfare state emerged, neoclassical liberalism began to fade.Furthermore, in the industrial world, the days of the entrepreneur appeared to have given way to the days of the corporation, trust, syndicate, and conglomerate. The industry had become "big business," and many people began to advocate for government intervention in the marketplace, not to limit competition, but to keep large corporations from choking it off. As a result of these developments, welfare liberalism gradually became known simply as liberalism.

2.4   Various Perspectives on Liberalism

Political doctrines are explicit views on politics and the role of the government. Several thinkers defined political ideas as the nature, structure, and role of the state. However, distinguishing between old and new ideas is not required for new ideas to be accepted in the political realm.Liberalism is a political and philosophical ideology that seeks to establish individual liberty, consent, and equality. Based on their understanding of this ideology, different liberals hold a wide range of views. Individual rights, including civil and human rights, are prioritized among these perspectives. It also supports freedom of expression, religious conscience, and the press, thus defining secularism and democracy. To define liberalism more precisely, one must first comprehend the role, nature, and function of state power.

Individualism and Liberty

Liberalism is fundamentally a libertarian ideology. Its devotion to individual liberty is undeniable. It has evolved into libertarianism. Liberty, according to liberals, is the very essence of human personality. It is a tool for personal growth.

Individual Centric

Liberalism begins and ends with the individual. For liberals, the individual is the focal point of all activities; the individual is the end, while all other associations, including the state, are the means to that end. All things revolve around the individual.

Capitalism and Economy

Liberalism advocates a free-market economy, also known as capitalism. It believes in a private property system, with property rights held sacred; maximum profit as the only motive; a capitalistic mode of production and distribution as the only essence; and market forces as the economic controlling means.

Limitation of State

The concept of a limited state is advocated by liberalism. Liberals see the state as a tool for achieving individual well-being. They are opposed to all forms of totalitarianism. They believe that a more powerful state equates to a less free individual. "Because the functions of the state are limited, so are its powers," Locke used to say.

Against Superstitions

Because liberalism arose as a reaction to traditions/superstitions, it is inherently opposed to all reactionary measures. Liberalism, which emerged from the Renaissance and Reformation, stood for reason and rationalism and continues to do so. In contrast to the feudal model of man as a passive being, liberalism favours a more active and acquisitive man.

Democracy

Liberalism advocates democratic government. It seeks to establish a government of, by, and for the people; a government that operates in accordance with the Constitution and constitutionalism; a government that upholds the rule of law; and a government that protects the people's rights and liberties. McGovern defines liberalism as a synthesis of democracy and individualism.

Concept of Welfare

Welfarism is closely associated with liberalism. Welfarism, as a state activity, is the belief that the state works for the people's welfare. The liberal concept of government activity is one in which the government serves the people. In other words, the welfare state is a state that provides "social services."

2.5   Socialism

Socialism is a populist economic and political system based on collective, common, or public ownership of productive assets. These production means include the machinery, tools, and factories used to manufacture goods that directly satisfy human needs. Unlike capitalism, in which business owners own the means of production and pay workers to use them, socialism envisions shared ownership and control among the working class.In a purely socialist system, the collective makes all production and distribution decisions, guided by a central planner or government body. Worker cooperatives, on the other hand, are a type of socialized production. Socialist systems typically have strong welfare systems and social safety nets, requiring individuals to rely on the state for everything from food to healthcare. The output and pricing levels of these goods and services are determined by the government. Socialists argue that shared resource ownership and central planning result in a more equitable distribution of goods and services and a more equitable society.

In contrast to capitalism, socialism entails common ownership of the means of production rather than private ownership; planned production for use rather than anarchic production for profit. The inefficiency, waste, irrationality, and injustice of Capitalism became clear to thinking people with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the growth of the factory system. Beginning around the year 1800, the evils of capitalism were made public in both England and France through pamphlets, books, and speeches.Socialists saw the need to place the means of production in the hands of the community as opposed to a specific social class. That is, they sought to socializethe industry. According to them, exploitation would be eliminated as a result, and a better society would be created.

Understanding Socialism

Under socialism, common ownership can take the form of technocratic, oligarchic, totalitarian, democratic, or even voluntary rule. The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.), also known as the Soviet Union, is a prominent historical example of a socialist country, albeit one run by communists. Socialism is sometimes referred to as a utopian or "post-scarcity" system due to its practical difficulties and poor track record, though modern adherents believe it could work if properly implemented. They argue that socialism creates equality and security because a worker's value is determined by the amount of time they work rather than the value of what they produce, whereas capitalism exploits workers for the benefit of the wealthy.

The disintegration of the USSR and the dismantling of the socialist system in some East European countries during the last decade of the twentieth century were significant developments in the international situation. These have resulted in a shift in the international correlation of forces that currently favor imperialism. However, these setbacks and reverses to global socialism do not invalidate either the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism or the socialist ideal.Subsequent world events only serve to confirm that socialism is the only viable option for ensuring humanity's true and total liberation. This, on the other hand, would be a struggle, one with ups and downs. Nonetheless, the historical trajectory of human civilization would point toward the abolition of class exploitation in a class-divided society, i.e., towards socialism.

The establishment of the Soviet Union was the first step in human history toward the establishment of a society free of class exploitation. The rapid advances of socialism, the transformation of a once backward economy into a mighty economic and military bulwark confronting imperialism, had confirmed the socialist system's superiority. The Soviet Union's struggle to build socialism is an epic saga of human endeavour.This continues to be an inspiration to all people around the world who are fighting for social emancipation. The USSR's decisive role in the defeat of fascism and the subsequent emergence of East European socialist countries had a profound impact on global developments. The defeat of fascism provided a decisive impetus to the process of decolonization, which saw countries liberated from colonial exploitation. The historical triumphs of the Chinese revolution, the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle, the Korean people's struggle, and the triumph of the Cuban revolution all had a huge impact on world events.

The socialist countries' achievements – the abolition of poverty and illiteracy, the abolition of unemployment, and the vast network of social security in the fields of education, health, and housing, among others – provided a powerful impetus to working people all over the world in their struggles.World capitalism responded to this challenge to its order by enacting welfare measures and granting workers rights that it had never previously granted. The entire concept of a welfare state and social security network created in post-second world war capitalist countries was a result of the struggles of working people in these countries inspired by socialism's achievements. The democratic rights that are now regarded as inalienable from human civilization are also the result of people's struggles for social transformation, rather than the charity of bourgeois class rule.

2.6   Historical Evaluation of Socialism

Socialism has existed since the dawn of human civilization as a system of shared resources and collective production. Tribal or clan-based societies would frequently work together for the common good, producing enough food and supplies for the entire population. Collective agriculture has been practiced for thousands of years. In many places, this was replaced by a feudal system in which landed nobility (lords) ruled over peasants (serfs) who worked the land but did not own it.

The intellectual roots of socialism can be traced back to Plato's "Republic," in which he described a collective society. Centuries later, in its depiction of an imaginary island where people live and work communally, Thomas More's "Utopia" echoed Platonic ideals. However, socialism was a direct reaction to the Industrial Revolution, which brought massive economic and social change to the United Kingdom and the rest of the world. As industrialists became wealthy through the labour of workers who were increasingly living in poverty, socialism emerged as an alternative to capitalism that could improve the lives of the working class.

Modern socialism arose in response to the excesses and abuses of liberalism and capitalism. Western European countries experienced rapid industrial production and compound economic growth under early capitalist economies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Some people and families became wealthy quickly, while others fell into poverty, resulting in income inequality and other social issues. Early socialist thinkers included Robert Owen and Henri de Saint-Simon, as well as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, it was primarily Lenin who expanded on the ideas of earlier socialists and helped bring socialist planning to the national level.Following the failure of socialist central planning in the former Soviet Union and Maoist China in the twentieth century, many modern socialists embraced a high regulatory and redistributive system known as market socialism or democratic socialism.

Groups of Socialism

There are three groups of socialism:

Utopian Socialism

A British factory owner named Robert Owen, moved by the misery and poverty of the working class, improved the working conditions for his employees. Owen built houses near his cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, and rented them out at low rates. He prohibited children under the age of ten from working in mills and provided free education. He traveled to the United States in 1824 and established a cooperative community in New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. He envisioned this community as a utopia or perfect living environment.

Thus, utopian socialists sought to put socialism into practise by setting up model socialist communities in which workers were treated with dignity and income distribution was more equitable. Robert Owen was the most prominent of the nineteenth-century utopians, but all of his ventures failed due to internal disputes.

Revolutionary or Marxist Socialism

The failure of utopian socialist experiments, combined with the lack of democracy in most of Europe, led some socialists to believe that revolution was the only viable path to power. They were convinced that capitalists would never allow socialism to succeed. Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German journalist, introduced the world to a radical type of socialism known as Marxism. Marx and Friedrich Engels outlined their ideas in The Communist Manifesto, a 23-page pamphlet.Marx and Engels argued in their manifesto that human societies have always been divided into warring classes. These were the middle-class "haves" or employers known as the bourgeoisie, and the "have-nots" or workers known as the proletariat. While the wealthy controlled the means of production, the poor were forced to perform backbreaking labor in deplorable conditions. Conflict arose as a result of this situation.

Democratic Socialism

Contrary to Karl Marx's predictions, many European powers eventually legalized labour unions and granted the working class voting rights.These two developments resulted in the formation of democratic socialist parties based on the Fabian Society's principles. It rejected the notion that only revolution could bring about social change.

The Fabian Society is a British socialist organization whose mission is to advance socialism's principles through gradualist and reformist rather than revolutionary means. It is best known for its early groundbreaking work, which began in the late 1800s and continued until World War I.The First World War was one of the major events that divided democratic and revolutionary socialists. During the conflict, democratic socialist parties supported their respective liberal and authoritarian governments, prompting revolutionary socialist parties (such as the Bolsheviks in Russia) to condemn them as imperialist tools. The democratic socialists maintained their own forum, the Socialist International. This schism within the international socialist movement was never healed. In fact, as the twentieth century progressed, the revolutionary socialists became more ideologically and politically divided.

Syndicalism is another form of social control based on trade union organization, and it is regarded as the institution of a new society as well as the means to bring it into force. It adopts Marxian beliefs about the abolition of private ownership as a means of development and also gives producers control over the state's economic and political affairs. Syndicalism is regarded as a more important product of workers than any other form of socialism and is heavily emphasized.Workers will have a stronger personal stake in the plant's operation if they own and control the industry in which they work. They have more freedom in this manner than the capitalistic system provides.

Guild Socialism

Guild socialism aimed to abolish the wage system and establish worker self-government in the industry through a democratic system of national guilds that collaborated with other democratic functional organizations in the community. G. developed and popularised the theory of guild

socialism. In 1915, D. H. Cole founded the National Guilds League.It is closely associated with syndicalism. The administration was not intended to be as democratic as other types of socialism. According to Guild socialists, the industry should be managed by technical experts rather than unskilled laborers. In addition, the consumer's interests were to be considered. They advocated for state ownership of industry in conjunction with worker control via delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines.

2.7   Nationalism

It is difficult to imagine a world without nations in the twenty-first century. The concept of a nation-state, on the other hand, did not emerge until the late 18th century. Until the French Revolution, political unity was based on empires, fiefdoms, and tribal allegiances. Nationalism emerged as a political concept in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In world history, nationalism was defined as societal unity based on shared ethnic traits such as language, beliefs, and traditions. This is referred to as classical nationalism.Nationalism arose from 19th-century liberalism, which favoured republican governments over monarchies and placed political power in the hands of citizens who recognized a national, multicultural state. In this latter case, it is referred to as liberal nationalism, and it is concerned with the unity of a nation based on shared allegiance to a political representative, rather than unity based on shared ethnicity.

Historical Background of Nationalism

The history of nationalism over the last two centuries has revealed notable patterns. Leaders use a variety of strategies to unify groups under one nation-state in an effort to unite people across the territory. Nation-states with strong nationalism exhibit the development of national symbols, common identity, and expressions of loyalty. For example, the eagle was a powerful symbol in ancient Rome that was resurrected with Christian meaning and adopted by both Germany and the United States.

Nationalism has led to multicultural democracies in countries throughout history, including India, Ghana, and Kenya, though it should be noted that these countries have also experienced varying degrees of intercultural violence. Fascist Nazi Germany, at its most extreme, appropriated and modified the ancient Hindu swastika. While the original symbol meant "good luck" (and still does in some parts of India), the German Nazi party changed both the direction and meaning of the symbol to represent inaccurate notions of a perfect Germanic (via Aryan) bloodline. Taking this a step further, Nazi Germany targeted non-Aryan Germans (e.g., Jews) and demanded loyalty to the Nazi party regardless of whether German citizens sympathized with their actions.

French Revolution and Nationalism

The 18th-century Enlightenment inspired republicanism, the idea that people should have a say in their government and inspired the French people to demand the ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. This nationalist slogan captured the attention of the French people, who were ruled by a monarch and divided into three classes known as estates. When the First and Second Estates locked out the Third Estate from the National Assembly, they reconvened on the tennis court at Versailles to take The Tennis Court Oath, promising unity until King Louis XVI approved a new constitution. Although the king implemented the reforms, he then dismantled them almost as soon as he implemented them.This resulted in the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, kicking off the French Revolution.

Picture: Liberty Leading the People by Delacroix

The French Revolution, like other examples of nationalism in world history, was marked by national symbols, shared identity, and expressions of loyalty. The French Revolution, in particular, used symbols such as the tricolor flag of red, blue, and white to represent Paris and the country of France as a whole. They also wore a red hat called a liberty cap, which symbolized unity and allegiance to a new regime. Marianne, a female symbol of the revolution and new France, also wore the liberty hat. Even within nations, self-identity can begin with the recognition of others' identities; thus, as France gained status as a nation, other regions of Europe on its borders did as well.Following the French Revolution, as Napolean, France's new leader sought to expand France's territory, these other regions of Europe united in nationalism.

Napoleon was a French military leader during the French Revolution who rose to power as First Consul after the Revolution. After a brief coup, he reclaimed power in 1800 and instituted reforms known as the Napoleonic Code. This code of laws allowed for religious freedom and the ability to obtain jobs based on merit, the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the state religion, and the prohibition of citizens gaining privileges based solely on birthright. It was also known to deny women's rights, which prompted many women of the time, such as Germaine de Stael, to lead the opposition to Napoleon. Despite some opposition, the Napoleonic Code was widely accepted, and he was elected First Consul for life in 1802.

By 1804, Napoleon had been crowned Emperor by a papal decree and blessing. The widespread French support for Napoleon and his code was instrumental in uniting France in a nationalist movement. Similarly, Napoleon's imperialist goals encroached on other countries surrounding France during the Napoleonic Wars, which lasted from 1803 to 1815. Other nations developed their own identities in response to French dominance, while also adopting some of the laws that granted liberty and freedom

2.8   Nationalism in Europe

What is now known as Germany, Italy, and Switzerland were divided into kingdoms, duchies, and cantons, each with its own ruler. Eastern and Central Europe were ruled by autocratic monarchies that housed a diverse population. They did not see themselves as having a shared identity or culture. They frequently spoke different languages and belonged to various ethnic groups.The Habsburg Empire, which ruled over Austria-Hungary, was a patchwork of various regions and peoples. It included the Alpine regions of Tyrol, Austria, and the Sudetenland, as well as Bohemia, where the aristocracy spoke German. The Italian-speaking provinces of Lombardy and Venetia were also included.

Half of the people in Hungary spoke Magyar, while the other half spoke a variety of dialects. The aristocracy in Galicia spoke Polish. Aside from these three dominant groups, the empire's borders were home to a swath of subject peasant peoples, including Bohemians and Slovaks to the north,

Slovenes in Carniola, Croats to the south, and Roumans in Transylvania to the east. Such differences made it difficult to foster a sense of political unity. The only thing that held these disparate groups together was their devotion to the emperor.National unity ideas were closely associated with liberalism ideology in early-nineteenth-century Europe. The term "liberalism" is derived from the Latin root liber, which means "freedom." For the new middle classes, liberalism meant individual liberty and equality before the law. Politically, it emphasized the concept of consent-based government. Since the French Revolution, liberalism has stood for the abolition of autocracy and clerical privileges, the establishment of a constitution, and the establishment of representative government through parliament. Private property was also emphasized by nineteenth-century liberals.

Following Napoleon's defeat in 1815, European governments were pushed by a conservative spirit. Conservatives believed that established, traditional institutions of state and society should be preserved, such as the monarchy, the Church, social hierarchies, property, and the family. Most conservatives, however, did not advocate a return to pre-revolutionary society. Rather, they realized, as a result of Napoleon's reforms, that modernization could actually strengthen traditional institutions such as the monarchy. It has the potential to increase the effectiveness and strength of state power. A modern army, an efficient bureaucracy, a dynamic economy, and the abolition of feudalism and serfdom could all help to strengthen Europe's autocratic monarchies.The conservative regimes established in 1815 were autocratic. They did not tolerate criticism or dissent and worked to limit activities that called into question the legitimacy of autocratic governments. Most of them imposed censorship laws to control what was said in newspapers, books, plays, and songs, and they reflected the libertarian and free-market ideas associated with the French Revolution. Nonetheless, the memory of the French Revolution inspired liberals. One of the major issues raised by the liberal-liberal nationalist's criticism of the new conservative order was press freedom.

Summary

Liberalism, socialism, and nationalism were the three most powerful ideologies that emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These ideologies came together to demolish Western Europe's previous order. Liberalism was the result of some kind of enlightenment through human thought. It believed that human progress was unavoidable. This is why it is believed that all humans should be treated equally before the law and that no one should be considered above the law.Socialism was a revolutionary doctrine that originated in France. In fact, almost all socialists originated in France. They saw the French Revolution, which occurred in 1789, and the Industrial Revolution, which occurred in England, as the beginning of societal change. They were, however, troubled by what they saw as the end result of the issue of societal transformation. Some of the issues that bothered them had to do with political competition and capitalism.After Napoleon's defeat, nationalism became as radical as liberalism's ideology. This ideology arose from an imagined or real cultural identity characterized by shared history, language, and territory. In other words, the main idea behind nationalism was to transform citizens' cultural identities into some kind of political identity in which people of similar origin would push similar agendas to help improve their society's economic standards.

Keywords

Community: A unified body of individuals: for example, people with common interests living in a specific area. In general: the area itself. the issues confronting a large community. a group of people who share a common trait or interest andlive together within a larger society.

Revolution: A large group of people took action to try to changea country's government, particularly through violent means.

Superstitions:A superstition is any belief or practice considered irrational or supernatural by non-practitioners, attributed to fate or magic, perceived supernatural influence, or fear of the unknown.

Self Assessment

1. Wealth of the Nations book was written by Adam Smith in the year___

A. 1774
B. 1776
C. 1778
D. 1780

2. Who among the following stated that 'Smith had failed to meet the burden of proof by making an exception to natural liberty by endorsing an existing law establishing a maximum interest rate'?
A. Jeremy Bentham
B. Isaac Newton
C. John Locke
D. John Stuart Mill

3. The term "revolution" first appeared in political jargon in the 17th century in a European country. The name of the country is___
A. Germany
B. Italy
C. England
D. Netherland

4. Glorious Revolution also known as Bloodless Revolution took place in England in the year___
A. 1688
B. 1689
C. 1690
D. 1691

5. Among the following choose correct answer.
A. Liberal Democracy is a Rule of People, by the People and for the People
B. Welfarism is Closely Associated with Liberalism
C. Both Options are Correct
D. Both Options are Incorrect

6. Socialism is a system___based on collective, common, or public ownership of productive assets.
A. Private and Economic System
B. Economic and Cultural System
C. Political and Educational System
D. Economic and Political System

7. Among the following which can be considered as the first step in human history toward the establishment of a society free of class exploitation
A. The Establishment of the Soviet Union
B. The Establishment of the United Kingdom
C. The Establishment of the USA
D. India's Freedom Struggle

8. Socialism means___
A. Private Ownership of Means of Production
B. Common Ownership of Means of Production
C. Both of the Above
D. None of the Above

9. Fabian Society was a socialist organization of___
A. French
B. Germany

C. England

D. Italy

10. National Guilds League was one of the socialist organizations. Who among the following founded the 'National Guilds League', in 1915?

A. D. H. Cole

B. E. H . Carr

C. W. H. Moreland

D. None of the Above

11. Nazy Party was founded in___

A. England

B. USA

C. UK

D. Germany

12. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity was the slogan of___

A. England Revolution

B. French Revolution

C. Chinese Revolution

D. All are Correct

13. Among the following which is not the European Country?

A. Japan

B. England

C. Poland

D. Germany

14. Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated in the war of Waterloo in the year___

A. 1810

B. 1815

C. 1820

D. 1825

15. Napoleon was a military leader of___

A. Russia

B. Britain

C. Prussia

D. French

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	B	2.	A	3.	C	4.	A	5.	C
6.	D	7.	A	8.	B	9.	C	10.	A
11.	D	12.	B	13.	A	14.	B	15.	D

Review Questions

1. Discuss the factors responsible for the emergence of liberalism in Europe.

2. Write a note on various stages of liberalism.

3. What do you mean by socialism? Describe the importance of socialism in making society egalitarian.

4. Describe various groups of socialism.

5. Critically evaluate the emergence of nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Further Readings

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Unit 03: World Order up to 1919- I

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Understand the socio-economic factors regarding the origin of the first world war.
- Know the historical importance and consequences of the first world war.
- Evaluate the role of the first world warthat made the background for the second world war.
- Grasp the knowledge about peace settlement and its long-term consequences.

Introduction

The First World War started with plans for quick victories. It degenerated into a four-year-long stalemate of mud and blood.The Great War (1914-1918) was an unfathomable tragedy. Few people in Europe or around the world realized how industrialization would alter warfare. Only a decade earlier, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) provided a glimpse of what mechanized weapons could do to both sides. The majority of the major combatants in the First World War—Britain, France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and later Italy and the United States—were entering a new and much deadlier battleground.The First World War, more than any previous conflict, was a war for which each country believed they were well prepared. Sure, ancient and medieval generals planned their armies' movements before battle, but this was usually after the war had begun.

3.1   First World War

For decades, generals in some countries had planned and war-gamed the First World War. Most military leaders recognized that the pace of warfare had changed and that railroads were a game changer that would accelerate everything. This meant that in order to gain an advantage or to arrive first, plans had to be in place and meticulously followed.The Schlieffen Plan, a German concept first proposed in 1891, was the most important plan in this war. It was based on the

assumption that a war would break out between Germany and both Russia and France. The planners recognized that fighting both opponents on opposite sides of Germany at the same time was extremely dangerous. However, they recognized that France, with its shorter distances and more modern railways, could deliver an army to Germany before Russia.It would take time to mobilize vast, under-industrialized Russia. As a result, the Germans devised a strategy to quickly invade France, knock them out of the war, and then turn around and fight Russia. The only problem was that the quickest way to eliminate France was through Belgium, and Britain had promised to protect Belgium. However, German planners hoped that the British would not actually intervene to defend this tiny country.

When the war started, the Schlieffen Plan went into effect almost immediately. Of course, the conflict began as a result of the crisis that followed Gavrilo Princip's assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914. As a result, the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia, and Russia sided with Serbia. Germany was forced to join their Austro-Hungarian allies in the war against Russia, and, as predicted by the Schlieffen Plan, France sided with their Russian allies.

Picture: Some Glimpses of the First World War

3.2   Causes of the First World War

The First World War began in the summer of 1914, shortly after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, and lasted more than four years, ending in 1918. The Great War killed over 20 million soldiers and injured another 21 million, owing to trench warfare and the number of countries involved. Understanding the causes of the First World War is just as important as understanding the conflict's devastation for aspiring historians. Though the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand was the direct precipitating event that led to the declaration of war, there were numerous other factors that contributed to First World War.

Expansion Policy of Europeans

Several European nations had empires across the globe in the 1900s, controlling vast swaths of land. Prior to the First World War, the British and French Empires were the most powerful in the world, colonizing countries such as India, modern-day Vietnam, and West and North Africa. The expansion of European nations as empires can be seen as a major cause of the First World Warbecause as countries such as Britain and France expanded their empires, tensions among European countries increased. The tensions arose as a result of many colonies being obtained through coercion.After a nation was conquered, it was governed by the imperial nation: many of these colonial nations were exploited by their mother countries, and dissatisfaction and resentment were common. As British and French expansionism continued, tensions between opposing empires such as Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire grew, resulting in the formation of the Allied Powers (Britain and France) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire) during the First World War.

Nationalism in Serbia

Nationalism was one of many political forces at work in the run-up to the First World War, with Serbian nationalism playing a key role. Serbian nationalism can be traced back to the mid-and late-1800s, but two precipitating events are directly linked to the outbreak of the First World War. Slavic Serbs in the Balkans sought independence from Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, and in 1878, they attempted to seize control of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to form a unified Serbian state. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Serbian nationalism grew, culminating in the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Bosnian Serb in 1914, officially launching the Great War.

The Assassination of Austria's Prince

Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria on June 28, 1914. Ferdinand was chosen as a target because he was to be the Austro-Hungarian Empire's heir. The Archduke was in Sarajevo on the day of his assassination to inspect imperial armed forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, former Ottoman territories acquired by Austria-Hungary in 1908. Princip opened fire on Ferdinand and his wife Sophie while they were riding in an open car in Sarajevo. Following the assassination, Austria-Hungary issued an ultimatum to Serbia, which was rejected, prompting Austria-Hungary to declare war on Serbia with German assistance. Russia then stepped in to defend Serbia, sparking the First World War.

Alliances and Conflicts

Prior to the First World War, countries throughout Europe formed alliances during the age of imperialism. The alliances guaranteed that if war broke out between an ally and another Great Power, each country would support the other. Prior to the First World War, there were strong alliances between Russia and Serbia, France and Russia, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Belgium, etc. The Triple Entente, an alliance formed in 1907 by France, Britain, and Russia, caused the most friction among nations. Germany saw the alliance that surrounded them as a threat to their power and existence.As tensions over alliances grew, pre-existing alliances led to other countries declaring war on one another in the face of conflict. These conflicts over alliances, which forced nations to defend one another, resulted in the formation of the two worlds' sides, the Allies and the Central Powers. At the start of the war, Italy and the United States joined the Allied Powers, which included Russia, France, and Great Britain. Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria alternated as the Central Powers.

The Blank Check Guarantee: German and Austria-Hungarian Plans

At the start of the First World War, Germany and Austria-Hungary formed an alliance known as the "blank check assurance." In the aftermath of Franz Ferdinand's assassination, Germany offered Austria-Hungary unconditional support during a meeting in July 1914 between members of the Austrian Foreign Ministry, the Ambassador to Berlin, the German Emperor, and the German Chancellor. Through unconditional support, this "blank check" sought military and political victory in securing the Balkans. It also gave Austro-Hungarian leaders the confidence they needed to go to war with Serbia.Historians consider it one of the most contentious decisions in modern warfare history, particularly because Germany failed to withdraw unconditional support when given the opportunity. It is also widely acknowledged as one of the primary reasons Germany is blamed for the escalation and continuation of the First World War.

Millenarianism in Germany: The Spirit of 1914

Millenarianism is the belief of a religious, political, or social group or movement that a major transformation is on the way that will change everything. Historians report that the Spirit of 1914 was high in Germany prior to the First World War, with widespread support from the German people for war participation. The German government saw the outbreak of war and its support for Austria-Hungary as a way to secure its position as a leading power, which was backed up by public nationalism and further united the country behind the monarchy. The Germans' success in the early battles of the First World War provided a platform for the German government to position itself as capable of more when unified and nationalistic.This millenarianism, however, was short-lived, as

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Germany was unprepared to fight the long war. This took a dramatic and demoralizing toll on its people and later laid the groundwork for the rise of the Third Reich less than two decades later.

Following the preceding events, the First World War erupted in full force from 1914 to 1918, ending with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles by the German and Central Forces and the Allied Powers. This treaty, however, imposed punitive measures on Germany, further destabilizing Europe and laying the groundwork for the outbreak of the Second World War. Historians can gain a better understanding of how and why the First World War began by studying the causes of the conflict.

Imperialism

Imperialism occurs when a country increases its power and wealth by gaining control of additional territories, usually without directly colonizing or resettling them. Prior to the First World War, several European countries made competing imperialistic claims in Africa and parts of Asia, creating flashpoints. Because of the raw materials, these areas could provide, there was a lot of debate about which country had the right to exploit them. The growing competition and desire for larger empires led to an increase in conflict, which helped propel the world into the First World War.

Fronts: Western and Eastern

On both fronts, the first month of combat was marked by daring attacks and quick troop movements. Germany launched an attack on Belgium and then France in the west. Russia launched an attack on both Germany and Austria-Hungary in the east. Austria-Hungary launched an attack on Serbia in the south. Following the Battle of the Marne (September 5–9, 1914), the western front became entrenched in central France and remained so throughout the war. The eastern fronts were also gradually locked in place.

Ottoman Empire

Late in 1914, the Ottoman Empire was dragged into the conflict after Germany duped Russia into believing Turkey had attacked it. As a result, Allied operations against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean dominated much of 1915. First, Britain and France launched a failed Dardanelles attack. The British invasion of the Gallipoli Peninsula followed this campaign. In Mesopotamia, Britain also launched a separate campaign against the Turks. Despite some successes in Mesopotamia, the Gallipoli campaign and the Dardanelles attacks resulted in British defeats.

Trench Warfare

The trench warfare in the east dominated the middle years of the war, 1916 and 1917. Both sides had dug trenches that ran from the North Sea through Belgium and France. Soldiers fought from dug-in positions, launching machine guns, heavy artillery, and chemical weapons at each other. "No Man's Land" was the area between the two enemy trench lines. This land was occasionally encumbered with barbed wire and land mines. The enemy trenches were usually between 50 and 250 yards apart. Despite the fact that millions of soldiers died in appalling conditions, neither side achieved significant success or gained an advantage.

3.3   Impact of the First World War and Europe

The First World War destroyed empires, established numerous new nation-states, and fueled independence movements in Europe's colonies. It forced the United States to become a world power, and directly contributed to the rise of Soviet communism and Hitler. Diplomatic alliances and promises made during the First World War, particularly in the Middle East, have also come back to haunt Europeans a century later. The balance of power approach to international relations has been shattered but not destroyed. It took the Second World War to mobilize enough political forces to launch a revolutionary new approach to inter-state relations.

Responsibility for the Great War is still hotly debated today, with the various combatants emphasizing very different aspects of the war. What is undeniable is the number of scientific, technological, and medical advances, as well as the revolutionary changes in social behavior that occurred as a result of the 1914-18 conflict. The aristocracy was either overthrown or had its role significantly reduced. The socialist and labor movements took advantage of the opportunity to make significant gains but so did communism and fascism. Germany was at the center of both failed experiments and was unable to achieve peaceful democratic unification until 1990.However, Germany's neighbors have not forgotten Germany's role in both World Wars. Thus the burden of history falls heavier on Germany's shoulders than on any other nation in Europe. Nonetheless, Germany has handled Vergangenheitsbewältigung better than any other state in history, including Japan and the Soviet Union/Russia. When considering the two calamitous wars of the twentieth century, Europeans should contrast and compare today's Germany with that of 1914 or 1939. Germany today, is part of the European Union. It is the most successful, progressive, and democratic state in its history. As the European Union serves as a safe anchor for Europe's most powerful state, all Europeans have a vested interest in its continued success.

Changes After First World War

The First World War had a terrible human cost. The war claimed the lives of over 16 million people, both military and civilian. A generation of young men was wiped out. In 1919, the year after the war ended, there were 15 women for every man between the ages of 18 and 30 in France. It's heartbreaking to think about all of the lost potentials, all of the writers, artists, teachers, inventors, and leaders who were killed in "the war to end all wars." Despite the fact that the First World War was extremely destructive, it also resulted in many new developments in medicine, warfare, politics, and social attitudes.

The nature of warfare was altered by the First World War. With aeroplanes, submarines, and tanks all playing important new roles, technology became an essential component in the art of war. In the postwar years, mass production techniques were developed the war for the construction of armaments revolutionized other industries. When the Germans used poisonous gas at Leper in 1915, they also used the first chemical weapons. A century later, the international community was attempting to prevent Syrian President Bashar al-Assad from employing chemical weapons against his own people. The Great War also resulted in mass armies based on conscription, which was a novel concept in Britain but not on the continent.It is ironic that the principle of universal military service was implemented in Britain without universal adult male suffrage. During the war, the first propaganda films were made, some of which were intended to rally US support for the Allies. Shoulder Arms, a Charlie Chaplin film, depicts the horrors of life at the front in vivid detail. The Nazis would later perfect propaganda films.

During the First World War, civil and military hospitals served as experimental medical intervention theatres, giving birth to modern surgery. Millions of veterans survived the war but were maimed, mutilated, or disfigured as a result. These were the 'broken faces,' whose plight was frequently alleviated by the development of skin grafts. Following the discovery in 1914 that blood could be prevented from clotting, blood banks were established. Doctors began to study the emotional stress of war as opposed to the physical stress of war as a result of the First World War. Common symptoms included shell shock and traumatic shock.Despite these insights and countless more sufferers during the Second World War. It wasn't until the Vietnam War that the condition was formally recognized as a post-traumatic stress disorder. It was also discovered in troops serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. It was frequently blamed for many gun deaths in the United States.

The war also had a significant impact on European class structures. The upper classes suffered proportionately greater losses in the fighting than any other class, ensuring that the pre-war status quo could not be restored. The introduction of broad universal suffrage in Europe hastened the decline of the upper classes. The expansion of the franchise, combined with a surge in trade unionism, provided the working classes with increased political and social representation. The various armies also had to promote new officers from low-income families who were unwilling to perpetuate the culture of deference to the upper classes.

The horrors of the First World War inspired Christian socialism with the rallying cry "never again." It also forced women into jobs that were previously reserved for men. Many of the women who had been forced out of domestic service and into factories by the war effort were unwilling to give up their newfound independence. As a result, the War fueled calls for women's emancipation. The

War also sparked a peace movement with the primary goal of disarmament. It flourished briefly during the interwar years and was reborn during the Vietnam War. It found many supporters in Europe, for example, the nuclear disarmament campaign.Although less formally or gorgonized than in the 1980s, the anti-war movement in Europe demonstrated its strength during the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq.

The war had a significant impact on the European socialist and labour movements. Despite being well organized in many countries, including the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, the socialist movement failed to end the war in 1914. In exchange for the prohibition of strike action, skilled workers in the armaments industry were not only exempted from military service but also received higher wages and better food. However, as the war progressed, factory workers' living and working conditions deteriorated. Socialist groups began to campaign for peace, a process accelerated by the 1917 Russian revolution. The socialist and trade union movement was much stronger at the end of the war in 1918 than it had been in 1914.During the Great War, the planned economy and a much larger role for the state were also introduced. Soon after the war began, the German government seized control of banks, foreign trade, and the production and sale of food and armaments. It also established maximum prices for a variety of goods. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in 1917, they launched a massive nationalization campaign, followed by a comprehensively planned economy. Other countries embraced the planned economy, particularly after the twin shocks of hyperinflation in the 1920s and the Great Depression of 1929.

3.4   Peace Settlements

Following World War I's devastation, the victorious Western powers imposed a series of harsh treaties on the defeated nations. These treaties deprived the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Turkey, and Bulgaria) of significant territory and imposed significant reparation payments. Never before had Europe's face been so fundamentally altered. The German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires all ceased to exist as a direct result of the war.At the end of the devastating First World War, the warring parties signed no fewer than 16 peace treaties. The most significant was the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, in which the victorious Allies forced Germany to accept responsibility.

Treaty of Saint-German-en-Laye

The Republic of Austria was established on September 10, 1919, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. This republic comprised the majority of the Habsburg state's truncated German-speaking regions. In 1929, the Austrian Empire ceded crown lands to newly formed successor states such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, which was renamed Yugoslavia. It also ceded South Tyrol, Trieste, Trentino, and Istria to Italy, as well as Bukovina to Romania. A key tenet of the treaty prohibited Austria from jeopardizing its newly formed independence. This restriction effectively prevented it from joining Germany, a goal long sought by "Pan-Germanists" and an active goal of Austrian-born Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist (Nazi) Party.

Treaties of Trianon, Sèvres, and Lausanne

Hungary, the other half of the Dual Monarchy, also gained independence: under the Treaty of Trianon (November 1920), Hungary ceded Transylvania to Romania, Slovakia and Transcarpathian Rus to the newly formed Czechoslovakia, and other Hungarian crown lands to the future Yugoslavia. On August 10, 1920, the Ottoman Empire signed the Treaty of Sèvres, which ended hostilities with the Allied Powers; however, a Turkish War of Independence soon followed. In its aftermath, the new Republic of Turkey signed a superseding Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, effectively partitioning the old Ottoman Empire.

The Fourteen Points and Woodrow Wilson

In January 1918, ten months before the end of World War I, US President Woodrow Wilson issued the "Fourteen Points," a list of proposed war objectives. Eight of these points specifically addressed territorial and political settlements associated with the Entente Powers' victory, including the

concept of national self-determination for ethnic populations in Europe. The remaining principles centred on preventing future wars, with the final proposing a League of Nations to settle future international disputes. Wilson hoped that his proposal would result in a just and lasting peace, a "peace without victory" that would put an end to the "war to end all wars."

The Treaty of Versailles and the Armistice

Many German leaders believed that the Fourteen Points would form the basis of the future peace treaty when they signed the armistice, but when the heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy met in Paris to discuss treaty terms, the European contingent of the "Big Four" had a different plan entirely. As the European Allied Powers saw Germany as the primary instigator of the conflict, they imposed particularly stringent treaty obligations on the defeated Germany.

On May 7, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was presented to German leaders for signature, forcing Germany to cede territories to Belgium (Eupen-Malmédy), Czechoslovakia (Hultschin district), and Poland (Poznan, West Prussia, and Upper Silesia). Alsace and Lorraine, annexed after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, were returned to France. All German overseas colonies were designated as League of Nations Mandates, and Danzig, with its large ethnically German population, was designated as a Free City. The treaty called for the demilitarisation and occupation of the Rhineland, as well as special treatment for the Saarland under French control. Plebiscites were to be held to decide the fate of areas in northern Schleswig on the Danish-German border, as well as parts of Upper Silesia.

Article 231, commonly known as the "War Guilt Clause," was perhaps the most humiliating part of the treaty for defeating Germany. This clause compelled Germany to accept full responsibility for starting World War I. As a result, Germany was responsible for all material damages. France's prime minister, Georges Clemenceau, insisted on massive reparation payments in particular. Despite the fact that Germany was unlikely to be able to repay such a massive debt, Clemenceau and the French feared a rapid German recovery and a new war against France. As a result, the French sought to limit Germany's efforts to regain economic superiority and rearm.

Conscription was prohibited, and the German army was to be limited to 100,000 men. The treaty limited the Navy to vessels weighing less than 10,000 tonnes and prohibited the acquisition or maintenance of a submarine fleet. Furthermore, Germany was forbidden from maintaining an air force. Germany was forced to prosecute the Kaiser and other leaders for war crimes for waging an aggressive war. The Leipzig Trial, which did not include the Kaiser or other significant national leaders, resulted primarily in acquittals and was widely regarded as a sham, even in Germany.
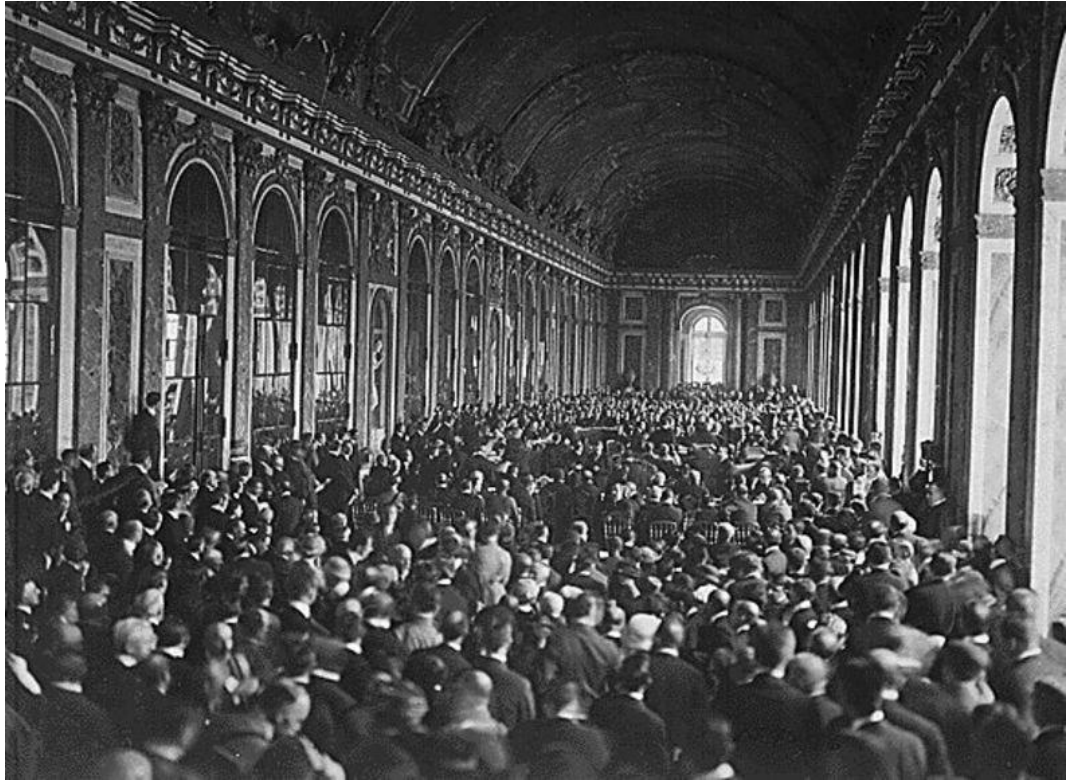
Picture: Treaty of Versailles

The Effects of the Versailles Treaty

The newly formed democratic government in Germany viewed the Versailles Treaty as a "dictated peace" (Diktat). France had suffered more materially than the other "Big Four" parties and insisted on harsh terms. However, the peace treaty did not ultimately contribute to resolving the international disputes that had sparked World War I. On the contrary, it tended to stymie inter-European cooperation and exacerbate the underlying issues that had sparked the war in the first place. Dreadful war sacrifices and enormous loss of life weighed heavily on both the losers and the winners of the conflict.

The respective peace treaties appeared to be an unfair punishment to the populations of the defeated powers—Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Their governments quickly resorted to violating the accords' military and financial terms. Efforts to revise and defy the more onerous provisions of the peace became a key component of their respective foreign policies and proved a de destabilizingactor in international politics. The war guilt clause, reparation payments, and restrictions on the German military, for example, were particularly onerous in the minds of most Germans. In the early 1920s and early 1930s, the revision of the Versailles Treaty was one of the platforms that gave radical right-wing parties in Germany, includingHitler's Nazi Party, such credibility with mainstream voters.

Promises to rearm, reclaim German territory, particularly in the east, remilitarize the Rhineland, and reclaim European and world power prominence after such a humiliating defeat and peace appealed to ultranationalist sentiment and helped average voters overlook the more radical tenets of Nazi ideology.

3.5   Consequences of Peace Settlement

British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863-1945) compared the peace talks in Paris in April 1919 to the 1815 post-Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars negotiations: "You were then left to settle Europe's affairs on your own. It took eleven months. But as serious as the problems at the Vienna Congress were, they paled in comparison to the issues that we had to address at the Paris Conference. It is not just one continent that is involved; every continent is involved." The peacemakers had an enormous task ahead of them. They had to deal not only with the problems

that had caused the war but also with the additional complications caused and exacerbated by it, while the pain of loss and destruction was still fresh in their minds.

The human toll was enormous. Approximately 9.5 million young servicemen were killed. Three or four times as many were injured, some of whom would never work again, and each was a reminder of the personal and financial toll of the war. Millions more died in the subsequent inter- and intra-state wars. Others were stillborn as a result of wartime separations. The British Treasury estimated that victory would cost an astronomical 24 billion British pounds (in 1914 gold values), with far-reaching and long-lasting consequences for global trade patterns and economic power. America, a pre-war debtor nation, rose to become the world's largest creditor and industrial producer. A region the size of Holland was devastated in France and Belgium. Much of the damage had been repaired by the mid-1920s but the legacy of human sacrifice and lethal debris is still being unearthed a century later.

Peacemaking took place in stages. The Paris Conference took place from January 18 to 21, 1919. Its primary forum was initially the Council of Ten, which included the heads of government and foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, as well as two Japanese representatives. This group split after March 1919. The Council of Four - British Prime Minister Lloyd George, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando (1860-1952), and American President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) - became the primary decision-making body until the German treaty was signed. Their respective foreign ministers - Arthur Balfour (1848-1930), Stephen Pichon (1857-1933), Sidney Sonnino (1847-1922), and Robert Lansing (1864-1928), along with Japanese Baron Makino Nobuaki (1861-1949) - formed the Council of Five, which oversaw much of the detailed work on Europe's new frontiers and the treaty with Austria, deferring sensitive decisions to the Four. The Treaty of Versailles, the first and most important of the five Parisian treaties, was signed by Germany on June 28, 1919.

After the departures of Orlando, Lloyd George, and Wilson in June 1919, the Five became the conference's main body, gradually changing composition as foreign ministers were replaced by their ambassadors or officials. They presided over the signing of the Treaties of Saint-Germain with Austria on September 10, 1919, and Neuilly with Bulgaria on November 27, 1919. The Paris Conference ended in January 1920, owing to Lloyd George's concern that Clemenceau was wielding too much power. The treaties of Trianon with Hungary signed on 4 June 1920, and of Sèvres with the Ottoman Empire, signed on 10 August 1920, were finalized with some confusion by peripatetic meetings of Allied heads of government held in various capitals and spas. Following the failure of Sèvres, the final stage of peacemaking saw the only genuine negotiations with a former Central Power, culminating in the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey on July 24, 1923. Peacemaking had thus taken longer than the war itself, and the process could be compared to the spasmodic assembly of a complex jigsaw puzzle, the pieces of which were produced at different times and by separate hands, creating its solution from a combination of intention and circumstance.

3.6   New World Order

It was a world very different from 1914. After the Senate's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, the United States made decisive interventions in the war and peacekeeping, but this reversal of a century-old tradition of non-involvement in European affairs appeared to be a temporary lapse. The British Dominions expected greater autonomy, while Irish nationalists sought independence, their identities tempered by war. Four great empires that had dominated eastern and central Europe and the Middle East for centuries had crumbled. In November 1918, Charles I, Emperor of Austria (1887-1922), resigned as his empire crumbled. Germany became a republic following the abdication of Wilhelm II, German Emperor (1859-1941), though, unlike the Romanovs, the Habsburg and Hohenzollern royal families survived. The Ottoman Empire continued to exist, at least nominally, until Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) expelled the Sultan and established the new secular state of Turkey in 1922, after a rebellion and a successful campaign against the occupying Greek forces.

The Russian Revolution created a quandary that the peacemakers were unable to resolve. A British expert in Paris, James Headlam-Morley (1863-1929), observed: "Everything in the discussions inevitably leads to Russia. Then there is a discursive discussion; it is agreed that the point at issue cannot be determined until the general policy on Russia is settled; having agreed on this, they move on to another subject rather than settling it." After an unsuccessful attempt to bring warring factions together for negotiations on the Prinkipo Islands in the Sea of Marmara, the peace conference rejected one-sixth of the earth's surface in Articles 292 and 293 of the Treaty of Versailles. Other

states only later, and with great reluctance, acknowledged the existence of the Soviet Union and the new Baltic nations.

Thousands of miles of new borders were created in Europe. The peacemakers could decide as far east as Germany's borders with Poland. Beyond that, without any reliable means of enforcing their will, the new map was more dependent on the outcome of wars and armed struggles - as Sir Henry Wilson (1864-1922), Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, observed, "The root of evil is that the Paris writ does not run."

The Balkans have changed dramatically, with Austria, Hungary, and Turkey suffering the most. Yugoslavia was the big winner (technically, until 1929, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). Serbia had 33,900 square miles and 4,600,000 people in 1914; Yugoslavia had 101,250 square miles and 13,635,000 people by 1921.Greece grew from 42,000 square miles and 4,800,000 people in 1914 to 60,000 square miles and 7,500,000 people (at least temporarily) by 1921. Romania's pre-war size and population more than doubled, from 53,661 square miles and 7,500,000 people to 113,941 square miles and 16,000,000 people.Bulgaria emerged with 45,000 square miles of territory and a population of 5,200,000 people, down from 47,750 square miles and 5,500,000 people in 1914. Its loss of Western Thrace to Greece denied it access to the Aegean, and it faced the highest reparations bill of all the Central Powers in proportion to its size and wealth.

The agreement unified the Balkans but divided Eastern Europe. Together with the Soviet Union, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary filled the political void left by the collapsed empires. Hungary, which lost two-thirds of its pre-war territory and 58 percent of its population, suffered the most severe deprivation of any defeated power, losing one-third of its Magyar population. Austria became an independent state reluctantly, with its population of 8 million concentrated mostly in or near Vienna, a city that had lost its raison d'être as the imperial governmental, financial, and banking centre.

Poles fought on both sides during the war as subjects of the three empires that had partitioned Poland in the 18th century, and Poland's independence hinged on the unlikely outcome that Russia and its adversaries, Austria-Hungary and Germany, would all lose. When this occurred, the ambitions of reborn Poland were not modest, reclaiming lands lost in the fourteenth century but Lloyd George, in particular, fought to limit German losses in Upper Silesia and on the outskirts of the Polish corridor. Following the 1920 war with Russia, Poland established this new frontier far to the east of the Curzon line recommended by the conference, resulting in a state with only 69 percent Poles and all of its neighbours having grievances against it.

Czechoslovakia owed much to the efforts of two men, Tomá Masaryk (1850-1937), whose father was Slovak, and Eduard Bene (1884-1948), both Czechs. Both worked hard in exile, eventually gaining Allied support in 1918. A dispute over the coal-rich duchy of Teschen dashed Mararyk's hopes for cooperation with Poland. The fate of three million German-speaking former Austro-Hungarian Empire subjects, to whom Germany claimed, alarmed the peacemakers. They allocated the area to the Czechs, torn between the principles of self-determination and the need to provide Czechoslovakia with secure borders and economic prosperity.Romania and Hungary also had disagreements with Czechoslovakia, which was typical of the issues that kept the new states from cooperating. However, if they did not hang together, should Germany, Russia, or both of them resurrect, they would most likely hang separately.

The peacemakers ignored the beleaguered Ottomans throughout 1919, only drafting the Sèvres terms in London and San Remo in the spring of 1920, by which time conditions had changed dramatically. Sèvres recognized it as an independent state, imposed strict military restrictions on Turkey, established international control over the Straits of Marmara, and granted Italy and France spheres of influence in Anatolia, while Greece was given most of Thrace and the opportunity to govern Izmir for five years before a plebiscite decided its fate. The Sultan signed under duress, but Kemal's revolt grew, and his forces defeated the Greeks at the Battle of Sakarya in 1921. He then drove them back with increasing vigour in 1922, culminating in a massacre at Izmir on September 9, 1922, and a stand-off with a small British force at Chanak, where war was averted by a combination of luck and good judgement.

Negotiations in Lausanne took place between Kemal's representatives and the Allies from 20 November 1922 to 4 February 1923, and again from 19 April to 24 July 1923, for which the British Foreign Secretary, George Curzon (1859-1925), and later the High Commissioner at Constantinople, Sir Horace Rumbold (1869-1941), armed with little else but secret intelligence gleaned from decoded Turkish communications, played a weak hand well. The new treaty returned to Turkey Eastern Thrace, Anatolia, Izmir, and some Aegean islands, all financial and extraterritorial

privileges previously enjoyed by the powers were abolished, and no mention was made of Armenia, whose independence Turkey effectively destroyed in December 1920.The Treaty of Lausanne proved to be the most durable of the postwar settlements, demonstrating the benefits of negotiation between parties willing to work within the same parameters and accept the need for compromise.

Elsewhere, the collapsed Ottoman Empire shaped the modern Middle East, shaped by a combination of European imperialism and rivalries between local powers. Mesopotamia (now Iraq), Transjordania (Jordan), Syria, and Lebanon were divided into mandates by Britain and France, with Transjordania originally part of the Palestine mandate, and the Hejaz (Saudi Arabia) becoming independent. Palestine, the subject of Britain's own ambitions and contradictory commitments to Arabs and Zionists - the twice or thrice promised land - became an ongoing issue.Increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants, eager to claim their "National Home," clashed with the indigenous Arab population during the British mandate (1920-1948), while the violent birth of the state of Israel in 1948 created a Palestinian refugee problem and a clash of territorial interests that remain unresolved. In Asia, Japan consolidated its position as a major regional power at the expense of China, where disappointment and frustration led to a massive anti-foreign intervention demonstration in Beijing on May 4, 1919.

