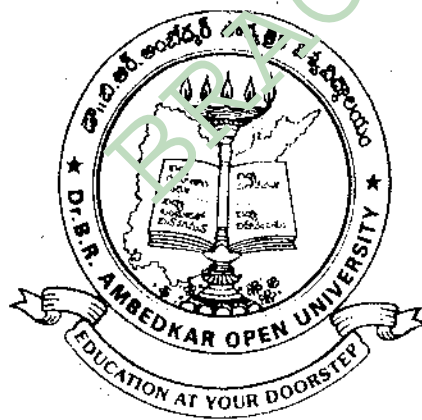


INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



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HYDERABAD.**

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AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This book deals with the topics in International Relations included in the syllabus for the Third Year of the B.A. course offered by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University. These topics generally cover the 'core' area of the subject to be studied in the Third Year of the Three Year DEGREE COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCES (B.A.). The syllabus for the sake of convenience is divided into Blocks, each of which comprises a number of units. Each Block generally covers a specific area of the subject.

For the students of Political Science, a broad understanding of the contemporary International Relations is essential and that is why the Political Science syllabus for undergraduate course includes this paper. In covering this course, due attention is paid to present the student with a brief background of international politics before the emergence of the First World War. The inter-war period is dealt with in detail, covering the post war settlement; the work of the League of Nations; the International relations among the European powers including an examination of the foreign policies of the important countries of Europe; the causes and consequences of the economic depression during the late 20s; the rise of Fascism and Nazism and the plunge of the world into the Second World War. Care has been taken to cover the condition of the non-European parts of the world; particularly, Asia. The part of the book dealing with International relations after the Second World War, examines the establishment and evolution of the UN and its functioning; the origins and growth of the cold war and the changes in the cold war; and the emergence of the Afro-Asian world including the rise of the Non-Aligned movement. A deliberate attempt is made to focus on the third world issues in particular. As part of this focus, a special section relating to Indian Foreign Policy is included. The book also tries to inform the student about the major problems facing the world during our time particularly the problem relating to world poverty and world peace.

The object of this book is to present as briefly as possible the range of events and issues that figure under contemporary International relations. It is to be hoped that the book would be serving this purpose. The editor and the writers would appreciate any suggestions from the readers of the book, whether they be students or the general public for the improvements to be made in the book. It is not always possible to cover everything relating to contemporary International relations in the scope of one course. Further, even the areas which were to discuss not all the points of view may have been presented to the satisfaction of various sections of people.

The lessons are prepared by specialists in accordance with a format designed so as to enable the student to read and understand them without much difficulty. Each lesson begins with a statement of its objectives followed by a synopsis and has at its end assignments intended to test the student's comprehension of its subject matter.

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BRAOU

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY

UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMME

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Third Year Degree Course

Course IV : International Relations

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BLOCK -1 INTRODUCTION

The units in this Block are

- Unit - 1 : The world at the time of First World War
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-

BRAOU

UNIT - 1: THE WORLD AT THE TIME OF FIRST WORLD WAR

Contents:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1.0 World political scene during the late 19th and 20th Centuries
 - 1.1.1 The impact of the imperial powers
 - 1.1.2 Conflicts among Empires
 - 1.1.3 The conflict between the new empires due to colonial rivalries
 - 1.1.4 The spread of Nationalism
 - 1.1.5 Foundation of alliances and counter alliances
 - 1.1.6 Rise of Industrial Capitalism
 - 1.1.7 The domination of Europe over other parts of the world.
 - 1.1.8 The rise of U.S. and Japan
 - 1.1.9 The efforts at avoiding wars
 - 1.1.10 Efforts to limiting the attempt to wars
 - 1.1.11 Efforts at establishing International Organisations
- 1.2. The First World War
- 1.3. Model questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to

- explain the political scene during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

1.1.0 WORLD POLITICAL SCENE DURING THE LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

The most important features of the European political scene during the 19th century, particularly during the late 19th century are: 1) The impact of the imperial powers, some old and some new. 2) The spread of the idea of nationalism which led to the emergence of new and powerful states like Germany and Italy on the one hand and to the demands of other European people for statehood on the basis of nationalism on the other. 3) The rise of industrial capitalism which in its turn is directly related to the influence of imperialism. 4) The domination of Europe over the other parts of the world especially over Asia and Africa through the growth of colonialism and imperialism. 5) The marginal but growing importance of non-European countries like the United States of America and Japan in world politics. 6) The efforts at avoiding wars.