Two aspects of the settlements were particularly contentious, providing fodder for opponents looking for hypocrisy and double-dealing. "The subject of reparations caused more trouble, contention, hard feeling, and delay at the Paris Peace Conference than any other point of the Treaty," wrote American banker Thomas Lamont (1870-1948).However, applying the principle of self-determination came dangerously close, as the need for economic viability, defensible borders, administrative convenience, and efficient communications collided with the ethnic mishmash of eastern and central Europe. Both subjects set unrealistic expectations for themselves.

Summary

The First World War destroyed empires, established numerous new nation-states, fueled independence movements in Europe's colonies, forced the United States to become a world power, and directly contributed to the rise of Soviet communism and Hitler. Diplomatic alliances and promises made during the First World War, particularly in the Middle East, have also come back to haunt Europeans a century later. The balance of power approach to international relations has been shattered but not destroyed. It took the Second World War to mobilize enough political forces to launch a revolutionary new approach to inter-state relations.The peacemakers understood that their primary responsibility was to integrate Germany into an international framework that would allow it to wield power and influence without overwhelming its neighbours. They hoped that a democratic Germany, accepting defeat, would recognize the fairness of the settlement and carry it out. However, in November 1918, with a clear German victory in the east and troops still occupying Northern France and Belgium, defeat was a difficult concept to grasp, and it is arguable that no treaty based on such a premise would have ever been acceptable to Germany, even if the Allies had been more amenable to negotiation.

Keywords

Fascism: Fascism was a political ideology and mass movement that dominated many parts of central, southern, and eastern Europe between 1919 and 1945, as well as Western Europe, the United States, South Africa, Japan, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Great Depression:The Great Depression was a global economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until approximately 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression that the industrialised Western world had ever experienced, causing fundamental changes in economic institutions, macroeconomic policy, and economic theory.

Nazism: Nazism, also spelled Naziism, is a totalitarian movement led by Adolf Hitler as the leader of the Nazi Party in Germany.

Self Assessment

1. The Schlieffen Plan was a German plan that was first proposed in the year___

A. 1890
B. 1891
C. 1892
D. 1893

2. Among the following which assassination was the main cause for the beginning of the First World War?
A. Archduke Franz Ferdinand
B. Archbishop Franz Ferdinand
C. Luis Althuser
D. David Lyoed

3. The First World War was between two major powers___
A. Central Powers and Medieval Powers
B. Medieval Powers and Allied Powers
C. Allied Powers Only
D. Allied Powers and Central Powers

4. Among the following which country was not in the group of Central Powers?
A. France
B. Germany
C. Ottoman Empire
D. All of the Above

5. Who assassinatedArchduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria on June 28, 1914?
A. Peter Princip
B. James Princip
C. Gavrilo Princip
D. None of the Above

6. The Alliance Triple Entent was framed between___
A. France
B. Russia
C. Britain
D. All of the Above

7. Blank Check Assurance alliance was formed between___
A. Germany
B. Austria-Hungry
C. Only Option B is Correct
D. Both the Options A and B are Correct

8. Battle of Marne took place between___
A. September 5 to 9
B. September 5 to 12
C. September 9 to 14
D. September 12 to 17

9. After the First World War there was a country in Europe where the ratio of men and women was different. It is said that there were 15 women for every man between the age of 18 and 30.
A. Britain
B. France
C. Russia
D. USA

10. Which year did the Bolsheviks come to the power in Russia?
A. 1917
B. 1918
C. 1919
D. 1920

11. What is the time period of great depression?
A. 1929
B. 1930
C. 1931
D. 1932

12. David Lloyd George was the prime minister of___
A. Italy
B. Poland
C. Britain
D. Germany

13. Who among the following established the new secular state of Turkey?
A. Mustafa Engineer
B. Kemal Khan
C. Mustafa Kemal
D. Baby Alam

14. Among the following which is known as the Baltic States?
A. Estonia
B. Latvia
C. Lithuania
D. All of the Above

15. Which among the following is known as a promised land?
A. Turkey
B. Italy
C. Germany
D. Jerusalem

Answers for Self Assessment

1. B	2. A	3. D	4. A	5. C
6. D	7. D	8. B	9. B	10. A
11. A	12. C	13. C	14. D	15. D

Review Questions

1. Discuss the political and economic factors of the First World War
2. In your opinion what were the main causes of the First World War?
3. To what extent the emergence of nationalism was responsible for the First World War? Describe in detail.
4. Write a note on the consequences of the peace settlement.

5. Critically explain that after the First World War there was the formation of new world order.

Further Readings

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Unit 04:World Order up to 1919 - II

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Know the causes and factors of the Russian Revolution.
- Understand the various aspects of the Russian Revolution.
- Grasp the knowledge about responses and reactions in the West.

Introduction

The Russian Revolution was a period of political and social revolution in the former Russian Empire that began during the First World War. Following two successive revolutions and a bloody civil war, Russia abolished its monarchy and adopted a socialist form of government during this period. The Russian Revolution can also be seen as a forerunner to the other European revolutions that occurred during or after the First World War, such as the 1918 German Revolution.

The Russian Revolution began in 1917 with the February Revolution. This first uprising was centered in and around Petrograd, Russia's then-capital (now Saint Petersburg). The Russian Army had begun to mutiny following significant military losses during the war. Army leaders and high-ranking officials believed that if Tsar Nicholas II abdicated, domestic unrest would subside. Nicholas agreed and resigned, paving the way for a new government led by the Russian Duma (parliament), which became the Russian Provisional Government. The interests of prominent capitalists, as well as the Russian nobility and aristocracy, dominated this government.

4.1　Russian Revolution

Background

As a result of these events, grassroots community assemblies were formed. Soldiers, urban industrial proletarians, and rural farmers led these Soviets. The Soviets initially allowed the new Provisional Government to rule, but they insisted on a prerogativeto influence the government and

control various militias. By March, Russia had become a dual power, with neither government trusting the other. The Provisional Government exercised state power in areas such as military and international affairs, while the Soviet network exercised greater domestic power. Critically, the Soviets had the support of both the working class and the growing urban middle class.Mutinies, protests, and strikes were common during this chaotic period. Many socialist and other leftist political organizations were fighting for influence within the Provisional Government and the Soviets daily. The Social Democrats, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and Anarchists are notable factions. These organizations competed for political power and popular influence with the Bolsheviks, a far-left party led by Vladimir Lenin. The Bolsheviks were initially a marginalized faction, but that changed after a series of events, including the use of their slogan, peace, land, and bread. This promised to end the war with Germany, give land to the peasantry, and end the famine caused by Russia's involvement in the First World War. These slogans had a direct impact on the growing popularity of the Bolsheviks.Despite widespread disdain for the war effort, the Provisional Government chose to fight on, providing the Bolsheviks and other socialist factions with justification to push the revolution forward. The Bolsheviks consolidated various workers' militias loyal to them into Red Guards capable of revolution.

The October Revolution was a Bolshevik armed insurgency by workers and soldiers in Petrograd that successfully overthrew the Provisional Government, transferring all authority to the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks quickly relocated the national capital to Moscow in response to German military offensives. The Bolsheviks, who had gained a strong base of support within the Soviets by this point, established their government, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, as the supreme governing party (RSFSR).The RSFSR began the process of reorganizing the former empire into the world's first socialist state, to implement soviet democracy on a national and international scale. When the Bolshevik leaders signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918, they fulfilled their promise to end Russia's participation in the First World War. To further secure the new state, the Bolsheviks established the Cheka, a secret police that served as a revolutionary security service, weeding out, executing, or punishing those considered "enemies of the people" in campaigns known as the red terror, which were consciously modeled after those of the French Revolution.

Although the Bolsheviks had a large urban following, they had many enemies, both domestic and foreign, who refused to recognize their government. As a result, Russia devolved into a bloody civil war, pitting the "Reds" (Bolsheviks) against the White Army, the Bolshevik regime's enemies. Independence movements, monarchists, liberals, and anti-Bolshevik socialist parties comprised the White Army. In response, Leon Trotsky directed that workers' militias loyal to the Bolsheviks form the Red Army. While many significant historical events took place in Moscow and Petrograd, there were also significant changes in cities throughout the state, among national minorities throughout the empire, and in rural areas where peasants took over and redistributed land.

The RSFSR began establishing Soviet power in the newly independent republics that had seceded from the Russian Empire as the war progressed. Initially, the RSFSR focused on the newly independent republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, and Ukraine. Wartime cohesion and foreign intervention prompted the RSFSR to begin unifying these nations under one flag, resulting in the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Historians generally consider the end of the revolutionary period to be in 1923 when the White Army and all rival socialist factions were defeated in the Russian Civil War. The victorious Bolshevik Party reformed into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and remained in power for more than six decades.

4.2   Causes of the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a major factor in the cause of the 1917 Revolution. The events of Bloody Sunday sparked widespread protests and soldier mutinies. Amidthis chaos, a workers' council known as the St. Petersburg Soviet was formed. While the 1905 Revolution was eventually crushed and the leaders of the St. Petersburg Soviet were imprisoned, it did lay the groundwork for the later Petrograd Soviet and other revolutionary movements in the run-up to 1917. The 1905 Revolution also resulted in the formation of a Duma (parliament), which later formed the Provisional Government after February 1917.

Russia's poor performance in 1914-1915 fueled mounting criticism of Tsar Nicholas II and the Romanov family. A brief period of patriotic nationalism came to an end in the face of defeats and poor conditions on the Eastern Front of the First World War, and the Tsar exacerbated the situation by taking personal command of the Imperial Russian Army in 1915, a task far beyond his abilities. He was now personally held accountable for Russia's ongoing defeats and losses. Furthermore,

Tsarina Alexandra, who was left to rule while the Tsar was at the front, was German-born, raising suspicions of collusion, which were rumors about her relationship with the controversial mystic Grigori Rasputin.Rasputin's influence resulted in disastrous ministerial appointments and corruption, worsening Russian conditions.

After the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in October 1914, Russia lost a major trade route to the Mediterranean Sea, worsening the economic crisis and munitions shortages. Meanwhile, Germany was able to produce large quantities of munitions while fighting on two major battlefronts at the same time.The conditions during the war caused a devastating loss of morale among the Russian army and the Russian people. This was especially noticeable in cities due to a lack of food as a result of theagricultural disruption. Food scarcity had become a significant issue in Russia, but the cause was not a failure of harvests, which had not been significantly altered during the war. The indirect reason was that the government printed millions of rouble notes to finance the war, and by 1917, inflation had caused prices to rise four times what they had been in 1914.Farmers faced a higher cost of living as a result, but with little increase in income. As a result, they began to hoard grain and return to subsistence farming. As a result, the cities were always running out of food. At the same time, rising prices prompted demands for higher factory wages, and in January and February 1916, revolutionary propaganda, aided in part by German funds, sparked widespread strikes. This resulted in increased government criticism, as well as increased worker participation in revolutionary parties.

As the initial fervorof the war resulted in the Tsarist government creating a variety of political organizations liberal parties had an increased platform to voice their complaints. In July 1915, a Central War Industries Committee was formed, chaired by a prominent Octobrist, Alexander Guchkov (1862-1936), and comprised ten workers' representatives. Despite the objections of their leaders abroad, the Petrograd Mensheviks agreed to join. All of this activity fueled political ambitions, and in September 1915, a Duma coalition of Octobrists and Kadets demanded the formation of a responsible government, which the Tsar rejected.

All of these factors had contributed to a sharp loss of confidence in the regime, even among the ruling class, which had grown throughout the war. Guchkov discussed a possible coup to force the Tsar's abdication with senior army officers and members of the Central War Industries Committee in early 1916. Rasputin was assassinated in December by a small group of nobles, and in January 1917, the Tsar's cousin, Grand Duke Nicholas, was indirectly asked by Prince Lvov whether he would be willing to take over the throne from his nephew, Tsar Nicholas II. None of these events were the direct cause of the February Revolution, but they do help to explain why the monarchy survived only a few days after it began.

Meanwhile, exiled Socialist-Revolutionary leaders, many of whom lived in Switzerland, had watched with dismay as international socialist solidarity crumbled. Social Democrats in France and Germany had voted in favour of their respective governments' war efforts. Georgi Plekhanov in Paris had taken a vehemently anti-German stance, whereas Alexander Parvus saw the German war effort as the best way to ensure a Russian revolution. Although Julius Martov (a prominent Menshevik), now on the left of his group, demanded an end to the war and a settlement based on national self-determination, with no annexations or indemnities, the Mensheviks largely maintained that Russia had the right to defend itself against Germany.

Martov's ideas predominated in a manifesto drafted by Leon Trotsky (then a Menshevik) at a conference in Zimmerwald attended by 35 Socialist leaders in September 1915. Inevitably, Vladimir Lenin, aided by Zinoviev and Radek, vigorously opposed them. The Zimmerwald Left arose from their viewpoints. Lenin opposed both Russian defence and the call for peace. Since the autumn of 1914, he had insisted that "from the standpoint of the working class and the labouring masses, the lesser evil would be the defeat of the Tsarist Monarchy"; the war must be turned into a civil war of proletarian soldiers against their own governments, and if a proletarian victory should emerge in Russia, their duty would be to wage a revolutionary war for the liberation of the masses throughout Europe.

4.3   Phases of the Russian Revolution

October Revolution

The Bolshevik party organized the October Revolution, which took place in tsarist Russia on the night of Wednesday 7 November 1917 according to the modern Gregorian calendar, and the night of Wednesday 25 October according to the Julian calendar at the time. Lenin played no direct role

in the revolution and was forced to flee for his own safety. The insurgency was being organized by the Bolshevik party's Revolutionary Military Committee, which was led by Leon Trotsky. However, as the Bolshevik party received a majority in the soviets in the autumn of 1917, Lenin played a critical role in the debate over the leadership of the Bolshevik party for a revolutionary insurgency.The slogan 'All power to the Soviets was supported by an ally in the Revolutionary-Socialist Party's left wing, which had widespread support among peasants opposed to Russia's participation in the war.

Liberal and monarchist forces, loosely organized as the White Army, went to war against the Bolsheviks' Red Army right away, in what became known as the Russian Civil War. This did not occur in 1917. The Civil War began in early 1918 when domestic anti-Bolshevik forces clashed with the fledgling Red Army. In the autumn of 1918, the Allies needed to prevent the Germans from accessing Russian supplies. They sent troops to support the "Whites," with weapons, ammunition, and logistical equipment sent from the major Western countries, but this was not coordinated at all. Germany did not take part in the civil war because it had surrendered to the Allies.

A right-wing faction of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, SR, led the provisional government's second and third coalitions. By avoiding elections to the state Duma, this non-elected provisional government dealt with the revolutionary situation and growing anti-war sentiment. However, the October revolution compelled the political parties supporting the newly dissolved provisional government to act quickly in order to hold immediate elections. Everything happened so quickly that the left SR fraction did not have time to reach out and be represented in ballots of the SR party, which was part of the coalition government in the interim. This non-elected government supported the continuation of the war on the allied side.The elections to the State Duma on November 25, 1917, thus did not reflect the true political situation among peasants, even though we do not know what would have happened if the anti-war left SR fraction had a fair chance to challenge the party leaders. The Bolsheviks received 25% of the vote, while the Socialist-Revolutionaries received up to 58%. It is possible that the left SR had a good chance of receiving more than 25% of the votes and thus legitimizing the October revolution, but we can only speculate.

Lenin did not believe that a fully developed capitalist economy was required for a socialist revolution. A semi-capitalist country would suffice, and Russia had a working-class population of 5%.Though Lenin was the leader of the Bolshevik Party, it has been argued that because Lenin was not present during the actual takeover of the Winter Palace, it was Trotsky's organization and direction that led the revolution, merely fueled by the motivation instilled within his party by Lenin. Right-wing critics have long claimed that financial and logistical assistance from German intelligence via their key agent, Alexander Parvus, was also a key component, though historians disagree because there is little evidence to support that claim.

Although Soviet membership was initially freely elected, many members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, anarchists, and other leftists used the Soviets to oppose the Bolsheviks. Elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly were held on November 25, 1917. The Bolsheviks received a quarter of the vote. When it became clear that the Bolsheviks had little support outside of Saint Petersburg and Moscow, they simply barred non-Bolsheviks from joining the Soviets. In January 1918, the Bolsheviks dissolved the Constituent Assembly.

Picture: Vladimir Lenin addressing a rally of working class

Civil War in Russia

The Russian Civil War, which began shortly after the October Revolution in 1918, killed and harmed millions of people, regardless of political affiliation. The war was fought primarily between the Red Army ("Reds"), made up of the uprising majority led by the Bolshevik minority, and the "Whites" - army officers and cossacks, the "bourgeoisie," and political groups ranging from the far Right to the Socialist Revolutionaries, who opposed the drastic restructuring championed by the Bolsheviks following the collapse of the Provisional Government, to the Soviets (under clear Bolshevik dominance). Other countries such as the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Japan supported the Whites, whereas the Reds had internal support and proved to be far more effective. Despite the fact that the Allied nations used external interference to provide significant military aid to the loosely knit anti-Bolshevik forces, they were ultimately defeated.

The Bolsheviks took power in Petrograd first, then spread their rule throughout the country. They eventually reached the easterly Siberian Russian coast in Vladivostok four years after the war began, ending all significant military campaigns in the country. The last area controlled by the White Army, the Ayano-Maysky District, directly to the north of the Krai containing Vladivostok, was surrendered less than a year later, in 1923, when General Anatoly Pepelyayev capitulated.

Near the end of the war, several revolts were launched against the Bolsheviks and their army, most notably the Kronstadt Rebellion. This was a naval mutiny orchestrated by Soviet Baltic sailors, former Red Army soldiers, and Kronstadt residents. This armed uprising was fought in response to the Communists' antagonizing Bolshevik economic policies, which included grain crop seizures.This all added up to widespread discontent. When delegates representing the Kronstadt sailors arrived in Petrograd for negotiations, they made 15 demands, the majority of which were related to Russia's right to freedom. The government strongly condemned the rebellions and referred to the requests as a reminder of the Social Revolutionaries, a political party popular among Soviets prior to Lenin who refused to cooperate with the Bolshevik Army. The government then responded with an armed suppression of these revolts, suffering 10,000 casualties before entering Kronstadt. This effectively ended the rebellions, causing many of the rebels to flee in search of political asylum.

Nestor Makhno led a Ukrainian anarchist movement during the Civil War. Makhno's Insurgent Army allied with the Bolsheviks three times, each time with one of the powers breaking the alliance. When the Makhnovists refused to join the Red Army, a Bolshevik force led by Mikhail Frunze destroyed the Makhnovshchina. Furthermore, the so-called "Green Army" (peasants defending their property from opposing forces) played a minor

4.4 Political Aspects of the Russian Revolution

Many people in the country were dissatisfied with the current autocracy. Nicholas II was a deeply conservative ruler who upheld a strict authoritarian regime. Individuals and society, in general, were expected to exercise self-control, devotion to community, deference to the social hierarchy, and patriotism. Religious faith served as a source of comfort and reassurance in the face of difficult circumstances, as well as a means of political authority exercised through the clergy. Perhaps more than any other modern monarch, Nicholas II based his fate and the future of his dynasty on the idea of the ruler as a saintly and infallible father to his subjects. This vision of the Romanov monarchy blinded him to the state of his country. Nicholas assumed that the Russian people were devoted to him with unquestioning loyalty because he believed that his power to rule was granted by Divine Right. This firm belief made Nicholas unwilling to allow progressive reforms that could have alleviated the Russian people's suffering. Even after the 1905 Revolution compelled the Tsar to declare limited civil rights and democratic representation, he worked to restrict even these liberties in order to maintain the crown's ultimate authority.

Picture: The assembly meeting of Saint Petersburg (Petrograd) in 1917

Despite constant oppression, the people had a strong desire for democratic participation in government decisions. Since the Age of Enlightenment, Russian intellectuals have promoted enlightenment ideals such as individual dignity and the legitimacy of democratic representation. These ideals were most vocally promoted by Russia's liberals, though populists, Marxists, and anarchists also claimed to support democratic reforms. Long before the turmoil of the First World War, a growing opposition movement began openly challenging the Romanov monarchy.

Dissatisfaction with Russian autocracy culminated in the massive national upheaval that followed the Bloody Sunday massacre in January 1905, in which the Tsar's troops shot hundreds of unarmed protesters. Workers went on strike in response to the massacre, forcing Nicholas to issue the October Manifesto, which established a democratically elected parliament (the State Duma). Although the Tsar accepted the 1906 Fundamental State Laws a year later, he dismissed the first two Dumas after they were found to be uncooperative. Unfulfilled democratic hopes fueled revolutionary ideas and violent outbursts against the monarchy.

One of the Tsar's main reasons for risking war in 1914 was his desire to reestablish Russia's prestige after the debacles of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). With a war against a common and old enemy, Nicholas also hoped to foster a stronger sense of national unity. The Russian Empire was an amalgamation of various ethnicities that had shown significant signs of disunity in the years preceding the First World War. Nicholas believed that the shared peril and tribulation of a foreign war would help to alleviate social unrest stemming from persistent issues of poverty, inequality, and inhumane working conditions. Instead of restoring Russia's political and military standing, the First World War resulted in the slaughter of Russian troops and military defeats that brought the monarchy and Russian society to their knees.

4.5 Economic and Social Aspects of the Russian Revolution

Many peasants believed that land should belong to those who worked on it, which was an elementary theory of property. At the same time, peasant life and culture were constantly changing. The physical movement of a growing number of peasant villagers to and from industrial and urban environments but also the introduction of city culture into the village through material goods, the press, and word of mouth, aided change.Overcrowded housing with often deplorable sanitary conditions, long hours at work (on the eve of the war, a 10-hour workday six days a week was the average, and many were working 11-12 hours a day by 1916), the constant risk of injury and death from poor safety and sanitary conditions, harsh discipline (not just rules and fines, but foremen's fists), and inadequate wages were all reasons for discontent among workers (made worse after 1914 by steep wartime increases in the cost of living). At the same time, the benefits of urban industrial life could be just as dangerous (in terms of social and political stability) as the drawbacks. There were numerous reminders to expect more from life.Acquiring new skills increased many workers' self-esteem and confidence, raising expectations and desires. Workers in cities encountered material goods they had never seen before in villages. Most importantly, city dwellers were exposed to new ideas about the social and political order.

The social causes of the Russian Revolution can be traced back to centuries of Tsarist oppression of the lower classes and Nicholas' failures in the First World War. While rural agrarian peasants were freed from serfdom in 1861, they continued to resent paying redemption payments to the state and demanded communal tender of the land they worked. The failure of Sergei Witte's early twentieth-century land reforms exacerbated the problem. Increased peasant disturbances, and even revolts, occurred in order to secure ownership of the land on which they worked. Russia was primarily made up of poor farming peasants, and there was significant inequality in land ownership, with 1.5% of the population owning 25% of the land.

Russia's rapid industrialization resulted in urban overcrowding and poor working conditions for urban industrial workers (as mentioned above). Between 1890 and 1910, the population of Saint Petersburg grew from 1,033,600 to 1,905,600, while Moscow grew similarly. This resulted in the formation of a new 'proletariat,' which was much more likely to protest and go on strike than the peasantry had been previously. According to one 1904 survey, an average of 16 people shared each apartment in Saint Petersburg, with six people per room.There was no running water, and piles of human waste posed a health risk to the workers. Poor working conditions exacerbated the situation, with the number of strikes and instances of public disorder rapidly increasing in the years leading up to the First World War. Workers in Russia were highly concentrated as a result of late industrialization. By 1914, 40% of Russian workers were employed in factories employing 1,000 or more workers (up from 32% in 1901). 42% worked in 100-1,000 worker businesses, while 18% worked in 1-100 worker businesses (in the US, 1914, the figures were 18, 47, and 35 respectively). The First World War exacerbated the chaos. Conscription in Russia resulted in the deployment of unwilling citizens to war. Because of the high demand for factory-produced war supplies and workers, there were numerous labour riots and strikes. Conscription drove skilled workers out of cities, forcing them to be replaced by unskilled peasants. When famine struck due to the poor railway system, workers fled the cities in droves in search of food. Finally, the soldiers, who lacked equipment and protection from the elements, began to revolt against the Tsar.This was primarily due to the fact that as the war progressed, many of the officers loyal to the Tsar were killed, and they were replaced by disgruntled conscripts from the major cities who had little loyalty to the Tsar.

4.6 Responses and Reactions in the West

A decade later, Russia had lost more people in the First World War than any other country, and soldiers, factory workers, and peasants were all suffering from severe shortages. The people were breaking down as the bitterly cold winter of 1916-1917 progressed.Both the world war and Russia's civil war had ended by 1922, and Russia had become a nation-state. It was now known as the Soviet Union (aka the U.S.S.R. or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). There was more bread, land, and peace under Lenin, but at the cost of repression. A new method of organizing a national community was also introduced. Despite Lenin's death in 1924, communist leadership would be carried on by the Soviet Union's new leader, Josef Stalin.

The Soviet Union's transition from the Russian Empire answered the questions of who would lead and how they would lead. The question now was, how would they keep power? While capitalism had been around for over a century, communism appeared to be new and exciting. So, how would

a young communist Russia fare in a world dominated by capitalist nations? And how would it do so within this geographically vast and socially diverse country that it hoped—nay, forced—to unite under this new way of constructing community? As you learn more about the history that followed this one moment, you'll notice that these challenges had a significant impact. These challenges would affect more than one country in a single year.

During both the Revolution and the Civil War, revolutionary tribunals were present to combat counter-revolutionary forces. It is estimated that at the height of the Civil War, approximately 200 tribunals investigated over 200,000 cases. These tribunals distinguished themselves from the Cheka as a more moderate force operating under the banner of revolutionary justice, as opposed to the former's use of strict brute force.These tribunals, however, had their own set of inefficiencies, such as responding to cases in a matter of months and not having a concrete definition of "counter-revolution" that was determined case by case. The People's Commissar of Justice's "Decree on Revolutionary Tribunals" states in article 2 that "In fixing the penalty, the Revolutionary Tribunal shall be guided by the circumstances of the case and the dictates of the revolutionary conscience."

On July 16, 1918, the Bolsheviks executed the Tsar and his family. The Provisional Government had placed Nicholas and his family under house arrest in the Alexander Palace at TsarskoyeSelo, 24 kilometers (15 miles) south of Petrograd, in early March. They evacuated the Romanovs to Tobolsk in the Urals in August 1917 to protect them from the rising tide of revolution. After the Bolsheviks took power in October 1917, the conditions of their confinement became stricter, and there was talk of putting Nicholas on trial. The looming civil war compelled the Bolsheviks to relocate the family to the stronghold of Yekaterinburg in April and May 1918.

Nicholas, Alexandra, their children, their physician, and several servants were taken into the basement and shot early on July 16th. The order came directly from Lenin and YakovSverdlov in Moscow, according to Edvard Radzinsky and DmitriiVolkogonov. This claim, however, has never been confirmed. The execution could have been carried out on the initiative of local Bolshevik officials, or it could have been a pre-approved option in Moscow as White troops approached Yekaterinburg. Radzinsky pointed out that Lenin's bodyguard personally delivered the telegram ordering the execution, and that he was instructed to destroy the evidence.

Many instances of symbolism, both physical and non-physical, occurred during the Russian Revolution. Communist symbolism is perhaps the most notable of this time period, with the iconic hammer and sickle first appearing as a representation of the October Revolution in 1917, later becoming the official symbol of the USSR in 1924, and later the symbol of Communism as a whole. Despite the Bolsheviks' lack of political experience, their portrayal of the revolution as a political and symbolic order resulted in Communism's portrayal as a messianic faith, formally known as communist messianism.Iconographic depictions of notable revolutionary figures such as Lenin were done, equating them to religious figures, despite the fact that religion was banned in the USSR and groups such as the Russian Orthodox Church were persecuted.

Revolutionary Changes

The revolution eventually resulted in the establishment of the future Soviet Union as an ideocracy; however, the establishment of such a state presented an ideological paradox, as Marx's ideals of how a socialist state should be formed were based on the formation being natural rather than artificially induced. According to Leon Trotsky, the goal of socialism in Russia would not be realized unless the global revolution was successful. The Russian Revolution triggered a revolutionary wave that lasted until 1923, but despite initial hopes for success in the German Revolution of 1918-19, the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, and others, no other Marxist movement at the time succeeded in retaining power.

Various Marxist groups and parties hold opposing views on communist history on this subject. Later, Joseph Stalin rejected this notion, claiming that socialism could only exist in one country. The confusion over Stalin's position on the issue stems from the fact that, following Lenin's death in 1924, he successfully used Lenin's argument - that socialism's success requires the support of workers in other countries - to defeat his opponents within the party by accusing them of betraying Lenin and, thus, the ideals of the October Revolution.

Summary

The Russian Revolution of 1917 overthrew the imperial government and installed the Bolsheviks in power. Increased governmental corruption, Tsar Nicholas II's reactionary policies, and catastrophic Russian losses in the First World War all contributed to widespread dissatisfaction and economic hardship.The Socialist Revolutionary Party dominated the soviet movement, followed by the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. The provisional government was reorganized four times between March and October; Aleksandr Kerensky became its head in July; he survived a coup attempt by Lavr Kornilov but was unable to stop Russia's slide into political and military chaos. By September, the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, had won majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow soviets, as well as growing support from hungry urban workers and soldiers. They staged a bloodless coup (the "October Revolution") in October, occupying government buildings and strategic points. Kerensky attempted but failed, to organizea resistance movement before fleeing the country. The soviet congress approved the formation of a new government dominated by Bolsheviks.

Keywords

Aristocracy: A class of people with exceptional rank and privileges, particularly the hereditary

Civil War:A civil war is a violent conflict fought on the territory of a state by one or more organized non-state actors.

Nobility: All people with titles and belonging to a high social class are considered nobility in a society.

Self Assessment

1. The Russian Revolution occurred during which international law?
A. World War I
B. World War II
C. Russo-Japan War
D. Napoleonic War

2. What was the slogan used during the February Revolution?
A. Freedom and Justice
B. Bread and Peace
C. Both of the Above
D. None of the Above

3. Among the following what government was based on the ideas of Karl Marx?
A. Democarcy
B. Communism
C. Monarchy
D. Dictatorship

4. Who led the November Revolution?
A. Stalin
B. Karl Marx
C. Antonio Gramsci
D. Lenin andthe Bolsheviks

5. What name was Russia given after the Russian Revolution?
A. USSR or Soviet Union
B. Serbia
C. Georgia
D. Poland

6. After Alexander II liberated the serfs, many peasants were___

A. Planning to build factories in cities
B. Able to receive land by the independent state
C. Content with their freedom
D. Disappointed by emancipation

7. The Bolsheviks were different from the Mensheviks. The reason for this difference was___
A. Professional revolutionaries from the intelligentsia would have to lead Russia's proletariat to revolution
B. Marxism could apply to Russia even though its industrialization took place more recently
C. Both of the above
D. None of the above

8. How did Alexandar II die?
A. Of natural causes
B. He was assassinated
C. He died of unknown causes
D. He drowned in a river

9. What groups formed as a result of the ideas of Karl Marx?
A. Bolsheviks, Mensheviks
B. Demarcates, Bolsheviks
C. Mensheviks, Democrats
D. All of the above

10. Bloody Sunday incident took place in___
A. Serbia
B. Georgia
C. Saint Pittsburg
D. Moscow

11. The slogan "Workers of the World Unite" was associated with___
A. Russian Revolution
B. French Revolution
C. American Revolution
D. Japanese Revolution

12. When did the Soviet Union disintegrate?
A. 1990
B. 1991
C. 1992
D. 1993

13. Among the following options which was not a part of the former USSR?
A. Moldova
B. Georgia
C. Finland
D. Russia

14. Marxism is the idea of___
A. Luis Althusser
B. Karl Marx
C. Both of the above
D. None of the above

15. Which year did the Russian Parliament declare its independence from the Soviet Union?
A. 1989
B. 1990
C. 1991

D.   1992

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	C	3.	B	4.	D	5.	A
6.	D	7.	A	8.	B	9.	A	10.	C
11.	A	12.	B	13.	C	14.	B	15.	B

Review Questions

1. How did the leadership and policies of Tsar Alexander III lay the groundwork for revolutions in Russia?
2. Discuss Lenin's ideas about the requirements for a successful revolutionary group or a party?
3. To what extent you can say that the Bolsheviks were a party formed in Lenin's own image?
4. Explain the role ofthe German government back to Lenin's returnto Russia in April 1917.
5. Describe the Bolshevik policyof war communism. What was it intended to achieve and how successful was it?

Further Readings

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Web Links

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Unit 05: World Between the Two Wars - I

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Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Know the historical formation of the League of Nations.
- Describe the functions of the League of Nations.
- Analyze the factors and consequences of the League of Nations.
- Conclude the historical failure of the League of Nations to maintain peace.

Introduction

The League of Nations is an international organization founded on January 10, 1920, at the initiative of the victorious Allied powers at the end of World War I.As the years passed and peace seemed no closer, an ever-increasing public demand grew for some method to be found to prevent the renewal of the suffering and destruction that were now seen as an unavoidable part of modern war. The force of this demand was so strong that, just a few weeks after the start of the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919, a unanimous agreement was reached on the text of the League of Nations Covenant. Although the League was unable to live up to its founders' expectations, its establishment was a watershed moment in the history of international relations.On April 19, 1946, the League formally disbanded; its powers and functions were transferred to the nascent United Nations.

5.1   Foundation of the League of Nations

The movement's central, fundamental idea was that aggressive war is a crime not only against the immediate victim but against the entire human community. As a result, it is the right and duty of all states to work together to prevent it; if it is certain that they will, no aggression is likely to occur. Such affirmations could be found in the writings of philosophers or moralists, but they had never before entered the realm of practical politics.Statesmen and lawyers alike held and acted on the belief that there was no natural or supreme law by which sovereign states' rights, including the right to wage war as and when they saw fit, could be judged or limited. Many of the League of

Twentieth Century World

Nations' characteristics were derived from existing institutions or from time-honored proposals for reforming previous diplomatic methods. However, the premise of collective security was a new concept created by the unprecedented pressures of the First World War.

Picture: People Gathering at Treaty of Versailles

When the peace conference convened, it was widely agreed that one of its tasks should be to establish a League of Nations capable of ensuring future peace. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States insisted that this be one of the first issues addressed by the conference. The work moved much faster than territorial and military settlement, owing to the fact that the subject had been thoroughly researched during the war years. Unofficial societies in the United States, Great Britain, France, and some neutral countries had developed numerous plans and proposals, drawing on the work of earlier thinkers.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

With the groundwork laid, and under Wilson's steadfast leadership, the conference was able to produce a document known as the Covenant of the League of Nations in just a few days of intensive committee work. On February 14, 1919, a draft of this text was published. It was heavily criticized, particularly in the United States, where Wilson's star was already fading, as well as by European neutrals who had no official role in the project. However, it was generally well received. Despite the fact that the first great impulse had already weakened and Allied unity had been harmed, the conference unanimously adopted a final amended text on April 28, 1919. The Covenant was a brief and concise 26-article document. The first seven articles established the new system's constitutional foundation. Article 1 defined the League's founding members as all Allied signatories to the peace treaties and the 13 countries that had been neutral during the war if they chose to join without the reservation. Others could be admitted with a two-thirds vote of the Assembly, and any member could resign with two years' notice.

Articles 2-5 established the League's directing organs: an Assembly of representatives from all members and a Council of representatives from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Japan as permanent members, with four others elected by the Assembly. Articles 6 and 7 established a permanent Secretariat, provided for the League's expenses, and designated Geneva as its headquarters. Armaments were addressed in Articles 8 and 9. All members agreed to reduce their armaments to the smallest possible level, to suppress the "evil effects" of private arms manufacturing, and to exchange complete information about their existing armaments and future plans. A permanent commission was established to provide advice to the Council on all military, naval, and air issues. Articles 10-17 embodied what could be called the League's central and fundamental idea: collective security, as well as various procedures for peaceful dispute resolution. Each member agreed (Article 10) to respect the integrity and independence of the others and to work together to protect them from aggression. Article 11 stated that any war or threat of war

5.2   Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations

Wilson, for one, was convinced that most Americans supported the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, and he had ample evidence to back up his claim. The League had received support from 32 state legislatures and 33 governors. Nonetheless, in response to mounting congressional opposition, Wilson embarked on an 8,000-mile (12,900-km) speaking tour in an attempt to persuade Congress to follow his lead. Wilson's health suffered greatly as a result of his trip across the United States, during which he delivered 37 speeches, permanently impeding him and effectively removing him from the fight for the League. Wilson was so exhausted by the end of September 1919 that he had to cancel the remaining scheduled speaking engagements.

Picture: Woodrow Wilson

In November 1919, U.S. Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican from Massachusetts, presented the Senate with a set of treaty reservations that effectively limited U.S. participation in the League. On November 18 Wilson wrote to U.S. Sen. Gilbert Hitchcock of Nebraska, urging loyal Democrats to vote against Lodge's reservations. The next day, loyal Democrats joined forces with those who were vehemently opposed to the treaty to prevent its ratification with Lodge's reservations. However, for the next vote, on the question of ratification without reservations, the vast majority of senators switched sides.The irreconcilables voted against the treaty once more, but this time they were joined by those who opposed an unqualified US commitment, such as Lodge. The total number of supporters fell short of the two-thirds majority required by the US Constitution for such decisions. Ratification was defeated again in the Senate in March 1920, and the prospect of U.S. membership vanished, as it turned out, forever.

This event had a decisive impact on the League's future because it ruled out all possibilities of collective security as embodied in the Covenant. There was no guarantee of a total economic boycott, which was expected to be sufficient to make even the most aggressive government prefer to settle its disputes through negotiation rather than armed attack. The system's other components could and did continue to function, albeit with less effectiveness than if the United States had fully participated.The knowledge that the world's largest economic power would abstain from sanctions deprived that part of the Covenant of its main threat to the aggressor and, as a result, destroyed the trust that other members could place in it. However, the League was inextricably linked to the fabric of the peace treaties, and there was hope that the Senate's decision would be overturned someday. Many countries' publics would have strongly opposed any proposal to leave the League. Despite the absence of the United States, the first meeting of the League Council took place immediately after the Treaty of Versailles was ratified.Thus began the League's active, if not always successful, existence, which ended with the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, though its formal demise did not occur until April 1946.

5.3   Structure of the League of Nations

The League quickly grew into a massive and complex structure. The Assembly and Council, acting either directly under the terms of the Covenant or on their own initiative, determine the nature, membership, and competence of the League's other principal organs and institutions, directed their work, and provided their budget. Each member country sent one to three delegates to the Assembly, and many countries also sent a large number of substitutes and experts. The Covenant's authors anticipated that the Assembly would meet every third or fourth year, but at its first session in 1920, it decided to meet every September. Each session began with a general discussion of the work completed in the previous year or planned for the coming year.

This discussion frequently centred on issues that the speaker believed should be addressed by League members rather than those outside the League. It usually settled down to two or three weeks of committee meetings after that. Because every delegation was represented on each committee, and these groups met in public, the committee conclusions were usually adopted with only a few formal speeches in the plenary Assembly. The decisions of the Assembly required unanimity among those who voted. Thus, any member could, in theory, veto any decision. In practice, such a scenario was extremely rare.It became customary for those who disagreed with the majority's proposals to vote against them in committee and, having done so, to abstain from voting in the Assembly.

Except for the occasional discussion of political issues dealt with by the Council, the Assembly's debates covered every aspect of the League's activities. A few matters, such as the admission of new members or the revision of obsolete treaties, were expressly reserved to the Assembly, and it insisted from the start on being the sole authority over the budget. It demonstrated a zeal for disarmament, on which the smaller powers, who could effectively express themselves there, were dissatisfied with the policy of the great powers and the Council.

The Assembly was widely regarded as the most successful and original of the League's many innovations. It was unique in its constitutional nature as a worldwide conference meeting to discuss any and all questions of international relations. It was even more original in spirit, as it gave equal rights and opportunities to be heard to all powers, large and small, and deliberately sought to follow the open and direct methods of a parliament rather than the formalities of a diplomatic gathering.The Council was originally intended to have five permanent members—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—along with four others elected by the Assembly for limited terms. It was expected that Germany and the USSR would become permanent members at some point, increasing nonpermanent membership accordingly. However, the seat of the United States was never occupied, and the number of elected members was increased to six in 1922 and to nine in 1926, so the intended majority of great powers was never realized.

The Council held three or four regular sessions a year after the first year, when it met almost every month, though it was not until 1923 that it formally decided to meet at fixed dates in March, June, September, and December of each year. When necessary, it also met in special sessions. Its members were usually represented in the early years by either elder statesmen who had retired from active politics, such as Arthur Balfour or Léon Bourgeois, or by professional diplomats.In 1923, European members began sending their foreign ministers to each meeting, greatly increasing the Council's authority and importance. This remained the standard practice until the League's demise.

The Council's primary concern was political. It dealt not only with major disputes that could endanger peace but also with countless minor issues that arose from the peace treaties or were submitted to it by the states involved: problems of frontier adjustment; disputes arising from border incidents or accusations of wrongs done to minorities; problems concerning specific areas of constant tension, such as Danzig (now Gdask) or the Saar territory, where treaty settlements entrusted administrative or arbitral decisions. The votes of the parties involved did not count in any dispute that was likely to lead to splintering. With this exception, all substantive decisions required unanimity, and all League members involved in the issue at hand had the rights of Council members for the occasion. Although actual cases of veto or deadlock were rare, the Council undoubtedly tended toward compromise or delay rather than clear-cut decisions as a result.

5.4 Failure of the League of Nations

Historical Analysis

The 20 years of the League's active existence fell into four periods: (1) 1920–23, a period of growth, during which the League increased its membership and established its machinery but had little concern with the chief political problems of the time; (2) 1924–31, from the beginnings of reconciliation in Europe to the Japanese aggression in Manchuria, a period of relative stability; (3) 1931–36, from the Manchurian war to Benito Mussolini's victory in Ethiopia and the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis, a period of conflict during which the League was the main centre of international affairs; and (4) 1936–39, a period of defeat for the League, during which the Covenant was virtually abandoned.

All of the major organs of the League's working structure were established during the first period (1920-23). All of the neutral states invited to join the Covenant had done so, and three of the countries defeated in the war, as well as several created by peace treaties, had been admitted, bringing the total number of members to 54. While the League was establishing itself as a fairly efficient working institution, it was still a long way from wielding the kind of global influence that its founders had envisioned. While the US remained silent, the so-called Supreme Council of the victorious powers claimed responsibility for dealing with the more serious issues. The League's only significant political achievements during this time period were the settlement of the Polish-German border in Upper Silesia and the rescue of Austria from financial ruin. In each case, the Council, after the Supreme Council had tried and failed, solved the problem through what was essentially a new technique in such matters—an interconnected complex of political and economic dispositions based on the advice of its technical organizations. The Austrian model was quickly followed by League plans for Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece, as well as, in large part, the Dawes Plan for reviving Germany's collapsed economy. Notably, the League did not act on this last initiative.

The postwar period reached a climax of discord and disorder in 1923 when the French occupied the Ruhr in order to force reparations payments, and Mussolini occupied Corfu in order to force the Greek government to pay compensation for the murder of a group of Italian officers on Greek soil. The Corfu dispute was the first major conflict between League members in which the principle of collective security was considered. Some predicted that it would be the end of the League because Mussolini had gotten his way through methods that clearly violated the Covenant. However, under intense pressure from the Council and Assembly, he was forced to achieve his goals through deception rather than defiance of the League, and he was forced to evacuate Corfu much sooner than he had planned. The event demonstrated that the League, despite its inability to impose quick decisions, was capable of making the aggressor's path difficult and unpleasant.

The second period (1924-31) saw a notable reversal of the situation, and the League was now entering its second period of existence. New governments in London and Paris set out to improve relations with Germany and the USSR, and both declared that their policy would now be based on the League of Nations. The Supreme Council had ceased to function, the system of hasty conferences had been abandoned, and Geneva became the main working centre of international affairs for the next 12 years. During the first seven of these, the world was free of serious armed conflict; the minor quarrels with which the Council had to deal, while often unpleasant and difficult, usually ended in compromise and did not jeopardize the League's stability or the world's peace.

The question of Germany's admission to the League of Nations was crucial in the reconstruction of Europe. Germany demanded it as a symbol of regaining equality with the other great powers, and admission would allow Germany to participate in the overall management of international affairs, including those arising from peace treaties. The proposal to admit Germany to the League was supported by former neutrals as well as belligerents hoping for a new beginning through reconciliation. The latter group also demanded that the Covenant's disarmament provisions be implemented immediately. These sentiments were not absent in France, Poland, and other German-neighboring countries, but they were accompanied by deep fear that the German empire's military ambitions would once again take precedence in the Weimar Republic. Indeed, the attitude of Germany's powerful right-wing parties gave substance to these fears. Germany's neighbours maintained that the Covenant's security was insufficient and that disarmament could only take place after they received guarantees of prompt and effective support in the event of new aggression. (The treaty had drastically reduced German armaments, but it was believed that Germany was evading these obligations).

Many other League members, including those from the British Commonwealth, saw the Covenant as the absolute limit of what they could safely promise. They also believed that disarmament would ensure peace and prosperity and that if this occurred, they would be able to reaffirm, if not strengthen, the League's obligations. As a result, it became accepted League doctrine that increased security was a prerequisite for disarmament and that general disarmament was a prerequisite for security. This dual thesis was embodied by the 1923 Assembly in a draught treaty of mutual security, which was promptly rejected by all but France.Many governments rejected this treaty because they observed that League action in a crisis was frequently slowed or even halted due to disagreements over which of the conflicting states was the aggressor and which was the victim. The answer appeared to be that the aggressor was clearly the state that refused to submit the dispute to arbitration or other peaceful means of resolution. When the Assembly of 1924 resumed efforts to achieve the combined goals of disarmament and security, it added arbitration as a third component that should make the entire plan workable and complete. It drew up a treaty of arbitration, mutual security, and disarmament based on this formula and the extensive research of previous assemblies and committees.The new plan was dubbed the Geneva Protocol to emphasize that its goal was not to replace the Covenant but to strengthen it. On paper, it was the most comprehensive system of collective security ever devised at the time, and it was enthusiastically approved by the Assembly. Ten countries, including France, signed it, and others, including Italy and Japan, appeared to be on the verge of doing so. A change of government in London, as well as Commonwealth countries' fears of conflict with the United States, led to its rejection by the United Kingdom.

The third period (1931-36) of League history, the period of conflict, began on September 18, 1931, with the Mukden Incident, a surprise attack by the Japanese army on the Chinese authorities in Manchuria. This was clearly a war crime against the Covenant. Japan initially declared that troops would be withdrawn, but later (February 1932) established the puppet state of Manchukuo, claiming that this removed any legal basis for League intervention. This was the Covenant system's first major test, and no more difficult circumstances could be imagined.Many of the League's smaller members, as well as League supporters worldwide, called for strict adherence to the Covenant and an economic boycott of Japan. However, the chief Council members were themselves in the grip of an economic crisis, and cooperation from the United States and the Soviet Union was almost certain to be refused. Sanctions were never seriously considered. A commission of inquiry was appointed after long negotiations in which the United States did give its support, even allowing a U.S. delegate to sit with the Council for one session.When the commission arrived in Manchuria in April 1932, the new state of Manchukuo had already been established. Nonetheless, the commission produced a comprehensive report, concluding that Manchuria should be returned to Chinese sovereignty with various safeguards for Japan's rights and needs. The Assembly unanimously approved the report's conclusions (February 1933). Japan rejected them and withdrew from the League a month later.

Hitler denounced the Locarno Pact in March 1936. That October, Italy, and Germany formed the Rome-Berlin Axis, which was soon joined by Japan. All three were vehemently opposed to the League. Only those League members who were looking everywhere for possible support against German aggression, such as France, the USSR, or Czechoslovakia, continued to affirm their belief in collective security. While the United States Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts, the majority of League members declared that they were no longer bound by the Covenant's obligations.Although the League's organs continued to meet and perform some useful tasks in this final period (1936-45) of its history, the main international problems were dealt with outside Geneva, as in the first. In the midst of a series of crises—the Spanish Civil War, Japan's invasion of China, and the annexations of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania—reference to the League became either a formality or was simply omitted. When World War II broke out in September 1939, there was no appeal to Geneva.Finland petitioned for assistance against Soviet aggression in December 1939, and the Assembly organized every assistance it could for Finland. The Council declared the USSR's exclusion from the League.

Picture: Adolf Hitler addressing a gathering

When the Allied leaders began to make plans for future international organizations forthe final years of the war, they rejected any idea of reviving the Covenant. When the United Nations was established, that instrument was still nominally in force (October 24, 1945). Six months later, the Assembly met for the final time in Geneva. Many treaties transferred the League's powers and functions to the new organ organization also inherited the League's material possessions, including the Palais des Nations. The League's existence was fly ended on April 19, 1946.All who had believed in the principles of the Covenant could not help but be sad on this occasion, but their regrets were for past mistakes and misfortunes. In the future, they could still hope that the United Nations would pursue the same goals more successfully. The Charter's provisions were intended to correct and complete what appeared to be flaws in Covenant. It remained true that the new organisation followed the precedents of the old in nearly every aspect of its goals and principles, institutions, and methods.

Summary

With the outbreak of the Second World War, it was clear that the League had failed to achieve its goal of preventing future world wars. Neither the League's Assembly nor Council could or would meet during the war, and the League's secretariat in Geneva was reduced to a skeleton staff, with many offices moving to North America.After failing to prevent one war, the Yalta Conference decided in 1945 to establish a new body to take over the League's role. This organisation was to be known as the United Nations. Many League bodies, such as the International Labour Organization, continued to operate and eventually became affiliated with the United Nations. The League dissolved itself at a meeting of the Assembly in 1946, and its services, mandates, and property were transferred to the UN.

The League of Nations was an international cooperation organorganizationwas founded on January 10, 1920, at the initiative of the victorious Allied powers following World War I, and it was formally disbanded on April 19, 1946. Although it was ultimately unable to fulfil fulfill hopes of its founders, its establishment was a watershed moment in the history of international relations.

Keywords

Allied Powers:Those countries that allied against the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) in the First World War and the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) in the Second World War.

Assembly: A group of people gathered for discussion and legislation, worship, or entertainment.

Axis Powers: The Axis powers, also known as the Rome-Berlin Axis, was a military alliance that started World War II and fought against the Allies. Its primary members were Nazi Germany, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Japanese Empire.

Central Powers: The Central Powers, also known as the Central Empires, were one of World War I's two main coalitions. It was also known as the Quadruple Alliance because it included the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

Self Assessment

1. League of Nations was established in 1919. Among the following who wanted to establish the League___
   A. Lloyd George
   B. Wilson
   C. Clemenceau
   D. Orlando

2. What treaty set up the League of Nations?
   A. Versailles
   B. Trianon
   C. Sevres
   D. St. Germain

3. How often did the Assembly meet?
   A. Once a year
   B. Two times a year
   C. Occasionally
   D. 4-5 times a year

4. When the League was created then the total number of the nations was___
   A. 32
   B. 42
   C. 52
   D. 62

5. Germany was not a member of the League of Nations. The reason for it was___
   A. They had to prove themselves a peace loving nation
   B. Its decision had to be unanimous
   C. It aims were impossibly ambitious
   D. None of the above

6. Among the following which government formed a committee to study the plan for the formation of the League of Nations?
   A. British
   B. American
   C. Germany
   D. French

7. What is the name US president who put forward his famous "Fourteen Point" programme for the formation of League of Nations?
   A. George Bush
   B. Bill Clinton
   C. Woodrow Wilson
   D. None of the Above

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8. What is the date of formation of the League of Nations?
A. 10 January 1920
B. 15 January 1920
C. 20 January 1920
D. 25 January 1920

9. Among the following countries were permanent members of the League of Nations?
A. USA, France, Britain
B. Italy, Japan
C. Both options are correct
D. Both options are incorrect

10. Which conference adopted the United Nations Charter on 26 January 1945?
A. London Conference
B. Tokyo Conference
C. San Francisco Conference
D. All of the above

11. Among the following which is the example of economic sanction?
A. Refusing to import goods from a nation
B. Replacing the government of a nation
C. Refuging to recognize the existence of any community
D. All options are correct

12. What was the strongest body of the league?
A. The International Court of Justice
B. The Council
C. The Secretariat
D. The Assembly

13. The first clear expression of nationalism came with which among the following revolutions?
A. American Revolution
B. German Revolution
C. Russian Revolution
D. French Revolution

14. Headquarters of the League of Nations is situated in___
A. Geneva
B. Rome
C. Berlin
D. Moscow

15. Geneva is a city in a European country. The name of the country is___
A. Italy
B. Germany
C. Switzerland
D. France

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	B	2.	A	3.	A	4.	B	5.	A
6.	D	7.	C	8.	A	9.	C	10.	C

11. A   12. D   13. D   14. A   15. C

Review Questions

1. What were the historical reasons for the formation of the League of Nations?
2. Discuss the social, economical, and political reasons for the establishment of the League of Nations?
3. Explain the role of US President Woodrow Wilson in the formation of the League of Nations.
4. To what extent the League of Nations was responsible for the Second World War? Discuss in detail.
5. Criticallyevaluate the failure of the League of Nations.

Further Readings

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Web Links

-   https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations
-   https://www.ungeneva.org/en/library-archives/league-of-nations
-   https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/league
-   https://www.un.org/en/about-us/history-of-the-un/predecessor

Unit 06: World Between the Two Wars II

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Know the causes of the great depression.
- Understand the political and social consequences of the great depression.
- Assess the new economic order after the great depression.
- Analyze the relation between new economic order and the great depression.

Introduction

The term "Great Depression" refers to the world's greatest and longest economic downturn in modern history. The Great Depression lasted from 1929 to 1941, the same year that the United States entered the Second World War. This period was characterized by a number of economic contractions, including the 1929 stock market crash and banking panics in 1930 and 1931.The economic contagion began in September and culminated in the October 24 Wall Street stock market crash (Black Thursday). Most countries around the world were affected to varying degrees by the economic shock. It was the twentieth century's longest, deepest, and most widespread depression.The global gross domestic product (GDP) fell by an estimated 15% between 1929 and 1932. Global GDP fell by less than 1% during the Great Recession from 2008 to 2009. By the mid-1930s, some economies had begun to recover. However, the Great Depression's negative effects lingered in many countries until the outbreak of World War II. Personal income, prices, tax revenues, and profits fell precipitously in both rich and poor countries. International trade fell by more than half, unemployment in the United States rose to 23%, and in some countries, it reached 33%.Cities all over the world were hard hit, particularly those reliant on heavy industry. Many countries have effectively halted construction. Crop prices fell by 60%, wreaking havoc on farming communities and rural areas. Areas reliant on primary sector industries suffered the most as demand fell and job opportunities became scarce.

6.1   Historical Background

After the 1929 Wall Street Crash, when the Dow Jones Industrial Average fell from 381 to 198 in two months, optimism persisted for a while. The stock market rose in early 1930, with the Dow returning to pre-depression levels of 294 in April 1930, before falling steadily for years, reaching a low of 41 in 1932.Initially, governments and businesses spent more in the first half of 1930 than in the previous year's corresponding period. Consumers, on the other hand, reduced their spending by 10% after suffering significant losses in the stock market the previous year. Furthermore, beginning in the mid-1930s, a severe drought devastated the agricultural heartland of the United States.

Interest rates had fallen to low levels by the mid-1930s, but anticipated deflation and people's continued reluctance to borrow meant that consumer spending and investment remained low. Automobile sales had fallen below 1928 levels by May 1930. Prices began to fall in general, while wages remained stable in 1930. In 1931, a deflationary spiral began. Farmers faced a bleak future as crop prices fell and the Great Plains experienced a drought. Despite federal assistance, nearly 10% of all Great Plains farms changed hands during the Great Depression.

Picture: Crowed in the intersection of Wall Street and Broad Street in 1929

The severity and timing of the Great Depression varied greatly across countries. The Great Depression was especially long and severe in the United States and Europe, but it was milder in Japan and much of Latin America. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the world economy's worst depression in history was caused by a variety of factors. Consumer demand declines, financial panics, and misguided government policies all contributed to a drop in economic output in the United States, while the gold standard, which linked nearly all countries in the world in a network of fixed currency exchange rates, played a key role in spreading the American downturn to other countries.The abandonment of the gold standard and the subsequent monetary expansion fueled the recovery from the Great Depression. The Great Depression had a massive economic impact, resulting in both extreme human suffering and profound changes in economic policy.

The Timing and The Severity

The Great Depression began in the United States in the summer of 1929 as a normal recession. However, the downturn became significantly worse in late 1929 and lasted until early 1933. Real output and prices both dropped precipitously. Between the peak and trough of the downturn, industrial production in the United States fell by 47 percent, while real GDP fell by 30 percent. The wholesale price index fell by 33%. (such declines in the price level are referred to as deflation). Although there is some disagreement about the reliability of the statistics, it is widely accepted that the unemployment rate exceeded 20% at its peak.The severity of the Great Depression in the United States is highlighted when compared to America's next worst recession, the Great Recession of 2007-09, during which the country's real GDP fell by only 4.3 percent and the unemployment rate peaked at less than 10%.

Almost every country in the world was affected by the Great Depression. The dates and magnitude of the downturn, however, varied significantly across countries. Throughout the second half of the 1920s, the United Kingdom struggled with low growth and recession. However, the country did not enter a severe depression until early 1930, and its peak-to-trough decline in industrial production was roughly one-third that of the US. France also experienced a brief recession in the early 1930s. However, the French recovery in 1932 and 1933 was brief.Between 1933 and 1936, both industrial production and prices in France fell precipitously. Germany's economy began to contract in early 1928, then stabilized before contracting again in the third quarter of 1929. German industrial production fell roughly in line with that of the United States. A number of Latin American countries experienced depression in late 1928 and early 1929, just before the United States output decline. While some less-developed countries suffered from severe depressions, others, such as Argentina and Brazil, experienced relatively mild downturns. Japan also went through a mild depression, which started late and ended early.

Other countries experienced the same general price deflation as the United States. Between 1929 and 1933, wholesale prices fell by 30% or more in almost every industrialized country. Deflation in Japan was unusually rapid in 1930 and 1931 due to the greater flexibility of the Japanese price structure. This rapid deflation may have contributed to the relatively mild decline in Japanese output. During this time, the prices of primary commodities traded on global markets fell even further. Coffee, cotton, silk, and rubber prices, for example, were cut in half between September 1929 and December 1930. As a result, primary commodity producers' terms of trade fell precipitously.

The United States began to recover in the spring of 1933. In the mid-1930s, output expanded rapidly: real GDP increased at an average annual rate of 9% between 1933 and 1937. However, output had fallen so far in the early 1930s that it remained significantly below its long-run trend path throughout this period. The United States experienced another severe downturn in 1937-38, but after mid-1938, the American economy grew even faster than in the mid-1930s. In 1942, the country's output finally returned to its long-run trend path.The rest of the world's recovery varied greatly. The British economy began to recover soon after the country abandoned the gold standard in September 1931, though full recovery did not occur until the end of 1932. In late 1931 and early 1932, the economies of several Latin American countries began to improve. In the fall of 1932, both Germany and Japan began to recover. Canada and many smaller European countries began to recover around the same time as the US, in early 1933. France, on the other hand, experienced severe depression later than most countries and did not fully recover until 1938.

6.2   Causes of the Decline of the Stock Market

The primary cause of the Great Depression in the United States was a decrease in spending (also known as aggregate demand), which led to a decrease in production as manufacturers and merchandisers noticed an unintended rise in inventories. The causes of the decline in spending in the United States varied over the course of the Depression, but they all added up to a massive drop in aggregate demand. The decline of the United States was largely transmitted to the rest of the world via the gold standard. However, a number of other factors influenced the downturn in different countries.

Picture: Stock Market Crash

The initial decline in US output in the summer of 1929 is widely attributed to tight monetary policy in the United States aimed at limiting stock market speculation. The 1920s had been a prosperous decade, but not a particularly prosperous one; prices had remained nearly constant throughout the decade, and there had been mild recessions in both 1924 and 1927. The stock market was the one obvious area of excess. From the low in 1921 to the peak in 1929, stock prices had more than quadrupled. The Federal Reserve raised interest rates in 1928 and 1929 in the hopes of slowing the rapid rise in stock prices.Higher interest rates reduced interest-sensitive spending in areas such as construction and automobile purchases, resulting in lower output. Some academics believe that a surge in housing construction in the mid-1920s resulted in an excess supply of housing and a sharp drop in construction in 1928 and 1929.

By the fall of 1929, stock prices in the United States had reached levels that could not be justified by reasonable expectations of future earnings. As a result, when a series of minor events resulted in gradual price declines in October 1929, investors lost faith, and the stock market bubble burst. On "Black Thursday," October 24, 1929, panic selling began. Many stocks were purchased on margin, or with loans secured by only a small portion of the stock's value. As a result of the price declines, some investors were forced to liquidate their holdings, exacerbating the price decline. Stock prices in the United States (as measured by the Cowles Index) fell 33% between their peak in September and their low in November.Because of the severity of the decline, this event is commonly referred to as the Great Crash of 1929.The stock market crash significantly reduced aggregate demand in the United States. Following the crash, consumer purchases of durable goods and business investment fell precipitously. One plausible explanation is that the financial crisis created significant uncertainty about future income, causing consumers and businesses to postpone purchases of durable goods. Although the drop in stock prices resulted in a relatively minor loss of wealth, the crash may have also depressed spending by making people feel poorer (see consumer confidence). As a result of the sharp drop in consumer and business spending, real output in the United States, which had been slowly declining up to this point, fell precipitously in late 1929 and throughout 1930.While the stock market crash and the Great Depression are two distinct events, the drop in stock prices was one factor contributing to declines in production and employment in the United States.

Decline of Banks

The next blow to aggregate demand came in the fall of 1930 when the United States was gripped by the first of four waves of banking panics. A banking panic occurs when a large number of depositors simultaneously lose faith in the solvency of banks and demand that their bank deposits be paid in cash. Banks, which typically hold only a fraction of deposits as cash reserves, must liquidate loans to raise the necessary funds. Even a previously solvent bank can fail as a result of this hasty liquidation process. Banking panics swept the United States in the fall of 1930, the spring of 1931, the fall of 1931, and the fall of 1932.The final wave of panic lasted through the winter of

1933, culminating in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration of a national "bank holiday" on March 6, 1933. All banks were closed during the bank holiday, and they were only allowed to reopen after being deemed solvent by government inspectors. The panics had a significant impact on the American banking system. One-fifth of the banks that existed at the start of 1930 had failed by 1933.

Banking panics are, by definition, irrational and inexplicable events, but some of the factors that contribute to the problem can be explained. According to economic historians, significant increases in farm debt in the 1920s, combined with US policies that encouraged small, undiversified banks, created an environment in which such panics could ignite and spread. The heavy farm debt was caused in part by high agricultural commodity prices during World War I, which prompted extensive borrowing by American farmers seeking to increase production by investing in land and machinery. Following the war, the drop in farm commodity prices made it difficult forfarmers to keep up with loan payments.The Federal Reserve did little to alleviate the banking panic. In their classic study A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960 (1963), economists Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz argued that the death in 1928 of Benjamin Strong, the governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 1914, was a significant cause of this inaction. Strong had been a forceful leader who understood the central bank's ability to limit panics. His death created a power vacuum at the Federal Reserve, allowing leaders with less rational viewpoints to obstruct effective intervention. People's desire to hold currency increased dramatically in relation to their bank deposits as a result of the panics.This increase in the currency-to-deposit ratio was a major reason why the US money supply fell by 31% between 1929 and 1933. In addition to allowing panics to reduce the US money supply, the Fed deliberately contracted the money supply and raised interest rates in September 1931, when Britain was forced off the gold standard and investors feared that the US would follow suit.

According to academics, such declines in the money supply caused by Federal Reserve decisions had a severe contractionary effect on output. A simple illustration provides perhaps the clearest evidence of the critical role that monetary collapse played in the United States' Great Depression. The graph depicts the money supply and real output from 1900 to 1945. Both the money supply and output tend to grow steadily in normal times, such as the 1920s. However, both fell precipitously in the early 1930s. The decrease in the money supply reduced spending in a variety of ways.Perhaps most importantly, as a result of actual price declines and the rapid decline in the money supply, consumers and businesspeople began to expect deflation or lower wages and prices in the future. As a result, even though nominal interest rates were extremely low, people were hesitant to borrow because they were concerned that future wages and profits would be insufficient to cover loan payments. This hesitancy, in turn, resulted in significant decreases in both consumer spending and business investment. The panics undoubtedly exacerbated the drop in spending by instilling pessimism and a lack of confidence. Furthermore, the failure of so many banks hampered lending, reducing the amount of money available to finance investment.

The Standard of Gold

Some economists believe the Federal Reserve allowed or caused the massive declines in the American money supply in order to keep the gold standard in place. The gold standard required each country to set the value of its currency in terms of gold and to take monetary actions to defend the fixed price. Foreigners may have lost faith in the United States' commitment to the gold standard if the Federal Reserve had expanded the money supply significantly in response to the banking panics. This could have resulted in significant gold outflows, forcing the US to devalue.Similarly, had the Federal Reserve not tightened the money supply in the fall of 1931, there could have been a speculative attack on the dollar, forcing the US to abandon the gold standard alongside Great Britain.

While the role of the gold standard in limiting US monetary policy is debatable, there is no doubt that it was a key factor in transmitting America's economic decline to the rest of the world. Under the gold standard, trade or asset flow imbalances caused international gold flows. In the mid-1920s, for example, intense international demand for American assets such as stocks and bonds resulted in large inflows of gold to the United States. Similarly, France's decision to return to the gold standard with an undervalued franc following World War I resulted in trade surpluses and significant gold inflows.Following World War I, Britain chose to return to the gold standard at prewar parity. However, wartime inflation implied that the pound was overvalued, and this overvaluation resulted in trade deficits and significant gold outflows after 1925. The Bank of England raised

interest rates significantly to stem the gold outflow. Throughout the second half of the 1920s, high interest rates depressed British spending and contributed.

When the US economy began to contract significantly, the tendency for gold to flow out of other countries and toward the US increased. This occurred because deflation in the United States made American goods particularly appealing to foreigners, while low income in the United States reduced demand for foreign goods. Central banks around the world raised interest rates to counteract the resulting tendency toward an American trade surplus and foreign gold outflows. To maintain the international gold standard, a massive monetary contraction across the globe was required to match the one occurring in the United States. As a result, output and prices fell in countries all over the world, nearly matching the drop in the United States.

Aside from the United States, a number of other countries experienced financial crises and banking panics. Payment problems at Austria's largest bank, the Credential, triggered a series of financial crises that engulfed much of Europe and played a key role in forcing Britain to abandon the gold standard in May 1931. Austria, Germany, and Hungary were among the countries hardest hit by bank failures and volatile financial markets. These widespread banking crises could have been caused by poor regulation and other local factors, or they could have simply spread from one country to another.Furthermore, by forcing countries to deflate alongside the US, the gold standard reduced the value of banks' collateral and made them more vulnerable to runs. Banking panics and other financial market disruptions, as in the United States, further depressed output and prices in a number of countries.

International Trade

Some academics emphasize the significance of other international connections. Foreign lending to Germany and Latin America had increased significantly in the mid-1920s, but US lending abroad fell in 1928 and 1929 due to high interest rates and a thriving stock market in the United States. This decrease in foreign lending may have resulted in further credit contractions and output declines in borrower countries. In Germany, which experienced extremely rapid inflation (hyperinflation) in the early 1920s, monetary authorities may have been hesitant to implement an expansionary policy to combat the economic slowdown for fear of reigniting inflation. Reduced foreign lending may explain why the economies of Germany, Argentina, and Brazil began to contract before the Great Depression in the United States.

Other complications arose as a result of the 1930 enactment of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act in the United States and the worldwide rise in protectionist trade policies. The Smoot-Hawley tariff was designed to increase farm income by lowering foreign competition in agricultural products. However, other countries followed suit, both in retaliation and to force trade imbalances to be corrected. Scholars now believe that while these policies may have reduced trade slightly, they were not a major cause of the Depression among large industrial producers. Protectionist policies, on the other hand, may have contributed to the extreme drop in global raw material prices, which caused severe balance-of-payments problems for primary commodity-producing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and led to contractionary monetary and fiscal policies.

6.3   New Economic Deal

Given the importance of monetary contraction and the gold standard in causing the Great Depression, it is not surprising that currency depreciation and monetary expansion were the primary sources of global recovery. There is a significant correlation between the times when countries abandoned the gold standard (or significantly devalued their currencies) and when they experienced renewed growth in output.For example, Britain, which was forced off the gold standard in September 1931, recovered relatively quickly, whereas the United States, which did not devalue its currency effectively until 1933, recovered much later. Similarly, Argentina and Brazil, which began devaluing in 1929, experienced relatively mild downturns and had recovered largely by 1935. In contrast, the "Gold Bloc" countries of Belgium and France, which were particularly devoted to the gold standard and were slow to devalue, had industrial output in 1935 that was significantly lower than in 1929.

However, devaluation did not directly increase output. Rather, it allowed countries to increase their money supply without having to worry about gold movements or exchange rates. Countries that took advantage of this freedom recovered faster. The United States monetary expansion, which began in early 1933, was particularly dramatic. Between 1933 and 1937, the American money

supply increased by nearly 42 percent. This monetary expansion was largely the result of a large gold inflow to the United States, which was prompted inpart by rising political tensions in Europe prior to the Second World War.By lowering interest rates and making credit more widely available, monetary expansion stimulated spending. It also created inflationary rather than deflationary expectations, giving potential borrowers greater confidence that their wages and profits would be sufficient to cover their loan payments if they chose to borrow. Consumer and business spending on interest-sensitive items such as cars, trucks, and machinery increased much faster than consumer spending on services, indicating that monetary expansion aided the recovery in the United States by encouraging borrowing.

Fiscal policy played a minor role in promoting recovery in the United States. Indeed, in an attempt to balance the federal budget, the Revenue Act of 1932 significantly increased American tax rates, causing the economy to contract further by discouraging spending. Beginning in early 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal included a number of new federal programs aimed at generating recovery. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), for example, hired unemployed people to work on government construction projects, and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) built dams and power plants in economically depressed areas.However, actual increases in government spending and the fiscal deficit were small in comparison to the size of the economy. This is especially evident when state government budget deficits are included because those deficits actually decreased while the federal deficit increased. As a result, the New Deal's new spending programmes had a little direct expansionary effect on the economy. It remains to be seen whether they had any positive effects on consumer and business sentiment.

Some New Deal programmes may have hampered recovery. For example, the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 established the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which encouraged firms in each industry to adopt a code of conduct. These codes discouraged firm price competition, established minimum wages in each industry, and sometimes limited production. Similarly, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which established voluntary guidelines and paid farmers incentives to limit production in order to raise agricultural prices.According to recent research, such anticompetitive practises and wage and price guidelines in the United States contributed to inflation during the early recovery period and discouraged reemployment and production.The recovery in the United States was cut short by a separate recession that began in May 1937 and lasted until June 1938. One cause of the 1937-1938 recession was the Federal Reserve's decision to significantly increase reserve requirements. This move, prompted by concerns that the economy might be entering a period of speculative excess, caused the money supply to slow and even fall. Fiscal contraction and lower inventory investment as a result of labour unrest are also thought to have contributed to the downturn. The fact that the United States experienced a second, very severe contraction before fully recovering from the enormous decline of the early 1930s is the primary reason that the country remained depressed for nearly the entire decade.

World War II had only a minor impact on the US economy's recovery. Despite the 1937-38 recession, real GDP in the United States was well above its pre-Depression level by 1939, and it had recovered to within about 10% of its long-run trend path by 1941. As a result, the United States had largely recovered before military spending increased noticeably. At the same time, the US economy was still slightly below trend at the start of the war, with an unemployment rate of just under 10% in 1941.Because of the military buildup, the government's budget deficit grew rapidly in 1941 and 1942, and the Federal Reserve responded to the threat and, later, the reality of war by significantly increasing the money supply during the same period. This expansionary fiscal and monetary policy, combined with widespread conscription beginning in 1942, quickly returned the economy to its pre-Depression trend path and reduced unemployment to levels lower than before the Depression. So, while the war was not the primary driver of the US recovery, it did play a role in completing the return to full employment.

The role of fiscal expansion, particularly military spending, in generating recovery varied significantly across countries. The United Kingdom, like the United States, did not use fiscal expansion to any significant extent early in its recovery. It did, however, significantly increase military spending after 1937. France raised taxes in the mid-1930s to defend the gold standard but began running large budget deficits in 1936. However, the expansionary effect of these deficits was somewhat offset by a legislative reduction in the French workweek from 46 to 40 hours—a change that raised costs and depressed output.Germany and Japan used fiscal policy more successfully. The German budget deficit as a percentage of GDP increased slowly early in the recovery, but it increased significantly after 1934 as a result of public works and rearmament spending. Between 1932 and 1934, Japan's government spending, particularly military spending, increased from 31 to

38 percent of GDP, resulting in significant budget deficits. This fiscal stimulus, combined with significant monetary expansion and an undervalued yen, quickly returned the Japanese economy to full employment.

6.4 Understanding New Economic Deal

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt introduced the New Deal, a comprehensive and broad set of government-directed projects, in an attempt to help the United States economy recover from the Great Depression. It was established in the early 1930s with the goal of bolstering the US economy, reducing unemployment, providing a social safety net, and instilling trust in the government's ability to protect its citizens.

The 1929 stock market crash began on October 24, a day known as Black Thursday. It abruptly ended a period of roaring growth. Companies and banks across the United States began to fail, and the unemployment rate skyrocketed to nearly a quarter of the workforce. After taking office in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched the New Deal. It was made up of a number of government-funded programs aimed at putting people back to work, as well as legislation and executive orders that supported farmers and stimulated business activity.

The New Deal sparked debate by instituting a slew of radical reforms and expanding the government's role in economic management. Several of its programs, including two major pillars, were eventually declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, including the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which set working conditions, minimum wages, and maximum hours while guaranteeing labor's right to bargain collectively, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which sought to stabilize farm prices.

However, public opinion supported the New Deal, and as a result, Roosevelt attempted to increase the number of Supreme Court justices in February 1937 in order to prevent future programs from being canceled. Despite his failure in this court-packing attempt, he achieved his goal. The Social Security Act was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court by a five-to-four vote in May 1937, after one of its justices reversed his anti-New Deal stance. No other New Deal program was ever judicially invalidated again.

6.5 Historical Importance of the New Economic Deal

The New Deal is frequently divided into two parts. The "first" New Deal was implemented in 1933, during Roosevelt's first two years in office. Along with the NRA and AAA, it included measures to stabilize the banking system (Emergency Banking Act), ensure bank deposit security (Banking Act of 1933, also known as the Glass-Steagall Act), and boost stock market confidence (Securities Act of 1933).In 1935, the "second" New Deal introduced what would become the program's most enduring legacy: government-sponsored retirement plans in the form of Social Security. It also resulted in an increase in government employment (Works Progress Administration) and minimum wages (Fair Labor Standards Act).

Historians credit the New Deal for helping to restore the country's fortunes. During the 1930s, the economy gradually recovered, banking system confidence was restored through federal deposit insurance, working conditions were improved, and labour unions strengthened workers' bargaining power. However, it was World War II that ultimately provided the impetus to get America back to work. The unprecedented global spending on ships, arms, and planes catapulted the country into full employment, a feat that the New Deal programs, despite their best efforts, were unable to accomplish on their own.

Key Features of the New Economic Deal

Following the Great Depression, the 1930s New Deal helped to revitalize the American economy.There are some important features of the New Economic Deal:

- The New Deal was a set of domestic programmes launched by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in an attempt to end the Great Depression's economic ravages.

- The New Deal also attempted to rein in the excesses of unfettered capitalism by enacting policies such as setting minimum wages, regulating working conditions, promoting labour unions, and increasing retirement security.
- The New Deal emphasized the government's role in directing the economy.
- The New Deal, ushered in by Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a massive federally funded series of infrastructure and improvement projects across America

Summary

The Great Depression was the country's worst economic downturn. It started in 1929 and lasted until the end of the 1930s. The October 1929 stock market crash signaled the start of the Great Depression. By 1933, unemployment had reached 25%, and over 5,000 banks had gone out of business.Europe, particularly Germany and France, was still struggling to recover from WWI. Many countries owed the United States money that had been lent during the war, but due to the global economic depression and years of destruction, the countries lacked the resources to pay back or support the United States. Furthermore, following the First World War, many countries, including the United States, became more isolated rather than interventionist. This was partly due to the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, which made American goods more expensive for foreign buyers, prompting them to raise the prices of their own goods in order for their industries to make profits and earn money to buy American goods and pay off U.S. debt. This reduced global trade, effectively closing potential markets and exacerbating the depression.

Keywords

Exchange: The act of giving or taking something in exchange for something else.

GDP:GDP, which stands for gross domestic product, is one of the most common. It is frequently cited in newspapers, on television news, and in government, central bank, and business reports.

Industrial Production: Industrial and Manufacturing Engineering is a measure of the output of the economy's industrial sector.

Stock Market:The stock market can be thought of as a network of stock exchanges where traders and investors can buy and sell shares of publicly traded companies.

Self Assessment

1. The Great Depression lasted from the year___
A. 1929-1931
B. 1929-1936
C. 1929-1941
D. 1929-1946

2. Which among the following was not a long term cause of the Great Depression?
A. Stock Market Crash
B. Bying Stock on Margin
C. Laisezz-faire economic Policies
D. None of the Above

3. The Great Depression began in the year___
A. 1929
B. 1930
C. 1931
D. 1932

4. Black Thursday was an accident in world history famous for___
A. Wall Street Crash of 1929
B. Decline of Ottoman Empire
C. Both of the Above

D. None of the Above

5. Roosevelt's collection of laws and programs to help the nation deal with the Depression wa known as___
A. The Square Deal
B. The New Deal
C. The Old Deal
D. No Deal

6. Who was the president when the Stock Market crashed?
A. George W. Bush
B. Bill Clinton
C. Franklin D. Roosevelt
D. Herbert Hoover

7. After the Stock Market Crash, many people lost their savings because___
A. Banks Closed
B. Banks gave away their money
C. They could not remember where they put it
D. Someone stole it

8. Which among the following New Deal laws regulated the buying and selling of stocks?
A. Securities and Exchange Commission
B. Federal Deposite Commission
C. Emergency Banking Act
D. Home owner Insurance Company

9. What were the major objectives of the New Deal?
A. No gold standard and free coinage of silver
B. Abolition and Suffarage
C. Relief, Reform, and Recovery
D. Expanding the size and economic influence of the United States

10. Which economic factor contributed most directly to the start of the Great Depression?
A. Low worker productivity
B. Buying stocks on margin
C. High income taxes
D. Decreasing tariff rates

11. What was the rate of unemployment during the Great Depression?
A. 10%
B. 15%
C. 20%
D. 25%

12. A time when business activity is very slow and people are out of work is known as___
A. Party
B. Depression
C. Marriage
D. Crash

13. What practice led to the stock market crash?
A. Speculation
B. Conservative investing
C. Common sense investing
D. Realism

14. How many people were unemployed during the great depression?

A. 11
B. 22
C. 28
D. 33

15. What were the villages full of shacks located in cities filled with unemployed Americans called?
A. Hoovervilles
B. Okies
C. Bonus Army Bases
D. All of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	C	2.	A	3.	A	4.	A	5.	B
6.	D	7.	A	8.	A	9.	C	10.	B
11.	D	12.	B	13.	A	14.	D	15.	A

Review Questions

1. What were the causes of the Great Depression?
2. What triggered the October 1929 stock market crash?
3. Do you believe President Herbert Hoover's response to the 1929 economic downturn was adequate?
4. What do you believe your life would have been like if you had been born during the Great Depression?
5. Do you think that anyone benefitted from the Great Depression?

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Unit 07: World Between the Two Wars III

Objectives

After this lecture, you will be able to

- Understand the factors regarding the emergence of Nazism
- Analyze the influence of Nazism in the formation of the social system in Germany
- Know the causes of the formation of Fascism
- Describe the consequences of Fascism in Italy and other parts of the world
- Comprehend the role of Fascism and Nazism in the Second World War

Introduction

Nazism and Fascism are two sides of the same totalitarian coin. Despite the fact that both Nazism and Fascism oppose the ideologies of liberalism, democracy, and communism. Fascism and Nazism arose as a result of Europe's political crisis from the late 1800s to the end of World War I. The deep-seated anxieties of the ruling elites, as well as significant portions of the middle and lower classes, about social and political collapse and political revolution, fueled the ideologies of Fascism and Nazism. Fascism and Nazism were also distinguished by the veneration of specific individuals, the use of violence, and the rejection of both communism and democracy.

7.1   Nazism

Nazism, also known as National Socialism, was a totalitarian movement led by Adolf Hitler, the leader of Germany's Nazi Party. The roots of Nazism were found in the traditions of Prussian militarism and discipline, as well as German Romanticism, which celebrated a mythic past and proclaimed the rights of the exceptional individual overall rules and laws. Hitler's beliefs in German racial superiority and the dangers of communism shaped Nazi ideology. It rejected liberalism, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights, emphasizing instead the individual's subordination

to the state and the need for strict obedience to leaders. It emphasized individual and "race" inequality, as well as the right of the strong to rule over the weak. Politically, Nazism advocated rearmament, the reunification of German areas of Europe, expansion into non-German areas, and the extermination of "undesirables," particularly Jews.

Picture: Symbol of Nazy Party

7.2   Emergence of Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler (April 20, 1889 – April 30, 1945) was appointed Chancellor of Germany in 1933 after the Nazi Party won a series of elections. He ruled with absolute power until his suicide in April 1945. When Hitler came to power, he destroyed the nation's democratic institutions and transformed Germany into a war machine intent on conquering Europe for the benefit of the so-called Aryan race. On September 1, 1939, his invasion of Poland triggered the European phase of World War II.

Picture: Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler's rise to power began in September 1919, when he joined the newly formed Weimar Republic's Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. He rose to prominence during the party's early years. He was made party leader after threatening to leave if he did not become one of its best speakers. The DAP was renamed the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei - NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party, also known as the Nazi Party) in 1920. Hitler chose this name in order to appeal to German workers. [Citation required] Despite being a right-wing party, the NSDAP contained many anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois elements. Hitler later carried out a purge of these elements, reaffirming the Nazi Party's pro-business stance. Hitler's grip on the party was complete by 1922. Hitler and his supporters attempted a coup to overthrow the government with force in 1923. This seminal event became known as the Beer Hall Putsch. Following its failure, Hitler fled, only to be apprehended and tried.

As führer (leader or guide), Hitler had absolute power, but he could not have risen to power or committed such atrocities on his own. He had the active support of Germany's powerful officer class as well as millions of ordinary citizens who voted for the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi)

Party and hailed him as a national saviour in massive stadium rallies. How could Hitler and the Nazis exist? How did such heinous characters come to power in a country that was a world leader in literature, art, architecture, and science in the 1920s, a country with a democratic government and a free press?

Hitler and Nazy Party

Hitler rose to power through the Nazi Party, which he founded after returning as a wounded veteran of World War I's annihilating trench warfare. The harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which the Allies forced the new German government, the Weimar Republic, to accept along with an obligation to pay $33 billion in war reparations, outraged and humiliated him and other patriotic Germans. Germany was also forced to give up its prized overseas colonies as well as valuable pieces of home territory to France and Poland. The German army was drastically reduced, and the country was forbidden from having submarines or an air force. "We'll squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak!" one British official exclaimed. Paying the crippling reparations shook the economy, causing ruinous, runaway inflation. By September 1923, four billion German marks were worth one American dollar. A wheelbarrow was required to transport enough paper money to purchase a loaf of bread.

Picture: Adolf Hitler appointed as chancellor of Germany in 1933

Hitler, a captivating public speaker, delivered a speech in Munich calling for a new German order to replace what he saw as an incompetent and inefficient democratic regime. The authoritarian political system based on a leadership structure in which authority flowed downward from a supreme national leader distinguished this New Order. In the new Germany, all citizens would serve the state, or Volk, unselfishly; democracy would be abolished, and individual rights would be sacrificed for the sake of the führer state. The Nazi Party's ultimate goal was to seize power through Germany's parliamentary system, install Hitler as a dictator, and establish a community of racially pure Germans loyal to their Führer, who would lead them in a campaign of racial cleansing and world conquest.

Hitler was the Nazi Party's ideologue as well as its chief organizer. By 1921, the party had a newspaper, an official flag, and a private army—the Sturmabteilung SA (stormtroopers)—largely comprised of unemployed and disillusioned WWI veterans. By 1923, the SA had grown to 15,000 men and had access to secret weapon caches. Hitler and WWI hero General Erich Ludendorff attempted to overthrow Bavaria's elected regional government in a coup known as the Beer Hall Putsch that year. The regular army crushed the rebellion, and Hitler was imprisoned for a year in solitary confinement. Hitler dictated the majority of the first volume of his political autobiography, Mein Kampf, while imprisoned in Landsberg. The book encapsulated the racialist and expansionist ideas that he had been preaching in his popular beer-hall rants.

7.3   Origin of Nazism

Nazism had unusually German origins. It can be traced back to the Prussian tradition of Frederick William I (1688-1740), Frederick the Great (1712-68), and Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), who saw the Prussian army's militant spirit and discipline as the model for all individual and civic life. It was joined by the political romanticism tradition, with its sharp hostility to rationalism and the principles underlying the French Revolution, emphasis on instinct and the past, and proclamation of Friedrich Nietzsche's exceptional individual's rights over all universal law and rules. These two traditions were later reinforced by the nineteenth-century adoration of science and natural laws, which appeared to operate independently of all concepts of good and evil. Further reinforcements came from 19th-century intellectual figures such as comte de Gobineau (1816-82), Richard Wagner (1813-83), and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), all of whom greatly influenced early Nazism with their claims of the "Nordic" (Germanic) peoples' racial and cultural superiority over all other Europeans and races.

During his youth, Hitler's intellectual viewpoint was influenced not only by these currents in the German tradition but also by specific Austrian movements that advocated various political sentiments, most notably pan-Germanic expansionism and anti-Semitism. Hitler's ferocious nationalism, hatred of Slavs, and hatred of Jews can be explained in large part by his bitter experiences as an unsuccessful artist living on the streets of Vienna, the capital of the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. This intellectual preparation was probably insufficient for the growth of Nazism in Germany, but it was sufficient for that country's defeat in World War I. The defeat, and the resulting disillusionment, pauperization, and frustration, particularly among the lower middle classes, paved the way for Hitler and the Nazis' propaganda to succeed. With its harsh monetary and territorial reparations, the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the formal settlement of World War I drafted without German participation, alienated many Germans. Hitler's starting point was the significant resentment expressed toward the peace treaty. Because German representatives agreed to a cease-fire but did not unconditionally surrender in the November 11, 1918 armistice, there was a widespread belief, particularly among the military, that Germany's defeat had been orchestrated by diplomats at the Versailles meetings. From the start, Hitler's propaganda of vengeance for this "traitorous" act, which had "stabbed the German people in the back," and his call for rearmament had a strong appeal within military circles, which saw the peace as only a temporary setback in Germany's expansionist program. The ruinous inflation of the German currency in 1923 wiped out the savings of many middle-class households, further alienating and dissatisfying the public.

Hitler blamed the Weimar Republic's weakness on the Jewish and communist minorities in Germany, whom he claimed were attempting to take over the country. In 1922, he told a Munich audience, "There are only two possibilities." "Either the Aryan victory or the annihilation of the Aryan and the victory of the Jew." The young Hitler saw history as a racial struggle, with the strongest race—the Aryan race—eventually triumphing through force of arms. "In eternal war, mankind has grown great," Hitler wrote. "It would decay in eternal tranquillity." Jews represented everything the Nazis despised: finance capitalism (which the Nazis believed was controlled by powerful Jewish financiers), international communism (Karl Marx was a German Jew, and the German Communist Party's leadership was heavily Jewish), and modernist cultural movements such as psychoanalysis and swing music. The foreign policy of the Nazi Party aimed to rid Europe of Jews and other "inferior" peoples, absorb pure-blooded Aryans into a greatly expanded Germany—a "Third Reich," and wage unrelenting war on Russia's Slavic "hordes," whom Hitler considered Untermenschen (subhuman). Once conquered, the German master race would exterminate or subjugate millions of Slavs in order to create lebensraum (living space) for their own farms and communities. They would work on model farms and factories connected to the homeland by new highways known as autobahns in a conquered and racially cleansed Russia.

Picture: German president Paul von Hindenburg and Adolf Hitler

By 1932, the Nazis had become the Reichstag's largest political party. With no other leader able to command sufficient support to govern, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler Chancellor of Germany in January of the following year. Shortly afterwards, a fire broke out in Berlin's Reichstag building, and authorities arrested a young Dutch communist who admitted to starting it. Hitler used this incident to persuade President Hindenburg to declare a state of emergency, suspending many civil liberties throughout Germany, including freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and the right to hold public assemblies. The police were given the authority to detain citizens without a warrant, and the authority normally exercised by regional governments became subject to Hitler's national regime's control.

Hitler quickly began dismantling Germany's democratic institutions and imprisoning or murdering his main opponents. When Hindenburg died the following year, Hitler assumed the titles of führer, chancellor, and army commander-in-chief. He massively expanded the army, reintroduced conscription, and began developing a new air force, all in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler's military spending and ambitious public-works programs, such as the construction of the German autobahn, aided in the restoration of prosperity. His regime also suppressed the Communist Party and purge his own paramilitary stormtroopers, whose violent street protests alienated Germany's middle class. This bloodletting, known as the "Night of the Long Knives," was enormously popular and welcomed by the middle class as a victory for law and order. In fact, many Germans supported the entirety of Hitler's policies, believing that they would ultimately benefit the country.

Hitler began his long-promised expansion of national boundaries to include ethnic Germans in 1938. He worked with Austrian Nazis to plan the Anschluss, or annexation of Austria by Germany. In Hitler's most audacious act yet, Czechoslovakia was forced to surrender the Sudetenland, a mountainous border region populated primarily by ethnic Germans. The Czechs sought assistance from the United Kingdom and France, but in order to avoid war—they had been bled white in World War I—these countries chose an appeasement policy. In September 1938, representatives from the United Kingdom and France forced Czech leaders to cede the Sudetenland in exchange for Hitler's promise not to seek additional territory. The German army engulfed the rest of Czechoslovakia the following year. One of the signers of the Munich pact, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, had taken Hitler at his word. When he returned to Britain with this agreement, he proudly declared that he had achieved "peace with honour." "I believe it is a time of peace." A year later, German troops invaded Poland.

7.4   <u>Fascism</u>

Fascism was a political ideology and mass movement that dominated many parts of central, southern, and eastern Europe between 1919 and 1945, as well as Western Europe, the United States,

South Africa, Japan, Latin America, and the Middle East. Benito Mussolini, Europe's first fascist leader, derived his party's name from the Latin word fasces, which referred to a bundle of elm or birch rods (usually containing an axe) used as a symbol of penal authority in ancient Rome. Although fascist parties and movements differed greatly, they shared many characteristics, including extreme militaristic nationalism, contempt for electoral democracy and political and cultural liberalism, a belief in the natural social hierarchy and elite rule, and a desire to establish a Volksgemeinschaft (German for "people's community") in which individual interests would be subordinated to the good of the nation. The major European fascist parties were disbanded at the end of WWII, and in some countries (such as Italy and West Germany), they were officially banned. However, beginning in the late 1940s, many fascist-oriented parties and movements emerged in Europe, Latin America, and South Africa. Although some European "neofascist" groups gained popularity, particularly in Italy and France, none were as powerful as the major fascist parties of the interwar period.
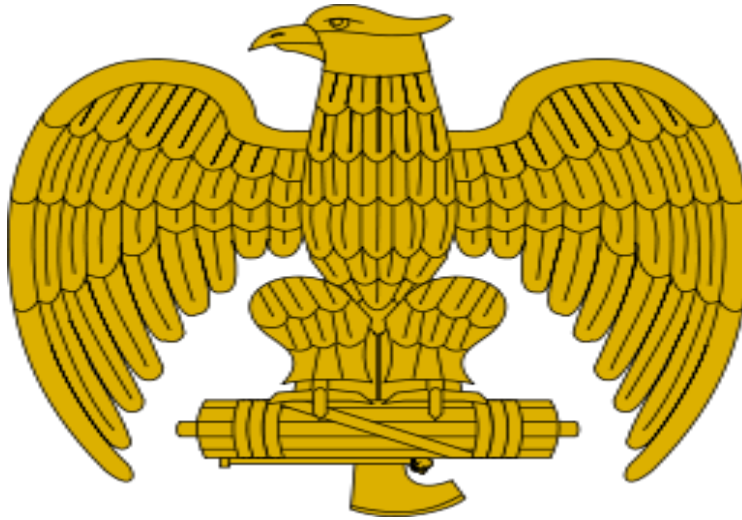
Picture: Fascist Eagle

Meaning of the word fascism

The term comes from the Italian word for union or federation, fasci. Mussolini and his supporters first organised a fighting federation known as the fasci di combattimento. The term is derived from the Latin fasces, which refers to a bundle of thin logs with an axe in the centre. Such a bundle was used as a symbol of high-ranking officials' authority in the Roman Empire. This fasces symbol was used by the fascists as a symbol of authority and unity. The same symbol has also been used as a symbol of state authority in other contexts, including police emblems in Norway. Fascism, in this sense, is a collective term that includes, in addition to Italian fascism during the interwar period, Nazism in Germany, and various right-wing authoritarian regimes in Southern Europe and Latin America after 1945. In a narrow sense, fascism refers to the political movement that arose in Italy during and after World War I under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Mussolini ruled the country from 1922 to 1943.

7.5 The Ideology and Social Outlook of Fascism

Fascist ideologies viewed society in an organic and social Darwinist manner. Giovanni Gentile, Alfredo Rocco, and Benito Mussolini were among the more well-known ideologues. Individuals, they argue, cannot be understood apart from society. People can only find space and meaning in their roles in the larger community, particularly the national community. This is commonly referred to as the organic view of society. Society develops through conflict, including conflict between nations. The strongest survive and, as a result, deserve to survive. These are ideas found in social Darwinism and are based on a misapplied application of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution at the level of society. When you put the organic and social Darwinist views together, you get the fascist view that the nation, in order to survive through the state, must mobilize everyone for a joint and concerted effort. The task of the state is thus to integrate various organizations and social classes into an all-encompassing community.

The goal was to create a corporative state in which various industries worked together to strengthen the state and the national community. Individual citizens were to be subordinated to this community, eliminating the need for a class struggle between workers and capitalists. Because employees and

employers were organized in the same corporations, their social role should become clearer to them, and class antagonisms should become less prominent. Furthermore, it was stated that if the nation was to grow strong, it could not allow the individual citizen to be free and develop outside or across the nation, nor could it allow communities to form that only included parts of the nation. As a result, the state had to be willing to use force against its citizens in any situation. The state could not be an arena for disagreement or debate, so it had to be governed by a single unifying leader or dictator.

Positive and committed support for the state and its leaders, on the other hand, cannot be generated solely through the use of force and intimidation. As a result, Italian fascist theorists emphasized national culture, spiritual values, and the use of myths, symbols, mass rallies, and other means of instilling national enthusiasm and a sense of community. Mussolini was also one of the few people who used the term "totalitarian" to describe his own social outlook. While other heads of state who have been labeled as totalitarians have rejected the label, Mussolini accepted it as a description of his own rule.

Ideological Formation

Fascist ideology has a long history and draws on a variety of sources. Fascists drew inspiration for their emphasis on racial purity and rule by an elite minority from sources as ancient as the Spartans. Fascism has also been linked to Plato's ideals, though there are significant differences between the two. Fascism positioned itself as the ideological heir to Rome, specifically the Roman Empire. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's views on the absolute authority of the state influenced fascist thinking at the same time. The French Revolution had a significant influence in that the Nazis saw themselves as fighting back against many of the ideas that it popularised, particularly liberalism, liberal democracy, and racial equality, whereas fascism drew heavily on the revolutionary ideal of nationalism. The prejudice of a "high and noble" Aryan culture versus a "parasitic" Semitic culture was central to Nazi racial views, whereas other early forms of fascism were concerned with non-racialized conceptions of the nation.

Authoritarianism, nationalism (including racial nationalism), hierarchy and elitism, and militarism are all common themes in fascist movements. Other elements of fascism, such as the "myth of decadence," anti-egalitarianism, and totalitarianism, can be traced back to these ideas. According to Roger Griffin, fascism is a synthesis of totalitarianism and ultranationalism that is sacralized through a myth of national rebirth and regeneration, which he refers to as "Palingenetic ultranationalism." The relationship between fascism and other ideologies of the time was complicated. It frequently regarded those ideologies as adversaries, but it was also intent on co-opting their more popular aspects. Fascism supported private property rights and the profit motive of capitalism, with the exception of the groups it persecuted, but it sought to eliminate large-scale capitalism's autonomy from the state. Fascists shared many of the goals of their day's conservatives, and they frequently allied with them by recruiting from disaffected conservative ranks, but they presented themselves as having a more modern ideology, with less emphasis on things like traditional religion, and sought to radically reshape society through revolutionary action rather than preserve the status quo. Fascism opposed class conflict as well as socialism's egalitarian and international character. It was an outspoken opponent of liberalism, communism, anarchism, and democratic socialism.

Although fascism is notoriously difficult to define, many fascist movements in the twentieth century shared several characteristics. First, these movements drew political strength from populations facing real or imagined economic difficulties. Fascists took advantage of these economic concerns by shifting blame away from the government and toward market forces. Jews, immigrants, leftists, and other groups served as convenient scapegoats. In theory, redirecting popular rage toward these individuals would cure a country's ills. Fascist movements promoted extreme nationalism, which often went hand in hand with militarism and racial purity, in order to unite a country. A nation's prosperity was dependent on a unified polity that prioritized the welfare of the group over the welfare of the individual. To protect these group interests, a strong, vigilant military was deemed necessary. For some fascists, "the group" was defined by racial identity rather than territorial boundaries. Nazism was the most pernicious manifestation of racial-purist fascist nationalism. Fascist movements of the twentieth century frequently chastised liberalism for allegedly sowing political discord and moral degeneracy. Although many fascist movements initially organized themselves around democratic institutions in order to gain political legitimacy, in practice they resorted to totalitarianism. One aspect of this process was the reorganization of society around a strict moral code, which frequently attempted to reverse the "decadence" of pre-fascist culture.

7.6   Emergence of Benito Mussolini

Benito Mussolini, also known as Il Duce, was an Italian dictator who was born on July 29, 1883, in Predappio, Italy and died on April 28, 1945, near Dongo (1922–43). He was an unruly but intelligent adolescent who became an ardent socialist and editor of the party newspaper, Avanti! (1912–14). He was ousted by the party after reversing his opposition to World War I. He founded the pro-war Il Popolo d'Italia, served in the Italian army from 1915 to 1917, and then returned to his editorship. In 1919, he founded a political group that advocated dictatorship and marked the beginning of fascism. He organized the March on Rome (1922) to prevent a socialist-led general strike. He was a dynamic and captivating orator at rallies. He became the youngest prime minister in Italian history after the government fell. He was known as Il Duce ("The Leader") after obtaining a law that established the fascists as the majority party.

He restored order in the country and implemented social reforms and public works improvements that were widely supported by the public. His imperial ambitions led to the 1935 invasion of Abyssinia (later Ethiopia). Mussolini, encouraged by Adolf Hitler's fascist schemes but wary of German power, agreed to the Rome-Berlin Axis and declared war on the Allies in 1940. Military defeats in Greece and North Africa fueled Italian disillusionment with Mussolini. Following the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943, the Fascist Grand Council deposed him. He was arrested and imprisoned but rescued by German commandos, and he later became the head of Hitler's puppet government in Sal, northern Italy. Mussolini attempted to flee to Austria as German defences in Italy crumbled in 1945, but was apprehended and executed by Italian partisans.

Mussolini's Rise to Power

He returned home as a convinced antisocialist and a man with a sense of destiny after being wounded while serving with the bersaglieri (a corps of sharpshooters). As early as February 1918, he advocated for the rise of a dictator—"a man who is ruthless and energetic enough to make a clean sweep"—to address Italy's economic and political crisis. Three months later, in a widely publicized speech in Bologna, he hinted that he, too, could be such a man. The nucleus of a party ready to support his ambitious idea was formed in Milan the following year. Around 200 different republicans, anarchists, syndicalists, disgruntled socialists, restless revolutionaries, and discharged soldiers met in an office in Piazza San Sepolcro to discuss the formation of a new force in Italian politics. Mussolini dubbed this force the fasci di combattimento ("fighting bands"), groups of fighters bound together by ties as close as those that held the lictors' fasces—ancient Roman authority symbols. As a result, fascism was born, and its symbol was created.

Mussolini captivated crowds at rallies, surrounded by supporters wearing black shirts. His physique was impressive, as was his staccato and repetitive oratory style. His attitudes were highly theatrical, his opinions contradictory, his facts frequently incorrect, and his attacks frequently malicious and misguided; but his words were so dramatic, his metaphors so apt and striking, his vigorous, repetitive gestures so extraordinarily effective, that he rarely failed to impose his mood. Fascist squads, militias inspired by Mussolini but often formed by local leaders, swept through the Po Valley and Puglian plains, rounding up Socialists, burning down union and party offices, and terrorizing the local population. Hundreds of radicals were publicly humiliated, beaten, or murdered. In the late 1920s, Blackshirt squads began to attack local government institutions and prevent left-wing administrations from taking power, often with the direct assistance of landowners.

Mussolini supported the squads, though he quickly tried to control them, and organized similar raids in and around Milan. By late 1921, the Fascists had taken control of large parts of Italy, and the left, owing in part to its failures in the postwar years, had all but collapsed. Because of a lack of political will and a desire to see the primarily working-class left defeated, the government, dominated by middle-class Liberals, did little to combat this lawlessness. Mussolini began planning to seize national power as the Fascist movement grew a broad base of support around the powerful ideas of nationalism and anti-Bolshevism. Mussolini's opportunity presented itself in the summer of 1922. A general strike was called by the remnants of the trade-union movement. Mussolini declared that the Fascists would strike unless the government intervened. In fact, Fascist volunteers helped to defeat the strike, advancing the Fascist claim to power. On October 24, Mussolini threatened a gathering of 40,000 Fascists in Naples, saying, "Either the government will be given to us, or we will seize it by marching on Rome." In response to his speech, the assembled Fascists enthusiastically took up the cry, shouting in unison "Roma! Roma! Roma!" Everyone appeared to be eager to march.

Later that day, Mussolini and other leading Fascists decided that the Fascist militia would advance on Rome in converging columns led by four leading party members later known as the Quadrumviri

four days later. Mussolini was not a member of the four. He hoped for a political compromise and refused to move until King Victor Emmanuel III summoned him in writing. Meanwhile, Fascists prepared for action throughout Italy, and the March on Rome began. Although it was far less orderly than Fascist propaganda later suggested, it was enough to bring the government down. And the king, ready to accept the Fascist alternative, sent the telegram that Mussolini had been waiting for.

Picture: Benito Mussolini

Mussolini's obvious pride in becoming the youngest prime minister in Italian history (on October 31, 1922) was not misplaced. He had undoubtedly benefited from a favourable combination of political and economic circumstances; however, his remarkable and unexpected success owed something to his own personality, to native instinct and astute calculation, to astute opportunism, and to his unique gifts as an agitator. He presented to the king a list of ministers, the majority of whom were not members of his party, in order to demonstrate that he was not only the leader of fascism but also the head of a united Italy. He did, however, make it clear that he intended to rule authoritatively. He was granted full dictatorial powers for a year, and during that time he pushed through legislation that gave the Fascists a parliamentary majority. The 1924 elections, while undoubtedly fraudulent, secured his personal power. Mussolini was regarded as a genius and a superman by public figures all over the world. His accomplishments were regarded as nothing short of miraculous. He had transformed and reenergized his divided and demoralized country; he had implemented his social reforms and public works without losing the support of industrialists and landowners, and he had even succeeded in reconciling with the papacy. The reality, on the other hand, was far less rosy than the propaganda suggested. Social schisms persisted, and little was done to address the Italian state's and economy's deep structural problems.

Italy had gained a new ally as well. With his own imperial ambitions in Austria, Adolf Hitler actively encouraged Mussolini's African adventure, and Germany had been the only powerful country in Western Europe that had not turned against Mussolini under Hitler's leadership. The way was now clear for the Pact of Steel, a Rome-Berlin Axis and a brutal alliance between Hitler and Mussolini that would destroy both of them. Following in the footsteps of Germany, Mussolini's government passed anti-Semitic laws in Italy in 1938, discriminating against Jews in all sectors of public and private life and paving the way for the deportation of approximately 20% of Italy's Jews to German death camps during the war.

7.7 Fascism, Nazism, and Second World War

While Mussolini recognised that peace was essential to Italy's well-being, that a long war could be disastrous, and that he could not "march blindly with the Germans," he was plagued by fears that the Germans "might do good business cheaply" and that if he did not intervene on their side in World War II, he would lose his "part of the booty." Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's foreign secretary and son-in-law, wrote that during a long, inconclusive discussion at the Palazzo Venezia, Mussolini first agreed that Italy should not go to war, "then he said that honour compelled him to march with Germany." Mussolini watched Hitler's war with bitterness and alarm, becoming more bellicose with each new German victory, while frequently expressing hope that the Germans would be slowed or meet with some reverse that would satisfy his personal envy and give Italy breathing space. When Germany advanced westward and France appeared to be on the verge of collapse, Mussolini decided he couldn't wait any longer. As a result, on June 10, 1940, the fateful declaration of war was issued.