We will elaborate these points in some detail. In order to obtain the background to international relations since the First World War. Of course, in addition to the elaboration of these points, it will be necessary to briefly describe the events leading to the First World War and we will discuss these events at a later stage in this lesson.

1.1.1. The Impact of the Imperial Powers

One of the most significant characteristics of international relations in modern times is the growth of colonialism or imperialism. The domination of one country over another can be very broadly called as imperialism though there are some characteristics peculiar to imperialism. In

a broad sense, imperialism grew out of colonialism and colonialism itself grew out of nationalism and capitalism. It is generally recognized that some strong states like Spain, Portugal, France and England emerged by the modern period of world history, i.e., in the 15th and 16th centuries. The rise of these states is associated with the rise of nationalism in modern times. These nation states became very powerful and began to expand themselves particularly through the process of the discovery of new lands overseas. In the beginning, the English, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese actually sent their people to settle or establish colonies in these new lands. That is why this process has come to be called as colonialism. But, soon afterwards the major countries began to dominate and exploit their own colonies. This phase could be called as beginnings of imperialism. Of course, in a special sense, imperialism is associated with the rise of industrial capitalism in the late 18th century. However, generally speaking colonialism and imperialism are regarded as one and the same. In Europe, thus, many imperial powers arose. Not all of them acquired colonies overseas. In fact, the oldest empires in Europe did not acquire colonies outside of Europe and they survived even by the 19th century. These were the Austro - Hungarian empire (itself a reduced version of the well known Hapsburg Empire), the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, ruled by Moslem rulers and the Russian empire (called the Romanov Empire). In the context of the 19th century these three could be called as the old empires. One important point to be noticed is that these three empires were powerful in Central and Eastern Europe. Though, as powerful imperial countries, Austria, Russia and Turkey did influence European politics in general, their special field of influence was Central and Eastern Europe. Another important point is that in these old empires, the impact of industrialization during the 19th century was minimal. Imperial rule was essentially in the nature of one strong country (ruled by a dynasty) dominating other groups of people for a long time.

In contrast to these empires, the 19th century saw the rise of three new empires: the British, the French and the German. Of course these three did not emerge at the same time. But still all the three of them could be called as 'new' for some important reasons. Firstly, all of them in point of time came much after the three old empires. Secondly, these new empires were directly related to the rise of capitalism and they were overseas empires, made possible by the emergence of naval power in modern times.

We had earlier referred to the rise of the Spanish and Portuguese empires also. However, while these empires were overseas and existed even by the 19th century they were not as powerful as either the old empires or the new empires (Britain, France and Germany).

Of the three new empires the German empire was the most recent. Germany itself emerged as a nationstate only in 1870. But, when once Germany came into existence as an independent state it not only became a very powerful country in Europe but soon began to demand and acquire colonies abroad. It is also important to note that by the late 19th century, Germany very speedily became a highly industrialised country through the process of capitalist growth.

The six empires in Europe played a very leading role in shaping European politics. It would be necessary to examine briefly the role of these empires in 19th century Europe. We can say that conflicts among the imperial powers accounted for much of the problems that determined European politics. What are these conflicts?

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by Colonialism?

1.1.2 Conflicts among the Empires

It is commonly known that conflicts occur between states and powerful states like empires in particular because of dynastic quarrels, territorial quarrels and quarrels for economic reasons. The conflicts among the empires of Europe in the 19th century were no different, though some new factors were also there. The most important of these new factors was the influence of nationalism over many of the subject peoples over which these empires were dominating. And in this situation, in many cases some empires began to encourage the national struggles against other empires. In some instances some imperial powers tried to destroy another imperial power while others came to the rescue of other later power for their own selfish reasons. Let us illustrate a few of these instances.

The rise of Germany as a powerful nation state resulted in a conflict between Germany on the one hand and the Austrian and the French empires on the other. This was because both Austria and France were against the unification of different parts of Germany into a powerful German State. Under the powerful leadership of Bismarck, a German statesman, German unity was achieved in 1870 when Germany defeated France in a major war. Later, Germany and France became even more hostile towards each other because of territorial quarrels in Europe and colonial rivalries abroad. However, Germany and Austria though once hostile to each other gradually became friends.