The war started badly for Italy, and Mussolini's opportunistic hopes for a quick victory quickly faded. France surrendered before even a token Italian victory could be achieved, and Mussolini left for a meeting with Hitler, sadly aware, as Ciano put it, that his opinion had "only a consultative value." Indeed, Mussolini was forced to accept that he was the junior partner in the Axis alliance from that point forward. For fear of destroying surprise, the Germans kept most of their military plans under wraps, presenting their allies with a fait accompli. As a result, the Germans made moves like occupying Romania and later invading the Soviet Union without informing Mussolini.

Mussolini openly admitted that he chose to attack Greece through Albania without informing the Germans in order to "pay back Hitler in his own coin." As a result, the Germans were forced to extricate him from the consequences of his extensive and humiliating defeat. The 1941 campaign to support Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union also failed miserably, sending thousands of ill-equipped Italian troops into a nightmare winter retreat. In North Africa, Hitler had to come to his ally's aid once more. Following the Italian surrender in North Africa in 1943, the Germans began to prepare for a possible Italian collapse. Mussolini had greatly exaggerated public support for his regime and the war. When the Western Allies successfully invaded Sicily in July 1943, it was clear that the war was coming to an end.

Picture: Hitler and Mussolini

Hitler assumed Germany's war strategy from the start. When the successful campaign against Poland failed to result in the desired peace treaty with Britain, he directed that the army prepare for an immediate offensive in the west. Weather forced some of his hesitant generals to postpone the western offensive. This resulted in two significant changes in planning. The first was Hitler's order in April 1940 to occupy Norway and Denmark in order to prevent a future British presence there. Hitler was personally invested in this daring operation. From this point forward, his involvement in military operations became increasingly detailed. The second significant decision was Hitler's acceptance of General Erich von Manstein's plan for an attack through the Ardennes (which began on May 10) rather than further north. This was a brilliant and unexpected success. In ten days, the German armies reached the Channel ports (which they had been unable to reach during World War I). Holland surrendered after four days, and Belgium surrendered after sixteen days. Hitler halted General Gerd von Rundstedt's tanks south of Dunkirk, allowing the British to evacuate the majority of their army, but the western campaign as a whole was a resounding success. On June 10, Italy joined the war on Germany's side. On June 22, Hitler and the French signed a triumphant armistice on the site of the 1918 Armistice.

Summary

The word fascism and Nazism represented the best possible alternative to a failing democratic system. People needed a leader to guide them during those times of despair, which is why these ideologies flourished. In theory, they were considered the same, with Nazism seen as an extension of Fascism. However, Hitler took Nazism to an unprecedented level of racial discrimination and brutality, which in practice was the polar opposite of Fascism. Overall, both ideologies appear to be more dissimilar than similar. Fascism and Nazism were war and expansionist ideologies. Both regimes began with a vision of a world with diminishing opportunities in which nations and races had to struggle, expand, or perish. Hitler's goal of German state expansion was only rivaled in importance by anti-Semitic policies. He assured the military in 1933 and 1934 that he would begin rapid rearmament. After achieving full employment and economic recovery in 1936, the Nazis rejected economic orthodoxy in favor of continuing to expand a war economy. From the remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936 to the end of World War II in 1945, Nazism embarked on a series of conquests with no bounds and ever-expanding goals.

Keywords

Corporatization: The restructuring or transformation of a state-owned asset or organization into a corporation is referred to as corporatization. A board of directors, management, and shareholders are common in these organizations.

Racism: Racism is the belief that different groups of humans have different behavioural traits that correspond to inherited characteristics and that they can be divided based on the superiority of one race over another.

Social Order: The tendency of social institutions to resist and regulate change is referred to as social order. It is useful because it provides context and relativity for comparing social change. Every society strives for social order in order to provide stability and a strong and viable social system.

Self Assessment

1. When did Hitler become Germany's Chancellor?
A. 30 January 1923
B. 30 January 1929
C. 30 January 1933
D. 3 March 1933

2. Hitler's worldview, which also served as Nazi ideology, was____
A. There was no equality among people; instead, there was a racial hierarchy
B. The Nordic German Aryans with blond hair and blue eyes were at the top, with Jews at the bottom. The coloured people were positioned in the middle
C. The Jews were the anti-race, the Aryans' arch enemies
D. All of the above

3. Hitler's worldview was founded on the idea of___
A. Charles Darwin
B. Herbert Spence
C. Lebensraum
D. One nation, one empire and one leader

4. Which of the following was the Nazi State's most feared security force?
A. Storm Troopers (SA)
B. Protection Squads (SS)
C. Gestapo
D. Security Service

Twentieth Century World

5. Which of the following was not a feature of Jewish stereotypes?
A. Degenerate and weak
B. Rodents and vermin
C. Foreign spies
D. Charitable and generous

6. What did not play a role in Hitler's rise?
A. Versailles Disgrace
B. Nazi propagandistic propaganda and Hitler's charismatic leadership
C. Years of depression and financial crisis
D. Republic of Weimer

7. Which of the following parties became known as the Nazi Party?
A. German Workers Party
B. Socialist Democratic Party
C. National Socialist German Workers Party
D. Socialist Party

8. The World War began with the German invasion of___
A. Poland
B. Belgium
C. Austria
D. Czechoslovakia

9. Fascist movement first of all developed in___
A. Germany
B. Italy
C. England
D. USA

10. The idea of fascism was based on the principle of___
A. Unification of Italy
B. Unification of Germany
C. Unification of USSR
D. None of the above

11. Fascists wanted to develop the leadership of___
A. Working classes
B. Peasants
C. One leader
D. Church

12. Who was it who said, "My Program is action, not talk?"
A. Mussolini
B. Hitler
C. Lenin
D. None of the above

13. Fascism is criticized on the account of its views about____
A. Non-violence
B. Love for religion
C. Love for human rights
D. Anti-democratic views

14. Emergence of fascism in Italy was the reaction against___
A. Liberalism and democracy

B. Capitalism
C. Communism
D. Dictatorship

15. Fascists were the supporters of___
A. Syndicalism
B. Anarchism
C. Totalitarianism
D. Individualism

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	C	2.	D	3.	C	4.	C	5.	D
6.	D	7.	C	8.	A	9.	B	10.	A
11.	C	12.	A	13.	D	14.	A	15.	C

Review Questions

1. Discuss the political economy of the Holocaust.
2. Critically evaluate the role of Adolf Hitler in the emergence of Nazy ideology in Germany.
3. Analyze socio-economic factors for the emergence of Fascism in Italy.
4. Describe the role of Hitler and Mussolini in the Second World War.
5. How do you think that Fascism and Nazism were against democratic values?

Further Readings

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- https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/hitlers-rise-power-1918-1933
- https://ncert.nic.in/textbook/pdf/iess303.pdf
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LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

Dr. Akash Rawat, Lovely Professional University

Unit 08:Second World War and The New Political Order - I

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Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes for the outbreak of World War II
- Describe how the USA and USSR became allies
- Discuss the outcome of the war and peace treaties signed at the end of thewar, and
- Describe the rise of USA and USSR as two superpowers.

Introduction

On September 1, 1939, German attack against Poland marked the start of World War II. An earlier non-aggression treaty between two once hostile nations—namely, Germany and the Soviet Union— paved the way for the division of Poland between the two. All Ineffective attempts were made to come to an accord between the Soviet Union and Britain and France. The same nefarious behaviours that had sparked the First World War were still prevalent in international relations, including territorial aggressiveness and covert agreements between European superpowers. In reality, covert conversations were taking place at the same continued between Britain and Germany, as well as between the Soviet Union and Germany. The Soviet Union was taken for granted by Britain and France, who did not bother to form a military alliance with it. This opened the door for both the German war on Poland and the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. A few months prior to the start of World War II, Poland received pledges from both Britain and France that they would support her in any way feasible in the event of aggression. On September 3, 1939, after all, efforts to prevent war and defend Poland had failed, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Italy initially remained neutral in the conflict before finally allying with Germany in June 1940. Germany launched a war against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, after claiming resounding wins against a number of nations in Europe. USSR joined the Allied Camp as a result.

The United States officially entered the war on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. The Allies (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the United States, and their allies) and the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) fought each other in this conflict. Italy, Germany, and Japan, in that order, unconditionally submitted at the end of the war.

Notes*: Around the same time that Germany fought for power in Europe, Japan wanted to control Asia and the Pacific. In 1937 (before World War 2 had officially begun) under Emperor Hirohito, Japan attacked China, bringing the two nations into years of conflict.*

8.1   Origin

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

Treaty of Versailles: After the First World War, in 1919, an attempt was made at the Paris Peace Conference to create a perfect world order based on justice, peace, and disarmament. But what ultimately materialised as the Deal of Versailles was an ordered peace treaty imposed upon Germany. The winners lacked authenticity in their motivation. The "four big" winning forces controlled the five-month Paris Peace Conference (Britain, France, Italy and the US). None of the vanquished nations participated in the peace negotiations. Even minor nations that had fought alongside the Allies were excluded. Germany was not treated with the customary deference that is expected of representatives of sovereign nations. Without consulting the vanquished Germany, the Allies drafted the Treaty of Peace.

Germany was given the draught treaty on May 7, 1919, with three weeks to submit its suggestions in writing. Germany saw a violent surge of resentment following the announcement of the treaty's stipulations. Germany refuted the idea that it was the only party to the conflict. With the exception of one alteration, all of Germany's concerns and suggestions for changes were ignored. On June 28, 1919, Germany was compelled to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Germans referred to it as a ***"diktat"*** and could not stand the humiliation and insult. Separate treaties were also made by the Allies with Turkey, Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The signing of the Treaty of **Lausanne** in July 1923 marked the formal end of the peacemaking process.

I.   Germany was found guilty of war crimes under Article 231.

II.   It was compelled to lose all of its foreign territories in China, the Pacific, and Africa to the Allies, return Alsace and Lorraine to France, and cede territory to Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

III.   Germany was ordered to eliminate its air force and substantially cut back on its military. It was conditioned to approve of the Allied takeover and demilitarisation of the Rhine River area.

IV.   The boundaries of Europe were altered by the Versailles Treaty. By dividing the previous Austro-Hungarian Empire into states like Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, it produced a group of more fragile smaller nations. Only the Turkish heartland remains of the Ottoman Empire was preserved in its entirety; its remaining European peripheries were undone, and during the League of Nations, Middle Eastern provinces were carved out as European "**Mandates.**" Even though the European powers continued to practice the balance of powers, the existence of so many tiny states made this practice unstable.

V.   Germany was required to make reparations in the amount of several billion dollars for **"civilian damages."**

The punishing treaty and the erratic peace that followed in Europe were mostly the fault of France and Britain. In order to get revenge for all of its prior failures at the hands of Germany, France had planned to disarm Germany, limit its military power, humiliate it, and disarm Germany. Britain had the chance during the war to rule over and reshape Europe. It was wary of losing control over Europe and regarded President Wilson's 14-Point plan and the US with distrust.

The Treaty of Versailles mutilated and humiliated Germany. Twenty years later, it was the turn of Germany to take revenge. Hitler had come on the centre stage, led his proud people to avenge their humiliation and thus paved the way for the Second World War.

Notes: According to a BBC report of 2ndOctober, 2010, about 269 billion gold marks, or the equivalent of about 100,000 tonnes of gold, will be paid in total as reparations.

German reparations could not reasonably be paid at such a high level without posing serious threats to the stability of the entire European economy, according to British economist John Maynard Keynes. The Great Depression of 1929 was attributed to reparations, according to US President Herbert Hoover. Many were aware that Germany would not be able to cover all of the reparations. Germany was given loans to meet its payment obligations under the 1924 Dawes Plan and the 1929 Young Plan, which brought the debt down to 112 billion gold marks. The global collapse of 1929 plunged all European economies into a protracted downturn. The US then suggested suspending German payments for a year. When Hitler came to power, Germany had only paid roughly one-eighth of the reparations it was due and refused to pay any more. The Germans' nationalist pride was significantly stoked by the act of defiance. But the European Allies are not going to give up. Germany was split into two states following World War II: the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the socialist **German Democratic Republic** (GDR). Who was the succeeding state responsible for making the reparations now? Reparations were postponed until the unification of the two Germanys under the terms of the 1953 London Treaty. With the unification of Germany in 1990, the issue of debt recovery arose. Then it was decided that the payment of reparations should be permanently wiped off due to the changed international conditions. Germany did not, however, make the final payment of 70 million Euros to cover loan interest until 2010.

Twentieth Century World
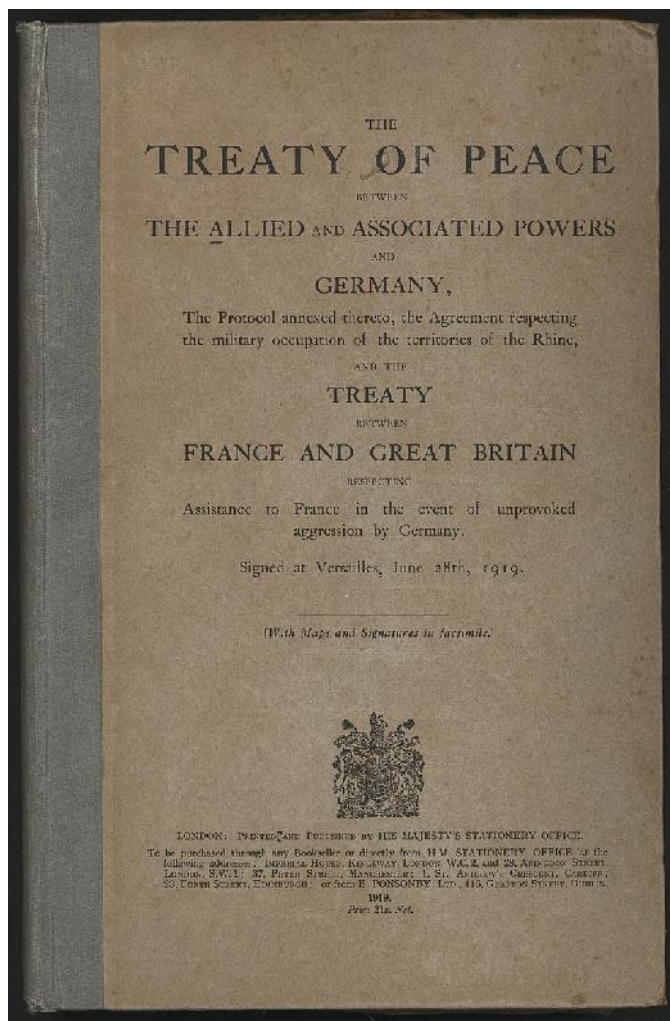
The cover of a publication of the Treaty of Versailles in English. Signed at Versailles, June 28th, 1919.

Web Links: Treaty of Versailles, English version - Treaty of Versailles

Failure of Collective Security System (*Weakness of League of Nations*):

Collective security system was a noteworthy ideal the world leaders had pledged at the end of the First World War. Providing security collectively to the victim of international aggression was its aim. The Covenant of the League of Nations provided that in case of aggression, members of the League, by their collective action, would compel the aggressor to withdraw. This collective action could either be in the form of economic sanctions against the aggressor, or military support to the victim of aggression, or both. During the inter-war years, it was, however, proved that the League was an ineffective organisation in respect of a big power if the latter decided to wage a war against, or annex, a small country. In 1931, Japan committed aggression against China and by early 1932, managed to conquer Manchuria – a province of China. Japan very cleverly kept on telling the League that her action in Manchuria was in self-defense i.e. (protecting the life and property of Japanese in Manchuria, and only a police action not aggression). Japan, a permanent member of the League, forged ahead to establish a puppet Manchukuo regime in Manchuria. When the League asked member nations not to recognise Manchukuo, Japan left the League but retained control of the conquered territory. Later, in 1935 Italy waged a war against Abyssinia and in May 1936 formally annexed that country into Italian Empire. The League tried to enforce a collective security system, declared Italy an aggressor and clamped economic sanctions. All this was of no avail as no military action was taken against Italy who was also a big power and permanent member of the League Council. Similarly, no action was taken by a weak League of Nations against Germany. When she repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1935) and the freely negotiated Locarno pact, remilitarized Rhineland (1936), annexed Austria (1938), and dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, the failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of World War II.

Failure of Disarmament: It was agreed at the Paris Peace Conference that world peace could be ensured only if nations reduced their armaments to a point consistent with their domestic safety or defense. That means all the weapons of offensive nature were to be destroyed. The task of preparing a plan for the reduction of armaments was entrusted to the League of Nations. The League appointed temporary Mixed Commission in 1920 which however could not do any substantial work because France insisted on security before this disarmament. In 1925 Preparatory Commission was instituted. Due to divergent views of nations that mattered, it could not identify offensive weapons. Finally, without much preparatory work, a Disarmament Conference met in Geneva in February 1932. Once again mutual distrust and suspicion led to the failure of the Conference, after protracted negotiations. Germany had been disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles. Victor nations were to disarm later. They, however, never really wanted to disarm. Therefore, in October 1933 Germany declared that she was leaving both the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. Later in 1935 Germany formally declared that it was no more bound by the military or disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Other countries were already in possession of large quantities of armaments and big armed forces. German decision heralded a massive armament race which led to an armed conflict. The failure of disarmament became yet another major cause of the Second World War.

THE CONFERENCE EXCUSES ITSELF
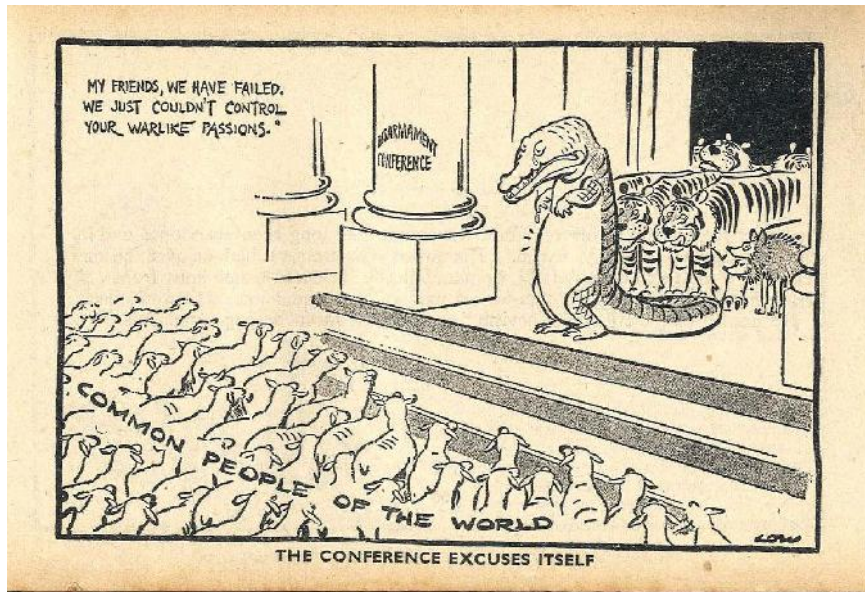
Web Links: This political cartoon displays Low's opinion on...

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis:

The continent of Europe was split into two antagonistic camps on the brink of the First World War. The same procedure was conducted using the Germany, Japan, and Italy forming an alliance. In 1936–1937, it was resolved with the Anti-Comintern agreement. This alliance of fascist nations, known as the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, sought to expand the empire. They publicly opposed peaceful dispute resolution while exalting combat. They victimized weaker countries including China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Poland as well as Western countries they intimidated. Their war-like acts and aggression though noticed, went unpunished. Alarmed at the conduct of Axis powers, England and France came closer to each other and an unsuccessful attempt was made at the formation of an Anglo-French-Soviet Front. Although France and the Soviet Union had an alliance, yet in their desire to appease Hitler, France and England ignored the Soviet Union and when Stalin wanted a military pact between three non-Fascist powers they took it easy. The Soviet Union became suspicious and surprised the world by signing the non-aggression pact with Germany. This directly cleared the way for the German attack on Poland which led to the outbreak of the Second World War. While the Soviet Union also invaded Poland, England and France declared war on Germany.

Flags of Germany, Japan, and Italy draping the facade of the Embassy of Japan on the Tiergartenstraße in Berlin (September 1940)

Web Link: Bundesarchiv Bild 183-L09218, Berlin, JapanischeBotschaft - Axis powers

The Problem of National Minorities:

Large national minorities were neglected as a result of the peace settlement following the First World War, which led to the creation of new nation-states in Europe. The American president Woodrow Wilson had pushed for the idea of self-determination. However, due to a number of strategic factors, this principle was never adequately put into practice. For instance, significant German minority in Poland and Czechoslovakia were surrounded by non-Germans. Even after the Minority Treaties were signed following the Paris conference, around 750,000 Germans were still subject to foreign rule. There were Russian minorities in Poland and Romania. After the First World War, new nation-states were created in Europe as part of the peace settlement, but significant national minorities were left behind and neglected. Self-determination was a principle that was supported by American President Woodrow Wilson. However, this principle was never adequately put into practise due to numerous strategic factors. Large German minorities so found themselves, for instance, in the presence of non-Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Poland and Romania, there were Russian minorities, and even after the Minority Treaties were signed following the Paris conference, roughly 750,000 Germans were still subject to foreign administration. Hitler took advantage of the circumstance and prepared an attack on Czechoslovakia and Poland on the grounds that German minorities there were being denied rights. He invaded Poland after annexing Austria and destroying and slicing up Czechoslovakia. As a result, the issue of minorities became crucial and a key justification for going to war.

Appeasement by Britain and France

The appeasement of Nazi-Fascist rulers as part of foreign policy ended up being a crucial factor in the Second World War. There seemed to be a difference between Britain and France's stances after the First World War. The British foreign strategy has always been based on a balance of power. A highly strong France, in the eyes of Britain, would upset the balance of power in Europe. As a result, it supported Germany's interwar campaign against France. Once Hitler assumed power in Germany and Italy joined the Nazi regime as an ally, Britain soon drew nearer to France, which urgently required British support to defend itself against a very hostile Germany. Following 1933, France's foreign policy essentially merged with that of the United Kingdom. The growing influence of Communism alarmed Britain. Not only did the Soviet Union need to be successfully contested, but also the so-called popular fronts in France and Spain. In order to achieve this goal, Britain decided to satisfy both Hitler and Mussolini. France quickly did the same. Neville Chamberlain pushed appeasement hard after starting it under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in 1938. Anglo-French weakness was evident in their desire to support Mussolini during the Abyssinian War while remaining supportive of League efforts, their virtual capitulation to Hitler at the Munich Conference, and their inability to defend more vulnerable countries like Austria and Albania, which helped to set the stage for the War.

German Attack on Poland:

The German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, was the apparent and immediate cause of the war. Hitler earlier signed a non-aggression pact with Stalin after all attempts to form an alliance between the Anglo-French and the Soviet Union had failed. This came as a huge surprise considering that Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia had been at war for a number of years. Now, eager to divide up Poland between themselves, Germany and the Soviet Union agreed to sign the armistice. However, as things turned out, the pact's detractors referred to it as "a simple pact of aggression against Poland".The two nations agreed to partition Eastern Europe into their respective zones on September 1, 1939, in a secret agreement that was only made public in 1945. England and France had already promised Poland their assistance in the event of an invasion. They followed through on their promise and attacked Germany. On September 17–18, 1939, Soviet troops entered Poland from the east while Germany attacked the country from the west. A treaty signed on September 28, 1939, known as the Soviet-German Frontier and Friendship Treaty, split Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union. While Poland was being destroyed, several other nations also declared war on Germany, albeit these were mostly symbolic statements because even France and Britain were still busy making preparations for war.

Web Link: *:* 1939 Invasion of Poland - Topics on Newspapers.com

8.2   Nature

World War II was the largest conflict in human history and devastated Europe, Asia, North Africa, and large portions of the Pacific. It began as two separate wars: one involving Japan against China in the 1930s; the other involving Germany against Poland, France, and Great Britain in 1939. With the entry of the United States into both wars in December 1941, the two conflicts merged into a single global struggle during which a coalition of Allied powers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, Free France, and a host of smaller nations) defeated a coalition of Axis states (Germany, Italy, Japan, and smaller satellites).World War II was a war of thousands of guns, tanks, and planes — a "gross national product war" according to one historian. It was a **total war** — a mobilization of nearly all human and natural resources. One after another, most of the countries in continental Europe had been invaded and occupied: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Yugoslavia, and the U.S.S.R. and then, when the tide turned, Italy and Germany. Many countries had been fought over twice.

The resulting devastation had turned much of Europe into a moonscape: cities laid waste or consumed by firestorms, the countryside charred and blackened, roads pitted with shell holes or bomb craters, railways out of action, bridges destroyed or truncated, harbours filled with sunken, listing ships. Furthermore, between 1939 and 1945, at least 60 million civilians in Europe were uprooted from their homes; of these, 27 million either fled their own nations or were forcibly expelled. The Nazis had deported 4.5 million people for forced labour, and the Russians had transported countless more to Siberia. Over 12 million Germans fled or were driven out of eastern Europe after the war, while 2.5 million Poles and Czechs were sent to the USSR. 40,000 migrants per week entered northwest Germany at one point in 1945. Death, destruction, and large-scale emigration had all shown how frail and exposed the proud nations of Europe had become.

World War II was the most destructive war in history. Estimates of those killed vary from 35 million to 60 million. The total for Europe alone was 15 million to 20 million—more than twice as many as in World War I. At least 6 million Jewish men, women, and children, and millions of others, died in Hitler's extermination camps. Nor were the Germans themselves spared. By 1945, in a population of some 70 million, there were 7 million more German women than men.

The devastation of the WW-II may be understood from the statement of General Lucius D. Clay, the deputy military governor in the U.S. zone of postwar Germany,

"Berlin was like a city of the dead."

Notes: Total war is a type of military confrontation that is characterised from limited war by the willingness of the participants to sacrifice any amount of resources, including lives, in order to achieve a total victory. The scope of conflict has historically been constrained more by economic and social factors than by political ones. The majority of the time, simple territorial expansion has not resulted in complete war commitments. Revolutions, civil wars, and religious wars have been among the deadliest confrontations fought on the basis of ideologies. The modern concept of total war can be traced to the writings of the 19th-century Prussian military strategist Carl von Clausewitz, who denied that wars could be fought by laws. In his major work VomKriege (On War), he rejected the limited objectives of 18th-century warfare, in which winning local military victories was regarded as the key to advantageous diplomatic bargaining, and described wars as tending constantly to escalate in violence toward a theoretical absolute. Clausewitz also stressed the importance of crushing the adversary's forces in battle. His 19th-century admirers tended to overlook his insistence that the conduct of war must be strictly controlled by attainable political objectives.

Notes: The Resurgence of the German threat, Hitler intended to have a more powerful German military force. In the mid-1920s he published Mein Kamph (My Struggle), in which he gave a summary of his ideas. In January 1933 he became Reich Chancellor of Germany and in August 1934, he was officially confirmed as the fuhrer of a nation. The production of military equipment proceeded at great speed in Germany. In October 1933, nine months after Hitler became German chancellor, he withdrew from the Geneva arms talks and the League of Nations.

8.3 Results of war

The "Iron Curtain," which split Germany in two, separated Austria from Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Italy from Yugoslavia, divided Europe into two main groups. Eastern Poland was annexed by the Soviet Union, which also "reassigned" significant portions of German territory to Polish administration as reparations. In order to put Communist parties in power in Poland, eastern Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, Moscow acted directly. Despite losing its lands to the Soviet Union in the 1940 Winter War, Finland was able to maintain its independence. Marshal Tito's already communist Yugoslavia chose a more independent route, which deeply infuriated Stalin, refusing to bow to direct Moscow influence. Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania were also admitted to the Soviet bloc from the Balkans. The democracies that supported the USA to the west included the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, the UK, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. However, given the weakened postwar European economy and the proximity of the Soviet Union, Washington started to worry that local Communist parties may come to power in France, Italy, and Greece in the late 1940s. The U.S. provided Charles De Gaulle, the leader of France, with a lot of support, while anti-Communist groups in Italy received a lot of funding. In the end, neither country departed from the area of influence of the West. China, Vietnam, Korea, and Mongolia were all communist nations in Asia. After World War II, when Japan was first occupied by the USA, it was forced to change its political system, abandoning militarism and expansionism in favour of democratic reforms.

One by one, the Russians started to take over countries in eastern Europe and install Communist governments there. The division of Europe was the beginning of the Cold War, between the democratic nations of the west and the Communist countries of eastern Europe. The Iron Curtain marked the border between these two regions.

The results may be briefly summed up as:

1. The End of the European Age: With the end of the Second World War, the European age had come to an end.

2. The rise of the US and the Soviet Union to superpower status: When the Second

3. The US and the Soviet Union emerged as the superpowers, main challengers of each other's supremacy and leaders of two different ideologies.

4. The emergence of the Cold War: As soon as the enemy was defeated, East-West ideological conflict reemerged. Post-Second World War was different in regard to the level of tension.

5. The beginning of the nuclear age: The Soviet Union developed its nuclear weapon in 1949. Earlier only the US had its monopoly over nuclear powers. Thus, the nuclear age had begun.

6. The rise of nationalism and independence movements in Asia and Africa: At the end of the Second World War, there occurred a decline in the influence of colonial powers. The two super powers followed the anti-colonial approach.

7. A renewed effort to secure lasting peace through international organizations: The United Nations was set up in 1945 to replace the League of Nations as it had failed to maintain peace.

Notes: The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and most recently the World Trade Organization (WTO), which has its origins in the discussions to form the International Trade Organization (ITO) as an evolution from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1947, are additional international initiatives led by the United States.

Notes: "Sure, we want to go home. We want this war over with. The quickest way to get it over with is to go get the bastards who started it. The quicker they are whipped, the quicker we can go home. The shortest way home is through Berlin and Tokyo. And when we get to Berlin, I am personally going to shoot that paper *hanging son-of-a-bitch Hitler. Just like I'd shoot a snake!" General George S. Patton - (addressing to his troops before Operation Overlord) - 5th June 1944*

Related Results:

The Commitment to form the United Nations The Big Three expressed their support for the plan to establish a new global association to replace the League of Nations. The Allies promised to participate in a United Nations organizational conference scheduled for April 1945 in San Francisco.

The Destruction of the Nazi Reich:

The final stage of the Second World War began the month after the Yalta Conference as US troops poured across the Rhine River into Germany and the Soviets gathered an assault on Berlin. Hitler did not allow his nation to surrender. Germany would fight until the Third Reichwas destroyed. By mid-1944, the Western Allies had completely overwhelmed the German air force. In January and February 1945, there were rumours that the Germans were withdrawing. In March 1945, the armies of the Western allies under the command of US General Dwight Eisenhower attacked east out of France toward the Rhine. Rolling up the German resistance in the Ruhr, this battle came to an end. The US set off to the east to cut the Reich in two. Eisenhower's forces reached the Elbe River, sixty miles from Berlin, by 11 April. On 12 April Roosevelt died and Harry Truman became the new President. Churchill wanted to keep the Soviets out of East Germany. He urged Eisenhower to cross the Elbe and continue on to the German capital. But the General refused. To him, the best way was for the Western Allies to swing into southwestern Germany while the Soviets conquered eastern Germany. Vienna, the Australian capital, fell to the Soviets on 13 April. The Red Army forces under Marshall Georgi Zhukov began the offensive sixty miles east of Berlin on 16 April 1945. The Red Army contingents fought on westward and met the Americans at Torgau on the Elbe on 25 April. Hitler remained hidden in the air-raid bunker below the Reich Chancellery in Berlin, as Allied forces triumphed over Germany. The Americans had broken across the Rhine and were close to Berlin. They were already on the Elbe. With the Red Army fighting the last Nazi defenders of

Berlin, Hitler killed himself on 30 April. Truman and Churchill declared victory in Europe on 8 May. On 8 May 1945, in Berlin, representatives of the German High Command signed the Instrument of unconditional surrender of the German armed forces. The Nazi high command surrendered on 9 May, Stalin designated that date as the day of triumph. The Fascist era in Europe had become over.

The Asian Holocaust

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii in December 1941, the Japanese and Americans fought each other. Stalin was busy in defending himself in Europe. Japan conquered the Philippines and advanced toward Australia until March 1942. The Americans devastated the Japanese navy in May in the Battle of the Coral Sea and in June at Midway Island. The US naval bombardments, aerial assaults, and ground attacks exterminated the Japanese troops on islands such as Tarawa and Peleliu. By June 1944, the US Army Air Force opened its war on Japan. On 6 August 1945 the US plane dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima killing 80,000 to 100,000 people instantly. Stalin declared war on Japan on 8 August 1945. On the following day, the US dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan, Killing about 60,000 people. On 10 August, President Truman told the enemy that more atomic bombs would be dropped unless surrender was immediate.10 Japanese leaders surrendered within two days. They officially yielded on 14 August and signed the surrender documents on 2 September. Victory brought not exultation, but a recollection of the objective which the great architect of victory, Franklin Roosevelt, had proclaimed:"*The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil."*

Summary

World War II broke out when Nazi Germany invaded Poland on 1st September 1939. Two days later, England and France declared war on Germany. Earlier two arch rivals, Germany and the Soviet Union had concluded a non-aggression pact. Major causes of the Second World War were the humiliating terms imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles; failure of the collective security system and disarmament which was thought to be a sure guarantee of avoiding war; the world economic crisis which encouraged military and aggressive actions in countries like Japan; the creation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, an alliance of three fascist powers determined to destroy existing world order; the problem of dissatisfaction of minorities; the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and supported by France to win over the Fascist and Nazi dictators: and finally German attack on Poland that became the immediate cause of the war. To begin with, several countries joined the war on the side of Britain and her allies, but America kept out of it till outstanding disputes led Japan to attack Pearl harbour which forced the United States entry into War as an Ally in December 1941. The Soviet Union had invaded Poland and Finland and was expelled from League of Nations. But, ignoring the Non-Aggression Pact, Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. The Soviet Union immediately aligned itself with Britain. Meanwhile, Italy had entered the War in June 1940 by declaring War on France and siding with Germany. The Axis powers suffered their first setback when Italy was attacked in 1943. Mussolini was dismissed by the king and later Italy surrendered unconditionally, although for some time Rome was occupied by Germans. After a second front was opened by UK and USA, Germany not only lost France but was forced to surrender in May 1.945. Japan continued to fight in the Pacific till two atom bombs were dropped by American in August 1945 forcing Japan to surrender. Thus, the War ended with the defeat of the three fascist powers; and the victory of the Allies. Peace-making efforts after the war proved to be a very difficult task. The Allies had convened the Potsdam Conference (1945) for drawing up a peace treaty with Germany. No peace treaty could be concluded with any of the defeated countries immediately after the war. But after prolonged diplomatic activities, peace treaties were concluded with Italy, Romania, Hungary and Finland; and later with Austria and Japan. Germany remained occupied for several years and naturally, no peace treaty could be concluded for several years. The most significant outcome of the war was the partition of Germany into four occupation zones. Later three Western Zones became one sovereign country, and in the east, a Soviet-backed government was established. As east European countries were liberated by the Soviet army, they were given communist governments. The Cold War began between two power blocs into which the world war divided.

Keywords

Alliance -- A close association of nations or other groups, formed to advance common interests or causes.

Assault -- A violent physical attack, as with blows.

Exterminated -- To get rid of by destroying completely

Inflict -- To force to undergo or experience (something unwanted).

Insufferable -- Intolerable; Unendurable

Intervention-- The systematic process of assessment and planning employed to remediate or prevent a social, educational, or developmental problem.

Plebiscite -- A direct vote in which the entire electorate is invited to accept or refuse a proposal.

Restoration -- Something, such as a renovated building, that has been restored.

Subservient -- Subordinate in capacity or function.

Self Assessment

1. German attack against Poland marked the start of World War II in 1939 on which of the following date?

   A. 1 September
   B. 1 October
   C. 1 November
   D. 1 December

2. The United States officially entered the war on

   A. December 7, 1941
   B. December 9, 1941
   C. December 11, 1941
   D. December 13, 1941

3. Germany was given the draught treaty on

   A. May 7, 1919
   B. May 9, 1919
   C. May 11, 1919
   D. May 13, 1919

4. Germany was found guilty of war crimes under which of the following article of the Treaty of Versailles?

   A. 200
   B. 210
   C. 231
   D. 245

5. Japan committed aggression against China in 1931 which indicates the fragility of which of the following organisations to check any wars post World War-I

A. United Nations

B. League of Nations

C. International Monetary Fund

D. None of these

6. Italy invaded Abyssinia and annexed it in

A. 1931

B. 1932

C. 1933

D. 1936

7. *"Berlin was like a city of the dead"* is the famous statement of?

A. Stalin

B. Churchill

C. Hitler

D. Lucius D. Clay

8. World War II was the most destructive war in history. Estimates of those killed vary from 35 million to?

A. 60 million

B. 80 million

C. 90 million

D. None of these

9. Which among the following became the worst target of the Nazis?

A. Hindus

B. Muslims

C. Jews

D. Christians

10. Second World War proved a devastating blow to colonial powers like Britain and led to the emergence of two superpowers in the world, USA and

A. USSR

B. UK

C. Turkey

D. None of these

11. The political, military, and ideological wall that the Soviet Union built after World War II to isolate itself from the West and other non-communist nations, as well as its dependent allies in eastern and central Europe is generally known as?

A. Steel Wall

B. Red Wall

C. Iron Wall

D. None of these

12. Which among the following was the king of Japan during second World War?

A. Hirohito
B. Tito
C. Che Guvera
D. None of these

13. The autobiography of Hitler is

A. My Life
B. Wings of Fire
C. In the Line of Fire
D. Mein Kampf

14. Which among the following was *not* a cause of WW-II.

A. Failure of League of Nations
B. Harsh treatment meted to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles
C. Rise of Indian National Movement
D. None of these

15. Which among the following was/ were the consequence/s of the WW-II.

A. Fall of Third Reich
B. Foundation of UNO
C. Germany was divided
D. All of these

16. After first World War, ………….. was formed to evade further wars.
17. World War II led to the decline of strong colonial powers like …………...
18. Mein Kampf is the autobiography of …………….
19. United Nations came into being in order to evade the devastating wars like WW-II on 24 October ……………..
20. USSR and USA became the superpowers post WW-II. This statement is ……………

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	A	3.	A	4.	C	5.	B
6.	D	7.	D	8.	A	9.	C	10.	A
11.	C	12.	A	13.	D	14.	C	15.	D
16.	League of Nations	17.	Britain	18.	Adolf Hitler	19.	1945	20.	True

Review Questions

1) What do you mean by World War?

2) What is a total war?

3) Write a short note on Iron wall.

4) Who was Adolf Hitler?

5) How did the WW-II began?

6) Write any one positive consequence of the WW-II.

7) When and why USA entered WW-II?

8) Write briefly about the Treaty of Versailles?

9) Discuss the failure of League of Nations as one of the main reasons for the beginning of the World War-II.

10) Write a detailed note on the main events of the WW-II that shaped the post-war world.

11) Evaluate the consequences of the World War-II in context to global economy and polity.

12) Analyse the role of Germany in making World War-II in reality a World War. Cite relevant examples to support your arguments.

13) Explain in detail the Origin and consequences of the World War-II.

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🌐 Web Links

1. [(43) World War II (short version) - YouTube](#)
2. [(43) World War Two animated: Western Front 1940 - YouTube](#)
3. [(43) WW2 in animated maps: Sept 1939 - Aug 1940 - YouTube](#)

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Unit 09:Second World War and The New Political Order-II

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Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Explore nationalist movements in the colonies of great colonial empires like Britain.
- Evaluate the contribution of these Nationalist Movements in the liberation of erstwhile colonies.
- Understand the process of decolonization.
- Analyse the causes that led to decolonization.

Introduction

In this Unit, we will discuss the significance of the 20th century when former empires gave way to the development of new nation-states or resulted in the independence of former colonies. Decolonization is another name for this period. Decolonization is the process through which colonies are freed from their colonizing nation. For certain British colonies that were mostly settled by foreigners, decolonization was slow and peaceful; yet, in other colonies, where native uprisings were stoked by nationalism, decolonization was violent.Following World War II, most European nations lacked the resources and political support required to quell distant uprisings. In addition, they encountered opposition from the newly emerging superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, both of which had declared their opposition to colonialism. Japan's defeat in the war led to Korea's liberation in 1945. In 1946, the US gave up control of the Philippines. In addition to leaving India, Palestine, and Egypt in 1947, 1948, and 1956, respectively, Britain also left Hong Kong in 1997 and withdrew from Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1954, the French left Vietnam, and by 1962, they had abandoned their possessions in North Africa. In the 1970s, Portugal gave up its colonies in Africa, and in 1998, China regained control of Macau in 1999.
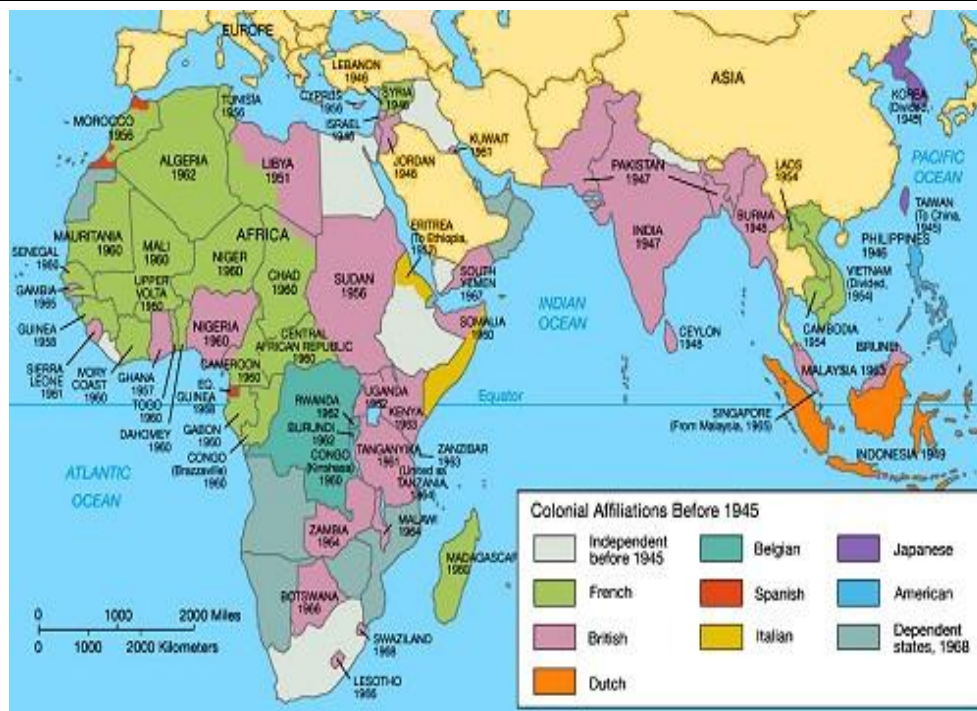
9.1 Nationalist Movements

During the twentieth century, millions of people living under colonial rule were directly or indirectly involved in 'national freedom' struggles. Between 1945 and 1980, nearly all the parts of Asia, Africa, Oceana (islands in the western Pacific Ocean) and the Caribbean that had been under European, Japanese and American rule won freedom and organized themselves into new, independent nation-states. During the Second World War (1939-1945), the imperialist and expansionist goals of the defeated powers, Germany and Japan, were thwarted. Even the victorious colonial powers, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, were unable to keep their imperial commitments, and their leaders faced growing pressure to 'decolonise'– not only from their colonial subjects and national citizens but also from the two new 'superpowers', the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Most of West Africa, the Philippines (an Asian colony of the U.S.A.) and some other places achieved independence without much violence after 1945. In Algeria, Indochina, Malaya, Angola, Mozambique, and other places only years of armed struggle by freedom movements led to national independence.

Political independence did not immediately bring all the benefits colonised people had dreamed of. New states faced problems of economic development and modernisation that they needed to solve in order to resist 'neocolonialism'. Standards of living in most of the new independent states did not match those of the 'developed' countries of Western Europe and North America, and many people today argue that forms of colonial domination or old patterns of exploitation still remain in the world of formally independent nation-states.

The nation-state is not only a European invention, but also a colonising tool. For example, India was invented by European colonial powers despite the many "ethnic, linguistic, dynastic, social and confessional" fragmentations that existed; there was no shared 'national unity' nor a centralised state to control a certain territory (**Anderson, P. (2012). Gandhi Centre Stage. London Review of Books, 34(13), p.4**). Similarly, the European system of nation-states were implemented in the Middle East, where the Ottoman Empire had operated under a patrimonial system, by "establishing a centralized administration, legal system, a flag and internationally recognised boundaries" (Owen, R. (2004). State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East. New York: Routledge, pp.9-15). The European colonial powers had drawn arbitrary borders and assigned identities without consideration of the "great diversity [that is] inhabited by many different peoples with their own distinct languages, cultures and ways of life" (Lockman, Z. (2009). Contending Visions of the Middle East. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.70-98.Lockman 2009: 97-98). This had only created more division in an already segmented society, enabling the European colonial powers to colonise without any serious opposition. Therefore, nation-states were implemented as an apparatus of colonisation by the European colonial powers.

The end of World War II had sparked a multitude of anti-colonial movements towards achieving self-determination. Decolonisation had thus been a national liberation project: it was organised along the lines of nationalism in order to challenge the colonial powers and dismantle their empires. For many new nation-states, independence had been achieved through the triumph of nationalism, successfully marking the end of colonialism. Anti-colonial movements, from the Indian National Congress to the National Liberation Front in Algeria, were structured and carried out along nationalist lines. New autonomous nation-states have so appeared all across the world, heralding the end of colonialism.

In French Indochina, *Ho Chi Minh* tried to spread communist ideas during the 1930s. In 1940-1941, the Japanese expelled the French from Indochina and occupied the region themselves. Ho formed a 'national people's front' (*Viet Minh*) to throw them out, and when the French were restored as rulers of Indochina in 1945, with British and American consent, Ho and the Viet Minh continued to fight the French and gained control over much of Indochina by 1954. In that year Vietnam was partitioned into two, nominally independent states –the northern territory controlled by Ho and his allies, and the southern half of Vietnam with a growing American political, military and economic presence. The conflict cost the lives of more than 50,000 Americans and millions of Vietnamese, but the Vietnamese had forced the biggest imperialist power of the world to retreat in 1975. In India, there were mass movements against the British all over the country, under the leadership of the Congress. There were also independent movements of workers and peasants led by the Communists, and also organizations of youth, students, writers, women, and lower castes. The British were forced to quit in 1947. Independence came with partition and the formation of two independent states, India and Pakistan.

Indonesia:

The Indonesian nationalism of the early 20th century was a byproduct of the new imperialism and was a component of larger upheavals impacting many regions of Africa and Asia that were still under Western colonial rule. Nationalism in Indonesia was concerned with new conceptions of nationhood, embracing the ethnic diversity of the archipelago, and looking to the restructuring of traditional patterns of authority in order to enable the creation of Indonesia as a modern state. Nationalism was not just about resistance to Dutch rule. It was somewhat influenced by individual discontents, colonial economic injustices, the psychological harm caused by social injustices, and a growing knowledge of the pervasiveness of Dutch rule. The rise of a new elite that was educated but lacked sufficient economic possibilities to match that degree, Westernized but still maintaining ties to traditional society, was significant.

The founding of Budi Utomo ("Noble Endeavor") in 1908 is frequently regarded as the start of organised nationalism. Budi Utomo was an elite group founded by Wahidin Sudirohusodo, a retired Javanese doctor, whose goals, however cultural rather than political, included a concern to secure a mutual accommodation between traditional culture and modern society. Sarekat Islam ("Islamic Association"), established in 1912, was more significant in terms of numbers. Under the leadership of its charismatic chairman, Omar Said Tjokroaminoto, the group quickly grew, claiming 2,500,000 members by 1919. Even with this substantially lowered estimate, Sarekat Islam was unquestionably far larger than any other movement at the time. Later study reveals that the real number was probably no more than 400,000. E.F.E. Douwes Dekker created the Indies Party (IndischePartij), a predominantly Eurasian party, in 1912. After it was outlawed a year later, Insulinde, a poetic name for the East Indies, took its place. The Indies Social Democratic Association was created in 1914 by the Dutchman HendricusSneevliet. It later changed its name to Indonesian Communist Party (PartaiKomunis Indonesia; PKI) in 1924 and became a communist party in 1920.

Wahidin Sudirohusodo

Notes: Budi Utomo was the first Indonesian nationalist organization. It was founded on May 20, 1908, a day now designated by the Indonesian government as the Day of National Awakening.

Thus, at the close of World War I, a variety of groups with broadly nationalist goals had developed. However, these organisations varied in their methods, short-term objectives, and sharpness of their perceptions of autonomous nationhood People frequently belonged to multiple organisations at once in the absence of strict party discipline; in example, the presence of members of the Indies Social Democratic Association in **Sarekat Islam** allowed them to function as a "bloc within" the wider movement. The Communist International, founded by the Soviet Union (also known as Comintern or the Third International), later developed the strategy of collaboration with anti-imperialist "bourgeois" parties on the grounds that the time was not yet right for communist parties to assume independent leadership of colonial nationalism.
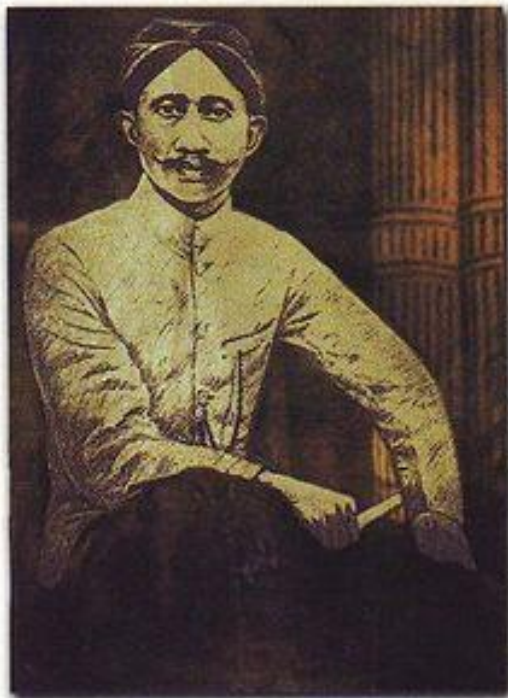
Omar Said Tjokroaminoto

Logo of Sarekat Islam

A new nationalist group was able to form in Bandung in 1926 thanks to the failure of the communist uprising and the earlier decline of Sarekat Islam. Sukarno, a recently graduated engineer, served as the group's secretary. In an effort to appeal to Indonesia's new urban elite, the

club started to alter the concept of nationalism. Nationalist thinking was merely focused on the idea of a struggle for independence following the failure of the ideologically driven movements of Islam and communism, without any commitment to a specific post-conflict political or social order.It was thought that such a goal would be appealing to everyone, including Muslims and communists, who could at least support a shared struggle for independence, even if they had fundamentally different views on what would come next. In this sense, nationalism evolved into the concept that the youthful Sukarno utilised as the foundation for his effort to bring the various anticolonial sentiment streams together. Currents of thought coming from Indonesian students in The Netherlands supported the beliefs of the Bandung Study Club. Their group was reorganised in 1924 and given the self-consciously Indonesian (as opposed to Dutch) name Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Union), which became a hub for radical nationalist thought as students returning from the Netherlands in the middle of the 1920s joined forces with groups at home that shared their views.

But the nationalist sentiment cut across party lines. A number of youth organisation representatives signed the historic Youth Pledge (Sumpah Pemuda) on October 28, 1928, pledging to acknowledge just one Indonesian motherland, one Indonesian people, and one Indonesian language. It was a significant occasion in Indonesian history and is regarded as the beginning of the Indonesian language. Sukarno was arrested at the end of 1929 along with a few of his colleagues. He was prosecuted, found guilty, and given a four-year prison sentence. He was freed by the end of 1931, but the united movement he worked to establish had already started to fall apart by that point. Partindo was created after the PNI disintegrated. Other organisations merged to become the Indonesian National Education Club, sometimes known as the New PNI. While the New PNI, led by Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, sought to develop cadres who could continue to lead the movement in the event that its leaders were arrested, Partindo saw itself as a popular party along the lines of the old PNI. Sukarno was once more detained in 1933 and sent to Flores; he was then moved to Bengkulu in southern Sumatra. Other party leaders, notably Hatta and Sjahrir, who were also exiled, were subjected to repressive measures. Later in the 1930s, nationalist leaders were compelled to work with the Dutch; as a result, moderate parties like Parindra joined the People's Council. A more radical group called Gerindo was founded in 1937, but it prioritised defending The Netherlands from the menace of National Socialism (Nazism) over the issue of independence. Second World War brought about a transformation. The end of Dutch sovereignty in the East Indies at the beginning of 1942 created an entirely new atmosphere for nationalist activities.

9.2 Japanese Occupation of Indonesia

Indonesians were given possibilities that had been denied to them under the Dutch after Japanese military authorities in Java detained Dutch administrative workers and deemed it necessary to deploy them in various administrative posts. The Japanese also sought to recruit the support of nationalist and Islamic leaders in order to win over the populace to their rule. Sukarno and Hatta both accepted jobs in the military government as a result of this policy.The Japanese were greeted at first as liberators, but they eventually came to be seen as masters. Their policies changed in accordance with the demands of the war, but in general, their main goal was to force the East Indies to support Japanese military requirements.However, nationalist leaders believed they could exchange support for political acquiescence. Sukarno was successful in persuading the administration that only a group that would accurately represent Indonesian ambitions could garner support from the country. Under his leadership, Putera (Pusat Tenaga Rakjat; "Centre of the People's Power") was established in March 1943. Sukarno was given the responsibility of maintaining Indonesian support for Japan through, among other means, the romusha (forced labour) programme, even as the new organisation allowed him to more clearly establish himself as the leader of the developing nation and to create more effective lines of communication with the populace.Later on in the year, a Central Advisory Council and other municipal councils provided another platform for Indonesian views. At a separate level, participation in the various youth organisations founded by the Japanese allowed Indonesian teenagers to develop a feeling of group integrity. Another event of major significance was the establishment in October 1943 of a volunteer defence group led and managed by Indonesians who had received Japanese military training. The basic military force of the Indonesian revolution would be the SukarelaTentaraPembela Tanah Air (Peta; "Voluntary Army of Defenders of the Homeland").

The Revolution

The declaration sparked a wave of protests across Java, which persuaded the British troops tasked with accepting the Japanese forces' surrender that the self-declared republic should be regarded seriously. The new Republic of Indonesia's leaders adopted a presidential form of government at the national level, although the broadly representative Central Indonesian National Committee effectively served as an ad hoc parliament. Sukarno, as president, pledged to abide by legislative customs by requiring that his cabinets be able to win the committee's confidence. Numerous episodes, most notably the battle for Bandung in late 1945 and early 1946 and the Battle of Surabaya in November 1945, where Indonesian fighters resisted superior British forces for three weeks, illustrated the spontaneous nature of the Indonesian revolution. Sumatra and Celebes saw fighting as well. Though they were able to capitalise on the fears of the outer islands (typically, islands other than Java and Madura) of a Java-based republic, the Dutch were ultimately forced to engage with republican officials led by Sjahrir, who by this point had assumed the position of prime minister.The Linggadjati Agreement, which the Dutch committed to relinquish sovereignty to a federal Indonesia in due course (written on November 15, 1946, and signed on March 25, 1947), seemed to offer a resolution to the dispute. (The Dutch argued that a federation was required due to the diversity of the East Indies and the contrast between Java, which is densely populated, and the surrounding islands, which are sparserly populated.) But different interpretations rendered the pact meaningless from the start. In an effort to use force to end the conflict, the Dutch launched what they called a police intervention against the republic in July 1947. It resulted in the tenuous Renville Agreement of January 1948 and led to United Nations (UN) intervention in the form of a commission known as the Good Offices Committee. A second police action was started in December 1948.

In the meantime, there was some internal opposition to the republic's government. Followers of Ibrahim Datuk Tan Malaka, who opposed the policy of negotiation with the Dutch, hatched a left-wing plot in 1946. This alleged July 3rd Affair was quickly dismantled. A more significant threat, the Madiun Affair communist uprising, was also put down in September 1948.American alarm was sparked by the second police action. Additionally, it solidified Indonesia's support for the republic. In these circumstances, The Netherlands finally consented in August 1949 at a roundtable conference in The Hague to hand over control of its colony to the independent United States of Indonesia in December 1949 (with the exception of western New Guinea); the ultimate fate of western New Guinea was to be the subject of future negotiations.

Egypt

Egypt found its modern identity with Mehemet Ali in 1805. But it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the British tutelage aroused in reaction a national awareness. The creation of an Egyptian nationalist party, which will become the **Wafd** in 1909, coincides with the influx of foreign officials who are hogging key positions at the expense of local elites.

For more than 400 years, all Arabs – except for parts of Arabia and Morocco – were under Ottoman rule.But the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after 1918 resulted in Arabs falling prey to identity conflicts and foreign domination, and prepared the stage for a surge of nationalistic feelings in the region.Nations which had struggled under Ottoman occupation now found themselves occupied by the victors of World War I – Britain and France.ontrary to traditional Islamic thought, nationalism – often called the religion of the modern world – divided what was considered a Muslim ummah (nation) into political entities based on shared characteristics, such as language and culture.Thus, nationalism was seen as a new, imported idea. It was in this context, marked by chaos and confusion, that **Saad Zaghlul**, a liberal reformist and later father of Egyptian nationalism stepped in, putting into action his modernist, liberal vision of an independent nation free from the yoke of British occupation.

LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

Photograph of Saad Zaghloul (1859–1927), former Prime Minister of Egypt.

In 1920, Iraq witnessed a localised rebellion against the British, and in 1925, there was a nationalist revolt against the French in Syria. In 1928, the National Bloc, which was in line with the Wafd party, was founded in Syria by Hashem al-Attasi and Jamil Mardam Bey. In Lebanon, Riyadh Al-Sulh and Bishara Al-Khuri followed suit and led their country to independence. The Iraqi movement of the Nationalist Brothers was also part of the nationalist wave. In 1933, the Neo-Dostour party, which raised the flag of nationalism, was established in Tunisia under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba. By the early 1940s, Morocco and Algeria witnessed the rise of nationalist movement

Zaghlul, who had studied Islamic law at Al-Azhar University, began his career as a public official when he was appointed the minister of education between 1906 and 1908 and the minister of justice between 1910 and 1912. In 1913 he became vice president of the Legislative Assembly. It was during his tenure in government that he came to believe that independence could be achieved through legal and educational reform, an idea influenced by Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi and Sati al-Husi, two Arab nationalists who dominated regional politics in the 19th century. As World War I came to an end, Zaghlul increasingly began to call for Egyptian independence from Britain. He believed that the best opportunity to present Egypt's case would come at the Paris Peace Conference of January 1919 in which the victors of the war were to negotiate peace treaties with the defeated powers. Zaghlul formed a delegation – **Wafd**to head to Paris, but the British authorities in Egypt arrested and exiled him to Malta. If the British had hoped to extinguish the flames of nationalism, his arrest came as a bitter disappointment to them.The exile of Zaghlul – "the uncrowned king of the peasants" unleashed fierce Egyptian anti-British sentiment, resulting in huge demonstrations and riots in what came to be known as the 1919 Revolution.The British had overlooked Zaghlul's appeal to regular Egyptians. Zaghlul was a natural communicator because he was raised in a rural setting. He created a nationalist movement by fusing anti-British feeling with the idea of the country.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-70)

Around this time, there flourished in Egypt the movement known as Pharaonism led by Salmah Musa, drawing insoiration from the Pharaonic heritage. In 1928, the Ahrar government led by Muhammad Mahmud dissolved parliament and then instituted direct monarchical rule, aided by cabinet. Thus began the constitutional crisis that culminated in the Sidqui dictatorship of 1930-33. During this time, restraints on political behaviour were dropped in favour of greater activism and

violence, especially on the part of students. In 1933, the young Egypt Society (Green Shirts) was founded as Egypt's first paramilitary organization, closely linked with the Ahrars and the Watan Party. It was regarded as a serious challenge by the Wafad and they formed its own paramilitary group called the Blue Shirts. After coming to power in 1936, Wafd tried to suppress the Young Egypt. This nationalist struggle was all along focused during this period on the two immediate objectives, the evacuation of the British forces from the Suez base and the unification of the Nile Valley. In May 1948, Britain terminated its mandate in Palestine, Egypt in haste sent troops into Palestine to oust the Jewish settlers. They were defeated by the Israel. The defeat had serious consequences, it led to *coup d'etat* in July 1952. A more militant form of Egyptian Nationalism was thus born under the leadership of Naseer.

Sri Lanka

During the French Revolutionary War, the British East India Company conquered Sri Lanka, which they dubbed Ceylon (1792–1801). When France took over the Netherlands, the British started to invade Sri Lanka from India. After a feeble defense, the Dutch gave up the island in 1796. The British ruled the island from Madras (Chennai), in southern India, as they believed the conquest to be temporary. But when Sri Lanka was involved in the war with France, it became clear how valuable the island was strategically, and the British chose to remain there permanently. Ceylon became a crown colony in 1802, and British ownership of maritime Ceylon was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens with France.The British made contact with the king of Kandy soon after their arrival in 1796 and agreed to take over as the kingdom's protectors from the Dutch. The British realised that Kandy's continued independence posed issues as they started to set up the administration: Kandy's border needed to be guarded at great expense; trade with the highlands was hampered by customs posts and political unrest; and land communications between the west and the east would be quicker if roads could be built through the island's centre. The British could see the benefits of political union, but the Kandyans were still quite wary of outsiders.

The monarch was well-liked by the nobles, who banded together behind him to rout the British soldiers in their first attempt to conquer the kingdom in 1803, which failed. However, as the kingdom's divisions grew, the British were given a chance to meddle in Kandyan matters. The British were able to conquer the country in 1815 with the aid of local Kandyan leaders whose relations with the monarch had been deteriorating. The British promised Kandyans their privileges and rights as well as the preservation of traditional laws, institutions, and religion shortly after the country was acquired. Kandy was first handled separately, with no dramatic deviation from customary practises. However, it was clear that the nobility and the Buddhist faith were on the decline, which sparked a public uprising against British rule in 1818. The Kandyan provinces were included into the rest of the nation once it was put down.

The forces of nationalism in Ceylon gained strength during World War I (1914–18), partly due to civil unrest in 1915 and the accompanying political fallout. Widespread opposition was sparked when British authorities detained major Sinhalese leaders following what initially appeared to be a minor communal conflict. In 1919, leaders from all groups came together to organise the Ceylon National Congress, which brought together Tamil and Sinhalese organisations. They did so because they saw the necessity for a unified platform from which to express a nationalist position. The Congress asked for an elected majority in the legislature, control of the budget, and a limited amount of executive branch authority in a number of constitutional reform proposals.Under the governorship of Sir William Manning, a new constitution was promulgated in 1920. Nationalist demands led to changes being made to the constitution in 1924. The new document mandated the election of community representatives, an increase in the number of territorially elected members, and an elected majority in the legislature. As a result, Ceylon achieved representative governance. Additionally, the legislature established a finance committee with the power to review the budget, made up of three official and three unofficial members. The executive branch, which continued to be governed by the British governor and the formal Executive Council, did not, however, receive any significant concessions.

The earliest rifts among the nationalists were caused by giving them more power. Minorities desired to keep communal representation in place to protect authority for their own groups, whilst Sinhalese elites wanted to abolish it and make territorial representation universal. Minorities left the Congress and started their own groups.On the advice of a commission established to study constitutional change, a new constitution was drafted in 1931, giving Ceylonese leaders the chance to exert their political influence and gain experience in governing with an eye toward ultimate self-governance. A State Council with both legislative and executive responsibilities was established. The State Council was divided into seven committees for executive activity in addition to being a

legislative body with a resounding majority of territorially elected members. Each committee elected its own head. A board of ministers was established by these chairmen, or ministers, to oversee the council's operations and provide an annual budget.The universal suffrage provision in the constitution, which was in force for more than 15 years, allowed all Ceylonese to participate in the democratic political system.

India

British rule was largely to blame for the growth of national consciousness in the nineteenth century. All classes of Indians were oppressed as a result of the economic, political, and social changes brought about by British administration, which led to general discontent among the populace. Additionally, the British-developed post and telegraph, railroads, printing press, and educational institutions, which were initially developed as measures for running an efficient administration, played a crucial role in creating favourable conditions for the emergence and expansion of national movements. We shall talk about the early trends and organisational structure of the national movement. A new consciousness was growing among the educated sections and middle classes during the nineteenth century, in addition to mass uprisings and revolts. This middle class consciousness was crucial in the emergence of India's national consciousness since it served as the main conduit for the unhappiness of the general populace.They started writing books, articles and publishing newspapers to critically analyse the British policies and developing consciousness among the masses. The second method adopted by the middle classes was to form organizations, associations and societies for joint programmes and activities. Ram Mohan Roy was a pioneer in this field. He produced a number of books and started a journal called Sambad Kaumudi (Bengali) which published several articles on varied themes. Dinabandhu Mitra wrote the play Neel Darpan depicting the plight of indigo cultivators. Bankimchandra wrote Anand Math, full of nationalist aspirations. In Urdu a large number of works were written in prose and poetry about the degrading conditions of the masses and destruction of many urban centres. In Marathi, Hindi and Tamil also a number of works were published. A number of periodicals and newspapers in different languages started publication. These publications were in English and vernacular languages. The prominent among these were: the Hindu Patriot, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bengali, Sanjivani in Bengal, Native Opinion, Mahratta and Kesari in Bombay, the Hindu, Andhra Patrika and Kerala Patrika in Madras, the Hindustan and Azad in U.P., the Tribune and the Akhbar-i-am in Punjab. By 1877 there were as many as 169 newspapers in the vernacular. A number of nationalist literary figures also came into prominence such as Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Vishnu Shastri Chiplukar, Subramaniyam Bharti, Bhartendu Harishchandra and Altaf Hussain Hali.

The second method adopted by the middle class was to form associations and organizations. Some of the early organizations were the Landholder's Society (1838), Bengal British India Society (1843), British India Association (1851) in Bengal; the Bombay Association and Deccan Association (1852) in Maharashtra, the Madras Native Association in Madras. The main aim of these organizations was collective action against the British policies harming their interests. Their methods were mostly legal actions in courts or petition against the East India Company and British parliament. They wanted reforms to be included in the Company's charter of 1853. But the charter of 1853 failed to satisfy their aspirations. After the takeover of India's administration by the British Crown in 1858, new hopes kindled among the Indian middle classes. They thought that the British government would stop the economic exploitation and work for the welfare of the country. Soon they realised that the British Crown too was out to exploit India economically. Now the political activities increased and a number of new organizations appeared. In England was formed London India Association which was later merged with the East India Association (1866). In Maharashtra, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870) and Indian Association (1876) were formed. In Bengal Indian National Conference (1883) and in Madras Mahajan Sabha were established. As compared to the earlier organizations formed by middle class elements these organizations were political. Their main aim was to protest against the British policies through petitions and resolutions. They tried to achieve mass awakening through public meetings and statements. They also exchanged views on the national issues. Actually these organizations opened the way for the formation of a strong all India organization, Indian National Congress in 1885. Around the same time the British Government passed some repressive measures like Vernacular Press Act, Indian Arms Act, lowering the age for Indian Civil Services etc. Lord Lytton (1876-80) the Viceroy was responsible for them. The reaction to these measures was very strong.

9.3   Indian National Congress

The credit for organizing the first meeting of the Indian National Congress goes to A.O. Hume. He was a retired Government servant who had chosen to stay back in India after retirement. He was on very good terms with Lord Ripon and shared his view that the emergence of the educated class should be accepted as a political reality and that timely steps should be taken to provide legitimate outlets to the grievances of this class and efforts be made to satisfy its ambitions. He laboriously consolidated the network of contacts that he had established. Early in December 1884 he reached Bombay to bid farewell to Ripon. He stayed on there for three months and during this period he discussed with the leaders who were influential in the Presidency, the programme of political action to be adopted by the educated Indians. In March 1885 it was decided that a conference of the Indian National Union (initially it was this name that was adopted) would be convened at Poona during the Christmas week. Initially Hume and his group considered Calcutta as the most likely place for the conference. But later they decided upon Poona, because it was centrally located and the Executive Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha expressed readiness to make arrangements for the conference and provide necessary funds. However, fate deprived Poona of the opportunity to host the first session of the Indian National Congress. The venue had to be shifted to Bombay because of the outbreak of cholera in Poona. The first meeting was held on Monday, 28 December 1885 in Gokaldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay. It was attended by 100 men of whom 72 were non-officials and were recognized as members. The honour of being the first ever Congress President belonged to W.C. Bonnerjee of Bengal. The aims and objects of the Congress were defined very clearly by the President. He described the objectives as:

1. Promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst the countrymen;

2. Eradication of all possible prejudices relating to race, creed or provinces; Consolidation of sentiments of nation unity; and

3. Recording of the opinions of educated classes on pressing problems of the day, and laying down lines for future course of action in public

Early Congressmen had an implicit faith in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional agitation. The press and the platform at the annual sessions were their agencies. However, the press was the only agency through which the Congress propaganda was carried out throughout the year. Many leaders, in fact, were editors of either English or Indian language newspapers and wielded their pen powerfully. The holding of the annual session was another method of Congress propaganda. At these meetings the Government policy was discussed, and resolutions were passed in a forceful manner. The annual sessions attracted the attentions of both the educated sections of the middle class, and the Government. But the gravest drawback was that the Congress sessions lasted only for three days a year. It had no machinery to carry on the work in the interval between the two sessions. The Congressmen's belief in the essential sense of justice and goodness of the British nation was strong. They worked under the illusion that all would be well if the British could be acquainted with the true state of affairs in India. They thought that it was only the bureaucracy which stood between the people and their rights. So their aim was to educate Indian public opinion and making it conscious of its rights. It also intended to inform British public about the problems faced by the Indians and to remind it of its duty towards India. To fulfill the latter aim, deputations of leading Indians were sent to Britain to present the Indian viewpoint. In 1889, a British Committee of Indian National Congress was founded. To carry on its propaganda the Committee started its organ, India, in 1890. It was to present the Indian viewpoint to the British authorities that DadabhaiNaoroji spent a major part of his life in England. He got elected to the British House of Commons and formed a strong Indian lobby in that House.

The Congress programme during the early phase (1885-1905) was very modest. It demanded moderate constitutional reforms, economic relief, administrative re-organization and defence of civil rights. The more important of the demands were:

1. the organization of the provincial councils, ● simultaneous examination for the I.C.S. in India and England,

2. the abolition or re-constitution of the Indian Council, ● the separation of the Judiciary from the executive,the repeal of the Arms Act,

3. the appointment of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Army,

4. the reduction of military expenditure, and

5. he introduction of Permanent Settlement to other parts of India.

The Congress expressed opinions on all the important measures of the Government and protested against the unpopular ones. These demands were repeated year after year, although there was hardly any response from the Government. During the first twenty years (1885-1905) there was practically no change in the Congress programme. This phase of the Congress is known as the Moderate phase. During this period the leaders were cautious in their demands. They did not want to annoy the government and incur the risk of suppression of their activities. From 1885 to 1892, their main demand continued to be expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, the membership of the Councils for elected representatives of the people and also an increase in the powers of these Councils. The British Government was forced to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892, but the provisions of this Act failed to satisfy the Congress leaders. They demanded Indian control over the public purse and raised the slogan that had earlier been raised by the Americans during their War of Independence, 'No taxation without representation'. By 1905 the Congress put forth the demand for Swaraj or self-rule for Indians within the British Empire on the model of the self-governing colonies like Australia or Canada. This demand was first referred to by G.K. Gokhale in 1905 (at Banaras) and later explicitly stated by DadabhaiNaoroji in 1906 (at Calcutta). They also fully recognized the value of the freedom of the press and speech and condemned all attempts at their curtailment. In fact, the struggle for the removal of restrictions onpress became the integral part of the nationalist struggle for freedom. The progressive content of these demands and their direct connection with the needs and aspirations of the Indian middle class is clear by these demands. Most of them opposed on grounds both economic and political, the largescale import of foreign capital in railways, plantations and industries and the facilities accorded to these by the Government. By attacking expenditure on the army and the civil service, they indirectly challenged the basis of British rule in India. By attacking the land revenue and taxation policies, they sought to undermine the financial basis of British administration in India. The use of Indian army and revenue for British imperial purposes in Asia and Africa was identified as another form of economic exploitation.

Militant Nationalism in action

Tilak resented any interference by an alien government into the domestic and private life of the people. He quarreled with the reformers over the Age of Consent Bill in 1891. He introduced the Ganapati festival in 1893. Aurobindo published 'New Lamps for Old' in the Indu Prakash between 1893 and 1894. Tilak threw a challenge to the National Social Conference in 1895 by not allowing it to hold its session in the Congress pavilion in Poona. The National Social Conference was under the influence of Moderate Wing. In the same year the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was captured by the Extremists from the Moderates. The Shivaji festival was first held on 15 April, 1896, with the foundation of the Deccan Sabha on November 4, 1896, the division between the Extremists and the Moderates in Maharashtra was complete, but it was not so all-over India. Bipin Chandra Pal, for example, the leader of the Bengal Extremists was still in the camp of the Moderates. He wrote in 1897: "I am loyal to the British Government, because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country; because I believe that God has placed this Government over us, for our salvation". Only in 1902, he could write, "The Congress here and its British Committee in London, are both begging institutions". Because of the soft and vacillating policy it pursued, Lajpat Rai also was not interested in Congress programme. Between 1893 and 1900 he did not attend any meeting of the Congress. He felt during this period that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interests of the country. The victory of Japan over Russia (1904-05) sent a thrill of enthusiasm throughout Asia. Earlier in 1896 the Ethiopians had defeated the Italian army. These victories pricked the bubble of European superiority and gave to the Indians self-confidence.

The Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism

A large-scale participation of the masses in the struggle for Swaraj – the essential pre-condition of a successful passive resistance – was not, however, realized. With little success among the workers, total failure in respect of the cultivators and sad mismanagement of the communal tangle, the Swadeshi movement was unable, by the second half of 1907, to rise to its full potential or assume the character of a mass upheaval. Besides, as an anti-imperialist agitation of great intensity, it had to bear continuously the repressive measures of its powerful opponent. The authorities prohibited the shouting of the slogan "Bande Mataram" in public places, disqualified from the Government

employment all those who took part in the agitation in any form and expelled and fined student participants of the movement. Bands of Gurkha soldiers were sent to Barisal and other places to teach the agitators a lesson, and the police and the officials were given a free hand. The climax was reached in April 1906 when the delegates attending the provincial conference at Barisal were lathi-charged by the police. Severe repressive measures followed it. The question of meeting force with force naturally came to the forefront. A violent method appealed to the romantic attitude of the middle class youth of Bengal, who sought solace in heroic individual acts when mass actions did not materialize and who pinned their hopes on secret societies when open politics could not overwhelm the Government. The cult of revolutionary violence was also attractive to those who were in a desperate hurry and whose patience had practically run out. "If we sit idle and hesitate to rise till the whole population is goaded to desperation", Yugantar argued in August I907, "then we shall continue idle till the end of time...." The alternative was for the advanced elite section to take up arms against the oppressors. Soon some of such small groups (samitis) grew exclusive inner circles, hatched plans for selective assassinations and committed political robberies for raising funds to buy arms and ammunition. These militant proceedings were spearheaded by the Yugantar group in Calcutta and the Anushilan Samiti in Dacca.

9.4   National Movement – The Mass Phase

A new phase of nationalist mass mobilisation began in the late 1920s with the arrival of the all-White Simon Commission in 1927 without any representation of the Indians. It was, therefore, boycotted by the Congress, and people all over the country protested against it. Anti-imperialist sentiments intensified in the subsequent period with urban crowds participating in various demonstrations and protests. Working-class militancy also increased significantly with the Bombay textile workers effecting one of the longest industrial strikes lasting for about six months. A radical shift was noticeable within the Congress also resulting in the declaration of the demand for complete independence in 1929. The situation seemed quite ripe for another phase of mass struggle. The Civil Disobedience Movement was launched when Gandhiji, along with a group of chosen volunteers, began the Dandi March to break the Salt Law. Following him, people all over the country broke salt laws and courted arrests. Besides breaking of the salt laws, no-tax and no-revenue campaigns were also launched in certain areas. There was also defiance of the forest laws which prohibited the use of forests by the locals. Noticing the gravity of the situation, the British government called a Round Table Conference and invited the Congress for talk. Gandhiji represented the Congress and the movement was temporarily withdrawn to facilitate the talk. However, the talk proved to be a failure due the divisive policies of the colonial rulers. This led to the resumption of the movement which, however, failed to acquire its earlier intensity. the constitutional developments during this period culminating in the Government of India Act, 1935 which allowed substantial autonomy to the provinces. The resentment against the insufficiency of the MontaguChelmsford reforms prompted the British Indian government to institute the Simon Commission in 1927. All the members of the Commission were Whites and no Indian was represented on its board. This led to its boycott by the Congress. The arrival of the Commission in India in early 1928 was greeted with massive protests and demonstrations wherever it went. The recommendations of the Commission were also rejected by the Congress which presented its alternative model in the Nehru Report. It demanded a dominion status for India with fully responsible government and a strong Indian-controlled centre. The Congress gave ultimatum to the colonial government to accept the Nehru Report or face another mass movement. It was, however, not accepted by the government and rejected by Muslim League. It was also questioned by the radicals within the Congress who pitched for complete independence. Ultimately the goal for the Congress-led nationalist movement was declared to be complete independence in 1929. Meanwhile, the British government parleyed with loyalist non-Congress organisations to frame constitution for India through a Round Table Conference in 1930-31. However, without the participation of the Congress it did not succeed. Congress participated in the next Round Table Conference in 1931, but it did not succeed in getting its views accepted. The grant of communal award offering separate electorate on caste basis was rejected by Gandhi who went on indefinite fast. The subsequent Poona Pact modified this aspect of the communal award. Finally, the Government of India Act, 1935 was passed by the British Parliament It kept the colonial structure intact maintaining the supremacy of the British in Indian affairs. However, it granted large provincial autonomy and substantially extended the electorate. Despite disagreeing with various provisions of the Act, the Congress decided to participate in subsequent elections which led to the formation of Congress ministries in various provinces. The Congress succeeded tremendously well in certain provinces such as Madras, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces. It did reasonably well in Bombay and Assam. However,

it failed in Bengal, Sindh and Punjab. In terms of reserved seats, its failure was very obvious, though its huge success in general seats was quite evident. It formed governments in several provinces. The Congress governments undertook various steps to address the problems of the people. Political prisoners were released and civil liberties were granted to the people, peasants' grievances were redressed in several provinces, certain labour laws were enacted to give relief to the workers particularly in Bombay, and various constructive programmes such as promotion of village industries and education were undertaken to help people. However, the Congress ministries resigned in 1939 in protest against the inclusion of India in World War without consulting the Indians.

Various ideologies and approaches, ranging from the right to the left, were represented in the nationalist movement. Even within the Congress, sharp differences of opinion on different issues surfaced time and again. The Gandhian core was surrounded by left-leaning leaders such as Nehru, Bose, Narendra Dev and Jayprakash Narayan, by right-wing leaders such as Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad, and by liberals such as Tej Bahadur Sapru, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and C. H. Setalvad. Then there were revolutionary militants inspired by Marxism and other ideologies. Besides, the communists were also making their presence felt particularly in labour movement.

Indo-China

Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia are contemporary nations that are part of Indo-China. Early records reveal a diverse population coexisting here under the rule of the mighty Chinese empire. The Chinese system of administration and Chinese culture were upheld even after an independent nation was founded in what is now northern and central Vietnam. The so-called maritime silk route, which transported products, people, and ideas, was also connected to Vietnam. Other trade networks linked it to the hinterlands where non-Vietnamese people lived, including the Khmer Cambodians.

The colonisation of Vietnam by the French brought the people of the country into conflict with the colonisers in all areas of life. The most visible form of French control was military and economic domination but the French also built a system that tried to reshape the culture of the Vietnamese. Nationalism in Vietnam emerged through the efforts of different sections of society to fight against the French and all they represented. French troops landed in Vietnam in 1858 and by the mid-1880s they had established a firm grip over the northern region. After the Franco-Chinese war the French assumed control of Tonkin and Anaam and, in 1887, French Indo-China was formed. In the following decades the French sought to consolidate their position, and people in Vietnam began reflecting on the nature of the loss that Vietnam was suffering. Nationalist resistance developed out of this reflection. The colonial economy in Vietnam was, however, primarily based on rice cultivation and rubber plantations owned by the French and a small Vietnamese elite. Rail and port facilities were set up to service this sector. Indentured Vietnamese labour was widely used in the rubber plantations. The French, contrary to what Bernard would have liked, did little to industrialise the economy. In the rural areas landlordism spread and the standard of living declined.

The port of Faifo. This port was founded by Portuguese merchants. It was one of the ports used by European trading companies much before the nineteenth century.

Vietnam's religious beliefs were a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism and local practices. Christianity, introduced by French missionaries, was intolerant of this easygoing attitude and viewed the Vietnamese tendency to revere the supernatural as something to be corrected. From the eighteenth century, many religious movements were hostile to the Western presence. An early movement against French control and the spread of Christianity was the Scholars Revolt in 1868. This revolt was led by officials at the imperial court angered by the spread of Catholicism and French power. They led a general uprising in Ngu An and Ha Tien provinces where over a thousand Catholics were killed. Catholic missionaries had been active in winning converts since the early seventeenth century, and by the middle of the eighteenth century had converted some 300,000. The French crushed the movement but this uprising served to inspire other patriots to rise up against them. The elites in Vietnam were educated in Chinese and Confucianism. But religious beliefs among the peasantry were shaped by a variety of syncretic traditions that combined Buddhism and local beliefs.

Ho Chi Minh

There were many popular religions in Vietnam that were spread by people who claimed to have seen a vision of God. Some of these religious movements supported the French, but others inspired movements against colonial rule. One such movement was the Hoa Hao. It began in 1939 and gained great popularity in the fertile Mekong delta area. It drew on religious ideas popular in anti-French uprisings of the nineteenth century. The founder of Hoa Hao was a man called Huynh Phu So. He performed miracles and helped the poor. His criticism against useless expenditure had a wide appeal. He also opposed the sale of child brides, gambling and the use of alcohol and opium. The French tried to suppress the movement inspired by Huynh Phu So. They declared him mad, called him the Mad Bonze, and put him in a mental asylum. Interestingly, the doctor who had to prove him insane became his follower, and finally in 1941, even the French doctors declared that he was sane. The French authorities exiled him to Laos and sent many of his followers to concentration camps. Movements like this always had a contradictory relationship with mainstream nationalism. Political parties often drew upon their support, but were uneasy about their activities. They could neither control or discipline these groups, nor support their rituals and practices. Yet the significance of these movements in arousing anti-imperialist sentiments should not be underestimated.

The Great Depression of the 1930s had a profound impact on Vietnam. The prices of rubber and rice fell, leading to rising rural debts, unemployment and rural uprisings, such as in the provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh. These provinces were among the poorest, had an old radical tradition, and have been called the 'electrical fuses' of Vietnam – when the system was under pressure they were the first to blow. The French put these uprisings down with great severity, even using planes to

bomb demonstrators. In February 1930, Ho Chi Minh brought together competing nationalist groups to establish the Vietnamese Communist (Vietnam Cong San Dang) Party, later renamed the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. He was inspired by the militant demonstrations of the European communist parties. In 1940 Japan occupied Vietnam, as part of its imperial drive to control Southeast Asia. So nationalists now had to fight against the Japanese as well as the French. The League for the Independence of Vietnam (Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh), which came to be known as the Vietminh, fought the Japanese occupation and recaptured Hanoi in September 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed and Ho Chi Minh became Chairman.

9.5   Decolonization

The term decolonization is believed to have been coined in 1932 by an expatriate German scholar Moritz Julius Bonn for his section on Imperialism in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. There are different approaches to understand decolonization.

The nationalist approach : In the nationalist view indigenous resistance and anti imperialist struggle led to independence. According to D.A. Low, the primary factor behind the end of empire was anti-imperialist movements — the metropolitan response only influenced the nature of this confrontation, not the outcome. According to the nationalist approach the resistance movements of the colonial peoples determined the pace of decolonization. Colonial rule became unviable once the groups which sustained it withdrew support, often under nationalist pressure or influence. The British imperialists presented the unravelling of empire as an orderly and rational process but the messy reality was much less consistent and unavoidable, as John Darwin has pointed out. In short, far from a planned withdrawal from empire, there was the irreversible erosion of position as imperial powers struggled to retain power by one means or another, conciliation or repression.For example, in India, from the 1930s onwards, there was a swing of the pendulum from repression to conciliation. This had demoralizing consequences for the officials who had to implement both poles of policy. The same set of colonial officials who put the nationalist leaders in jail during the civil disobedience movement in 1930-34 had to serve under them during the period of formation of provincial ministries of 1937-39. The same dilemma racked officialdom in 1942 and 1946 - officials were demoralized as they feared that the leaders they had given harsh punishment to in the War years, and particularly to contain the 1942 revolt, would soon be their political masters in the provinces in 1946. Whatever some of the metropolitan-centred accounts may suggest, the growth and development of a vigorous nationalism was almost invariably the principal propellant of sustained progress towards the ending of colonial rule

International context approach: According to the approach highlighting the international context of decolonization, empires could not survive in the new world order after the Second World War. As John Darwin put it, in the Cold War era "colonial empires appeared as quaint survivors of a prewar age, to be quickly dismantled lest they be knocked to pieces in the turbulent wake of the superpowers." The changed international climate was reflected in the Atlantic Charter issued by the Allies during the War which called for the independence of colonial peoples. The United Nations General Assembly went a step further in 1960 in its Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It sharply condemned colonial rule as a denial of fundamental human rights in contravention of the UN Charter. The myth of European invincibility was shattered by the Japanese takeover of South East Asia during World War II, especially the British desertion of Singapore in 1942. Yet decolonization was not the inevitable result of World War II – though its pace quickened. This international approach attributes the end of empires to the opposition of the US and USSR to 'old style imperialism'. The US and USSR had nothing to gain from the older imperial powers, such as Britain and France, retaining their colonies. They had everything to gain from the end of empire as this enabled these two emerging superpowers to establish their influence over the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. For example, US neo colonialism replaced France in Indo-China, Japan in Korea and Britain in Pakistan, one of the two successor states of British India. The USSR treated Eastern Europe, Cuba and Mozambique, among others, as little more than 'colonies'. Western Cold Warriors were quick to dub this as 'socialist imperialism', much to the chagrin of self respecting socialists, for whom the very word imperialism was anathema.

 Domestic constraints approach: The metropolitan or domestic constraints approach focuses on how the colony became too big a burden on the mother country. From being the proverbial goose which laid golden eggs a time came when it was not worth expending money and men on it. British colonialism, it is argued by Holland, 'became dysfunctional to the operational necessities of the

metropole.' In this explanation the end of empire is seen as a political choice made under pressure of domestic constraints and calculations of national interest. The mother country's will to rule slackened once empire became too much of a nuisance, financially, militarily and in international relations. Historians John Gallagher and other scholars in the imperialist tradition argued that British imperial interests in India were declining, that India no longer fulfilled its role in the maintenance of imperial interests in the fields of either defence or commerce or finance and that, in fact, over the years it had become a liability for the British. Gallagher and Anil Seal argued that during the Second World War Britain footed the bill for India's defence requirements.

9.6   The Era of Decolonization

The twentieth century was the era of decolonization. At the end of the twentieth century the world was no longer eurocentric. The twentieth century had seen the decline and fall of Europe, which had been the centre of power, wealth and western civilization at the beginning of the century. In the first decade of the twentieth century the nationalists posed a challenge in Asia and Africa. They were encouraged by the ability of Japan, a small Asian country, to inflict a crushing defeat on Russia, a European power, in 1905. Some of the well known leaders of the national movements were Sun Yat Sen in China, Arabi Pasha in Egypt and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in India. These movements were led, in this stage, by middle class English educated elites whose demand for a say in the running of their countries was changing into a demand for independence. The First World War further fuelled nationalist discontent. The War effort had meant increased exploitation of colonies for raw materials, manpower and taxes and nationalists naturally questioned why the colonies should bear this burden. In 1919 when a new international order was emerging in Europe the national movements in the colonies underwent a transformation in a mass direction. In India this change was wrought by Gandhi; China had the May 4th Movement; in Turkey Kemal Ataturk rose to power; and in Indonesia the national movement reached a membership of 2.5 million. This phase also saw the deepening and spread of movements in Philippines, Burma and Ceylon. Differences emerged between the old imperial powers like Great Britain and the newer ones like the US and Japan, on whether the old order should continue at all, and if so in what form? This stance of the newer world powers encouraged nationalists greatly. The old imperial powers were undergoing a decline in their position. Britain's position as the global power par excellence was challenged by other powers from the late nineteenth century onwards. By the beginning of the twentieth century Britain lost her commercial preeminence. But decline in imperial power did not mean collapse of empire as the interest of imperial powers in their colonies did not wane. In fact empire had to be maintained at any cost, including severe repression, such as the brutal gunning down of innocent men, women and children in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in India in 1919. In the years after the Russian Revolution the process of colonial emancipation and decolonization went much further.

In the non western world countries either went through revolution or the prophylactic decolonization by empires doomed in an era of world revolution. Revolution, then, did change the world if not quite in the way Lenin expected. Anti-imperialist activity was fuelled because of the world wide Depression of 1929. Sharpening of conflict as in Egypt and India and victory of Republican ultras under De Valera in the Irish elections of 1932 were belated anti-colonial reactions to the economic breakdown. In the economic sphere, the Depression furthered the trend to set up local production, which had begun after the First World War when imperial powers made their colonies industrially self-sufficient. Japan had encouraged limited industrialization in Korea and Manchuria and Britain in India. Bipan Chandra has described the impact of the Depression as the loosening of links between the colony and the metropolis, which encouraged independent capitalist growth in the colony. World War II showed up Great Britain as a second fiddle to the US in the AngloAmerican alliance. After 1945 the US and Russia became the two superpowers. Where earlier London held this position, now the world was no longer its oyster, to use Paul Kennedy's evocative phrase. As a US official put it, it is now our turn to bat in Asia. As the Russians were equally keen to have a global role, a bipolar world emerged. Britain had been one of the big three in the war. But for her, victory in the war did not bring with it consolidation of power. The war had overstrained the British economy vastly and it needed American help to keep going. The US propped up her economy with the Lend Lease offer. But it was some years before the British withdrew from India and later Palestine and even then this was presented as preserving more important areas of imperial interests elsewhere. Outwardly Britain remained a big power, second only to the US.

In the third world the Second World War had caused great upheavals, political and Decolonization economic. Within years of the end of the War many colonies gained independence, but often after

protracted disagreement, encouraged by the imperial power, on the contentious issue of distribution of power, leading to partition and civil war. Various areas of troublesome conflict in the 1970s and 80s, Middle East, Cyprus, South Africa, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, were legacies of British decolonization. In India the imperial power delayed in handing over power on the specious ground that it must await agreement between the communities on how power was to be transferred. Specious in retrospect because when they left, they left any which way. Gandhi appealed to them to leave India, to anarchy if need be. He understood that agreement could not be brokered by a partisan broker. Once the colonial power left, he believed, the two communities would, like siblings dividing ancestral property, agree or agree to disagree. At worst, civil war would result but even that fire would be purifying. Given that the much celebrated agreed solution left at least 200,000 dead, perhaps Gandhi could.

Summary

In this Unit we have studied how National Consciousness gradually developed in India during the British rule. This consciousness mainly developed as a result of British policies in India and was confined to the middle class. The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 thus marked the advent of a new era. It was a visible symbol of the growing sense of unity amongst the Indian people. It is true that in the beginning the Congress was not a well-knit political organization, it had no regular membership or a central office, its views were very mild and moderate. But as someone has rightly said, great institutions have often had small beginnings. Swadeshi movement marked a total reversal of the earlier nationalist approach of "petitioning and praying" to the Raj for concessions, as well as a virtual rejection of the moderate political programme. It set before the Indian people the goal of swaraj or independence, and committed them to the task of doing away with Britain's imperialist stranglehold over India. The growth of revolutionary nationalism had certainly disturbed the British in India, but it could not challenge their authority as the open politics of swadeshi did, nor could it seriously threaten their rule as an everexpanding mass mobilisation might have done.

Keywords

Concentration camp: A prison where peopleare detained without due process of law.

Confucious: Confucius (551-479 BCE), a Chinese thinker, developed a philosophical system based on good conduct, practical wisdom and proper social relationships. People were taught to respect their parents and submit to elders. They were told that the relationship between the ruler and the people was the same as that between children and parents. -- To force to undergo or experience (something unwanted).

Indentured labour: A form of labour widely used in the plantations from the mid-nineteenth century. Labourers worked on the basis of contracts that did not specify any rights of labourers but gave immense power to employers. Employers could bring criminal charges against labourers and punish and jail them for non-fulfilment of contracts.

Syncretic: Characterised by syncretism; aimsto bring together different beliefs and practices,seeing their essential unity rather than theirdifference.word evokes an image of a place of tortureand brutal treatment

Self Assessment

1. World War-II ended in?

A. 1945
B. 1939
C. 1947
D. 1948

2. Which among the following countries were the top colonizers?

A. England
B. France
C. Both A and B
D. Neither A nor B

3. Decolonization began after the end of

A. World War-I
B. World War-II
C. Burmese War
D. First Anglo-French War

4. Indian National Congress was founded in ?

A. 1880
B. 1882
C. 1884
D. 1885

5. In 1930, Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement from

A. Sabarmati
B. Dandi
C. Bardoli
D. None of these

6. The infamous Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre took place on the eve of?

A. Diwali
B. Holi
C. Eid
D. Baisakhi

7. Wahidin Sudirohusodo is related to which of the following nationalist movement?

A. Indonesia
B. Indo-China
C. Egypt
D. Vietnam

8. Egypt found its modern identity with Mehemet Ali in?

A. 1800
B. 1805
C. 1810
D. 1816

9. Identify the following great Egyptian national leader?

A. Saad Zaghloul

B. Abdel Naseer

C. Sadaat

D. Gadafi

10. Before the British conquest of Sri Lanka, it was under the occupation of

A. Dutch

B. French

C. Japanese

D. None of these

11. Which among the following were the initial aims of the Indian National Congress?

A. Promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst the countrymen

B. Eradication of all possible prejudices

C. Recording of the opinions of educated classes on pressing problems of the day

D. All of these

12. Who among the following Indian national leaders introduced the Ganapati festival in 1893?

A. B.G Tilak

B. M.K. Gandhi

C. J.L Nehru

D. M.A Jauhar

13. The goal for the Congress-led nationalist movement was declared to be complete independence in

A. 1922

B. 1928

C. 1929

D. 1931

14. The Ceylon National Congress, which brought together Tamil and Sinhalese organisations was found in?

A. 1915

B. 1916

C. 1918

D. 1919

15. Which among the following are contemporary nations that are part of Indo-China?

A. Vietnam

B. Laos

C. Cambodia

D. All of these

16. The process of decolonization started after the end of …………..

17. Most of the colonies were under the occupation of ……. and ………..

18. Abdel Naseer is known for modern nationalism in …………

19. The first president of Indian National Congress was ………….

20. Indo-China included Vietnam in addition to Laos and ……….

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	C	3.	B	4.	D	5.	A
6.	D	7.	A	8.	B	9.	A	10.	A
11.	D	12.	A	13.	C	14.	D	15.	D
16.	World War-II	17.	Britain and France	18.	Egypt	19.	W.C. Banerjee	20.	Cambodia

Review Questions

1) What is Nationalism?

2) Define decolonization?

3) Who was M.K. Gandhi.

4) What do you know about nationalism in Egypt?

5) Why the process of decolonization hastened after the World War-II?

6) Write a note on Civil Disobedience movement.

7) Who was Wahidin Sudirohusodo?

8) Write in brief about the rise of nationalism in Indo-China.

9) What do you understand by the term nationalism? Evaluate the same in terms of India and Indonesia.

10) Write a detailed note on the decolonization and the factors that boosted it up post World War-II.

11) Evaluate the different phases of Indian nationalism with suitable examples..

12) Analyse the nature of Colonialism as a factor to spark off the nationalist movements in the colonies.

13) Evaluate the historical evolution of Indian National Congress.

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🌐 Web Links

1. [(58) Understanding Decolonization in the 21st Century - YouTube](#)

2. (58) THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDO-CHINA || PART-(1 of 7) - YouTube

3. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4dDVeAU3u4 Indian National Movement

2. (58) THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDO-CHINA || PART-(1 of 7) -

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Unit 10 : Second World War and the New Political Order-III

Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand emergence of the Communist Party in China (CPC).
- Learn about the early ideas of the CPC
- Acquaint yourself with the early activities of the CPC
- Comprehend the political and social milieu under which the CPC functioned

Introduction

The Chinese Revolution was a long-fought struggle in which thousands laid down their lives. The twin aims of the Revolution were:

1. To free their country from imperialist control
2. The emancipation of the Chinese people from their own ruling classes.

The successful accomplishment of the Revolution led to the crumbling of the entire old world and the building of a new economic. social and political order an order which was considered more just and in the interests of the people. Though the fight against old ideas had to continue even later in the post-revolutionary China, the Revolution did bring about a transformation in the mental make up of the Chinese people. In this varied transformation the Chinese Communist Party played a very significant 1eading role. It has to be noted here that in just 28 years after the formation of CPC in 1921. the communists made their revolution and had formed the government. The most well-known of its leaders were *Mao Tse Tung*, *Chu Teh*, *Chen Tu-Hsiu*, *Liu Shao Chi*, *Chou-enlai* and *Hsiang Ching-yi (one of the first female marxists in China)*. But apart from them there were thousands of other active party members who formed the backbone of the Party structure and came from among the workers and peasants of China. It is important to comprehend the ideas and the role of the Communist Party of China in the revolutionary movement. This Unit takes into account the socidl and political milieu within which Marxist ideas emerged and grew; the beginnings of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC); their early ideas and attempts at organizing the working people of China. The Unit also discusses the influence of CPC among the educated sections. the intellectuals and students. It also assesses its contribution in radicalizing the-Chinese people; contributing to their forms of protest; and shaping the nature of the revolutionary movement till 1923. The 1923 wave of repression against the working class marks the end of the first phase in the history of the CPC. The reasons for this major defeat of the CPC, have also been dealt with.

10.1 Communist Revolution in China

Marxism in China- The Birth

Marxism did not grow overnight in China. The Chinese intelligentsia travelled a long way of intense debate over the issues of nationalism, liberalism, democracy, and the' larger interests of the Chinese working people, before intellectual activity and political practice began to be shaped by Marxism. It was only after intense struggle that the Chinese Marxists were able to establish an inseparable link between their own goals of a Socialist future and the movements of the working people in China. In 1921 since almost 90 per cent of China's population was illiterate, the new ideas that had begun to take root in Chinese society in fact had a very narrow social base. The workers and peasants had no access to them. The first revolutionaries were, therefore, from the more privileged middle classes. In earlier Units we have seen how a variety of factors had contributed to the growth of nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments in China. As part of nationalism there also emerged a scathing critique of the existing religious, social and political system, which was seen as backward and an obstacle to the growth of a modern, liberated China (See Unit 28). The blueprint or model for these critiques were the Western democracies which were seen as modern and powerful, and embodiments of the achievements of science and culture. The workers and peasants had their own grievances, born out of the terrible conditions of their lives. Their own experience of struggles was teaching them new things. On the one hand the Chinese intellectuals were making an effort to educate them politically. On the other hand, the movements of the workers and peasants, were opening up new perspectives of struggle for the Chinese intelligentsia. It was a two-way process that was extremely crucial, because it bridged the gap between the political struggles of the, Chinese intelligentsia and professional sections for democracy, new culture, science, and a free China, and the struggle of the working people which was beginning to threaten the vested interests in the society. This represented, in fact, the coalescence of the goals of national liberation and social emancipation. In this process both were transformed into social forces capable of higher forms of political action. Above all, this led to the projection of socialism as an ideal model for the organization of society. The new consciousness, which came from this linkage between the progressive-ideas emerging in the Chinese society of the 1920s and the struggles of the working people, was given an organizational shape with the formation of the CPC in 1921. The formation of the CPC was a reflection of this new consciousness. It became the basis for the emergence of a left stream within the Chinese revolutionary movement. The left was committed to the overthrow of the entire system and the building of Socialism as its larger goal.

Mao Tse Tung (Mao Zedong) Chairman of the Communist Party of China (1943-76)

The international context, in which the Chinese revolutionary movement developed, contributed to the spread and acceptance of Marxist ideas in China. Discontent that arose from the colonization of Chinese economy had taken various forms at different intervals of time. In all such societies which sought to overcome their 'backwardness' vis-a-vis the more advanced West, for example, India, Russia, and later Latin America and the African countries-there was an intense intellectual debateAThis was over whether to catch up with the West by rejecting the backward features or by fighting the West which was oppressing them. The West, could be thus seen as 'corrupt' by a renewal of the best features of their own societies. In China too, the debate revolved around these two themes.

The Marxists in China stood for fighting Western and Japanese imperialism by building a new modem China. They thus synthesised and accepted what was in the interest of the large sections of the Chinese people from both arguments. Two international developments contributed to the receptiveness of their arguments in China.

i)   The Shantung Resolution at the Paris Peace Conference by which Germany's rights and privileges over Shantung were transferred to Japan instead of being restored to China, created a massive disillusionment in China with the West. The 'democracy' of the West began to sound hollow and false. This sentiment clearly took a turn against Western imperialism. Lenin's theory of Imperialism and Revolution seemed valid to the Chinese intelligentsia.

ii)   The success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia equally attracted the attention ' of the Chinese intelligentsia. Russia became a prime and concrete example of a backward country overthrowing their old system as well as. defeating Western imperialism. Marxism showed itself successful as a practical guide to political action and provided the Chinese intelligentsia with a philosophy by which it becanie possible to reject "both the traditions of the Chinese past and the Western domination of tht present." Marxism, henceforth, became a powrrful current in the Chinese national liberation movement.

On July 15. 1919 came the declaration ofihe new Bolshevik government addressed - to the Chinese people and to the government of China, (North and South) by which it gave up all the privileges and interests enjoyed by the old Russian Tsarist government in China without any compensation. This was in striking contrast to the Shantung declaration and the Twenty-one Demands. In China, as in India and other colonized countries, there, thus, emerged a sentiment of support for Soviet Russia as opposed to Western Imperialism, and the recognition of an identity of interests between national liberation movements in the East and the Socialist struggles of the West. This was precisely what Lenin and the Chinese Marxists like *Chen Tu-siu* had been advocating.

May 4th Movement: Around 3,000 students from 13 universities in Beijing gathered in Tiananmen Square

The May 4th movement of 1919 was an important landmark in the transformation of the-political climate in China in the direction of Marxism. *Chen Tu-Hsiu* and *Li Chao*, the founders of the CPC, were also leaders of the May 4th movement. For about fifty years the leadership of CPC came from the May 4th generation, most notable among them being *Chou en-lai* and *Mao Tse-tung*. A very large number of the rank and file membership also had their first revolutionary political experience in this movement. Anti-Confucianism, the spread of new education, the tremendous growth of the press and literature in the language of the people, opening of publishing houses, medicine and the modem courts played a significant role in becoming the vehicles of modern ideas during the May 4th movement.

Some translations of the Marxists texts, such as the **Communist Manifesto**, *Engel's Origin of Family*, *Private Property and State, and Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* had already been made prior to 1919. Those who knew either Japanese or some Western language had read much more and there was a vague sympathy for socialism in some intellectual circles. But it was the incorporation of the reactions to the Western post-war settlements and the Russian Revolution that the May 4th movement itself assumed a direction from which the Marxists could take off and spread their ideas rapidly in 1919 and 1920. The close and active association of the intelligentsia with the workers during the May 4th Movement had also contributed to the spread of Marxist influence. A number of study societies devoted to the study of socialism were formed in the Peking university. New magazines. greatly influenced by the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik critique of imperialism, appeared on the scene.

China's first general strike took place in 1919 during the course of the May 4th Movement. In the entire strike wave of the 1919-21 the intelligentsia participated along with the workers. In May 1920, the **New Youth**, the leading magazine of the left wing intellectuals devoted an entire issue to the discussion of labour problems. The May Day celebrations were attended by professors, students and workers. The next step was to give this interaction an organizational shape. This happened with the formation of the CPC in 1921.

Cover of New Youth

Notes:"May Fourth has become an extremely important but ambiguous notion in all discussions of modern Chinese history. The Communists have sometimes gone so far as to trace the origins of their Party to May Fourth – they saw May Fourth as representing progressive, patriotic elements, as marking the emergence of the working class and as leading to 'cultural revolution' – then they treated May Fourth as the necessary condition for the appearance of the CPC. The

Nationalists held ambivalent feelings about May Fourth, but the more reformist elements of the GMD identified with its themes of 'enlightenment'."

Peter GueZarrow

The Socio-Political Milieu

The social milieu within which Marxism emerged was the terrible living conditions that prevailed among the working people from one end of China to another. In the countryside, poverty, abuse, and early death were the only prospects for half a billion people. It was a society in which people were forced to: sell their children, eat grass and bark in bad times, and I pay rent and taxes far beyond their means. All this went on while a tiny elite and luxurious life. The rapid commercialization of parts of rural China and monetization (emergence of market and money economy) integrated the rural economy into the world capitalist economy. But, it also led to an intensification of the oppression of the peasantry. The grain merchants, moneylenders and administrative officials all came from among the landlords and dominated the entire rural economy. A Chinese peasant's existence in the early 20th century was far more precarious than in the eighteenth century as all studies on rural China show. The peasant's standard of living declined during the modern era. Population growth put greater pressure on the land. The fall in grain prices and the increasing concentration of landownership was turning more peasants into rural wage workers, while widespread unemployment was leading to a fall in wages. For the peasant, ravaged by poverty, oppression and wars, there was no way out of the rural crisis except a radical transformation of the existing social order.