The rise of Germany resulted in tensions between the new Germany and the old Russian empire, situated to the east of Germany. This quarrel was again due to the fact that both of them wanted to dominate Poland, an area lying between Germany and Russia. There was yet another reason for their quarrel. The Russian empire was not friendly towards the Austro-Hungarian empire and Germany was generally well disposed towards the Austro-Hungarian empire towards the end of the 19th century.

One of the most important of these imperial quarrels was that between the Russian empire and the Ottoman-Turkish empire. In this quarrel the attitudes of the other imperial powers is also important to note. The Turkish empire was ruling over parts of Europe, i.e., the South Eastern Europe (also called the Balkans or the Balkan Peninsula). These regions were populated by Christians and the Turks being Moslem, their rule over South-Eastern Europe resulted in the Turkish persecution of Christian subjects in the Balkan region. Further, the European Christian populations of the region belong to a race of people called the 'Slavs' to which the Russians also belonged. These South Eastern European peoples though Slavik in race belong to different nationalities like Serbs, Croates, Rumanians and Bulgars. Russia was therefore antagonistic to the Turkish rule over South Eastern Europe as the Turkish rule was hostile to the Christian religion (which the Russian Emperor wanted to protect) and was persecuting people belonging to the Slavik races. There was even a more important reason why Russia opposed Turkey and

was eager to see the destruction of the Turkish empire. Russia wanted to expand its influence southwards and gain control over the Straits of Bosphorus leading to the Mediterranean sea. But, the Turkish empire controlled these straits and constituted the single major obstacle to the Russian expansion.

During the entire 19th century, right upto the First World War, the quarrel between the Russian and the Turkish empire continued without stop. The other European powers supported the Turkish empire. In one sense, this was a peculiar situation. As these empires were Christian and some of them like Britain and France supported democratic ideas, they should have opposed Turkish rule over South Eastern Europe. But, France and England were more anxious to prevent Russia from becoming powerful. They feared that if Russia acquired control over South Eastern Europe and thus became powerful in Mediterranean Sea, their own influence and interest would suffer. It is well known that for England the control of the Mediterranean was important as it was the life line for its imperial route. This was the most important reason why Britain extended full support to Turkey even though Turkey was persecuting its European subjects. This problem was also called the Eastern question, as Turkey was to the east of Europe, and for the countries like England and France how, to deal with the problem of Turkish empire was a prime concern.

Austria and Germany were also supporting Turkey against Russia. The clash between Russia and Turkey and the interests of the other big powers resulted in a few wars also, the most important of which was the Crimean War about which we will discuss later.

However - by early 20th century the policies of the some of the imperial powers changed. England and France, for example became friendly towards Russia and hostile towards Austria and Germany. This very significant change occurred for two reasons. First, the rise of Germany was resented and feared by Britain and France and hence these two countries formed friendship with Russia to contain Germany and Austria. Secondly, Turkish empire became even more weak and in the Balkan region tensions and conflicts increased to such an extent that Britain and France no longer were prepared to extend their support to Turkey.

1.1.3 The Conflict between the New Empires due to Colonial Rivalries.

It has already been observed that England and France became powerful colonial powers with colonies in America, Asia and Africa by 19th century. There were also other countries like Belgium and Portugal with extensive colonies, particularly in Asia and Africa. But, the newly emerged powerful nations like Germany and Italy were also aspiring for colonies. These new countries were envious of the colonial possessions of Britain and France. As there was practically no possibility of new colonies being secured in Asia, Germany and Italy turned their attention to Africa. This resulted in what has come to be called as 'Scramble for Africa'.

The other colonial powers could not but accommodate the aspirations of countries like Germany. A European conference was held in 1878 in Berlin under which Africa was partitioned amongst European powers. The very fact that European powers could decide to partition Africa among themselves shows how the European states because of their economic development caused by the Industrial revolution could dominate the poorer peoples in the other parts of the world. Britain got colonies in the Eastern, Southern and Western part of Africa, Portugal in Southern Africa, Belgium in Congo situated in Central Africa, Germany gaining colonies in Eastern coast of Southern Africa and in South West Africa and Italy acquiring a few colonies in the North African Coast.