The agrarian question or the peasant-land question became an important social issue in the 1920s. There were increasing attacks on landlordism. The upheavals of the early 20th century had begun to undermine the landlord's dominant position. Rural China was becoming an increasingly fertile ground for the growth of revolutionary upheavals. It was the task of the left intelligentsia to integrate the rural revolutionaries into their scheme of revolution. Moreover. the peasantry constituted numerically the major portion of Chinese society. Hence, it was evident that without a transformation in the lives and consciousness of the peasantry there could be no modern development in China. 'In 1921, however, the political horizon of the peasantry was still extremely limited. On the other hand. the CPC was also yet to realise the full potential of the peasant upheavals. This it did only after 1925. From then on the communist movement in China drew its major strength from peasants. The working class, though numerically a very small force in China, became politicised because 'the big industrial areas where.it was concentrated were also the pain political centers of China. Its experience of struggle for higher wages and other demands related to its daily Life also brought home to it the identity of interests between the political authorities and the factory owners. The working class was, therefore, brought into direct conflict with the political authority. Their strikes were met with brute force by the police which was the direct arm of the state. A major section of the workers was employed in foreign factories. This brought them into direct opposition to the forces of Imperialism. Therefore, the complexities of the nationalist struggle against Imperialism and the struggle foJr social emancipation of the working people from the Chinese ruling classes were confronted by them even in the early stages of the labour movement in China. The construction of large factories in the early stage of industrialisation itself led to a concentration of large numbers of workers in one factory in opposition to a factory owner. This made it possible for the workers to share grievances, have solidarity and led to the emergence of class consciousness at an early stage.

'The political rnilieu in the urban areas, created by the May 4th Movement,-the growth of the press, public meetings, the expansion with all this of the audience for new culture ideas and literature, and above all participation in the events of 1919- 1921 were of immense significance in opening for the workers a whole new world. In May 1919 the Peking teachers, with their salaries unpaid for months and hard hit by prices, went on strike along with the workers. In 1920 the workers widely participated in the anti-Japanese boycott. There were by 1921, 28,000 literate workers who returned from France after the war. They helped to radicalise the May 4th Movement. The Communist groups and these workers found themselves as natural sillies in the given situation. This alliance culminated in the formation of CPC, a working-class party, in China.

The Communist Party of China (CPC)

The Communist Party of China (*henceforth* CPC) was founded as both a political party and a revolutionary movement in 1921 by revolutionaries such as **Li Dazhao** and **Chen Duxiu**. Those two men and others had come out of the May Fourth Movement (1919) and had turned to Marxism after

the Bolshevik victory in the Russian Revolution of 1917. In the turmoil of 1920s China, CPC members such as Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and Li Lisan began organizing labour unions in the cities. The CPC joined with the Nationalist Party in 1924, and the alliance proved enormously successful at first. However, in 1927, after the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) turned violently against the communists and ousted them from Shanghai, the CPC was driven underground.

Li Dazhao and **Chen Duxiu**

The study groups formed during the **May 4th Movement** were the first attempts to spread Marxist ideas on an organized basis among the Chinese intelligentsia. From 1920, the Communist political; organisations began to establish themselves in the different parts of China, first being found in Shanghai by *Chen Tu-shin* with the official mouthpiece, **New Youth.** It established contacts with the Communist International and Gregor Voitinsky, the Russian communist who came as envoy to China. In 1921, a Chinese Commintern office was opened in Irkutsk, Russia. It was followed by the formation of communist groups under the leadership of *Li Ta-Chao* in Peking and soon they were formed in other cities. Shanghai group published a weekly, **The World of Labour**.

Early Ideas

The CBC drew its inspiration from the October Revplution in Russia, based itself on Marxism-Leninism and believed in the 'vanguard' role of the Party. The movements of the working people were,considered very crucial-particularly the leading role of the working class or the proletariat. The impact of the October Revolution, as discussed earlier, was felt by all sections of the Chinese intelligentsia. The Chinese Marxists, however, understood from it not only the possibility of success in a backward country, but that of overthrowing the yoke of Western Imperialism. They also saw in the social and political framework of the post-1917 Russian society a model for their own. For them it was a blueprint for what they sought to build in their own country i.e. a society which is classless (free from class exploitation) and in which: private property, the root of class oppression, is eventually destroyed, and the political structure is guided by the interests of the working people (i.e. socialism). They believed, as Marx had written and the Russian Revolution had concretely

proved, that such a change can only come about by revolution. The revolutionbased on the ideas of Marx-was to be achieved through class war or class struggle. They believed that the interests of the ruling classes and the working people are in conflict (i.e. there is a contradiction between them). This was'because the profits and luxuries of the rich ruling classes are based precisely on the fruits of labour of the working people for which'the working people are underpaid.

Again, on the basis of Marx's ideas they considered the working class to be the most revolutionary social force (the leading role of the proletariat) because it had "nothing to lose except its chains." Since it is only the working class that earns its income entirely from its labour, having no property, it is the only class that has no stake in h social system based on private property. Hence, it was natural that the working class would be most interested in Socialism, which would enable it to have the full fruits of its own labour (to each according to his labour). In order to achieve these aims it was necessary that the CPC organize the working class and it saw its own role as that of educating the workers politically because it had the representatives of the most advanced section of the working class. In having these goals, the conception of change and social transformation of the CPC was far ahead of that of the nationalists led by the Koumintang. For the communists it was not enough to throw off Western dominance and the dominance of the Warlords in China. Their aims were far more egalitarian (for Social and economic equality). Influenced by Lenin's thesis **'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Revolution'** and the experience of the Russian Revolution, they believed that because capitalism had a weaker base in Russia, therefore their country had greater possibilities of overthrowing the capitalist system. But they also saw that, as in Russia, they would have to first overthrow the system of **Warlordism** and **feudalism**. This was to be done in alliance with the peasantry and the National bourgeoisie (middle classes) whose interests were also opposed to warlordism and feudalism as they hampered the development of capitalism which was in their interest. In other words as in Russia, the Chinese Revolution too would not be a one stage revolution. The necessity was to first build democracy. This stage too, they believed, would have to be accomplished by the working class in alliance with the peasantry as the bourgeoisie was weak. Here we must remember that these ideas, based on the experience of the successful Russian Revolution were not accepted blindly. They tried to apply their Marxist ideas and the lessons of the Russian experience to the conditions in China. This was done in order to build their own political practice. Till 1923, however, they were still grappling with the complexities of the Chinese society. What stood out starkly in this complexity was the great surge of the working class.' They, therefore, applied themselves primarily, in these years, to advancing the working-class movement.

Activities

There were 46 working class strikes in 1920, and 50 in 1921. It was largely due to the efforts of the Communist groups that the working class became politically conscious. Apart from running classes and journals for the workers, they also addressed large public meetings of working-class audiences. Their efforts included

I.   the setting up of Shanghai Metal Mechanics Union

II. establishment of close contacts with the Hunan Workingmen's Association.

III. organizing the strike of the rickshaw men in Hankow

IV. formation of a railway men's union in *Chang-$in-tein*.

Many evening schools for workers were also organized. For example in *Changsa*, Mao and his wife started an education movement. In August 1921 a self-education college was started. By 1922, 30,000 to 40,000 workers and small artisans were involved in it in some way or the other. In the Anynan mines Mao successfully organized a party cell with 7 miners, which led eventually to the formation of unions among them. A Committee for Labour Movement was also set up with the purpose of organizing workers in printing, tobacco and textile factories at Canton. The first Chinese **Trade Union Congress** was held on **May 1, 1922.**

The first large strike by women in the history of China took place in August 1922 in the silk-spinning mills of Pudong. These activities were, moreover, not taken kindly by the warlords in their respective areas. There followed a brutal wave of repression. Unions were closed down, strikes disrupted, lockouts declared and workers massacred. So ended the first heroic phase of Communist activity and the working-class movement. Not all the strikes were successful but the role of the CPC was obvious in the increased political consciousness of the working class. The reasons for this were that the working class could not by itself meet the full power of the warlords and their government. The workers needed allies. Hence the Communists made their first efforts to organize the peasants, but this was only in Canton. They could not yet create a worker-peasant

alliance. The nationalist bourgeoisie, fighting against Imperialism and warlordism was not yet organizationally linked with the activities of the CPC. They functioned separately and were, in fact, in a disarray. This phase was a political lesson for both the CPC and the Kuomintang that they would have to- reorganize themselves, base themselves more firmly on the alliance of all the forward looking social forces in China, and - formulate a policy of fighting unitedly against common enemies.

In June 1923 the Chinese Communist Party held its third Party Congress which endorsed the policy of alliance and cooperation with the Kuomintang. Kuornintang organised its first National Conference in January 1924. The conference also supported the inclusion of the communists as individual members of the party. Now the Kuomintang's cardinal policies became "allying with Russia, allying with the communist party, and assisting the peasants and workers." In May 1924 Sun Yet-Sen founded in Guangzhou the Huangpu Military Academy with the aid and support' of Russia and the Chinese Communist Pay. Zhou Enlai was appointed as the director of the academy's political department and some other communists were included as instructors. Chiang Kai-Shek was made the director of the academy. Sun Yet-Sen was the precursor of the Chinese revolution. Even while he was sick he had drafted programmes to abolish the warlords and for ending the unequal treaties with foreign powers. **Sun Yet-Sen** however, died in early 1925. In his dl, he pointed out that to win freedom and equality for China among the nations, "we must bring about a thorough awakening of our 6Wn people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those .people of the world who treat us on the basis of equality."
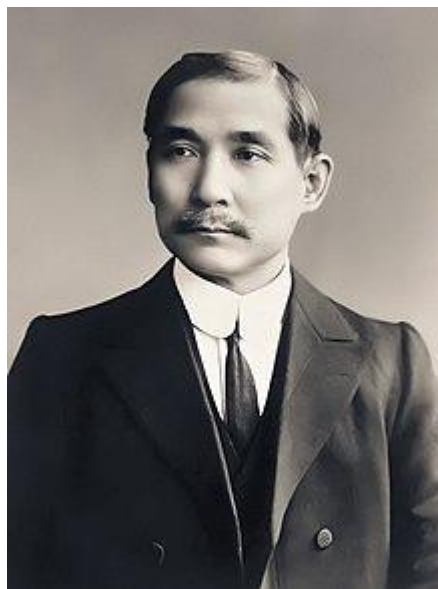
Dr. Sun Yat-sen

May 30th Movement: After the formation of the alliance with the Kuomintang the trade union movement and the peasant movement made much progress under the leadership of the communists. In 1925 there had been strikes in the factories and workshops owned by the foreigners (Japan, Britain etc.) for days and months. Students and people from other walks of life came out on the streets to support the striking workers. British police apened fire in many places to terrorize the people. On May 30, 11 of the strikers were killed in police firing. The day henceforth is observed as the day of "30th Massacre". The intervention by the foreign police in the Movement transformed the strikes from being a mere trade union movement into an anti-imperialist political movement. This helped the communists to consolidate their support bases in different areas. The consolidation prepared the ground for launching of the Northern Expedition. During the period the peasant movement too made rapid progress. Under the leadership of the CPC peasant organizations were formed in many parts of China. Total membership of the peasant organizations reached above one million. The peasant association in Guangdong alone had a membership of 620,000. Guangdong association also had a self-defence corps, consisting of 30,000 soldiers. Guangdong soon emerged as a strong communist base. The communists soon wiped out the warlords of Guangdong (Canton) province and unified the whole province under the National Government which came into existence in Guangzhou from July 1,1925. The national government raised army regiments with the help of the student soldiers of the Huangpu Military Academy. Zhou Enlai was appointed as

director of the political department of the military. Each army unit had a party representative and a political department. Party men were appointed to direct the political work of each army unit.

In the meantime, following the death of Sun Yet-Sen, Kuomintang started suffering from intra-party cleavages, which culminated in the emergence of two rival factions, known as left and right factions. The leftists along with the communists continued to propagate Sun Yet-Sen's three cardinal principles. The rightists who were believed to represent the interests of the big landlords and the compradore bourgeoisie, though talked always in radical tongues, showed little interest in implementing Sun Yet-Sen's nationalist principles. The rightists however captured the leadership of the party. Chiang Kai-Shek was the leader of the group. Consequently he became the head of the national government and the commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army.

The victory of the Northern Expedition further strengthened the peasant movement. Mao Zedong led the struggle in Hunan. Hunan ultimately became the core of the peasant movement in the whole of China. The peasant movement spread quickly all over China. The membership of the peasant organizations exceeded 10 million. Workers movement also developed rapidly in the wake of the Northern Expedition. Workers led by Liu Shaoqi in Wuham forced the British to withdraw their special rights in the city. Shanghai was liberated by the workers in March 1927'after 30 hours of bloody battle under the leadership of the Zhou Enlai.

After the Northern Expedition victory, the warships of Britain, the USA, France, Japan and Italy anchored in different sea ports of China, bombarded with artillery fire and killed and wounded many Chinese in liberated cities like Nanjing, Shanghai etc. They also established contact with Chiang Kai-Shek, Chiang, favourably responding to the imperialists' call, embarked upon fighting and victimizing the communists. Chiang Kai-Shek's assault on the CPC-led trade unions in Shanghai, virtually terminated CCP's participation in his regime. When victimisation and repression of the communists were going on, a controversy arose within the communist party. CPC leader Chen Duxiu (who was latter condemned as rightist) in pursuance of the United Front policy of the party continued alliance with the Wang Jingwei faction of the Kuomintang in Wuhan. Chen Duxiu's policies were criticised by a big section of the CPC which on this issue reached a breaking point. Emboldened by the internal crisis in the CPC, Wang convened in July 1927 at Wuhan a conference of the Kuomintang and managed to get the party freed from the communists. Many communists and other radicals were persecuted and some were even killed. After the conference both the factions of the Kuomintang (the Wang faction and the Chiang faction) got united. The Northern Expedition came to an end with the crashing defeat of the communists and the negotiated unification of China under Chiang Kai-Shek who was now firmly saddled in power.

2nd Civil War and Red Army:

North Expedition aimed to overthrow the warlords but ended with the establishment of Chiang Kai-Shek's rule. Chiang Kai-Shek had support among the landlords and the compradores. He defeated the communists but could not wipe them out. Soon the Communists regrouped themselves and staged an armed uprising in Nanchang in August 1927. The uprising was led by Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, He Long and others. The Nanchang uprising was the first armed struggle, exclusively planned, led and conducted by the communists. The uprising gave birth to the Communist (Red) Army led by Zhu De and Mao Zedong.

Chiang Kai-Shek

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1927 relieved Chen Duxiu from party leadership. A new **politburo** was elected. The meeting formulated the policy of agrarian revolution and of struggle against the Kuomintang rule. It also drew a plan for autumn harvest war in ~un&, Hubei, Jiangxi and Guangdong provinces. The new central committee of the party authorised Mao Zedong to lead the Autumn Harvest war. The war broke out on 9th September. The people's liberation army consisting of peasants and workers faced defeat in the urban areas where the Kuomintang had assembled much superior forces. The successive defeats led Mao &dong to change the tactics of fighting the Kuomintang. He began to concentrate in the countryside where Chiang Kai-Shek's position was weak. In December 1927 the communists staged another uprising in Guangzhou. After an initial victory the uprising was crushed by the government forces. The Nanchang uprising, Autumn Harvest war and the Guangzhou uprising were crushed but they nevertheless dealt a severe blow at the Kuomintang led National government. The Chinese Communist Party entered subsequently into a new period during which the Red Army was created.

Japanese aggression: In September 1931 ,Japan intensified aggression against China. Japan attacked Shenyang. Later Shanghai in 1932. Chimg Kai-Shek's army, stationed in Shanghai fought against Japan heroically, but due to lack of proper support of the Kuomintang government the resistance soon collapsed. At this juncture an ani Japanese democratic movement, led by the CPC spread in many parts of the country. In course of time a big army was raised under the leadership of the communists. The army was named as the Allied Anti-Japanese Anny of the northeast region. In 1931 the Allied Army brought under its control almost half of the north eastern region and forced the Japanese to give up its plan to attack China proper. The communist led Allied Army inflicted blows after blows upon the Japanese forces. Kuomintang probably did not want to resist Japan, but circumstances might have forced it to adopt such posture. It still was suffering from communist phobia. Kuomintang was afraid to mobilize the people lest the communists should be more popular. It did not even mobilize its total military strength to resist the Japanese aggression. In order to preserve its strength big contingents of the army were sent to southwest and northwest China. The Kuomintang perhaps desired that the communists fight and in the process get annihilated. What happened actually was just the opposite. Kuomintang forces were defeated by Japan in all the encounters in 1937-38. Japan captured Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Wuhan and the whole of north China by March 1938. Kuomintang government was forced to transfer its capital to Chongqing in Sichuan province. Japanese invaders inflicted heavy loss upon China. The cities and towns were destroyed, lakhs of people were killed, houses and business centres were pillaged and burnt down. According to an estimate in Nanjing alone about 300,000 people were killed and one third of city's houses were pillaged and burnt down.

Kuomintang's repeated defeats however did not discourage the CPC from mobilizing the people in the war of resistance. The CPC led Eighth Route Army reached at the front of north China after crossing the mighty *Huang ho* river. Chinese under the leadership of the CPC won their first victory against Japan in September 1938. The victory heartened the whole of China. After the victory the Eighth Route Army carrying on the guerrilla warfare founded anti-Japanese bases in many Japanese occupied territories in north China. In south China also their bases were established by the New Fourth Army in different areas. Towards the end of 1938 Eighth Route Army from the north and the New Fourth Army from the south trapped nearly half of the Japanese forces stationed in China. In these anti-Japanese bases the CPC established civil governments which considered the popular demands and came out reforms like the reduction of rent and interest. These measures popularized the CPC and led the people to join them in the resistance war against Japan. In 1944 the communist1 led Liberated Areas started counter offensive against Japan and won significant victories. With the beginning of 1945 more areas were liberated, and the strength of the people's armed forces increased unprecedentedly. According to an estimate there were more than nine lakh regular army and more ' than two don irregulars. Japanese invaders fled from the countryside and took shelter in the big cities, surrounded by the liberated Areas.' When the second world war was fast coming to an end Soviet Union attacked Japanese aggressors in China's northeastern provinces, which further helped and encouraged the communists to attack Japan on a grand scale. Japan by this time lost the war and signed the instrument of surrender on September 2, 1945. The Chinese people after eight years of bitter struggle; finally won victory in the anti-Japanese war.

The CPC's **Seventh Congress** was called at a time when the triumph over Japan was just days away and a new phase of the Chinese revolution was about to begin. Between April 23 and June 11, 1945, the congress gathered in Yanan. The party now has 1.21 million members spread out across the nation. The Congress was attended by 752 validly chosen delegates. The Congress made the decision to organise the populace in order to defeat the Japanese aggressors and create a new China. A new central committee led by Mao Zedong was chosen, and a new party constitution was drafted.

The Final Stage

When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, the Kuomintang and the CPC became locked in the final struggle for the power. As the world was almost divided into two blocks post Second WW, the Americans favoured the Kuomintang and helped them to take over all the areas previously occupied by the Japanese with the exception of Manchria which was occupied by the Russians just before the conclusion of the Great War-II. By capturing Manchuria, the Russian Red Army obstructed the anti-communist troop movement while allowing the free movement to the Communist troops. It inflicted further damage to the Kuomintang. By 1948, the strength of the communist army was enough to challenge the Kuomintang army in open and shunning the guerilla warfare against them.

In fact, after defeating Japan, it was anticipated that China would achieve independence, democracy, and self-sufficiency. However, Chiang Kai-Shek wanted to hold onto his position of authority without enacting any reforms to advance China. Still a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state, China was. The USA emerged as the neocolonial power following World War 1. The US wanted to make China a pro-US nation; Chiang Kai-Shek was already a dependable ally of the US. However, the CCP freed sizable areas while fighting the Japanese, establishing a populist administration there that was supported by a sizable army and a sizable populace. Chiang Kai-Shek, who wished to maintain his position as China's undisputed leader, understood that he was unable to instantly crush the communists. So, in order to buy some time, he offered to engage in peace talks with the CCP. On August 28, 1945, negotiations for peace began. They lasted for almost 1.5 months. The "Double Tenth Agreement," which said that "civil war must be avoided at all costs and that a new China must be established that is independent, free, prosperous, and strong," brought the negotiations to an end. The Kuomintang was able to restore its strength thanks to the peace negotiations' gift of time. Chiang Kai-Shek now authorised a massive army to assault the Liberated Areas without giving the peace deal a fair chance. The CCP did not place much trust in the Kuomintang. It consistently maintained itself prepared for any situation. A counterattack by its forces inflicted Chiang's army a fatal blow.

Chiang Kai-Shek again signed on January 10, 1946 a truce agreement with the CCP. But the agreement could not stop Chiang's army from continuing its aggression against the Liberated Areas. The attacks at times on a massive scale continued against the Liberated Areas. An important political development took place during the period. A political consultative conference was held in Changqing under the auspices of the CCP and other democratic parties. The conference passed resolutions supporting peace and democracy. The Kuomintang agent attacked the delegates who came to attend the conference and also killed a few democratic 1eaders. After these incidents at the second plenary session of the Kuomintang's sixth Central Executive Committee, Chiang Kai-Shek refused to abide by the decision of the political consultative conference and tore into pieces the resolutions of the conference. In June 1946 Chiang Kai-Shek unilaterally abrogated the truce agreement and declared an all-out war against the communists. On June 26, 1946 Kuomintang troops started to attacking the Liberated Areas on all fronts, thus a full-scale war between the CCP forces and the Kuomintang broke out.

Military Strength- Comparison Communists vs Kuomintang

Chiang Kai-Shek had an army consisting of more than four million men. It had within its administrative jurisdiction vast areas, most of the big cities, industrial areas, railways and other lines of communication and transportation. There were more than three hundred million people in the Kuomintang controlled areas. The Kuomintang had captured the armaments surrendered by the Japanese troops. The Kuomintang had also the military and financial backing of the USA. On the other hand, the CCP had only an army of one million men, equipped with old weapon. It enjoyed only a token assistance from the war-ravaged erstwhile Soviet Union. The areas under its control were mostly villages, with only one fourth of the total population of China. In comparison, therefore, the Kuomintang

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The superior strength might have led the Kuomintang to go for a full-scale war against the CCP controlled Liberated Areas. The CCP in order to face the superior force without upsetting the seizing of city or holding of areas as its main objective decided to strive for forming people's united front against the US imperialism and the misrule of Chiang Kai-Shek. The plan clicked. Popular support increased. The Communist army was welcomed wherever it entered. This army consisting of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other CCP led armed units, was designated from now on as the **People's Liberation Army** (PLA). The PLA within a few months from the date of the outbreak of the civil war between the CCP and the Kuomintang defeated the enemy several times which lost by about seven lakh troops. In March 1947 Kuomintang concentrated its attack on the Liberated Areas in Shandong and Northern Shaanxi. The PLA repulsed the attacks. During the period 1945-1947 there had been protest movements in several parts of China. In December 1946 lakhs of students across the country went on strikes and organized demonstrations against American misbehavior with the Chinese people in general and women in particular. Students of more than 60 cities rose against the economic hardships caused by the war. In the industrial cities workers went on strikes in support of their demands and that of the students' movement. In 1947 the peasant movement spread to may new areas. In many places the peasants rose in arms against the Kuomintang. In Taiwan there had been a massive armed uprising in February 1947. In this way the non-communist democratic movements in the Kuomintang held areas opened almost the second war front for Chiang's forces.

In July 1947, the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops pressed forward to the Central China, which marked the PLA started to switch its combat strategy from defensive to offensive.

Modern PLA and the Insignia

By the end of 1947 the PLA shifted the main battlefield from the Liberated Areas to the heartland of Kuomintang's territory. It captured many cities and destroyed much of the enemy's effective strength. In 1948 the PLA conducted three campaigns which ended with the liberation of northeast PLA conducted north China and the east and central Chinese areas. Chiang's troops were wiped out. On January 1,1949 Kuomintang again clamoured for peace. Mao Zedong proposed eight conditions for securing peace which included among others the punishment of war criminals. Chiang Kai-Shek retired from the presidency, the vice-president Li Zongren assumed the reigns of the government. Peace talks began on April 1 and after fifteen days deliberation peace agreement was agreed upon on the basis of the eight conditions. But Li Zongren refused to accept the agreement. The last attempt for peace thus ended. Thereupon one million men strong PLA began to cross the **Yangtze** river and to march southward. Soon it captured Nanjing the centre of

Kuomintang regime. It captured one after another, the stronghold of the Kuomintang. All of the China excluding Tibet, Taiwan and some coastal islands, was liberated within a short period. The Revolution thus ended with the victory of the Communists. Chiang Kai-Shek fled to Taiwan on December 7, 1949.

Foundation of the People's Republic of China

On the eve of the final victory the CCP held the second plenary session of the Seventh Central Committee at a village in Hebei province in March 1949. The meeting decided upon the basic policies for the speedy achievement of final victory and for the rebuilding of war-torn China. After the session the CCP and the PLA shifted their headquarters to Beijing. The democratic parties and personnel also reached Beijing. - Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference called its First Plenary Session in Beijing on September 22, 1949, 662 delegates representing the various anti-Kuomintang political forces, the CCP, minor nationalities and overseas Chinese, attended the session. The session performed the functions and exercised the power of the National People's Congress, the highest political institution of China. The conference passed *"The Common* Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*."* The Programme served as the provisional constitution. It founded the People's Republic of China (PRC)-a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based upon the alliance between the workers and the peasants. Beijing.(Peking) was chosen as the capital of the People's Republic of China. Mao Zedong was elected as the Chairman of the Central People's Government and Zhou Enlai was appointed as the Prime Minister of China. On October 1, 1949 lakhs of people assembled at the Tiananmen Square, Beijing to attend the ceremony that marked the formal beginning of the PRC. Mao Zedong inaugurated the new state, one fourth of the humanity rejoiced with Mao Zedong, and China entered into a new period. The proclamation of the People's Republic of China was an event opening a new chapter in China's history. The victory of the Chinese revolution was facilitated by the defeat of Japanese militarism in the East, liberation of China from the . Kuomintang forces that were backed by the United States.

Summary

Revolution occurs when a given society is prepared both objectively and subjectively for a radical change. The objective conditions are created by economic and political crisis and the possibilities of social revolution in a given social system. The mere existence of the objective conditions is not enough to ensure victory of a social revolution. Besides the objective conditions, there must also be subjective factors which arise out of the readiness of the suffering mass to fight bravely and selflessly and party which can offer correct strategy and tactical guidance. China during the last hundred years prior to the revolution had been a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, which contributed to create a socio-economic crisis in the society. The Chinese Communist Party availed the opportunity to carry on - revolution by offering leadership, strategy and tactical guidance to the people. Foreign penetration was not confined to economic exploitation alone. It penetrated in the cultural and intellectual domains also. Chinese intelligentsia came to know of the progress that the advanced countries of Europe had achieved in the fields of science, technology and in the system of government. The intelligentsia immediately started demanding the rebuilding of China on Western lines like that of neighbouring Japan. But the rulers comprising the Manchu kings, court officials, feudal landlords and other traditional and conservative elements suppressed the emerging reform movements. Though the democratic nationalists put an'end to the Manchu rule in 1911, they were trapped by the conse~yative reactionary elements who even did not hesitate to invoke foreign powers for the maintenance of their power and privileges. The Chinese radicals following the path of Russian Communists founded the Chinese Communist Party. The CCP organized the people, formulated the strategy and tactical line to fight the foreign power, and the internal forces of reaction. It had to fight a protracted civil war to ensure the victory of the revolution.

Keywords

Coalescence:Coming together in forming one whole

Egalitarian: Relating to the principles of equal rights for all persons

Espousal : Supporting the cause

Milieu : Social surroundings

Upheaval : Drastic social change

Politburo:The principal policymaking committee of a communist party

Huang Ho: The yellow river, around which the ancient cChinese Civilization developed like Indus of India.

Self Assessment

1. Among the following, which country invaded China in the course of the 2nd World War?

A. Britain
B. Japan
C. Italy
D. Germany

2. China was among the victorious states in the world war?

A. I
B. II
C. Both A and B
D. Neither A nor B

3. May 4th is important in Chinese history. On this day, there was a huge student gathering protesting against the decision of the Paris Conference and asked government not to sign which of the following treaty?

A. Versailles
B. Wandiwash
C. Viena
D. None of these

4. Chinese Communist Party was founded in ?

A. 29July 1921
B. 23 July 1921
C. 13 July 1921
D. 30 July 1921

5. Identify the first general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party from the following.

A. Mao Zedong
B. Xi Jinping
C. Xiang Zhongfa
D. Chen Duxiu

6. Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China) was established by?

A. Sun Yat-Sen
B. Mao Zedong
C. Chen Duxiu

D. None of these

7. Which among the following is *not* a principle propounded by Sun Yta-Sen?

A. Populism (Nationalism)

B. Democracy

C. Welfare

D. Warlordism

8. After the death of Sun Yet-Sen, who among the following usurped the leadership of the right wing of the Kuomintang (KMT)?

A. Xi Jinping

B. Chiang Kai-Shek

C. Chen Duxiu

D. None of these

9. The revolution in China was ideologically which among the following?

A. Fascist

B. Nazi

C. Communist

D. All of these

10. Japan invaded Shenyang in

A. 1935

B. 1934

C. 1933

D. 1931

11. USA supported which among the following in the Civil War?

A. Kuomintang

B. Communists

C. Both A and B

D. Neither A nor B

12. Peace talks opened on August 28, 1945ahd continued for about one and half months. Talks ended with the signing of the?

A. Viena Agreement

B. Manchuria Agreement

C. Double Tenth Agreement

D. Tripple Tenth Agreement

13. The People's Liberation Army of China was founded in?

A. 1 August 1927

B. 10 August 1927

C. 15 August 1927

D. 25 August 1927

14. Who among the following became the first prime minister of China?

A. Zhou Enla

B. Mao Zedong

C. Chen Duxiu

D. None of these

15. In order to end the violence between KMT and PCC, the last effort failed because of ?

A. Li Zongren

B. Li Shin

C. Chiang Kai-Shek

D. None of these

16. On may 4, 1919, thousands of Beijing students assembled in Tiananmen square to protest against the outrageous decision of the peace conference. The gathering asked the Chinese government not to sign the …………..

17. …………….. was the leading magazine of the left wing intellectuals which devoted an entire issue to the discussion of labour problems in 1920, May.

18. Kuomintang was founded by …………

19. The People's Liberation Army was founded in …………..

20. ……….became the first state Chairman.

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	B	2.	A	3.	A	4.	B	5.	D
6.	A	7.	D	8.	B	9.	C	10.	D
11.	A	12.	C	13.	A	14.	A	15.	A
16.	Versailles Treaty	17.	New Youth	18.	Sun Yat-sen	19.	1927	20.	Mao Zedong

Review Questions

1) What is a revolution?
2) Write any three factors that influenced the Chinese Revolution?
3) Who was Sun Yat-sen?
4) What was the importance of the 4th May event?
5) When was PLA founded?

6) Who was Mao Zedong?

7) Why Japan attacked China during 2nd World war?

8) When did China became the People's Republic of China?

9) What is a revolution? Explain this term in context to the Chinese Communist Revolution quoting the prominent events.

10) Discuss in details the influence of the Russian revolution of the Chinese Revolution. Elucidate your answer with examples.

11) Write a detailed note on the contribution of Mao Zedong in the making of modern China.

12) Evaluate the role of People's Liberation Army in the making of People's Republic of China.

13) Who was Chiang Kai-Shek? How he hampered the efforts of the Communists?

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Unit 11 :Cold War and its Effects -I

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Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Define the concept of the Cold War
- Trace the origin of this non-military conflict
- Understand the ideological and the political aspects of the Cold War
- Understand the pattern and dimensions of the Cold War
- Evaluate Non-Alignment movement and its relevance

Introduction

With the end of the First World War (1914–18), the socialist system of the world was born. The war also planted the seeds for a second global conflict. These two events significantly influenced the decades that followed. In 1939 the Second World War started. The **Allied powers** and the **Axis powers** fought each other in the Second World War. Allied forces now include the socialist bloc. War was won by the Allies. The old capitalist imperialist-dominated world was destroyed at the end of the war. The United States of America (USA), a neocolonialist nation, led the Western or capitalist bloc, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led the socialist bloc at this point (USSR). At the end of the Second World War, a world body named **United Organisation** (UN) I was founded to make the world safe for peace. The~two superpowers acquired highly I sophisticated destructive weapons. Europe became dependent upon the USA. Decolonialization became the reality. Above all world public opinion disfavoured any world wide holocaust. But these developments failed to stop the local or civil wars in different countries and to refrain the two superpowers from tension ridden competition for establishing supremacy over the world. The hostile competition turned into Cold war.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."
Winston Churchill, address at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. "

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

11.1 Ideological and Political Basis of Cold War

The origin of the Cold War may be traced back to the 1917 Russian Revolution, which gave birth to a new system. The system came to be known as socialist system, opposed to exploitative capitalist system. Whole of the capitalist world got terror stricken and rallied to crush the new state of the USSR, failing to destroy it they encouraged the emergence of the Nazi power in Germany, so that it might be used against the USSR. The USSR made serious efforts to get the Western powers involved in checking the rapid rise of Nazi Germany. But the Western powers did not respond to the USSR's call. Meanwhile the Second World War broke out in 1939. Germany attacked the USSR violating the non-aggression pact between them. The USSR joined the Allied powers and made great contribution to defeat the Axis powers. Despite its sincere efforts to crush the Axis powers, the West always looked at the USSR with deep suspicion. The West is alleged to have desired the end of the USSR in the process of fighting against the Nazi led Axis powers. That is why perhaps the Allies did not respond to the USSR's repeated appeal for opening second front in the Eastern Europe against Germany. After the war the Allies did not hide their fear and hatred towards the USSR which now emerged as one of the superpowers in the world. The USA emerged as another superpower at the end of the Second World War. the Wartime Allies including the USSR founded the world body the United Nations (UN) to make the planet safe for peace. But they failed to forestall the local wars because the UN does not have the necessary powers to compel1 the super or major powers to keep away from encouraging conflicts. As a result they went on their own ways. They have organised their rival defense organisations, and have gone on reacting to each crisis as per their respective interests. They either have used the world body or have ignored it. The world thus drifted towards the Cold War in the wake of the Second World War.

Pearson Education

Beginning:

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

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

US troops of the 69th Infantry Division shake hands with Soviet troops in a staged photo on the wrecked bridge over the Elbe in Torgau, Germany, to mark the previous day's linkup between US and Soviet forces on April 26, 1945.

World was divided into two blocs during the Cold War period, basically on ideological grounds. Since the Russian Revolution in 1917 which had given birth to a new system in the world, the capitalist and imperialist forces declared invisible war against the new state of the USSR. Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Cold War took birth on the issue of expansion of the communist powers in Europe and other parts of the world. The Communist movement and the national liberation struggle against the age old imperialist rule in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America joined together in many areas. The USA and other imperialist states found it difficult to stem the tide of the emerging liberation struggle duly supported by the international communist movement. They, therefore, developed alliances, encircling the communist world with the aim of containing communism world over. However, communism was not the lone issue. National interests of the warring states also played significant role in the spreading of Cold War. In the case of China-USSR conflict national interest played significant role. Religion also was an issue. Shina-Sunny I issues, Hindu-Muslim issues contributed to develop tension and cold war between Iran and Iraq, and India-Pakistan respectively. The Cold War that spread in South Asia between India and Pakistan, has been due to the issues of secularism, democracy and nationalism. There has almost been an unending conflict between India and Pakistan over **Kashmir Issue**. India claims to be a secular democratic state where followers of different religions can live together. Kashmir is considered to be the test ground of Indian secularism as the erstwhile state is a Muslim majority state.

The Cold War did not remain confined to the superpowers alone. There are several dimensions of the Cold War. In the international arena it was between the two superpowers. In the regional areas, there were also Cold Wars between the regional powers. Thcrc was Cold War in 1970s between Iran and Iraq, Cold War burst out between the USSR and China over the border issues. There has been Cold War between Indla and Pakistan over the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan tried military solution of the problem but failed. Then the Cold War has engulfed the region. Though the period from the end of the Second World War to the disintegration of the USSR is termed as the Cold War era, it was not a continuous phenomenon and the Issues were not the same. Cold War disturbed the peace in phases and periodically. The issues were also not the same. First the German crisis was the issue, then the Korean war, the Afghan crisls, US decision to go ahead with the star war programme etc. augmented the process of Cold War.
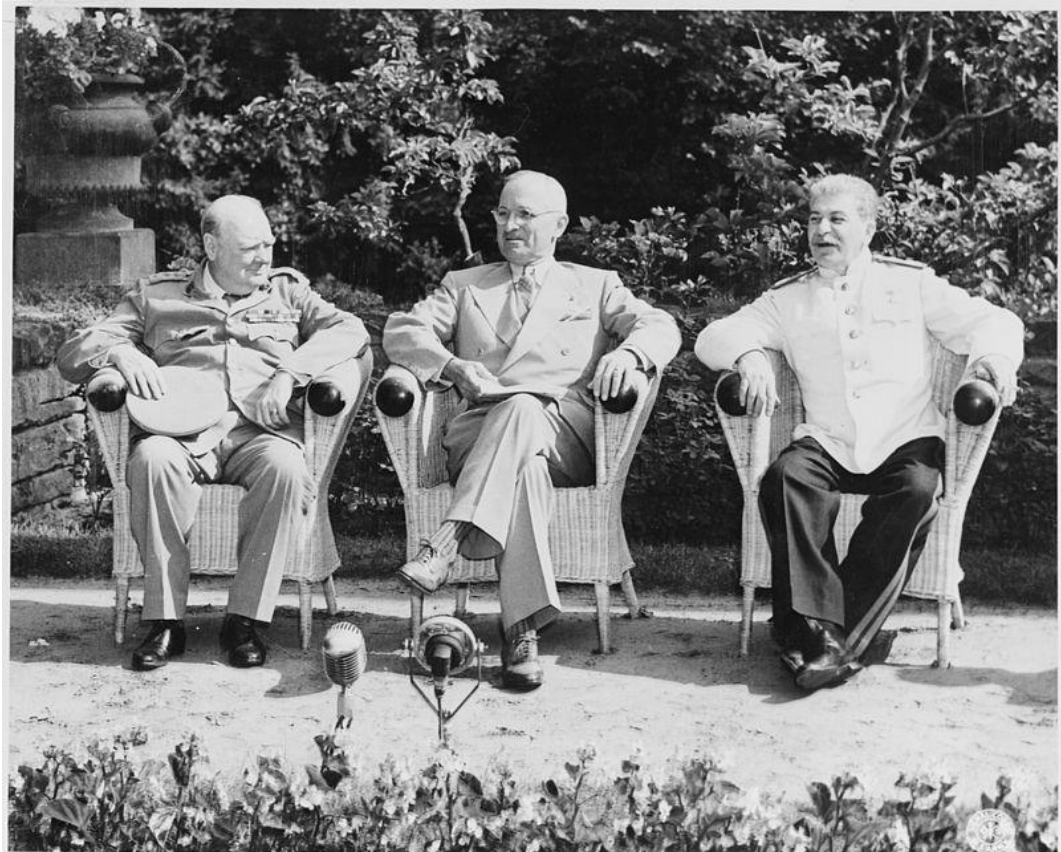
Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Harry S. Truman, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin at PostdamConfrence.

Ideological basis Socialism vs Capitalism

To a significant part, the 1950s-era conflict that became known as the Cold War was an intellectual struggle; whilst communism was clearly an ideology, the West's "non-communism" or even "anticommunism" was negatively ideological. Although there was a substantial body of opinion in the West that felt that the free world needed a cohesive ideology in order to successfully combat an opposing ideology, this did not mean that one had to support another ideology in order to disagree with another.The connection between international wars and ideology can be better expressed in terms of a difference of degree rather than of kind: some wars are more ideological than others, although there is no clear boundary between an ideological and nonideological war. An analogy with the religious wars of the past is evident, and there is indeed some historical continuity between the two types of war. The Christian Crusades against the Turks and the wars between Catholics and Protestants in early modern Europe have much in common with the ideological conflicts of the 20th century. Religious wars are often communal wars, but an "ideological" element of a kind can be discovered in many religious wars, even those narrated in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), in which the people of Israel are described as fighting for the cause of righteousness — fighting, in other words, for a universal abstraction as distinct from a local and practical aim. In the past this "ideological" element has in the main been subsidiary. What is characteristic of the modern period is that the ideological element became increasingly dominant, first in the religious wars (and the related diplomacy) that followed the Reformation and then in the political wars and diplomacy of the 20th century.

The ideological schism that had developed since World War One was clear at the peace conferences of **Yalta** and **Potsdam** in 1945. The aim of the conferences was to help the allies decide what would happen to Europe, and in particular Germany, at the end of World War Two.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin met at Yalta in February 1945 to discuss their joint occupation of Germany and plans for postwar Europe

Prior to World War -II, some events led to the alienation of the emerging superpowers from each other.The **Bolshevik Revolution** of October 1917, which replaced Russia's Provisional Government with a "dictatorship of the proletariat", had established a communist state. The Bolsheviks had withdrawn Russia from World War One, leaving Britain and France to fight alone.After World War One, the White Army, Tsarist supporters who fought the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War, were supported militarily by the Western powers of Britain and the USA.The political and economic systems of the capitalist USA and communist USSR were incompatible.In a capitalist state, the economy is largely free from state control, while the government is democratically elected and freedom of speech is cherished.In contrast, a communist state is administered from the centre, with control of the economy and society strictly in the hands of the Communist Party-led government.Both sides wanted countries to conform to their adopted ideologies for their own gains.

Political basis:

Events during World War Two further alienated the emerging superpowers. The Allies were unsure of Stalin's loyalty as he had allied himself with Hitler in 1939, through the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Stalin was angry because the USA and Britain had taken so long to open up a 'Second Front' to fight against German forces in Western Europe. This delay allowed Hitler to concentrate his forces against the Soviets. Stalin suspected that the USA and Britain were leaving Germany and the Soviet Union to fight, so that both countries would be weakened. This led Stalin to search for increased security for his country in the future. He wanted to create a geographical buffer of friendly Eastern European countries to safeguard against future aggression from the west. This 'barrier' was to be created from the lands invaded by the Red Army on its march toward Berlin. The USA was opposed to this as they envisaged the creation of democratic states and free trade. Disagreements at Yalta and Potsdam between Stalin and the other Allies, mainly over how Eastern Europe was to be administered and restructured, caused further distrust and suspicion.

A waitress (left) puts up a sign outside her restaurant inviting everyone to enjoy "free borsht" in celebration of Stalin's death in New York

The decline of Great Britain as a world power after World War Two left a power vacuum. This meant that the USA had to abandon its isolationist tendencies and become more involved in European affairs. By 1947, Britain had announced that it no longer had the military or economic means to provide aid to the Greek and Turkish governments in their struggle against communist rebels, who were trying to take control of their respective countries. During a speech in March 1947, US President Truman announced a policy of containment (the realisation that if communism could not be eradicated, it must be prevented from spreading further). This became known as the Truman Doctrine. He believed that the world was becoming increasingly divided and accused the Soviets of running and encouraging dictatorial regimes and of stifling the world economy. This attitude was an echo of a speech made by Winston Churchill's in Fulton, Missouri, USA in 1946. Churchill had announced that an iron curtain has descended across the continent of Europe. He accused the Soviet Union of trying to control Eastern Europe. In order to ensure containment, the US introduced Marshall Aid. This was the process of delivering economic aid, including food, machinery, building materials, expertise and in some cases money, to countries in Europe that were seen to be in danger of being taken over by communists. The theory was that if a country was prosperous and its people were happy, then support for communism would not exist. The divisions caused by ideological differences became clear with the formation of two alliances; NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The establishment of The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949 aimed to counter the threat of communist expansion in Western Europe. In reaction to West Germany joining NATO, the Warsaw Pact was established in 1955. Stalin wanted to counter what he regarded as an "aggressive alliance".

11.2 Non-Alignment Movement

The term 'non-alignment' is used to describe the foreign policies of those states that refused to align with either of the two blocs led by the two Superpowers i.e. the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and instead, opted to pursue an independent course of action in international politics. The Non-Aligned Movement (N.A.M.) emerged when individual non-aligned states came together and coordinated their efforts on a common platform. It changed the nature of inter-state relations by enabling the newly independent developing countries to play a significant role in world affairs. Non-alignment emerged within the context of two simultaneous global developments - Afro-Asian resurgence and bipolar world politics. The reawakening of the nations of Africa and Asia kindled in them the urge for freedom from colonial rule and infused a determination to shape their destinies on their own. This led to the development of a distinct idea of active and independent involvement in world affairs based on one's own perspectives of national and international interests. Therein evolved an independent stand on national and international issues amongst the newly emergent nations. This Afro-Asian resurgence occurred at a time when the world was divided into two hostile camps, each representing two different ideologies and two socio-economic as well as political systems, and led by the U.S. and erstwhile U.S.S.R. respectively. Each aspired for greater spheres of influence through military alliances with other states. In this context, the independent position of the newly emergent states came to be viewed I, as non-alignment, as they refused to be allied with either bloc.

LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, Indonesia's Sukarno and Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito kickstarted the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1960s.
Source: Getty Images

Concept:

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

Non-alignment means the refusal of states to take sides with one or the other of the two principal opposed groups of powers such as existed at the time of the cold war. Nonalignment can be defined as not entering into military alliances with any country, either of the Western bloc led by the U.S. or the communist bloc led by the U.S.S.R. It is an assertion of independence in foreign policy. Some Western scholars have persistently confused non-alignment "with isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralism and non-involvement. Non-alignment is not neutrality. Non-alignment is a political concept, whereas, neutrality is a legal concept. Unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not a law written into the Constitution of the state. Neutrality is a permanent feature of state policy, while non-alignment is not. Further, unlike neutrality, non-alignment is not negative, but is a positive concept. It stands for (a) an active role in world affairs and (b) friendship and cooperation with all countries. It consists of taking an independent position based on the merits of each issue, and, on the requirements of national interest. It is not directed against any ideology but seeks to promote peace and friendship in the world, irrespective of ideological differences. Non-aligned nations continuously opposed the politics of Cold War confrontations. They underlined the necessity of building peace and "peace areas" in a world of clear bipolarism. Non-alignment was also not a policy based on opportunism which tried to gain advantage by playing one power against another.

Evolution

The non-aligned movement evolved out of the concerted efforts of individual nonaligned states to build a common front against the superpower and neo-imperialist domination. Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Gamal Abdal Nassar from Egypt and Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia took the first step in building this movement. Among these first architects Nehru would be specially remembered. His early perception about the rise of neo-imperialism and the consequent insecurity that would be faced by the smaller states, made a major contribution towards building this movement. Nehru believed that the countries of Asia and Africa, should build up an alliance of solidarity to fight neo-imperialism. As a first step he tried to organise an Asian front in the forties. In 1947 he called an Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi.

In the fifties as the states of Africa started gaining independence from colonial rule it became necessary to expand the base of this front. In April 1955, therefore, Nehru together with leaders of Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Pakistan convened an Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. Both these Conferences highlight the political and economic insecurity that was threatening the newly independent states at the time. However, Bandung Conference failed to build a homogenous Asian and African front as a number of these States did not agree to conduct their foreign relations under the banner of anti-imperialism. 'They had either already joined the various Western military alliances or had closely identified their interests with that of the Western Powers. The rift between the two groups was visible at Bandung itself. In the post-Bandung years, thus, it became necessary to build up an identity for the non-aligned states on the basis of principles and not on the basis of region. The effort united these states with Yugoslavia which was similarly looking for a political identity in international affairs. The embryo of the later non-aligned conferences first came into being a Brioni, in Yugoslavia, in June 1956, where Tito conferred with

Nehru and Nassar on the possibility of making real the unspoken alliance which bound them together. The efforts finally resulted in the convening of the first non-aligned conference at Belgrade in 1961. Five basis were determined and applied, for countries to be members of the Non-aligned Movement. Only such countries as fulfilled these conditions were actually invited to the conference. There were :

i.   independent foreign policy, particularly in the context of Cold War politics

ii.   opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations

iii. should not be a member of any of the military blocs

iv.   should not have concluded any bilateral treaty with any of the two superpowers

v.   should not have allowed military bases on its territory to a superpower.

qualified for attendance at the Belgrade summit.

 The NAM summit conferences from time to time, have discussed several issues and problems. At the first summit (Belgrade, 1961) 25 countries, who attended it, discussed the situation in Berlin, question of representation of People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Congo Crisis, imperialism as potential threat to world peace, and Apartheid. The Conference expressed full faith in the policy of peaceful co-existence. India was represented by Nehru. The Cairo summit, held in 1964 was attended by 46 countries. The Indian delegation was led by La1 Bahadur Shastri. The conference emphasised the urgent need for disarmament, pleaded for peaceful settlement of all international disputes, urged member-governments not to recognise the white minority government in Rhodesia and reiterated the earlier stand of NAM against apartheid and colonialism. The demand for representation of People's China in the United Nations was also reiterated.

The third summit at Lusaka in 1970 (attended by 52 countries) called for withdrawal of foreign forces from Vietnam and urged the member-states to **boycott Israel** which was in occupation of certain neighbouring Arab countries territories. It requested governments of member-nations to intensify their struggle against Apartheid and as a part of the struggle, not to allow the fly over facility to the South African aircrafts. The summit resolved to increase economic cooperation. It rejected thc proposal to establish a permanent secretariat of the Movement. The Indian delegation was led by Indira Gandhi. There were signs of detente in Cold War Politics by the time the next summit met at Algiers (1973 attended by 75 countries). It welcomed easing of international tension, supported detente, and repeated NAM's known stand against imperialism and apartheid, and resolved to encourage economic, trade and technical cooperation amongst memberstates. The conference demanded a change in the existing international economic order which violated the principle of equality and justice.

In 1976, the Colombo summit was attended by 85 countries. The U.N General Assembly had given a call for a New International Economic Order In 1974. The NAM at Colombo not only gave whole-hearted support to this demand, but asked for a fundamental change in the world monetary system and form. It was proposed that the Indian ocean be declared a zone of peace. As there was a caretaker government in India, the then Prime Minister Charan Singh decided to send his foreign minister to represent the country at the sixth summit at Havana (1979). The number of participants rose to 92. Pakistan was admitted to the Movement and Burma (a former member) left the NAM. The Cuban President Fidel A Castro described the former U.S.S.R. as a natural friend of the Movement. The summitreiterated the well known position against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. The summit resolved to support freedom struggle in South Africa and to stop oil supply to that country. As Egypt had resolved her differences with Israel, some of the anti-Israel countries sought suspension of Egypt. The summit merely discussed the' proposal. The Seventh Summit (due in 1982 at Baghdad) could not be held in time due to Iran-Iraq War. It was held at New Delhi in 1983 and attended by 101 countries. The New Delhi declaration sought to reiterate the known position of NAM on various issues. It hoped for any early end to the Iran-Iraq War and for liberation of Namibia. However, the conference failed to take any stand on Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet occupation was openly supported by Vietnam, S. Yemen, Syria and Ethiopia. It was strongly opposed by Singapore, Nepal, Pakistan, Egypt and Zaire. The Harare Conference (1986) adopted the **[Harare declaration](#)** and sought greater economic cooperation among its members and North-South cooperation for faster development in the South. The summit gave a call for new International Information and Communication Order to end the western monopoly over news disbursement. In view of likely retaliation by the apartheid regime of South Africa against Frontline countries who were applying sanctions, the NAM decided to set up a fund

called Action for Resistance against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid. In abbreviated form it came to be known as the AFRICA Fund.

The 1989 Belgrade Summit was the last one to be held before Yugoslavia disintegrated and at a time when Cold War was just ending. It gave a call against international terrorism, smuggling and drug trafficking. The principle of self-determination was reiterated particularly in the context of South Africa and her continued rule over Namibia. The tenth conference at Jakarta in 1992 was the first assembly of NAM after the end of Cold War. The summit was at pains to explain that even after the collapse of Soviet Union and end of Cold War, there was utility of the movement as a forum of developing countries struggling against neo-colonialism and all forms of big-power interference. The main issue was preservation of NAM and strengthening its identity as an agency of rapid development for its members in a tension-free world. The eleventh NAM Summit was held at Cartagena (Colombia) in October, 1995. India was represented by a high-power delegation led by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Goals

A major goal of the Non-aligned Movement was to end colonialism. The conferences of the NAM continuously supported the national liberation movements and the organisations that led those movements were given the status of full members in these conferences. This support greatly facilitated the Recolonization process in Asia and Africa. It also condemned racial discrimination and injustice and lent full support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Namibia. Today in both countries this obnoxious policy has ended with independence and majority rule. A third area in which the NAM made a significant contribution was towards the preservation of peace and disarmament. Its espousal of peace, of peaceful co-existence and of human brotherhood, opposition to wars of any kind contributed to the lowering of Cold War tensions and expanded areas of peace in the world with less states joining military blocs. It also continuously strove for disarmament and for an end to the arms race stating that universal peace and security can be assumed only by general and complete disarmament, under effective international control. It underlined that the arms race blocked scarce resources which ought to be used for socio-economic development. Theyfirst.called for a permanent moratorium or nuclear testing and later for the conclusion of a treaty banning the development, production stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons. Fourthly, the non-aligned states succeeded in altering the composition of the U.N. and consequently in changing the tenor of the interstate relation conducted through its organs. In the forties and fifties delibralions in the U.N. organs were entirely dominated by the super power and their associate states. The emergence of non-alignment has changed this situation. It has created not only a new voting majority in the General Assembly but also common platform from where the third world can espouse its cause. It is no longer possible to ignore this platform. Thus we see that non-alignment has facilitated third world's participation in world politics and in the process has democratized the international relations. The fifty important contribution was with regard to economic equality. It was the NAM that called for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Despite their political sovereignty, the newly independent states remained economically unequal. They remained the same raw materials producing countries, which sold their commodities to the developed world at a lower price, and bought manufactured good from them at a higher price. The tragedy was that they were and continue to be part of an oppressive economic system and that have to function within it. This makes them perpetually dependent on the developed North for capital goods, finance and technology. In order to end this economic exploitation, termed as neocolonialism, the NAM called for a restructuring of the international economic and monetary systems on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and cooperation. Non-aligned Movement's struggle for economic justice has demonstrated how realistic I, is to divide the world between the North and the South rather than between the East and the West. It has proved that what concerns the majority of humanity is not the choice between capitalism and communism but a choice between poverty and prosperity. Preachings of non-alignment has made the developed world realize, to some extent, that deprivation of the third world would some dayaffect adversely their prosperity too. This has, to a large extent, forced them to come to the negotiating table. Besides the general success in making third world's economic demands negotiable, non-alignment has won its battle for some specific issues also. For example, economic sovereignty over natural resources is now an accepted principle. Non-alignment has also succeeded in legitimizing the interventionist trade policy that the developing countries want to pursue. It has successfully turned world attention to the problem created by the role as played by multinationals, specially in the context of transfer of technology. It has also succeeded in pursuing the IMF to establish system of compensatory finance which help the developing states in

overcoming their balance of payments difficulties. In the cultural field the establishment of the Pool of News Agencies needs to be considered as an achievement. This is the first time in history that politically and economically weaker nations have been able to gather information and communicate with the outside world without the aid of the western communication system. The most significant achievement of non-aligned movement lies in the fact that it has taught the developing world how to pursue independent economic development in spite of being a part of the world capitalist economic order which makes them dependent on the developed states for capital and technology.

Summary

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

Non-alignment emerged in the context of two global developments: the national liberation struggles of colonies and the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. leading to two military blocs and alliances. Despite political independence, the new states were economically underdeveloped and vulnerable to new imperialist pressures. The term non-alignment denotes the perspective of states that wanted to remain outside this system of alliances in order to follow an independent course of action in external policy and relations. The imperatives for non-alignment sprang from economic, political, strategic and indigenous sources. These states came together on a common platform and formed the Non-aligned Movement. It provided an important forum for the discussion of common problems facing the developing countries of the South and for arriving at Concerted Action to achieve common aims. It upholds principles which seek to promote political and economic justice in the international system. Its achievement were significant. There is debate about the relevance of non-alignment in a world without Cold War or bipolarism. But while the context of Cold War may have changed, the world remains divided into the rich and the poor nations. The developing countries which constitute three-fourth of the worlds population remain only on the periphery of the international system. The policy of non-aligned will remain valid until the system operates on the basis of genuine equality and reciprocity. There is an urgent need to reactivate the Non-aligned Movement in order to work concertedly for a more egalitarian world order.

Keywords

Allied Powers: In World War II, the three great Allied powers—Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union—formed a Grand Alliance that was the key to victory.

Axis powers: Axis powers, coalition headed by Germany, Italy, and Japan that opposed the Allied powers in World War II.

United Nations (UN): An international organization established on October 24, 1945. The United Nations (UN) was the second multipurpose international organization established in the 20th century that was worldwide in scope and membership.

Capitalsim: An economic system characterized by private or corporate ownership of capital goods, by investments that are determined by private decision, and by prices, production, and the distribution of goods that are determined mainly by competition in a free market

Socialism:A system of society or group living in which there is no private property

Bolshevik Revolution: The Russian Revolution, also called the Russian Revolution of 1917, comprised of two revolutions in 1917; the first of which, in February (March, New Style), overthrew the imperial government and the second of which, in October (November), placed the Bolsheviks in power.

Self Assessment

1. The two key post-war powers which played significant role during the Cold War were?

   A. USA and Soviet Union

   B. USA and Japan

   C. USSR and England

   D. USA and China

2. The term 'Cold War' was first coined by?

   A. Harry S.TrumanII

   B. Woodrow Wilson

   C. James Manroe

   D. Bernard Baruch

3. The Communist system of organizing the State and society was based on the ideas of?

   A. Joseph Stalin

   B. Karl Marx

   C. Mao Zedong

   D. None of these

4. Truman doctrine was a policy to provide military and economic aid to?

   A. Italy and Greece

   B. Greece and Turkey

   C. France and Germany

   D. Germany and Turkey

5. The US policy to provide military and economic aid to countries threatened bycommunism was called.

   A. Wilson Doctrine

   B. Mathew Doctrine

   C. Truman Doctrine

   D. None of these

6. Which of the following are not the features of the Cold War?

   A. There was economic blockade against the non-aligned countries.

   B. The third world countries were directly involved in it.

   C. Both A and B

   D. Neither A nor B

7. Warsaw Pact was formed in?

A. 1947

B. 1949

C. 1951

D. 1955

8. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was signed by?

    A.   Canada, US and Western European states

    B.   Greece, US and Western European states

    C.   Turkey, US and Western European states

    D.   US, USSR and Western European states

9. NATO is the formation of?

A. Communist countries

B. Non-communist countries

C. Neutral countries

D. Developed countries

10. The process whereby a colonial power grants judicial independence to a colony, butnevertheless maintains a 'de facto' political and economic control is known as

A. Neo-Marxism

B. Neo-Colonialism

C. Neo-Fascism

D. None of these

11. What was not the Principle adopted at the Bunding Conference and accepted at the first NAM Summit Meeting?

    A.   Mutual non-aggression

    B.   Mutual non-interference in each other's affairs

    C.   Peaceful Co-existence

    D.   Mutual defense against foreign aggression

12. First NAM Conference was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) in?

    A.   October 1960

    B.   September 1961

    C.   November 1962

    D.   December 1959

13. Which of the following countries is not the founder member of NAM?

A. India

B. Yugoslavia

C. Egypt

D. Pakistan

14. Which of the following is true about NAM?

   A. The NAM does not have a constitution
   B. The NAM does not have a permanent secretariat
   C. The NAM's Coordinating Bureau is based at the UN
   D. All of the above

15. Among the following Indian leaders who played main role in the formation of NAM?

A. M.K. Gandhi

B. M.N. Roy

C. J.L. Nehru

D. None of these

16. The _____ was a military alliance between the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe.

17. The _____ was a attempt to contain communism.

18. American economist Bernard Baruch first used the word _____

19. Non-Alignment aimed at saving the smaller countries from _____

20. The **BalgradeConfrence was attended by** Indian PM_____

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	D	3.	B	4.	B	5.	C
6.	C	7.	D	8.	A	9.	B	10.	B
11.	D	12.	B	13.	D	14.	D	15.	C
16.	Warsaw Pact	17.	Truman Doctrine	18.	Cold War	19.	Neo-Colonialism	20.	J.L. Nehru

Review Questions

1) Write the name of the two super powers who were responsible for setting in motion Cold War.
2) Who was Truman?
3) What is Truman Doctrine?
4) What do you mean by neo-colonialism?
5) What is NATO?
6) What do you understand by Non-Alignment Movement?
7) Who were the founding fathers of the NAM?
8) What was Warsaw Pact?
9) What was the Cold War and why do we call it so? Elucidate with proper examples.
10) What were the ideological basis of the Cold War? Write in details about those ideologies.
11) What was the Trueman Doctrine? How it brought the hitherto hidden Cold War to forefront?

12) Evaluate the importance and the relevance of the Non-Alignment movement in the Cold War period of the world history.

13) Evaluate the role of India in the foundation of the Non-Alignment Movement. Further discuss the basic principles of the NAM.

Further Readings

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Web Links

1. https://youtu.be/XvfNO8dAugwNon-aligned Movement - NAM and Indira Gandhi - a short documentary
2. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XDrykOhrb5sThe Entire History of the Cold War Explained | Best Cold War Documentary

Unit 12:Cold War and its Effects -II

Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of peace
- Evaluate the United Nations, its role in the maintenance of the global peace.
- Understand Regional Transitions and their influence
- Understand Apartheid, the movements against the Apartheid.

Introduction

Peace is a term that refers to an absence of hostility, safety in matters of social or economic welfare, the acknowledgment of equality and fairness in political relationships. Reflection on the nature of peace is also bound up with considerations of the causes for its absence or loss. Among these potential causes are: insecurity, social injustice, economic inequality, political and religious radicalism, and acute racism and nationalism. In Wikipedia, peace is defined as a list of synonyms which include 'respite from war', 'quiet from suits and disorders', 'rest from any commotion', 'freedom from terror', 'silence', 'suppressions of thoughts' etc. Despite religion, civilisation and culture, peace among people and nations remains elusive. But for the future of humanity, peace deserves a chance. Peace is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means. Peace is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence and justice. The comprehensive notion of peace touches upon many issues that influence quality of life, including personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation.

Aristotle said that we make war so that we may live in peace. Marx remarked that the meaning of peace is the absence of opposition to socialism. Martin Luther King, Jr had the perception that one day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. True peace is not merely the absence of tension, it is the presence of justice. Scholars in the positive peace research tradition, most prominently Johan Galtung, identify conditions threatening human survival which include environmental issues as well as poverty and economic disparity. Given that these problems are not likely to be solved in the world's current economic and political structure, the analysis of shortcomings of the present system naturally leads to a search for policy and institutional changes that can serve human welfare. According to Galtung , peace has two dimensions: 'negative peace' and 'positive peace.' Negative peace can be described as a static state

where there is an absence of war or violent conflict. Negative peace is focused on the absence of manifest violence such as war, which could be realised by negotiation or mediation rather than resorting to physical force. It recommends the use of non-violent means, total disarmament and social and economic interdependence to avoid the physical violence and discourage the use of force in conflict situations. Galtung argues that violence is built into unequal, unjust and unrepresentative social structure. Unequal social structures produce social groups who have low income, low education, low health, and low life expectancy. One party's existence, behaviour or attributes prevent another from realising its full potential, and the human and social costs of this kind of silent violence may be higher than those of direct physical harm. As a matter of fact, the contexts in which we are born and brought up sufficiently influence our attitude and behaviour. We have different sets of values, which guide our thinking and behaviours. These values influence us to take certain actions and to reject other. This reality of life, in fact, leads us to a situation where we find people who have different perspective on life and things when we meet them or work with them. In which case, conflict happens when people pursue different perspectives and goals that clash. Positive peace is a dynamic process rather than an end state and implies a condition where conflicts are addressed and solved.

The concept of positive peace means the removal of structural violence. Positive peace would not be obtained without the development of just and equitable conditions. UNICEF describes positive peace as a situation characterised by not only the absence of war or violent conflict, but also by the presence of factors that reduce the likelihood of violent conflict and promote a better quality of life for all. These factors include social and economic justice, inter-group understanding, ecological balance, and opportunities for democratic participation in decisionmaking. Peace is visible when there is freedom, equality, justice, good governance, and the enjoyment of human rights. Between the two directions of peace—negative and positive— the former is the total absence of violence, that is, the state has a set of socio-political structures to put down violence and to provide security of life and property of the individual and the communities, while the latter places 'global justice' as the central concept of peace, stressing on the full enjoyment of the entire range of human rights of all people and the sovereignty of nations. The concept non-violence is thus a universal phenomenon covering a wide area of social and political life. Further, its ultimate goal is the harmonious co-existence of all life forms in the universe. Peace is the existence of peaceful relationships, active association, and planned cooperation among persons and groups for achieving greater aims such as justice, security, and constructive transformation of conflict.

Wall painting from the early Christian Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter in Rome, showing Noah, in the orante attitude of prayer, the dove and an olive branch. **Source: Wikipedia**

With the end of the Cold War many looked forward to an era of peace and prosperity. However, at no time in the history has humankind experienced such a perilous situation, as that which we are facing now in the twenty first century; there is a constant threat of a nuclear war, terrorist attacks, natural disasters, outbreak of pandemic diseases like H1N1, Avian flu, violent ethnic and religious discrimination presenting an unending cycle of conflict, poverty, hunger, degradation of the natural environment and an ever-widening rich and poor divide. With such myriad and serious problems confronting us we now need to think about peace in a new way. Margaret Mead once said, "A small group of thoughtful people could change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has". True to her statement, it has been individuals or small groups of people who have taken it as their life's mission to remove misery from the face of the earth and ensure world peace and from humble beginnings their crusade has spread worldwide. A lot of them emerged in the aftermath of World War II and began with the establishment of the United Nations. In this Unit we will take a look at some global organisations that are ensuring peace in the world through different arenas- spirituality, culture, art, education, fight against hunger and poverty, disarmament, etc.

12.1 UNO Concept of World Peace

Traditionally peace has been perceived as mere stillness between wars or in terms of national security. Ways to secure peace have often consisted of methods for controlling war by mutually reducing arms preparedness on the level of diplomatic talks. Such kind of peace is termed as "negative peace" as it is a mere absence of tension, but for truly lasting peace what is also required is "positive peace" which is the presence of justice too. The UNDP too has been stressing on the need to think of peace in terms of human security which means not just the abolishing of weapons and wars but taking care of human life, its welfare and dignity. Peace should be secured in a broad social, political, economic and spiritual way. First of all we must ensure that there is no hunger and poverty in the world. Peace is inextricably linked to poverty. Poverty is a threat to peace and hunger is poverty in its extreme form. The Roman philosopher Seneca wrote, "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, nor is bent by any prayers". The ethnic conflicts taking place now in many parts of Africa are ultimately related to food and water. At the same time it is imperative that Man changes from deep within his life. For this, not only is basic education required but also education on peace and great efforts to build a high-level spiritual foundation. Hence a multitude of organisations and people of goodwill, with peace as their basic premise have emerged to address all the causes for war and conflict. Let us briefly study the goals and efforts of various organisations to bring about a lasting world peace. Given below is a wide range of global peace organisations and movements who are working in varied fields like eradication of hunger and poverty, peace education, disarmament, spirituality, music and art, etc.

Optimistic about Global Peace **Source: Permaculture**

The United Nations is an international organisation founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights. Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the

Organisation can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its 192 Member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees. The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialised agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organisation works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations. In 2000, world leaders gathered at the United Nations and adopted a historic goal to reduce poverty by half by 2015.

UN peacekeeping is a unique and dynamic subsidiary developed for helping countries torn by conflict to create the conditions for lasting peace. Their goals were primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilising situations on the ground, so that efforts could be made at the political level to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. Today's peacekeepers however undertake a wide variety of complex tasks, from helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, to human rights monitoring, to security sector reform, to the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants.Peacekeeping mechanism as an answer to conflicts was not envisaged by the founding fathers of the United Nations. That is why, there is no reference to peacekeeping mission in the UN Charter, nor any provision related to it. It was devised a decade after the establishment of the United Nations. Therefore, peacekeeping mission is known as the extra-Charter development in the UN system. They were never planned or strategically designed; rather they have emerged in response to temporary but urgent needs. Let us briefly look at the context in which Peacekeeping plan initially emerged. In 1956, a crisis appeared to be building up in Egypt known as the Suez Crisis. The United Kingdom and France, the two permanent members of the Security Council, had invaded Egypt to gain control over Suez Canal, which was nationalized by the President of Egypt. Following the invasion, the military situation in the Suez region worsened.

In the UN system, all matters relating to maintenance of international peace and security are primarily the concern of the Security Council. Hence, the Suez Crisis too came up for discussion in the Security Council. However, the Security Council was unable to take any decision to diffuse the Crisis due to a deadlock caused by the veto cast by the United Kingdom and France. The deadlock in the Security Council gave rise to a situation wherein the matter had to be referred to the General Assembly. The General Assembly discussed the matter and requested the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, to submit a plan to diffuse the situation in Suez region. In response to this request, the Secretary-General submitted a plan for the deployment of Peacekeeping forces on 6 November 1956. The plan was mainly drafted by the President of the General Assembly, Lestor B. Pearson, a Canadian national. This plan was unique in the sense that it involved deployment of forces but it was intended to be less offensive in nature as compared to the enforcement measures taken by the United Nations under Chapter VII of the Charter. Ever since 1956, peacekeeping mission has been found to be very useful in dealing with escalation of tension/violence in situations of conflict. Peacekeeping has emerged as an additional procedure to oversee the maintenance of international peace and security in the event of failure of peaceful settlement of disputes or deadlock due to veto in the Security Council.

Ensuring the protection of civilians is a core mandate of UN peacekeeping. Irish soldiers with the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) escort Turkish Cypriots from an area in Famagusta, which had recently been under fire, April 1964.

The objective of Peacekeeping operations, as the term suggests, is to maintain peace,keep order, and act as a buffer between the two conflicting groups. The aim is not todefeat an aggressor or restore peace that has been breached. The peacekeeping forcesare not deployed to remedy a situation. They are deployed to prevent further escalationof tension or conflict. The objective is to maintain peace while keeping the conflict atmanageable levels, without deciding about the nature of conflict or who is the aggressor.Secondly, peacekeeping forces were deployed as buffer forces between the conflictingparties. They merely separated the hostile armies by stationing/positioning themselves in themiddle. In terms of the use of force, peacekeeping forces resembled police force morethan the military forces because they were not heavily armed. Peacekeeping forces weremandated to use force as a last resort in self-defence; therefore, the measures used wereshort of armed force.

Thirdly, peacekeeping forces were expected to maintain an attitude of neutrality, and impartiality, towards the conflicting parties. It means that peacekeeping forces did not favour or take sides with either of the parties to the conflict. In principle, peacekeeping forces were not concerned with the cause of conflict or who was at fault. Their mandate was merely to diffuse the situation by acting as buffer forces, by keeping the fighting parties away from each other. Therefore, peacekeeping forces did not take sides in deciding the merits of claims made by the parties to the conflict. The Peacekeeping forces did not enforce a political settlement but only assisted the parties in suspending violence and buying time for a negotiated settlement. The peacekeepers must not interfere in the internal matters of a state. Fourthly, and most importantly, peacekeeping forces were deployed only with the consent of the states party to a conflict. "Consent" was imperative because it indicated a desire on the part of the disputants to avoid a full-scale conflict. Consent has been considered as inevitable to the success of peacekeeping operation. Also, member states of the United Nations cannot force the parties to a dispute to accept the presence of a peacekeeping force; it is a force meant to prevent escalation of tensions, and thus cannot be imposed. The parties to a dispute have to willingly accept the peace initiatives by the United Nations.

The consent is required not only for the establishment but also for the way in which a peacekeeping operation will carry out its mandate. The conflicting parties are consulted about the countries that will contribute the troops for a peacekeeping mission. Fifthly, the Secretary-General has the right to decide about the composition of the troops. However, the troops are contributed by the member states voluntarily. With this element of voluntary participation comes the principle of collective responsibility. Though the military personnel are provided by member states on voluntary basis, they are collectively responsible to the Secretary-General once they enter the peacekeeping arrangement. In the initial plan for peacekeeping mission it was agreed that the forces will not include troops from the five permanent members of the United Nations. This was done to avoid the problems associated with big-power politics and ideological groups in international relations. Non-involvement of major powers also distinguishes a peacekeeping mission from an enforcement action. Though there are exceptions, medium and small powers like Canada, India, and Nordic countries have usually contributed troops for peacekeeping missions. This has been done to insulate major powers from peacekeeping arrangement as also to refuse any charges of intervention or big-power interest. Moreover, it was held that medium states best represent the image of neutrality. Peacekeeping missions can be drawn into two categories.

The first are the Observer Operations, which contain small groups of observers to oversee the maintenance of status-quo. These were more popular in the initial years of the establishment of the United Nations. The second category of peacekeeping missions is the operations involving use of armed forces unit. Initially, they were very few in number, only about five peacekeeping operations involving deployment of forces till 1970 but their number has multiplied phenomenally in recent decades, particularly since 1990. In the initial years of the United Nations, the observers were sent to various parts of the world where conflicts and disagreements were witnessed. These were usually small group of personnel and were extremely popular in the latter part of 1940s. Some prominentexamples of observer missions are UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) in

Palestine in 1948, UNMOGIP between India and Pakistan since 1949, UNOGIL in Lebanon, UNYOM in Yemen, UNGOMAP between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and so on. The observers of the ceasefire were provided by the national governments and were paid by their respective governments. As a result, the field observers received orders from their governments even while working for the United Nations. This greatly dented their neutrality and impartiality. The internationalization of observer forces and their supervision and control by the United Nations became possible with the Secretariats' control over the observers' salaries travel allowances, etc. Thus, the identity of observers shifted from being "representatives" of governments to "individual experts" directly under the charge of the United Nations.

The fundamental principle of independence of observers has become the basis of impartiality, neutrality and independence of peacekeeping forces. The peacekeeping operations were deployed sparingly till 1970s. The first peacekeeping operation involving deployment of armed forces unit was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in 1956 to resolve the Suez Crisis. UNEF was placed along the Suez Canal on Egyptian territory. The second peacekeeping mission was sent to Congo in the form of the UN Operation in Congo (UNOC) in 1960 when a conflict erupted between the rebels/secessionists of Congo and the Belgian paratroopers immediately after achieving independence from Belgium. It is claimed that Congo was the first instance where a peacekeeping mission sacrificed the principle of using force only in self-defence. The UNOC increasingly assumed enforcement-like powers and the peacekeepers were openly taking sides, fighting for the Central government of Congo. The UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold died in a plane crash in 1961 while on an inspection visit to Congo. Within a couple of years, another Peacekeeping mission – UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was deployed in 1964 following communal clashes reported between the majority Greek Cypriots and the minority Turkish Cypriots. In 1974, the UNFICYP separated the fighting Greek and Turkish forces. The efforts towards reunification of the two parts of Cyprus have not come about. This remains one of the long – drawn deployments of a peacekeeping mission. The 1973, war between Israel and Egypt, and Israel and Syria in the Sinai region and in Golan Heights resulted in redeployment of UNEF – II to the Suez Canal region. In 1974, Israel and Syria reached an agreement to disengage in the Golan region. Ever since, the region is being maintained by UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) to repel any possible incursions by either Israeli or Syrian troops. In 1978, the Security Council established UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to ensure the withdrawal of invading Israeli forces in Southern Lebanon. Although this force was named as an interim force, it continued to be stationed there for over thirty years, amidst another Israeli invasion in 1982. Much of the work of UNIFIL has been limited to providing humanitarian assistance, mine clearance, and soon.

In addition to ensuring peace in the conflict zones, UN has tried to address the consequences of these conflicts thereof like the food scarcity and the increasing natal mortality rate. For this purpose, UN World Food Programme is doing a commendable job. It is the world's largest humanitarian agency fighting hunger. Together with FAO, IFAD and NGOs it pursues a vision of the world in which every human being has enough food to lead an active and healthy life. In 2010 it aims to reach more than 90 million people with food assistance in 73 countries. Around 10,000 people work for the organisation, most of them in remote areas, directly serving the hungry poor. Its five main objectives are:

1.   Save lives and protect livelihoods in emergencies

2.   Prepare for emergencies

3.   Restore and rebuild lives after emergencies.

4.   Reduce chronic hunger and under nutrition everywhere.

5.   Strengthen the capacity of countries to reduce hunger.

Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organization can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its 193 Member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees. The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development,

environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, gender equality and the advancement of women, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations.

The UN has four main purposes.

  i.   To keep peace throughout the world;

 ii.   To develop friendly relations among nations;

iii.   To help nations work together to improve the lives of poor people, to conquer hunger, disease and illiteracy, and to encourage respect for each other's rights and freedoms;

 iv.   To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals

12.2 Regional Tensions

The same commonalities that allow for conceptual groupings of nations may also represent objects of contention. Thus, geographically contiguous nations are so as a result of common borders which are subject to dispute or to illegal crossings or other infringement of territorial sovereignty. Such conflicts may escalate, or run the risk of escalating, thus determining responses from distant powers who seek to take advantage of the situation or prevent loss of their existing advantages in the region. In some cases this may result in minimalistic responses, based on cynical calculation or relative indifference, despite violence of genocidal proportions. For fear of being accused of opportunistic intervention, such powers (and the international community as a whole), may therefore limit their initiatives to deploring the scale of such violence. In other cases, commercial interests turn conflicts to their for-profit needs.

Three long and intractable Third World conflicts have dominated the international community since World War II, namely Middle East (Israel), Southeast Asia (Vietnam) - later replaced by Central America - and Southern Africa (South Africa). More generally, nations that share the oceans resources (around the Mediterranean Basin, in the Indian Ocean, or the South Pacific, for example) may be areas in which tension builds up. Nations that use or wish to use straits, canals, seaways and other linking waterways, including rivers, may be embroiled in conflict, for example at Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, the Dardanelles, the Shatt al-Arab and similar places. The commonest designation of an area of nations is defined by ethnicity, language, culture and sometimes religion. The Levant, for example, comprising countries bordering the eastern Mediterranean, if seen also in relation to Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and North Africa, is an area with a variety of tensions that aggravate each other, but in which ethnicity and religion play an important part. Areas designated in press reports include the Balkans, the Caribbean, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, Central America, Southern Africa and the Middle East. Some areas may be designated after a defence treaty, such as WTO or NATO countries; or an economic or other intergovernmental organization, such as EFTA, EEC/EU, COMECON, OAS, or OAU. Regional conflicts such as in Yugoslavia are generally agreed to be the likely model of future wars. Recently, the conflict between Ukraine and Russia erupted which means that we are yet to evade wars fully.

The soldiers of allied Arab Legion forces fire on fighters of the Haganah, the Jewish Agency self-defence force, in March 1948.

East German solidarity stamp depicting a Vietnamese mother and child with the text *"Unconquerable Vietnam"*

12.3 Apartheid Movement (Anti)

South Africa holds the distinction of being the only nation in the world to formally discriminate against its residents based on race or skin colour. This official racial discrimination regime in South Africa was in place for about 90 years. years, compared to the four and a half decades that the apartheid regime lasted (1948-1994). Due to the support given to South Africa by important Western States with significant investments, this inhumane system persisted. Those who fought apartheid were either executed or imprisoned, occasionally without trials. Even though the United Nations has been concerned about racial inequality and apartheid in South Africa since 1946, its influence was limited to moral and global public opinion. fervent anti-apartheid The powerful Anti-Apartheid Movement (hereafter, AAM), which was started both inside and outside of South Africa, played played a significant part in bringing down the apartheid regime in 1994.

Though apartheid system was institutionalised in 1948, the previous governments in South Africa had passed many laws during the 19th and first half of the 20th century, which were precursors of apartheid. The British colonial rulers had enacted Pass Laws during the 19th century, which restricted the movements of blacks into the areas occupied by whites and coloured. Blacks were not allowed on to the streets of towns in the Cape Colony and Natal after dark and had to carry their passes at all times. Important legislations passed between 1905 and 1946 imposed many restrictions on blacks and Indians. In 1905 the General Pass Regulation Bill denied blacks the right to vote, limited them to fixed areas and inaugurated the infamous Pass System. Then followed the Asiatic Registration Act (1906) requiring all Indians to register and carry passes, the South Africa Act (1910) that enfranchised whites, giving them complete political control over all other race groups and removing the right of blacks to sit in Parliament, the Native Land Act (1913) which prevented blacks from buying land outside "reserves". Some Bills introduced residential segregation and some prevented blacks from practising skilled trades. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act (1946) banned any further sale of land to Asians.

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and

free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

<div align="right">*Nelson Mandela*</div>

Institutionalisation of Apartheid

With the installation of Daniel Malan's government in 1948, the process of institutionalisation of apartheid system began. Malan of Nationalist Party became the first apartheid Prime Minister, as government passed many laws to institutionalise apartheid. The state passed laws which paved the way for "grand apartheid", which was centred on separating races on a large-scale, by compelling people to live in separate places defined by race. In addition, "petty apartheid" laws were passed. Following were the principal apartheid laws. The first grand apartheid law was Population Registration Act of 1950. It classifies every person in South Africa by "race" into such groups as a white, coloured, African or Asian. Once classified and issued an identity card to that effect, it determines where one can live, which schools one can attend, job reservations on the basis of skin colour and also separate health services for blacks, whites and coloured. Official teams or Boards were established to come to an ultimate conclusion on those people whose race was unclear. This caused much difficulty, especially for coloured people, separating their families as members were allocated different races.

An apartheid notice on a beach near Capetown, denoting the area for whites only.

Students and faculty at the University of Michigan protest the University's investments in corporations that did business with the apartheid regime in South Africa. 1970.

The second pillar of grand apartheid was the Group Areas Act of 1950. Until then, most settlements had people of different races living side by side. This Act put an end to diverse areas and determined where one lived according to race. Each race was allotted its own area, which was used in later years as a basis of forced removal. Further, the Act reserves 87 per cent of the land for the whites constituting 4.5 million people; it reserves only 13 per cent of the land for the 27 million blacks. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 prohibited marriage between persons of different races, and the Immorality Act of 1950 made sexual relations with a person of a different race a criminal offence. Under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, municipal grounds could be reserved for a particular race, creating, among other things, separate beaches, buses, hospitals, schools and universities. Signboards such as "whites only" applied to public areas, even including park benches. Black people were provided with services greatly inferior to those of whites, and, to a lesser extent, to those of Indians and coloured. Further laws had the aim of suppressing resistance, especially armed resistance, to apartheid.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 banned the South African Communist Party and any other political party that the government chose to label as 'communist'. Disorderly gatherings were banned, as were certain organisations that were deemed threatening to the government. Education was segregated by means of the 1953 Bantu Education Act, which crafted a separate system of education for African students and was designed to prepare blacks for lives as a labouring class. In 1959 separate universities were created for blacks, coloured and Indians. Existing universities were not permitted to enroll new black students. The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 required the use of Afrikaans and English on an equal basis in high schools outside the homelands. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 created separate government structures for blacks and was the first piece of legislation established to support the government's plan of separate development in the Bantustans. The Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1958 entrenched the National Party's policy of nominally independent "homelands" for black people. The so-called "self-governing Bantu units" were proposed, which would have devolved administrative powers, with the promise later of autonomy and self-government. The Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 marked a new phase in the Bantustan strategy. It changed the status of blacks so that they were no longer citizens of South Africa, but became citizens of one of the ten autonomous territories. The aim was to ensure whites became the demographic majority within South Africa by having all ten Bantustans choose "independence".

Anti-apartheid marchers carrying a banner reading 'Boycott Apartheid' (among them (from second left) British Church of England Bishop and cricketer David Sheppard (1929-2005), British Labour Party politician Anne Kerr (1925-1973), British Methodist minister Lord Donald Soper (1903-1998) and British Labour Party politician Ian Mikardo (1908-1993)) marching to Twickenham rugby ground where England are playing South Africa, in London, England, 20th December 1969. Anti-apartheid marchers carrying a banner reading 'Boycott Apartheid' (among them (from second left) British Church of England Bishop and cricketer David Sheppard (1929-2005), British Labour Party politician Anne Kerr (1925-1973), British Methodist minister Lord Donald Soper (1903-1998) and British Labour Party politician Ian Mikardo (1908-1993)) marching to Twickenham rugby ground where England are playing South Africa, in London, England, 20th December 1969.

Notes: Traditionally peace has been perceived as mere stillness between wars or in terms of national security. Ways to secure peace have often consisted of methods for controlling war by mutually reducing arms preparedness on the level of diplomatic talks.

Gandhi's Contribution:

The seeds of Anti-Apartheid Movement (*henceforth AAM*) in South Africa were sown by Gandhi. He established the first anticolonial and anti-racial discrimination movement there and founded the Natal Indian Congress on 22 August 1894. When Gandhi learnt that the South African Government is likely to pass a law to disfranchise Indians, he urged the Indians to protest. On his suggestion a petition was sent to the South African legislature on 28 June 1894. Wide publicity of the petition was made. Despite the Indian opposition the Bill was passed. Gandhi sent another petition to Lord Rippon, Secretary of Colonies in London. Ten thousand Indians signed this petition. Lord Rippon disallowed the Disfranchising Bill. Thus the petitioner Gandhi succeeded. Gandhi's Satyagraha experiment began in 1906. He opposed the 1906 legislation requiring the registration of Asians. Opposing this law, thousands of Asians boycotted registration. Gandhi and his satyagrahis were arrested and the jails were full. Following an agreement between General Smuts, the Prime Minister, and Gandhi, an agreement was evolved whereby the Indians would voluntarily register and the Registration Act would be repealed thereafter. Gen. Smuts, however, went back on his words and did not repeal the Act. Then Gandhi began his Satyagraha and asked Indians to burn the passes, which led to the arrest of thousands of Indians. Gandhi's Satyagraha reached its climax in 1913 with the epic march of 5000 workers indentured on the coal mines of Natal. This event evoked a massive response from the Indian women who, in turn, provoked the Indian workers to come out on strike. That was the beginning of the marches to freedom and mass stay-away-from work which became a characteristic feature of AAM in later years. When Gandhi left South Africa in 1915, he had left behind his legacy- Phoenix Settlement (in which he placed his third son Manilal in charge of his work there), the Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress and the weapon of Satyagraha to struggle against the racial discrimination policies. In 1946, Manilal played a leading role in a major campaign of protest against new laws that discriminated against the persons of Indian origin. The Satyagraha continued for two years, with mass rallies and the picketing of and squatting on land reserved for 'whites-only occupation'. Indians of all classes were involved and around 2000 were jailed. Although confined to the Indian community, many blacks were deeply impressed by the power of the protest. In this context, the greatest anti-apartheid leader, Nelson Mandela later wrote:

"It instilled a spirit of defiance and radicalism among the people, broke the fear of prison, and boosted the popularity and influence of the NIC [Natal Indian Congress] and TIC [Transvaal Indian Congress]. They reminded us that the freedom struggle was not merely a question of making speeches, holding meetings, passing resolutions and sending deputations, but of meticulous organization, militant mass action and, above all, the willingness to suffer and sacrifice. The Indians' campaign harkened back to the 1913 passive resistance in which Mahatma Gandhi led a tumultuous procession of Indians crossing illegally from Natal to the Transvaal. That was history; this campaign was taking place before my own eyes."

The AAM was the first successful transnational social movement in the 20th century.What is unique about the AAM is the extent of support it received from individuals, governments and organisations on all continents. Few social movements in history have garnered anywhere near the international support that was mobilised against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. Although national liberation and Marxism might both be considered as successful trans-national social movements, neither of these had the global support that the anti-apartheid movement garnered. There were two main aspects of the AAM: the internal campaign to destabilise the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, and the external campaign for political, economic, and cultural sanctions. At the heart of the movement was the struggle of black Africans to end white supremacy in South Africa. This internal movement was both a catalyst for actions at the international level and the critical link that gave coherence to the movement as a whole. The external effort can be divided into two fronts:

(1) regional efforts to provide military bases, material, and diplomatic support for liberation movements

(2) the diaspora movement, which focused on seeking international sanctions against the regime and providing direct aid to the liberation movements.

There were three phases of AAM. First, the resistance movement responded with nonviolent direct-action tactics under the leadership of organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Indian

National Congress (INC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). On May 1, 1950, this coalition organised a national strike to oppose the Suppression of Communism Act. When thousands of workers boycotted their jobs, the government responded by sending troops to the townships, and eighteen workers were killed. Nevertheless, the coalition called another strike for June 26, and workers again responded in good numbers. These strikes were a prelude to the mass civil-disobedience campaigns of 1952-1953 known collectively as the "Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws." Between June and December 1952, thousands of activists were arrested for defying petty apartheid laws, such as "whites only" drinking fountains, train compartments, and waiting rooms. The ANC's volunteer-inchief Nelson Mandela made hundreds of speeches across the country urging black people to defy apartheid laws, and the government responded by shooting demonstrators and arresting movement leaders, including Mandela; Yusuf Dadoo, president of the INC; and J. B. Marks of the Mineworkers Union. In the 1960s, the apartheid regime responded to the internal struggle by declaring emergency, banning anti-apartheid organisations such as the SACP, ANC, and PAC. In response, the liberation movement went underground and into exile where they launched the second phase of the movement: the armed struggle. This was the second phase, which was characterised by the internationalisation of the struggle, with support from the African Union (previously OAU – Organization of African Unity). The exiles acquired bases of operation, military training, and political education through both the AU and a coalition of South Africa's neighbours known as the "Frontline States". The apartheid regime responded by attacking its neighbours – Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. In the 1980s, the movement entered a third stage: massive resistance.

The movement reached its climax in this stage, which was characterised by the determination of anti-apartheid activists within South Africa to make the country ungovernable through strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and acts of sabotage. In 1983 a coalition of the internal organisations and church groups formed the United Democratic Front to lead the new phase of the movement. In an attempt to split the opposition, the regime offered Indians and Coloured (people of mixed race background) limited franchise in the elections of 1984. The strategy failed, however, and instead galvanised further acts of civil disobedience and sabotage. Moreover, the international anti-apartheid movement had matured, and most countries in the world had imposed military and economic sanctions against South Africa. Thus, it was the combined pressures of international sanctions and internal strife that led to the demise of the apartheid state. The retreat began with the repealing of the pillars of apartheid legislation, beginning with the repeal of the pass laws in 1986. By 1990 the government had lifted the ban on the SACP, ANC, and PAC and repealed the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Population Registration Act, and the Separate Amenities Act. Nelson Mandela was released in 1991, having spent twenty-seven years in prison. Four years later, on May 10, 1994, Mandela became the President of South Africa. In England the AAM was established in 1959 in which leaders and people from Britain, African nations and from Commonwealth participated. It was a very active movement and achieved much.

Official Emblem for International Anti-Apartheid Year-1978

Three of its achievements were to lobby successfully in 1961 with Commonwealth to expel South Africa from the Organization (when the Canadian Prime Minister moved a resolution in 1961 Commonwealth conference that every Commonwealth country should agree to adopt a Bill of Rights, the next day South Africa resigned from the Organization), securing the exclusion of South Africa from Olympic sport and the imposition of sanctions by the UN against South Africa. The idea on which the Movement was based was very simple. The boycott call was essentially an appeal from the people of South Africa not to collaborate with apartheid. As Julius Nyerere said in 1959 "We are not asking you, the British people, for anything special. We are just asking you to withdraw your support from apartheid by not buying South African goods". Father Huddleston, of course, was far more passionate at that founding meeting in demanding an end to collaboration with an evil ideology that amounted to a blasphemy against God. And there were others who used different bases for trying to mobilise people to support the boycott. The members of AAM adopted a novel method of boycotting South African produces; they would go into British shops to buy oranges and would say "where are these from"? Knowing that they were from South Africa, "Oh! South African, no thank you" walking out as though the shop stank.

Role of ANC (The African National Congress) and African Leaders

For nearly 80 years, the ANC was the primary source of AAM. Prior to the 1940s, its activity had remained strictly political. Its leaders and the nationalists were continuously resisting the policies of apartheid regime through Gandhian tactics of non-violence and constitutional forms of protest. In 1949, it made a change from the strictly constitutional protest of the past to peaceful yet unlawful demonstrations. To facilitate this, it launched the Defiance Campaign of 1950. This Campaign was the beginning of mass movement of resistance to apartheid. The Campaign adopted in 1955 "Freedom Charter" and submitted it to the government. The government claimed it was a Communist document and arrested leaders of ANC and other political organisations who had collaborated with ANC to draft the Charter. In 1960, the ANC was declared an unlawful organisation. They decided to defy this decree and went underground. Though it still believed in nonviolent methods to deal with apartheid, the government was intimidating the people by establishing harsher laws and penalties and dispatching military forces into African townships. It may be noted that in March 1960, several thousand Africans had assembled at Sharpeville to demonstrate against "the pass law" (the passes issued to South African blacks which restricted their movements to limited areas) and to get them arrested. It is horrifying to note that the South African authorities not only sought to terrify them with low-flying jets but ordered police to open fire. As a result, 69 Africans were killed in firing, and 180 wounded.

Anti-apartheid activists Walter Sisulu, Steve Biko and Oliver Tambo

The ANC was in a difficult position and after much deliberation decided that violent forms of political protest were inevitable, as the outlets for peaceful protest had been banned. In 1961, feeling they had been left with no other choice, the ANC took up arms against the South African government. The Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) organisation was formed to carry out acts of sabotage by attacking strategic buildings of significance to the white government. In a span of 18 months, MK carried out 200 acts of sabotage. The government threatened to take strong action, but the morale of the black population was only strengthened. Despite the efforts of the ANC, the apartheid system continued to grow stronger and exert more control over the people's lives. In the 1970's, increasing prices made it more difficult to survive on small incomes. Strikes broke out and workers walked away from jobs demanding higher wages. Fed up with the situation, student anger exploded in June of 1976. More than 10,000 students engaged in peaceful protest against coercive use of Afrikaans at schools. Feeling threatened, police unjustifiably opened fire on the students. This led to an uprising that spread to other parts of the country. In the end, over 1000 blacks were dead, killed by police. The most serious incident happened in Soweto, where school children were demonstrating against the apartheid system and demanding education in English. More than 2000 policemen were trying to control the crowd. The policemen, instead of using humane and simpler methods to control the crowd, resorted to firing, in which (as their own report stated) around 100 people had been killed and more than 800 injured.

As a result of growing opposition to apartheid regime the government declared a state of emergency in some parts of South Africa in July 1985, which lasted for six months. Eventually the national state of emergency was declared in June 1986, which lasted till 1990. In February 1990, the apartheid regime was forced to officially recognise the ANC and other affiliated organisations. This recognition indicated the government's possible willingness to solve South Africa's problems peacefully. In 1991 Mandela was elected as President of ANC, who later became first President of the multi-racial South Africa.

No other issue has engaged the United Nations, almost from its inception, for as long a time as that of South Africa and its policy of apartheid. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted more than 500 resolutions / recommendations concerning the racial policy of South Africa constituting probably the largest number addressed to a single country on a single issue. It may be noted that India brought, as a complaint, the question of human rights in South Africa to the General Assembly as early as in 1946. The Indian complaint was concerned with the treatment of the people of Indian origin (later, it was re-titled as Indo-Pakistan origin) in South Africa who were discriminated by the Racist Government of South Africa. Initially, the Government of South Africa and some Western Powers considered that the question of human rights fell exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of member States, in which the United Nations cannot interfere. Six years later, another question entitled "Race conflict in the Union of South Africa Resulting from the Policy of Apartheid" was brought to the Assembly by 13 Arab and Asian States, including India. In their complaint, these States argued that the gross violation of human rights in South Africa not only constituted a breach of the UN Charter obligations but also constituted a threat to international peace and security under Chapter VII of the Charter (which enabled the UN to take enforcement measures, including sanctions). This charge made against South Africa in 1952 remained valid till 1994. With the coming into power of a multi-racial democratic government in South Africa replacing apartheid regime in 1994, the UN discontinued its discussion of this question.

Summary

History has proved that the UN has become an irreplaceable part of international relations and international community. It has been playing a significant, sometimes historic, role in world politics. Its modest achievements listed in the Unit are testimony to it. It is a fact that, as mandated by its Charter, the UN has prevented another World War. The UN has made impressive and unprecedented progress in all aspects of human development, bringing great benefits to millions of people around the world. Our convoluted world needs the UN. The Security Council must be reformed and strengthened to enable the UN as a whole to confront and resolve complex challenges of our world.

Since the end of Second World War was perceived end to all wars, but it led to Cold War which was fought indirectly. Thus adding to the simmering regional tensions like Afghan-Russia War. In South Africa, racial discrimination was an official policy of the white minority government for over 80 years. Gandhi laid the foundation of AAM in the first decade of the 20th century, which got matured, enlarged with mass following with the involvement of ANC and its affiliated bodies and other political organisations. Since the 1950s ANC has been at the forefront to run this AAM. Initially, African leaders and organisations used the Gandhian method of non-violence to resolve apartheid. Subsequently, they were compelled by South African authorities to use violent measures to achieve their goal of dismantling apartheid. During their long struggle against apartheid thousands of people and many of their leaders lost their lives. The AAM got international support from the AU, the UN, and the Commonwealth. The UN even debated and voted to expel South Africa from the UN in the 1970s. The UN not only adopted three important human rights instruments to deal with the problem of racial discrimination, but also imposed arms embargo and sanctions against South Africa. The AAM was the first successful transnational social movement in the modern world. Although national liberation and Marxism might both be considered as successful transnational social movements, neither of these had the global support that the AAM garnered.

Keywords

The Arab–Israeli conflict : Is an ongoing intercommunal phenomenon involving political tension, military conflicts, and other disputes between Arab countries for Palestine.

Apartheid: Apartheid, or "apartness" in the language of Afrikaans, was a system of legislation that upheld segregation against non-white citizens of South Africa.

ANC: The African National Congress (ANC) is a social-democratic political party in South Africa. A liberation movement known for its opposition to apartheid

UN: The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization whose stated purposes are to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

Self Assessment

1. Among the following, identify the cause/s that led to absence of peace.

A. Insecurity

B. Social injustice

C. Economic inequality

D. All of these

2. Who among the following said that "*we make war so that we may live in peace*"

A. Alexander

B. Aristotle

C. Avicena

D. None of these

3. The concept of positive peace means the removal of

A. Prosperity

B. Structural Violence

C. Fraternity

D. None of these

4.   The United Nations is an international organisation founded in?

A.   1945

B.   1946

C.   1947

D.   1948

5.   "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." These words are of?

A.   M.K. Gandhi

B.   J.L. Nehru

C.   Nelson Mandela

D.   Mao Zedong

6.   Institutionalisation of apartheid system began in ?

A.   1948

B.   1949

C.   1950

D.   1951

7.   Apartheid literally means

A.   Apart-hood

B.   Brotherhood

C.   Realm

D.   Community

8.   Afghan-Soviet war is an example of ?

A.   Regional Tension

B.   Apartheid

C.   Communalism

D.   None of these

9.   Who among the following Indian leaders played a key role in the movement against apartheid?

A.   J.L. Nehru

B.   M.K. Gandhi

C.   Subhash Chandra Bose

D.   Lokmaniya Tilak

10.Following image is a representation of

A. Neo-Marxism

B. Neo-Colonialism

C. Neo-Fascism

D. Apartheid

11.Apartheid is essentially?

A. Racism

B. Communism

C. Socialism

D. None of these

12. Acronym AAM stands for?

A. Anti-Apartheid Movement

B. Anti- Appeasement Movement

C. Anti- Anglo Movement

D. None of these

13. The United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council adopted more than 500 resolutions / recommendations concerning the racial policy of?

A. South Africa

B. Yugoslavia

C. Egypt

D. Vietnam

14. Who among the following was / were the anti-apartheid activists ?

A. Walter Sisulu

B. Steve Biko

C. Oliver Tambo

D. All of these

15. Apartheid regime was replaced in South Africa in?

A. 1994

B. 1995

C. 1996

D. 1997

16. Nelson Mandela, the hero of Anti-Apartheid movement was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in …………..

17. Among the Indian leaders………… played a key role in the movement against Apartheid.

18. Peace is the absence of …………….

19. In …………… Mandela was elected as President of ANC.

20. Acronym AAM stands for………………..

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	D	2.	B	3.	B	4.	A	5.	C
6.	A	7.	A	8.	A	9.	B	10.	D
11.	A	12.	A	13.	A	14.	D	15.	A
16.	1993	17.	M.K. Gandhi	18.	hostility	19.	1991	20.	Anti-Apartheid Movement

Review Questions

1. What is United Nations?
2. How doers UN helps in maintaining of peace?
3. Define the term Peace.
4. Define the apartheid system?
5. What are the reasons for the regional tensions post 2nd World War?
6. What do you understand by Non-Alignment Movement?
7. How was Apartheid defeated?
8. What is a regional tension?
9. What do you mean by peace? Discuss in details the global efforts to maintain peace among the nations with special reference to United Nations.
10. What is a regional tension? Do you think there is relation between post 2nd world war and the Cold war and the regional tensions across the globe.
11. Evaluate the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi in the movement against apartheid.
12. Discuss the role, impact and strategies of Anti Apartheid Movement adopted by people within and outside Africa.
13. Discuss the role of UN in anti apartheid and the global peace.

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Unit 13:Disintegration of Socialist Block and the End of Cold WarI

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Objectives

Introduction

13.1   Changes in Political Order- from Bipolar to Unipolar

Summary

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Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the genesis of the Socialist Block disintegration
- Analyse the various internal and external reasons for the disintegration.
- Evaluate the changes in world political order.
- Understand the navigation from bipolar to unipolar

Introduction

The events of 1989, which culminated in the disintegration of the Socialist bloc, have been described as "an earth quake" in world politics. Indeed, the sheer speed of those events left those who were observing the same as well as those who participated in them absolutely stunned. In fact, the pace with which the communist regimes in the socialist bloc fell one after another itself became a crucial part of the process of change. From mid-1989 and especially in the last quarter of 1989, almost every day there were reports of demonstrations, strikes, protests, fall of leaders and Governments. The entire atmosphere was charged I with excitement and expectancy and high drama which cannot be fully conveyed in its description and analysis. The other aspect of this integration was that while' the end result of the upheavals was the same, i.e., the fall of the ruling classes, there are a number of differences among the various countries as regards the manner in which they fell. Thus, for example in Poland, the revolutionary changes were the result of prolonged and sustained resistance of solidarity, supported by the Catholic Church, in Hungary, they were the result of power struggle within the political elite; in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, the regime was overthrown by peaceful mass demonstrations but in Romania, the government of Ceausescu was toppled by a bloody revolution and in Bulgaria the changes came about slowly sluggishly.

Although the final disintegration of the Socialist bloc took a few months in the latter half of 1989, the basic reasons for the collapse can be traced to the period when, more than forty years earlier, communist rule was imposed in these L countries during Stalin's time. These reasosn were both Internal as well as External.This fact of forcible imposition of a system of government and an ideology, and the lack of democratic means in this had alienated the citizens of these countries and the feeling grew stronger with the passage of time.There were other reasons like cultural, political and economic that led to the disintegration of the Socialist bloc.

The countries of the Socialist bloc could neither compete in the new fields of consumer culture, the third industrial revolution and the speed of information technology, nor could they constitute an alternative block which could insulate itself from the capitalist world as was possible at one time in

history when the "iron curtain" and descended across Europe after World War-II. They simply lagged behind, condemned to only copy from the west. In the most crucial field of all, communications , it became more and more possible for people in the Socialist bloc countries to

Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Divided Soviet Union.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was created after the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917, which ended the Russian empire. The USSR was a loose confederation of 15 republics and Russia was the leader. It was a strong segment with great control over politics of entire world from 1922 to 1991 when it was disintegrated into smaller units, mainly due to MikhaelGorbvachev's economic and political reforms- Perestroika and Glasnost respectively. This led to the end of the cold war between the two superpowers USA and USSR. It was marked by events like the fall of the Berlin Wall and power shift from Soviet center to the republics. The breakdown of USSR made USA the sole global power, ending the bipolarity in the world order.

hear and see what was happening in the outside world. The impact of West German television in much of East Germany and Czechoslovakia is an example of this. Pop music provided a direct means of reaching the young in the Socialist world. With higher levels of education and increasing opportunities for travel, the comparison between living standard and political conditions in the socialist and advanced capitalist countries became more obvious. It was this comparative, rather than absolute failure that provided the basis for the collapse; not only did it generate discontent with the Socialist system which was increasingly seen as bankrupt, but it also destroyed the belief that the Socialist system could in any way catch up with the capitalist West, let alone overtake it.