Even after the Berlin Conference tensions continued to exist between Britain, France, Germany and Italy. In some instances crisis situations arose between them and they were on the point of going to war against each other.

1.1.4 The Spread of the Idea of Nationalism

If the idea of nationalism became prominent since the beginning of the modern period by the 19th century, it began to influence the other parts of Europe, where peoples still remained under imperial rule. We have already mentioned this fact when discussing the conflict among the imperial countries of Europe. In this section we will discuss the topic in a little more detail.

Ever since the French Revolution the ideas of nationalism and popular rule became powerful and influential. Under the influence of nationalism various groups of people regarding themselves as belonging to distinct nations questioned other countries, who were ruling over them. Under the influence of theory of popular government, these people asserted that they have the right to form themselves to a distinct country and rule themselves through their popular representatives. In the 19th century therefore the old idea of nationalism got combined with the new idea of democratic popular rule. The effect of this on European politics was very significant. In fact, the idea of nationalism can be regarded as the major single factor of 19th century European politics. It clashed with the imperial states then existing in Europe and from this clash emerged almost all the developments of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The first major instance of the rise of nationalism in the 19th century occurred in Italy and Germany. Though the French Revolution popularised the idea of nationalism, after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the Great Powers of Europe were able to suppress the rise of nationalism in Europe for quite some time. But it could not be long suppressed. In 1848 when France experienced another revolution, nationalist movements reemerged forcefully in many parts of Europe. In part of Europe, particularly Italy, Germany, Poland and Central and South-Eastern Europe, the peoples were eager to establish nation states under self-rule.

Italy was till then divided into many small principalities ruled by various types of rulers. Under the influence of the idea of nationalism and under the leadership of Count Cavour and the King of Sardinia - Piedmont, Italy came to be unified into a single state by 1860. The Austrian - Piedmont, Italy came to be unified into a single state by 1860. The Austrian Empire tried to prevent this happening, but, it could not do so. The conflict between nationalism and existing empires can be seen there.

Germany was another area consisting of many small kingdoms and dukedoms and here also, the desire to get unified into a single state was strong. But, the difficulties were many. For example; countries like Austria and France were hostile towards the German unification and the rise of a powerful German state. But under the leadership of the kingdom of Prussia (one of the biggest of the many Germanic states) and the able guidance of the famous Prussian statesman, Bismarck, Germany emerged united in 1870 though after two major wars one of which was against France. Though late in becoming a nation state, Germany grew into a very powerful country because of its population, economic resources and rapid industrialisation. This development was accompanied by the German nation trying to take a leading part in European politics. In its efforts to compete with the other big states like Britain France and Russia, the German nation became not only powerful but aggressive. It decided to acquire colonies overseas in order to compete with Britain and France. The development of industrial capitalism in Germany also led to the increase in demand for colonies abroad. It can be said that it is this policy

of Germany and the clash of this policy with the interests of other powerful countries ultimately led to the First World War.

While nationalism succeeded in Italy and Germany it could not succeed immediately in Central Europe. The Hungarians, Czechs and Poles were fighting against the rule of the Austrian and Turkish Empires. Of these nationalist movements, the developments in South-Eastern Europe are much more important.

As already mentioned earlier, the European subjects of the Turkish empire, felt the Turkish rule intolerable and inspired by nationalism demanded independence. Russia supported these demands. But the Russians combined their old selfish interests in supporting the nationalist movements of South Eastern Europe. On the other hand because of the fear that if the Turkish empire were to disintegrate Russia would become very strong, Britain, France, Austria and later Germany opposed the Russian policy. For instance, the Crimean War occurred between Russia on the one hand and Turkey, Britain and France on the other. When Russia occupied Turkey on the ground that Turkish rule was persecuting the Christian people of South Eastern Europe belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church. This war reveals the complex nature of the situation under which imperial rivalries interacted with local nationalist aspirations in the Balkan areas. After the war the Russians withdrew from the Turkish areas they had occupied. But, since that war the nationalist movements in the Balkan area against the Turkish rule increased in intensity. In 1877, the Bulgarian people revolted against the Turks and the Turks put this revolt down in a brutal manner. Taking this as the excuse, Russia once again invaded Turkey and once again the other Great Powers of Europe intervened diplomatically to save Turkey from total defeat at the hands of the Russians. Under an agreement after the war, Turkey had to agree to the independence of Rumania, self government for Serbia and Montenegro (two other Balkan provinces of Turkey) and give autonomy to half of Bulgaria. It can thus be seen that nationalism was victorious in South Eastern Europe also and the Turkish Empire in Europe began to collapse though it still retained control over some parts of South Eastern Europe.