The discontent generated by this failure led to a widespread discrediting of the ruling Communist parties and its leaders which in turn led to an erosion of their legitimacy to rule. The fact that, historically, these regimes had been imposed forcibly during the post World War-II period, and that they had not been democratically elected, formed the basis for the simmering discontent among the people. The economic failures brought their discontent into sharper focus and the authoritarian nature of the rule made the people generally question the legitimacy .of the Communists parties to govern and dictate. Economic failure not only stimulated but also consolidated the societal tensions and opposition in most of the East European countries and it finally erupted in a major upsurge of nationalism in the different counties. It brought together workers and intellectuals, many young people and all sorts of underground organisations, and this unity proved to be an extremely effective and strong threat to the ruling elite. It must be kept in mind that in Olfferent countries, there were different degrees of unity and cooperation among these sections. Even those groups which had formerly supported the communist regimes now joined ranks with the opposition. In some countries, such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland for e.g., as a result of all these pressures and lack of support, and in the face of mounting economic crisis, the ruling party began to lose confidence in its ability to rule. Whereas, in the sixties and seventies, whenever there had been mass demonstrations or opposition, the Communist Party had not hesitated to use force to suppress the threat to its rule, now in the late eighties, most of these ruling elites found it difficult to use force to maintain its rule. This inability to use force had both internal and external causes.

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Signs of nationalism emerge in Kazakhstan in 1986 and quickly spread to other Soviet states. In August 1987, Estonians demonstrate against the Molovtov-Ribbentrop pact which allowed the Soviet Union to annex the three Baltic countries.

There were economic causes as well. It has been pointed out that the most fundamental and all-encompassing reason was the failure of these counties to live on to their promise of "catching up with and overtaking capitalism" in political and economic terms. It was a multifaceted failure in which the most crucial aspect was a pervasive economic failure. Not only were these countries unable to catch up with the West in narrow, quantitative terms such as industrial output, technological changes and food production, but also, in more general terms were unable to raise standards of living and meet the rising popular expectations, especially in the newly arisen consumerism and popular culture where the contrast with the capitalist West became more pronounced. Undoubtedly, this was the most important cause and it has been argued by many experts that if drastic economic reforms had been initiated, the other problems could have been contained to some degree. Economic success could have possibly made the sociocultural and political issues less acute and could have made the management of the discontent somewhat easier. Up till now, we have been discussing the domestic causes. Now we shall turn to the external factors.

The end of Cold War resulted in several changes in the International Relations. The concept of bipolar system, which brought the world to fall under the influence of two powerful blocs, was the first victim. It also followed by weakening of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the beginning of the end of Cold War. Soon after that USSR was dismantled in 1991, marking a new era in the history of international relations.

Among the external reasons, the prominent were:

1. Role of the USSR
2. Role of the West
3. The Demonstration Effect

1. Role of the USSR:

The most significant of the external factors was the role and politics of the erstwhile USSR. More than six years after the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc and five years after the break up of the Soviet Union, it is possible to state that Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika in the Soviet Union, made the upheavals in East Europe both possible and successful. Of course, we cannot say that Gorbachev had known or anticipated the chain reaction that took place - but certainly, he was totally incapable of stopping or controlling what he had started. Gorbachev wanted to reform socialism and he was indeed successful to the extent that a great many changes came about in the Soviet Union. He was responsible for introducing political reforms and greater democracy in the political system of the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe. On the one hand democracy - of the Western capitalist kind - produced a great enthusiasm among the youth, the opposition groups and associations and those sections of political and social groups which were desiring reforms. On the other hand it dealt a blow to the more conservative elements. The demand for reforms soon snowballed into a demand for an all-embracing,.extensive reform of the Communist political system. There can be no doubt now that the most crucial decision on the part of the Soviet leadership, particularly Gorbachev, which had the greatest demoralizing effect on the Communist regimes in East Europe, was the decision to revoke the Brezhnev Doctrine. Certainly, in the ultimate analysis; the ruling regime of the Socialist bloc was overthrown or replaced by powerful mass lnovements, but they would never have taken place without the change in Soviet policy towards its satellite states. In November 1988, Gorbachev announced in the United Nations the decision to unilaterally reduce the size of the Soviet armed forces and to withdraw 50,000 troops from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

On 9 November 1989, protestors pull down the Berlin Wall separating East and West Germany.

The Soviet troops would no longer intervene in these countries whenever there arose any threat to the Communist regimes in power. These regimes could now no longer depend on external support in times of crisis. Gorbachev's change of policy became the indispensable precondition for the changes to occur, since the regimes could now no longer go on ruling in the old way and the opposition groups would not have to fear the use of external force. From the above it should not be understood that there was no opposition to dissent in East Europe during the Communist Party rule, before Gorbachev's November 1988 decision. There was opposition, but it was fragmented and not very strongly organised. Moreover, the Communist Party was in complete and strict control of the country. During the second half of the eighties, opposition acquired form, purpose and some order. And ultimately the Gorbachev factor became responsible for strengthening the forces of change and bringing them together, inspired by his role as a radical reformer of the system. Poland had already had a long period of opposition movements led by Solidarity; there was some opposition in Hungary but it was not very significant; in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, opposition had existed for a long time but it was mainly confined to intellectuals and it links with the larger masses were very weak. In Bulgaria and Romania, where the regimes had been most repressive, there was hardly any active opposition. But in the latter half of 1988 and 1989, the dissent movements and opposition became very active, began multiplying and in a surprisingly short period, became a tidal wave which speedily and conclusively swept away the old regimes.

2. Role of the West

Yet another important international factor was the role of the Western capitalist countries. As the people in Eastern Europe began to get more and more organised in their demaand for systemic reform, greater democracy and removal of the Communist Parties, they received a lot of encouragement and welcome from Western Europe and the U.S.A. There was widespread belief among the people of Eastern Europe that they would receive financial, diplomatic and even military assistance from the capitalist West. In this way, the expectation of support also worked as a stimulus in the gathering protest.

3. The Demonstration Effect

There was also what one may call the demonstration effect, mentioned earlier. The success which these movements of democracy and reform were achieving in the different countries, had a greatly encouraging effect on other similar movements and protests of the Socialist bloc and each victory took the entire process a step further towards the eventual disintegration of the Socialist bloc. Thus, people first witnessed liberalisation measures initiated by the government in Hungary, then the election of a Solidarity government in Poland. Then, all of a sudden, mass migrations began taking place from the GDR in the summer of 1989 followed by mass demonstrations. Events acquired a faster momentum new and Czechoslovakia witnessed upheavals and finally, the curtain came down with the sudden, violent and bloody change in Romania.

4. Political Un-accountability

There was a single party rule for around 70 years that turned authoritarian. There were widespread corruption and lack of transparency in the system. Gorbachev made a decision to allow

elections with a multi-party system and create a presidency for the Soviet Union. This began a slow process of democratization that eventually destabilized Communist control and contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

5.   Gorbachev's reforms

Once freedom was achieved by under Michael Gorbachev's reforms, they demanded more for it. The demand grew into a big force which turned very difficult to control. The people wanted to catch up on the western side very quickly.

4.   Rise of nationalism

There was a rise of nationalism among countries like Russia, Baltic republics, Ukraine, Georgia etc. This is the most important and immediate cause of the disintegration of the USSR. The national feeling was strong among the most prosperous areas in USSR and not in Central Asian republics. Ordinary people among prosperous republics never liked to pay the big price to uplift the backward Central Asian republics.

13.1   Changes in Political Order- from Bipolar to Unipolar

There are certain prominent characteristics of the post-Cold War international system. Though the Cold War period had created a bipolar world order where the actions of the states were predictable and the actors in the international system were supportive of the state actions. The Cold War period that way brought status quo and stability to the international system. The fall of communism created a vacuum and left the world unipolar with US as the sole super power and leader of the free capitalism and liberal democracy. The Cold War world order was divided based on the ideologies of capitalism and communism. The end of Cold War brought an end to this ideological division. Hence the first characteristic of post Cold War era is the dominance of free market capitalism. It is since then seen as a major tool, approach and an important means to achieve economic development. Majority of the countries who adopted communism or socialism to achieve economic development have turned around to embrace capitalist ideology

End of the Cold War is also seen as heralding of individual freedom and democracy. These freedoms range from economic, social, cultural and political. All these freedoms are to be supported by rights. Both the freedoms and rights are to be supported by political institutions which are basically democratic. The second characteristic of post Cold War era was the outbreak of the 'third wave' of democratization, as Samuel Huntington put it. Liberal democracy in the minimal meaning of electoral contest spread to South East Asia, North Asia, South Asia, Africa and Latin America. East European countries underwent varieties of 'colour' revolutions – 'pink', 'blue' etc. Some years later in 2010, 'Arab spring' bloomed in West Asian region. Elections were held, in many countries for the first time; democratic governments came to power and completed their term without facing a military coup, new constitutions were written; judiciary became independent and rule of law prevailed, right to vote was expanded in most countries and covered women, indigenous, and marginalised and excluded sections of the society; and democratic institutions were established which worked.

General Secretary of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev speaking at the 20th Congress of the VLKSM (All-Union Leninist Young Communist League).

The third characteristic of post-Cold War era is the rapid growth in international trade. Formation of the WTO marked the rise of a rule-based multilateral trade order. The increased international trade allowed the countries to become interdependent and to forge economic relations. This swift turn from traditional relations which focused on interactions between governments has allowed economic relations between private players. Global corporate and banking interests emerged as extremely powerful economic players. Foreign economic relations have become dominant over other traditional issues like defence and border security etc. Increased international trade has softened the rigid boundaries between the states and allowed free flow of goods, capital, human resources forging new linkages between the states. The fourth important characteristic of post-Cold War era is the rise of new actors who are mostly non-state actors. These non-state actors do not have any nationality, state identity and are not controlled by the state. International non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and Greenpeace emerged championing specific issues like protection of human rights and environment. The emergence of these non-state actors created several multiple linkages between the states and non-state actors. These linkages supported 'cobweb paradigm' to understand international relations. The idea of international relations looking a cobweb emphasizes transnational relations supported by various civil society organisations, multinational corporations which create new forms of international society and which are not bound by Realist idea of national interest and sovereign state. The interactions between the non-state actors prioritise the individual and community interests pertaining to the actors rather than national interest. The state here would not act independently rather plays a supportive role. The result of this multiple interactions at multiple levels slowly but steadily replaces the word 'international relations' with 'world relations' in understanding the phenomenon and outcomes. The fifth characteristic of post-Cold War era is the new focus – spread from world-centric to region-centric interests. These interests ranged from environmental issues to issues of human migration. These interests are common in nature and have major impact on human civilisation itself. Identifying, understanding and collective efforts to address the issues have become priority areas in state actions.

State interests are submerged in common interests and states have become part of collective actions at regional and global levels. Thus the states started policy making according to this collective action and states started seeing their national interest as part of collective interest. Identifying, understanding and coordinating states to achieve common goals required pro-active organisations, which are universal and aloof from interest of a single state. Thus the sixth important characteristic of post-Cold War era is importance of international organisations like the United Nations, WTO etc. The rise and growth of these international organisations in the post-Cold War era is phenomenal and their importance has grown rapidly. These international organisations deal with single to multiple issues and in their reach range from global to regional. Thus the importance of regional organisations and regional cooperation initiatives on multiple issues has grown. These initiatives are focused on issues ranging from easing trade to security to environment to migration at regional level. All these characteristics have changed the discourse of international relations in the post-Cold War era. The end of Cold War has added uncertainty and a degree of unpredictability, along with the transformative structural changes, to international relations. The period is also marked by a more dynamic and intense nature of relations between the states. New types of negotiations and meetings have evolved such as G-20 and BRICS where leaders meet and discuss issues of global and regional importance. The emergence of more actors at the interactions between the states started influencing the actions of the state. The concepts of 'sovereignty', 'national interest', 'hard borders' etc. have become vulnerable and weak. This led many scholars to question the concept of 'Westphalian' nation state

From Bipolar to Unipolar

Power in International Relations (IR) is related to the power of a state in terms of influencing the actions and policies of other states. A state's ability to influence can be drawn from its socio-cultural, political, economic and military capabilities. A powerful state can influence, control the political environment, events, issues and interactions between the states at international level. A powerful state can also resist, dominate, maintain status quo of any kind of consequences, complications, implications for itself which may be the result of the interactions between other

states. Realists argue that the primary objective of a state in international relations is to acquire that power, one, to influence the actions of other states according to its wish; two, to resist any negative implications of these interactions for itself; and finally, to successfully project its own power and influence far and wide beyond its geographic region. Likewise, a regional power is one who can make a difference to regional peace and stability on the basis of its similar power capabilities. Based on the ability of states to influence the actions and policies of other states, and the spheres of influence, powerful states can be categorised into global powers, regional powers and sub-regional powers. The nature of influence can be classified into 'hard' and 'soft' powers. If the power is distributed among many states in internationalsystem it can be called a multipolar system; and if there are only two states which can influence, it is regarded as bipolar system. If there is only one hegemonic power which dominates over the world, then it is a unipoar world.

Based on the ability of states to influence the affairs of other states at various levels and the distribution of power, an international system can be defined in terms of polarity. It means polarisation of power. Polarity examines whether or how the power is distributed in one or more countries at global levels. Immediately after the World War-II, the world was bipolar and after the end of Cold War, it became Unipolar and now it is on the way to Multuipolar. In this section we will discuss the Bipolar and the Unipolar systems.

Bipolar system indicates the distribution of power between two states or blocs in international system. These two states or blocs can influence the global affairs, issues and relations. Majority of the states express their solidarity or align with the interests of a single power or a bloc; and thus bipolarity divides the states internationally. Cold War era international system which was dominated by USA and Soviet Union is the best example of Bipolar world order. There are three basic characteristics of a Bipolar system: First, it represents the international system in which majority of the states are either allies or express their tactical support with any of the two powers. Secondly it reflects a competitive environment in which two powers compete with each other in all the spheres ranging from economy to military, technological advancements to extending support to other states, and from influencing international issues to controlling conflicts and conflicting conditions. Thirdly, it represents zero sum game in which if one wins, other power loses.

The end of the Second World War did not signal a return to normality; on the contrary, it resulted in a new conflict. The major European powers that had been at the forefront of the international stage in the 1930s were left exhausted and ruined by the war, setting the scene for the emergence of two new global superpowers. Two blocs developed around the Soviet Union and the United States, with other countries being forced to choose between the two camps. The USSR came out of the war territorially enlarged and with an aura of prestige from having fought Hitler's Germany. The country was given a new lease of life by its heroic resistance to the enemy, exemplified by the victory at Stalingrad. The USSR also offered an ideological, economic and social model extending as never before to the rest of Europe. Furthermore, the Red Army, unlike the US army, was not demobilised at the end of the war. The Soviet Union thus had a real numerical superiority in terms of men and heavy weapons.

The United States was the great victor of the Second World War. Its human and material losses were relatively low, and even though the US Army was almost completely demobilised a few months after the end of hostilities, the United States remained the world's leading military power. Its navy and air force were unrivalled, and until 1949 it was the only country with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. It also confirmed its status as the world's leading economic power, in terms of both the volume of trade and industrial and agricultural production. The US now owned more than two thirds of the world's gold reserves and the dollar became the primary international currency. The conflicts of interest between the new world powers gradually multiplied, and a climate of fear and suspicion reigned. Each country feared the newfound power of the other. The Soviets felt surrounded and threatened by the West and accused the United States of spearheading 'imperialist expansion'. For their part, the Americans were concerned at Communist expansion and accused Stalin of breaching the Yalta Agreement on the right of free peoples to self-determination. The result was a long period of international tension interspersed with dramatic crises which, from time to time, led to localised armed conflicts without actually causing a full-scale war between the United States and the USSR. From 1947, Europe, divided into two blocs, was at the heart of the struggle between the two superpowers. The Cold War reached its first climax with the Soviet blockade of Berlin. The explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb in the summer of 1949 reinforced the USSR in its role as a world power. This situation confirmed the predictions of Winston Churchill, who, in March 1946, had been the first Western statesman to speak of an 'Iron Curtain' that now divided Europe in two.

Notes:*The Iron Curtain is a term describing the political boundary dividing Europe into two separate areas from the end of World War II in 1945 until the end of Cold War.*

Notes: *"With a secure homeland and a peerless economy, the United States can do stupid things over and over again without suffering severe punishment,"* **Michael Beckley**

A **Unipolar system** is defined in terms of a single state having highest economic, military, cultural and political influence all over the world. It goes against the theory of balance of power as there will be no other power to balance the system. Unipolarity is hegemonic. The global hegemon enjoys absolute domination in guiding the international policies and providing direction to international politics. Moneteiro in his work titled, Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is not Peaceful provides three characteristics of a Unipolar system. This system is marked by existence of several individual states with mutual relations among them. These mutual relations are inter-state/ inter-national relations. Secondly, since there is no superior authority to supervise these relations; the system is marked by anarchical situation and situation constrains the Unipolar system as the states will not readily accept the domination and dictation of the Unipolar state. Thirdly, the balance of power will be absent in a Unipolar system as there exists no similar or equal power.

With the world's largest economy, hundreds of overseas military bases, and leadership positions in various international institutions, the United States is an undeniable global power.

US bases outside USA

For much of the country's history, presidents shielded the nation from international affairs. The first U.S. president, George Washington, declared in his farewell address, "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world." In particular, he feared the consequences of involving the United States in Europe's great power conflicts. Instead, early American leaders focused on developing the young nation's economy, expanding domestic territory, and getting Europe's imperial powers to withdraw from the Western Hemisphere. In their worldview, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans served not as barriers to international leadership but rather as invaluable buffers that would allow the country to grow free of foreign interference. And, indeed, the United States grew. Through negotiation, purchase, conflict, and conquest, the country more than tripled in size between 1783 and 1853.

The post-Cold War world was once thought by some to be a unipolar one following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which brought an end to the Cold War, with the world's lone remaining superpower being the United States. The first decade of post-Cold War period witnessed the world adjusting to the changing world order. The period also marked remarkable US domination on one hand and a steady growth in the number and strength of non-state actors taking frontline positions in defining the relations between the states.

Notes: *The term was first applied in 1944 during World War II to the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union.*

Summary

The discussion above has given the picture of international relations after the end of the Cold War. The Unit has also explained how the postCold War period has facilitated greater interactions between the countries; the outcomes of these interactions; important actors and their role in shaping the relations between the countries.Thus it was that the old order, represented by a bipolar world structure, came to an end and was replaced in a manner by the unipolar system, USA being the sole superpower. Though the term has been challenged at many levels with the passage of the time.

Keywords

Unipolar:A unipolar world is when the majority of the world is dominated by a single state or nation's military and economic power, and social and cultural influence.

Bipolar : A Bipolar World is where Sino-US competition edges out any possibility of cooperation. The world was divided into two blocs headed by USA and USSR.

USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Disintegration : The process by which an entity come apart, breaks up.

GDR : German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

FRG : Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

BCP : Bulgarian Communist Party

Socialist Bloc : The term was used to designate the countries in the Soviet camp, or the Warsaw Pact countries.

Glasnost : Russian word for Openness

Perestroika : Russian word for Restructuring

Solidarity: The Polish Workers Party formed under Walesa's leadership.

Self Assessment

1. Bipolar means two blocks headed by

A. China and India

B. Israel and Palestine

C. USA and USSR

D. Canada and Australia

2. Gorbachev initiated Perestroika and

A. Glasnost

B. Peasantry

C. Workers

D. None of these

3. Policy of Perestroika re-examined the spending on military and other

security agencies; and age-old system of material and military support

and subsidies to Soviet allies, thus it was against the policy of

A. Stalin

B. Lenin

C. Wilson

D. None of these

4. The two blocs represented different

A. Capitalism and Socialism

B. Atheism and Extremism

C. Anarchy and the theocracy

D. Oligarchy and the Monarchy

5. Which among the following factors was / were responsible for the disintegration of USSR?

A. Cultural

B. Political

C. Economical

D. All of these

6. Till the end of Cold War, the Socialist Bloc was the amalgam of countries bound by the pact of ?

A. Poland

B. Warsaw

C. Westminster

D. Chicago

7. Which among the following countries never had a US air base?

A. Pakistan

B. Afghanistan

C. India

D. None of these

8. Which among the following was not a part of USSR?

A. Afghanistan

B. Azarbaijan

C. Kazakistan

D. Pakistan

9. The number of republics in the former USSR were?

A. 18

B. 17

C. 16

D. 15

10.The USSR disintegrated finally in?

A. 1989
B. 1990
C. 1991
D. None of these

11.Mikhail Gorbachev resigned and handed over power to?

A. Vladmir Putin
B. Alexander Rutskoy
C. Boris Yeltsin
D. None of these

12. BCP stands for?

A. Bulgarian Communist Party
B. British Communist Party
C. Bodo Communist Party
D. None of these

13. Perestroika means?

A. Resurrection
B. Restructuring
C. Recycling
D. Restricting

14. Which among the following was / were the part of the Socialist Bloc?

A. East Germany
B. Poland
C. Czechoslovakia
D. All of these

15. In the contemporary times, world is heading towards?

A. Unipolarity
B. Bipolarity
C. Multipolarity
D. None of these

16. After the World War-II, world was divided into …….blocs.

17. The Socialist bloc includes the countries who had signed the ……. Pact.

18. The Soviet Union disintegrated in ………….

19. In Soviet-Afghan War, USA backed the Afghan fighters generally called ……….

20. After the end of Cold War, the world was perceived to be …………

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	C	2.	A	3.	A	4.	A	5.	D
6.	B	7.	C	8.	D	9.	D	10.	C
11.	C	12.	A	13.	B	14.	D	15.	C
16.	2	17.	Warsaw	18.	1991	19.	Mujahideen	20.	unipolar

Review Questions

1. What do you understand by unipolarity?
2. Differentiate between Bipolar and Unipolar system.
3. What were the internal reason that led to the disintegration of USSR?
4. Describe briefly any one external reason for the disintegration of USSR.
5. How cultural factor was responsible for the disintegration of USSR?
6. What was the role of USA in the disintegration of USSR?
7. What was the world order after Second World War and why it was so?
8. How did economy play an important role in the destabilizing the Soviet Union?
9. Discuss the world order after the World War-II. Further describe the causes and the consequences thereof.
10. What were the internal factors that led to the collapse of the Socialist Bloc. Explain in details.
11. Among the external factors, discuss in details the role played by west in destabilizing USSR.
12. What do you mean by unipolar world order. Discuss in details the reason for unipolarity.
13. Write a detailed note on the transition of the world order from bipolarity to unipolarity.

📖 **Further Readings**

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Web Links

https://youtu.be/t2GmtBCVHzY Breakdown of the USSR

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Unit 14: Disintegration of Socialist Block and the End of Cold War-II

CONTENTS
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Introduction
14.1   Socialism in Decline
14.2   Globalization (Globalisation)
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Objectives

After this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the Socialism
- Evaluate the reasons for its decline.
- Explain the meaning of globalization
- Discuss different views on it
- Explain its phases and types
- Examine relationship between globalization and sovereignty

Introduction

Socialism, social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership or control of property and natural resources. According to the socialist view, individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another. Furthermore, everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to a share in it. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members.This conviction puts socialism in opposition to capitalism, which is based on private ownership of the means of production and allows individual choices in a free market to determine how goods and services are distributed. Socialists complain that capitalism necessarily leads to unfair and exploitative concentrations of wealth and power in the hands of the relative few who emerge victorious from free-market competition—people who then use their wealth and power to reinforce their dominance in society. Because such people are rich, they may choose where and how to live, and their choices in turn limit the options of the poor. As a result, terms such as individual freedom and equality of opportunity may be meaningful for capitalists but can only ring hollow for working people, who must do the capitalists' bidding if they are to survive. As socialists see it, true freedom and true equality require social control of the resources that provide the basis for prosperity in any society. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels made this point in Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848) when they proclaimed that in a socialist society "the condition for the free development of each is the free development of all."

Early socialism did not grow into any clear-cut doctrine, but a set of values and beliefs held together by the view that private ownership of production should be replaced. But there was no

unanimity about "replaced by what." There were common currents of thinking that some or other form of common ownership of productive property should be the basis of social organisation of society. Socialism is not against property per se. For example, owning a flat or a refrigerator or driving in one's own car does not militate against the spirit of socialism. All these are consumable items. When socialism talks against the private ownership ofproperty, it means such properly, which is productive and yields profit, or rental income; that is, the private ownership of means of production. Early socialists thought that property is theft. This comes to mean that the owners of means of production cheat the workers the direct producers of whatever. production which takes place over and above the wages paid to them. This denial of what they produce is theft. The accumulation of this theft is property in the form we see it in our societies. Being a theft it is morally unacceptable. So it must be abolished and as a form, private ownership must be converted into one or another form of common ownership.The later socialists did not consider property as a theft, but viewed it as the appropriation and accumulation of the surplus value that the worker produces. This process is built into the labour process, which produces goods for exchange in the market. It is, therefore, internal and structural to the capitalist process and this is also instituted in law and is therefore, legal. So it cannot be theft, but is exploitation and nevertheless remains, from a normative point of view, illegitimate and unacceptable. Therefore, they agreed with the early socialists that it must abolished and common social ownership instituted. This common notion about the unwelcome nature of private ownership of the means of production and following on that, the idea of one or another form of common ownership is what unites the socialists, anyone who agrees with these views is a socialist, whatever else their differences. This common outlook is well summed up in the following words. Socialism is:

"That organisation of society in which the means of production are controlled, and the decisions on how and what to produce and on who is to get what, are made by public authority instead of by privately-owned and privately managed firms". **(Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism. Socialism and Democracy.)**

Within these broad agreements, it is the differences about (a) how does one replace capitalism and (b) what exactly is the version of social ownership, which, create so many different schools of socialism. There is finally the all important question of how does one arrive at socialism; in other words, who will bring it about. In looking at these questions, we will know the different versions or schools of socialism. In the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789, two important features changed in the way people related to the world. The French revolution put into the shape of political agenda, the theories of Enlightenment and it furthermore, enthroned the value of equality (and fraternity) as of the same importance as liberty and thus, egalitarianism became a creed with the masses. The second momentous development was the fast emerging working class all over western Europe in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, a class large and growing in number but living in deep misery.

Socialists in Union Square, New York City on May Day 1912

Notes:*Robert Owen was the first to use the word Socialist in 1827 in his Cooperative Magazine.*

Early socialism grew as a popular movement with a festive play of ideas. The earliest of the voices were those of Robert Owen (1771-1858), Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and Proudhon (1809-65) and many lesser figures. But it was only with Karl Marx (1818-1883) that a general theory of socialism emerged which could rival those of Adam Smithor Ricardo about capitalism. The ideas and prescriptions of these men were very different, but there was a general accent, which was common. An emphasis on social as against individual, cooperation as against selfishness or egoism, cooperative activity as against competition; they all agreed private ownership and market competition is bad for common good and that inspite of large increases in production, there has been no social progress. Social progress as society-wide happiness can come about only with the removal of the criteria of profit and its replacement by a system of rewards based on moral adequacy of claims.

Marx's importance in the history of the struggle for socialism lies in the fact that he was the first man who could propound a theory of socialism, which could, as noted earlier, rival and stand on an equal footing with the theory of capitalism developed by Ricardo and Adam Smith. Marx did not simply propound a theory in the old style, but developed a doctrine which unified, or at least so he claimed, theory with practice such that theory could guide practice and practice could rectify the errors in theory. In short, what Marx did was to build up a theory of revolutionary action identifying the class, which will carry out the revolutionary task of replacing capitalism with socialism.

In a general historical theory of, in what has now come to be known as historical materialism, (a) why and how human societies change, and (b) what further changes are in store for human society, Marx showed that historical change is neither accidental nor a result of sheer will; that it has laws which are dialectical. Contradiction is the essence of dialectics. This contradiction is not logical (like incompatibilities in an argument) but an inner attribute of reality. Social reality is more discernibly marked by this inner contradiction. (In contradistinction to logical, let us call contradiction, in Marxian view, as ontological.) This fact of contrary pulls or oppositions within a reality impels a movement in reality. In other words, society changes because of its inner contradictory pulls towards evolving stages. Like in other earlier stages (feudalism forexample), so in capitalism, it is its internal contradictions which propel it towards change into something else. I-low?(What are dialectics and their laws and the exact working of this, etc. we have discussed in another unit on Marxism.)

Every mode of production (sum total of forces and relations of production) gives rise to two classes, in perpetual opposition to each other. One is the ruling or the exploiting class and the other is the oppressed or the exploited class. The constant conflict and opposition between these two classes to get the better of the other is class struggle. Marx remarks in the very beginning of Communist Manifesto that *"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."* He then goes on to remark:

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and proletariat. (Manifesto)

14.1 Socialism in Decline

In the Third World, socialism was the dominant ideology ever since this world emerged from the shadows of colonialism. Some have argued that this socialism was imported from Britain. Senator Moynihan wrote a famous article in the 1970s called, *"The United States in Opposition",* in which he claimed that the built-in socialist and thus anti-American majority in the United Nations had been educated at the London School of Economics. He forgot to mention that he himself was a student there as well, along with such eminent "socialists" as David Rockefeller and John Tower, all taught by the great economics professor (and author of the most incisive recent attack on "the errors of socialism"), Friedrich von Hayek. Probably, the Second World and notably the Soviet Union, had as much to do with Third World Socialism as the L.S.E (London Stock Exchange). There was an understandable bias in the Third World against the old colonial powers as well as the new superpower USA, and thus the new rulers, educated as they were in Paris and London, Cambridge,

England and Cambridge, Massachusetts, sooner or later turned to Moscow, and in some cases to Peking, for expertise, for arms, and for political support. This did not help their economies, but it sustained the new rulers, and it did so for a quarter- century or more.

The first party of revolutionary socialism, the Communist League, which issued in 1848 the Manifesto of the Communist Party, drafted by Marx and Engels, was a small international organization, as was the International Workingmen's Association (First International) formed in 1864. It was soon recognized that, since the material basis of class power was the bourgeois state, separate working-class political organizations had to be formed in each bourgeois state. The socialist parties were organized along national lines and established in 1889 the Second International (reconstituted after World War I as the Socialist International) with the aim of mutual consultation and support. An alternative to the revolutionary socialism of Marx and Engels was put forward by Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded the General Association of German Workers in 1862. This tendency was subsequently transferred into the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (SWPG), formed from a merger of the Association with the Marxist-led Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1875 at a unity congress in Gotha. (The SWPG was renamed the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1890.)

This alternative essentially dropped the concept of the class character of the state and set its strategy toward the gradual reforming of the capitalist system into socialism through a combination of trade-union struggles and participation in parliamentary elections with the aim of eventually achieving the parliamentary majority necessary to effect a peaceful transition to socialism. During World War I, irreconcilable splits emerged in the European socialist parties between the reformists and the revolutionary Marxists. In each country the reformists, with few exceptions, supported their respective governments' participation in the war, while the revolutionary Marxists opposed the war as imperialist. The split further deepened after the Bolshevik-led October Revolution in Russia in 1917, with the revolutionary Marxists strongly affirming their support for the revolution. In 1919, the revolutionary Marxists formed the Communist International (Comintern or Third International), participation in which was subsequently conditioned on acceptance of twenty-one programmatic and organizational conditions by the national parties wishing to affiliate. One of the conditions was the adoption of the name Communist Party by each of the member parties. All decisions of the congresses of the Comintern and of its Executive Committee were binding upon the affiliated parties. Parties throughout the world bearing the name Communist Party were thereby bound by a high degree of ideological unity and it became possible to speak of a world Communist movement. Subsequently, some of the parties underwent reorganization and/or changes of name, but the commitment to acknowledge the authority of the Comintern on ideological questions retained the ideological coherence of the Communist movement.

 After the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 during World War II, the Communist parties more or less still maintained ideological unity in relation to domestic and international strategies. In joint statements they referred to themselves collectively as Communist and Workers' Parties and continued to characterize themselves ideologically as Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. The socialist parties that had rejected revolutionary Marxism maintained their loose association in the Socialist International. Individual socialist parties have achieved parliamentary majorities or near majorities sufficient to form governments at one time or another in most developed capitalist countries and in several others. In no case, however, did these parliamentary victories lead beyond social-welfare legislation and limited nationalization of industry. None of these electoral victories led to establishment of socialist economies. Only those countries in which the Communist parties formed the government carried out a revolutionary transformation of the production relations in the sense that the preponderant share of the gross national product in those countries arose in the public (state) and cooperative sectors.

The Collapse

In 1948 ideological differences arose between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the other parties in power in the socialist countries, in particular, over agricultural policies. Subsequently, sharp ideological conflicts developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor on the other hand, initially over foreign policy and military aid These differences affected the relations among other parties in both socialist and capitalist countries. Nevertheless most of the socialist countries attempted to coordinate their five-year plans for national economic development and consolidate a socialist market through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON). Its member countries were Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic,

Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, USSR, and Vietnam. It was hoped that by eventually integrating their economies it would be possible to shield one another from the fluctuations of the world capitalist market and especially from the economic warfare waged by the imperialist countries against the socialist community of nations. After the entry of the Warsaw Pact armies into Czechoslovakia in 1968, deep ideological differences arose among many of the Communist parties outside the socialist countries. Despite these differences, those parties that had been members of the Comintern, or that were their successor parties under different names, were still collectively referred to as Communist parties, at least up to the period of collapse of the USSR and the European socialist countries. The Communist parties that had been in the leadership of the former socialist countries no longer exist as Communist parties. The successor parties, where they still exist, have adopted new names and no longer call themselves Marxist-Leninist, or even Marxist; most do not even consider themselves parties of the working class. In some cases, groups of members of the former Communist parties have attempted to continue the Communist tradition by constituting new parties (or reconstituting the former ones) with the former names or with names suggesting such continuity.

In the developed capitalist countries, as well as in the Third World, similar processes began earlier. In some countries, such as India and the Philippines, the Communist Parties split primarily into two parties, each considering itself Marxist-Leninist and regarding the other party as reformist or ultraleftist. In other countries, such as Great Britain and Italy, the parties have transformed themselves from Marxist-Leninist parties into parties or organizations (Democratic Left in Britain and Party of Democratic Left in Italy) that they hope will appeal to broader constituencies of socialist or left-progressive orientation; these new structures do not necessarily identify themselves as Marxist. In Britain and Italy former members of the Communist parties reconstituted Marxist-Leninist parties (Communist Party of Britain and Communist Refoundation, respectively). In still others, such as the (West) German and South African Communist parties, the parties have retained their organizational unity and Marxist-Leninist programs. In the United States, the national convention of the Communist Party (CPUSA) in 1991 reaffirmed Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis, but, as result of disputes over domestic policies and questions of internal democracy, one-third of the members left the party in 1992 to form the Committees of Correspondence as a socialist organization that includes Marxists, but which is "pluralist, embracing members who have theoretical frameworks other than Marxist." To the north, in the wake of a divisive internal struggle that lasted two years, the main leadership of the Communist Party of Canada left the party in 1992 with the intention of forming a broader, left-oriented organization, while half of those who had been members in 1990 remained in the party, which again defined itself as a "revolutionary party of the working class based on the science of Marxism and Leninism."

It should be stressed that wide differences exist among and within parties that characterize themselves as Marxist-Leninist, including the Communist parties in China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam. Some still wish to retain organizational practices and ideological orientations that were introduced into the Communist movement in the Stalin period, while others are attempting to return to what they consider to be the Leninist heritage. The situations in Communist parties in Central and South America and the more recently formed Marxist parties in Africa are also complex. The persistence of all these differences, especially those that have arisen in the past few years has thus far made it difficult to convene an international conference of Marxist-Leninist parties.

On the basis of an immense, rapid process of technological innovations, capitalism generates an offering of goods that substantially shapes and channels the needs of the people at the cost of balanced development and, of course, at the cost of the exploited sections of the population and others who contribute to the creation of this great wealth but who do not share in it. The socialist societies were based on a different system of needs but were not free from the temptations of the apparent riches that this range of goods represented. Since socialism was economically weaker than the capitalist metropolises, it was inevitable that in the competition between social and cultural achievements on the one hand and overcoming the lag in consumer-goods production on the other it increasingly failed to construct an alternative to the bourgeois social outlook. The people reacted with apathy toward socialism and developed illusions about what capitalism would bring them, while the governments reacted with bureaucracy and restriction of individual freedom. In this way the struggle for the hegemony of the revolutionary working class in the socialist countries was lost. Bourgeois ideology began to infiltrate the socialist countries and gain strength by attaching itself to elements of the presocialist worldview. Since the overall view of scientific socialism could no longer be brought into harmony with people's expectations, it retreated to abstract generalities about

everyday life; theory was calcified in schematics, philosophy no longer integrated with the specific objective practice, the latter thereby surrendering to positivist, regressive, piecemeal thinking and methods that were implicitly taken over from the worldview of Western philosophy of science. Not that it would be bad to acquire knowledge from other systems of thought. Science is inconceivable otherwise. What was bad was that without conviction in one's own worldview, the ideological interpretation of the useful knowledge was also taken over from the other system. The failure of the socialist camp to gain hegemony meant the reduced attractiveness of the socialist alternative model, and with it also the weakening of the ability of the Communist movement to struggle for hegemony in the capitalist countries; the basis for revolutionary change became ever weaker. A paradoxical situation arose. On the one hand, Marxism's explanatory power was increasingly recognized even by non-Marxist philosophers, writers, and others and was at least partly expressed in their work. On the other hand, Marxism's capacity for imparting socio-political guidance increasingly diminished. We now find ourselves in the final stage of this decline.

14.2 Globalization (Globalisation)

The word 'globalisation' has become a buzzword popularized by media since late 1980s. After first appearing in the 1960s, the term 'globalisation' has often been described variously as a process, a condition, a system, a force, and an age. Globalisation is a complex and multi-dimensional concept which covers areas like politics, economy, society and culture, and technology. It is not a single process but a combination of processes which could overlap and be contradictory at times. That is why; globalisation cannot be reduced to a single theme. Some of the phenomena often associated with globalisation are: classical liberal or free market policies, superiority of western (or even American) forms of political, economic, and cultural life (westernization or Americanization), spread of new information technologies (Internet Revolution) and lastly, the trend towards global integration which means that the world is becoming a unified community without major social conflicts. It is because of the wider impact of globalisation on various areas that this concept is being vigorously debated.

Meaning:

A number of scholars have tried to define globalisation focusing on different aspects of this concept. According to **Anthony Giddens**, *globalisation refers to 'intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'.*

Jan Aart Scholte has argued that *globalisation leads to growth of 'supraterritorial' relations among people around the world as 'transborder' connections make territorial boundaries irrelevant.*

David Harvey defines it as *'time space compression'.*

According to David Held, *globalisation 'may be thought of as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact - generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.'*

These definitions include interaction between local, national and international level and shrinking of time and space due to technological advances in communication and transportation leading to growing interconnectedness among people around the world. It is important to mention that globalisation does not mean subordination of local and national to global but it only facilitates an interaction between these three levels. There are five features that can be associated with globalisation. One, it leads to deterritorialization, meaning the geographical borders become less relevant as internet and media bring the world to our homes. The happenings in one country are immediately transmitted to other countries through TV and online news. Second feature is interconnectedness. Due to blurring of geographical borders, there is growing connectivity between the actors at local, regional and global level.

The popular image of globalisation is that it is a topdown process where a single global system is being established. Here, globalisation is linked to homogenization as political, cultural, economic and social diversity is being destroyed in favour of uniformity (globalisation from above). However, there is also a shift towards indigenization as western consumer goods and images have been absorbed into more traditional cultural practices (globalisation from below). Third feature is speed, as people, information, goods and services are travelling at an intensified speed which

accelerates social activity. Fourth feature of globalisation is that it is a long-term process. Experts agree that globalisation is not a contemporary phenomenon as its features have existed since humanity itself, although they disagree when exactly globalisation started. Lastly, globalisation is a multi-pronged process as it impacts areas like politics, economy, culture and technology at the same time. There are two views about what leads to globalisation. According to George Ritzer, the materialist view believes that capitalism in general or the multinational companies are the main factor behind globalisation. In contrast, the ideal viewsays that globalisation is a result of changes in thinking and ideas, information and knowledge. In terms of thinking, there is a shift from local and national to global. Our knowledge base has also become global in scope. However, Ritzer argues that globalisation is a result of both material and ideal factors.

Phases:

Economist **Adam Smith** never used the word globalisation but it is a key theme in his book, Wealth of Nations. His description of economic development has as its underlying principle the integration of markets over time. As the division of labour enables output to expand, the search for specialisation expands trade, and gradually, brings communities from disparate parts of the world together. The trend is nearly as old as civilisation. Features of globalisation have existed since long but academicians still debate about the starting point of globalisation. Here, there are three points of view. The first view says that globalisation is a historical process that has occurred in cycles. Second group also believes that globalisation is a historical process but it is linear not cyclic while the last group believes it is a new phenomenon. A G Hopkins in his book, *Globalisation in World History* has talked about four phases of globalisation in history. First is archaic globalisation which occurred before the era of industrialization and rise of modern nation states. This type of globalisation was brought about by agents like tribal leaders, seafaring merchants and land traders. They helped in expansion of European and American hold over world economy. Next phase is proto-globalisation, a period between 1600 and1800 when state system emerged. The globalizing agents in this phase were merchants and slave traders. From 19th century, the modern or the West-centric phase started which related to industrialization, imperial and colonial trends, science community and government organizations. The Post colonial phase began with the demise of colonialism in 20th century marked by emergence of supranational bodies. This phase is the result of political and business elites, immigrants and networking through Internet. M B Steger in his book, *Globalisation: A Very Short Introduction*, has given five phases of globalisation starting with pre-historic period between 10000 BC to 3500 BC. Next is pre-modern (3500-1500 BC), early modern period (1750-1500 BC), modern period (1750-1970) and contemporary system (1970 onwards). He says that distinguishable economic, social, technological and political factors in these periods have changed over time to bring about the present state of globalisation. Scholte believes that although globalisation is historical yet it is a linear process. He has argued for three phases of globalisation. The first phase began 500 years ago, second in the second half of 19th century while the last one started in 1960 and lasts till now. The last phase, according to him is absolute globalisation. It is not only the period of electronic communication, satellites, optic cables, television, internet, expansion of global markets, activities of international organizations which interfere in everyday life but also the period of ecological problems and efforts to find their solutions. Anthony Giddens believes that globalisation, as we experience today is not only new but revolutionary and direct in many respects. The world is spinning out of control and new technology also brings new risks. He argues that globalisation is multidimensional – as it has political, technological and cultural aspects. He also believes that globalisation is not a single but combination of many processes.

Some experts have already started to put forward the idea of Globalisation 2.0. It means that the old western-dominated Globalisation 1.0, which had assumed the universality of one global culture, has passed. Globalisation 2.0 means the interdependence of several identities or cultures characterised by new forms of non-western modernity. China's rise as an economic powerhouse and its model of development is seen in this context as it does not focus on democracy and human rights like the Western development model.

Types:

According to Andrew Heywood, the most significant forms of globalisation are economic, cultural and political.

Economic Globalisation – It reflects the idea that no economy in the world is isolated today and there is an inter-locking global economy which has absorbed various economies around the world. Demise of Soviet Union acted as a catalyst for global economic integration as the last major block of countries were absorbed into global capitalist system. Economic globalisation has reduced capacity

of national governments to manage their economies and to resist their restructuring along free market principles.

Cultural Globalisation – This is a process by which images and information produced in one part of the world diminish cultural differences between individuals, nations and regions by entering the global flow. It has often been portrayed as the process of McDonaldization. However, culture may also constrain forces of globalisation instead of serving them as sensitivity towards local cultures is required to become a global business brand.

Political Globalisation – This is evident from growing importance of international organizations which exercise transnational jurisdiction like the United Nations and European Union. Most of these organizations have come up in the post-1945 period. The inter-state emphasis of political globalisation distinguishes it from economic and cultural globalisation as they highlight the role of non state and market based actors.

David Held has highlighted the military aspect of globalisation. He has defined military globalisation as "the process which embodies the growing extensity and intensity of military relations among the political units of the world system. Understood as such, it reflects both the expanding network of worldwide military ties and relations, as well as the impact of key military technological innovations (from steamships to satellites), which over time, have reconstituted the world into a single geostrategic space."He argues that globalisation in military domain has been visible in geopolitical rivalry and imperialism of great powers, evolution of international alliance systems and security structures, emergence of world trade in arms with worldwide diffusion of military technologies and institutionalization of global regimes with jurisdiction over military and security affairs. For Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, military globalisation entails "longdistance networks of interdependence in which force, and the threat or promise of force, are employed." Manfred Steger has added one more dimension – ecological globalisation. He argues that there is an inexorable link between all humanity and the planet Earth. The Industrial Revolution has caused many ecological problems, including, resource and food shortages, overpopulation, reduced biodiversity, pollution, and climate change. All these problems are global — the result of aggregated human action — and require a coordinated response. However, there are still debates about the seriousness of ecological issues, and, whilst progress has been made, few multilateral measures have been implemented. This phase of globalisation has been severely damaging to the environment, and action is needed now to save future generations from negative impact. George Ritzer has added other dimensions like religion, science and sports. He opines that most of the world religions like Islam and Christianity are global in scope and often seek to expand their global scope. Science has become a global enterprise as its knowledge base is formed by inputs from many parts of the world and that knowledge is virtually disseminated everywhere. Sport has become global through major organizations involved in globalisation of sports like football, tennis and golf.

Globalization and the Sovereignty:

In general sense, sovereignty means the absolute authority a state holds over a territory and people as well as independence internationally and its recognition by other sovereign states as a sovereign state. This definition includes internal and external aspects of sovereignty. Internally, the state is the supreme authority within its territory which makes laws and commands obedience from its citizens. It also has the authority to punish offenders and has monopoly over use of force. Externally, the sovereignty of a state should be recognised by other states to ensure territorial integrity. This ensures equality among different states in international relations and also ensures there is no external interference in the domestic affairs of a state. However, forces of globalisation exert pressure on sovereignty of states in a number of ways like erosion of sovereignty, increasing role of non-state actors, sub-national groups and different types of trans-national flows. Well known Japanese business strategist, Kenichi Ohmae argues that the nation state may be still a player in global politics but it has lost its capacity to control its national economy. This has led to rise of region-state which comprises of communities situated across borders based on a regional economic centre. He argues that it is the market which determines who belongs to and who has been excluded from citizenship. He says that notion of citizenship without market has no meaning.

He further argues that the modern nation-state itself—the artefact of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—has begun to crumble. Giddens agrees by saying that nations have lost the sovereignty they once had, and politicians have lost their capability to influence events. The era of the nation-state is over, according to him. David Held has given five areas where globalisation undermines sovereignty - hegemonic powers and power blocks, the world economy, the end of domestic policy,

international organizations and international law. With rise of security blocs like North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), there are clear cut restrictions on foreign and security choices that can be exercised by the member states. In the world economy, organizations like IMF, World Bank and the multinational corporations apply certain pressures on state governments. IMF and World Bank want state governments to restructure their political and economic aspects before seeking assistance from them.

Such developments have reduced the space for nation states to formulate their domestic policies. In the international organizations, there are new forms of collective decision making which involves states, intergovernmental organizations and even transnational pressure groups further restricting sovereignty. Lastly, recognition of human rights in international law can come in conflict with national governments who do not respect human rights and could even invite humanitarian intervention from the international community. The other dimension of sovereignty relates to internal supremacy of the state over all its individuals and groups. This monistic or Austinian understanding of sovereignty is already coming under stress due to globalisation. Pluralists argue that internal sovereignty of state will be more diffused between the state on one hand and civil society and the rights of federating units on the other hand. The technical advances like mobile phones and internet are making citizens active and shifting power from the state to civil society groups. One can say that these developments recast the role of institutions associated with state. This means that globalisation is not eroding sovereignty but transforming it. The sovereignty mainly resides in the state but it can also be located in multiplicity of actors beyond the state like the World Bank, IMF and European Union etc. Globalisation tends to undermine the state capacity to maintain its boundaries and exercise sovereignty; yet in the near future, territorial state will remain a reality.

Paul Hirst argues that a world economy with a high degree of trade and investment is not necessarily a globalized economy and in such a system nation states have a crucial role to play especially in providing governance of the economy. He further observes that so long as nation-states remain important, sovereignty would remain relevant, although its role and manifestation has altered.

Summary

The clash of ideologies within the Socialist set up and the tough economic issues that socialism was unable to address immediately along with the rise in nationalism led to the decline of Socialism in many countries earlier strongholds of the Socialism.

Globalisation is a complex and multi-dimensional concept which covers areas like politics, social, economy, culture and technology. It is not a single process but a combination of processes which could overlap and be contradictory at times. That is why, globalisation cannot be reduced to a single theme. There are two views about what leads to globalisation. The materialist view believes that capitalism in general or the multinational companies are the main factor behind globalisation. In contrast, the ideal view says that globalisation is a result of changes in thinking and ideas, information and knowledge. Some experts have already started to put forward the idea of Globalisation 2.0. It means that the old western-dominated Globalisation 1.0, which had assumed the universality of one global culture, has passed. Globalisation 2.0 means the interdependence of several identities or cultures characterised by new forms of non-western modernity. China's rise as an economic powerhouse and its model of development is seen in this context as it does not focus on democracy and human rights like the Western development model. Forces of globalisation exert pressure on sovereignty of states in a number of ways like erosion of sovereignty, increasing role of non-state actors, sub-national groups and different types of trans-national flows. David Held has given five areas where globalisation undermines sovereignty - hegemonic powers and power blocks, the world economy, the end of domestic policy, international organizations and international law. One can say that these developments recast the role of institutions associated with state. This means that globalisation is not eroding sovereignty but transforming it. The sovereignty mainly resides in the state but it can also be located in multiplicity of actors beyond the state like the World Bank, IMF and European Union etc.

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Keywords

Globalization: Globalization is the word used to describe the growing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, brought about by cross-border trade in goods and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information.

Socialism: The political idea that is based on the belief that all people are equal and that money and property should be equally divided.

Self Assessment

1. *"That organisation of society in which the means of production are controlled, and the decisions on how and what to produce and on who is to get what, are made by public authority instead of by privately-owned and privately managed firms"* is the statement regarding Socialism by

   A. Joseph A. Schumpeter
   B. Karl Marx
   C. Vladmir Lenin
   D. Mao Zedong

2. Among the following, who was / were the earliest voices of Socialism.

   A. Robert Owen
   B. Saint-Simon
   C. Charles Fourier
   D. All of these

3. Which among the following countries experimented Socialism first?

   A. Spain
   B. India
   C. Russia
   D. None of these

4. *"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and proletariat"* are the words of

   A. Lenin
   B. Marx
   C. Hitler
   D. None of these

5. Communist Manifesto is the work of?

   A. Marx and Engels
   B. Smith and Lenin
   C. Willson and Gobbels
   D. None of these

6. The main occupation of the people of Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century was?

   A. Pastoralism

B. Agriculture

C. Fishing

D. None of these

7. A Labour Party in Britain was formed by socialist and?

A. Trade Unions

B. Agricultutralists

C. Young Students

D. Tribals

8. The successor of Lenin was?

A. Stalin

B. Yeltsan

C. Putin

D. None of these

9. Which among the following groups was against any kind of political or social change?

A. Liberals

B. Nationalists

C. Conservatives

D. All of these

10. Socialists took over the government in Russia through the?

A. October Revolution in 1917

B. November Revolution in 1918

C. February Revolution in 1920

D. None of these

11. *Globalisation leads to growth of 'supraterritorial' relations among people around the world as 'transborder' connections make territorial boundaries irrelevant.* Is the definition of globalization by?

A. Jan Aart Scholte

B. Alexander Rutskoy

C. Karl Marx

D. Lenin

12. Removing barriers or restrictions set by the government is known as?

A. Liberalization

B. Globalization

C. Anhelation

D. None of these

13. Which one of the following sectors has benefited least because of globalization in India?

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A. Agriculture

B. Industry

C. Service

D. All of these

14. "*It reflects the idea that no economy in the world is isolated today and there is an inter-locking global economy which has absorbed various economies around the world*" is the definition of which type of Globalization?

A. Cultural

B. Economic

C. Digital

D. All of these

15. Integration of markets means?

A. Operating beyond the domestic markets

B. Wider choice of goods

C. Competitive price

D. All of these

16. Communist Manifesto was the joint work of Karl Marx and …………..

17. The Socialism was initially introduced in Russia by ……………

18. Declin of socialism had ………. Reasons.

19. Adam Smith is known as the father of ……………..

20. …………………is the word used to describe the growing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, brought about by cross-border trade in goods and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information.

Answers for Self Assessment

1.	A	2.	D	3.	C	4.	B	5.	A
6.	B	7.	A	8.	A	9.	C	10.	A
11.	A	12.	A	13.	A	14.	B	15.	D
16.	Engels	17.	Lenin	18.	many	19.	modern economics	20.	Globalization

Review Questions

1. What is Socialism?

2. Where was socialism introduced first as a substitute system?

3. What were the major reasons for the decline of Socialism?

4. Name any three early socialists.

5. What is globalization?

6. What are the different types of Globalization?

7. What is Cultural Globalization?

8. How does Globalization impacts sovereignty of a nation?

9. Define Socialism. Discuss its origin and genesis.

10. What were the major reasons for the failure of Socialism? Evaluate.

11. What do you understand by the term Globalization? Describe its various types.

12. Write a detailed note on the benefits of Globalization to a developing country.

13. Analyze the impact of globalization on the sovereignty of the states.

📖 Further Readings

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