At this time, Turkey was also compelled to agree to give two of its former districts called Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian empire. But the people of these two districts were closely related to the people of Serbia, which became practically an independent state. Therefore, the new state of Serbia could not do anything about this. Then, this became a serious point of contention between Serbian nationalism and Austrian imperial interests. Actually it is this quarrel that in 1914 provided the immediate cause for the First World War.

The process of the independence of the Balkan states from the Turkish rule was not completed in the 19th century. Even by early 20th century parts of Rumania continued to be under Turkish rule as also some other areas. However, new states like Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania did emerge practically independent. In 1908 even in Turkey there was a revolution against the Turkish Sultan whose regime was corrupt and highly despotic. This was called the "Young Turks" revolution. Thus, in Turkey itself ideas of popular rule and nationalism were becoming very powerful. However, the success of the Young Turk revolution did not put an end to Turkish imperialism in some parts of Europe and Asia. In South Eastern Europe Turkish rule was hated and the newly liberated countries like Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria were attempting to fight Turkey to expand and establish themselves. In this process, these countries sought the friendship of other European powers. This resulted in the formation of alliances among the South-Eastern European countries and some of the big powers of Europe, the Britain, Russia, France and Germany.

Another important fact is that these new countries were quarreling with each other for territories. This again was due to remnants of nationalism. For instance, one country would say that a small

area under the control of another neighbouring country, was populated by people belonging to its nationality and that therefore this small area should belong to it. In this manner, the Balkan countries like Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece had bitter quarrels among themselves. Thus while they were all combined to defeat Turkey they were also divided among themselves. In these quarrels Great Powers like Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Russia were extending support to different parties to the Balkan conflicts. In 1912 two Balkan wars were fought, among these small Balkan countries. In these wars the Great Powers were involved, though not directly.

The significance of these conflicts can be analysed in the following manner.

1. These reveal the effects of national rivalries even over the countries newly liberated from imperialism.
2. These quarrels also show how the formation of alliances and counter alliances among the states of one region (in the case the Balkan region) on the one hand and the connections with the Big powers of Europe on the other. In other words, the conflict of interest among the Big powers had a dangerous effect on the conflicts among the small powers.
3. The Balkan wars also indicated the war like atmosphere that came to prevail upon European politics. This can be put in another way also. Already the Great Powers of Europe were divided among themselves into two distinct camps and a big war was forecast. The Balkan wars revealed not only the militarised climate in South Eastern Europe but formed a sort of a rehearsal for the big war to come, which was the First World War.

1.1.5 Formation of Alliances and Counter-Alliances

We will now briefly trace the division of Europe into Big Power military blocs. As already mentioned, the conflicts within Europe and the conflicts over colonies had created a very tense situation in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. Throughout this period, the European powers had been forming and reforming alliances which finally led to the emergence of two groups of countries or alliances in the first decade of 20th century. In 1882 was formed the Triple Alliance comprising Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. This alliance was essentially a product of Germany's efforts to avoid a situation where war might be waged simultaneously against her by France in the west and Russia in the Balkans. However, Italy's loyalty to this alliance was uncertain as her main aim was to gain territories in Europe from Austria-Hungary (a member of the Alliance) and in winning certain African colonies with French support.

In response to Germany's Triple Alliance emerged the Dual Alliance between France and Russia. It was formed in order to contain the growing power of Germany. We have already seen how France feared Germany and these two countries were hostile to each other both because of colonial rivalries and their European interests. Russia and Germany were also hostile to each other for a very long time. Britain which had been pursuing a policy of "splendid isolation" by which it sought to keep itself away from European entanglements, entered into an entente with France (in 1904) and Russia (in 1907). It was the raising prominence of Germany and the British fear that German naval and military power would be a threat to its power and influence which made Britain enter into an understanding with France and Russia. Thus by 1907 emerged the Triple Entente comprising Britain, France and Russia. As the word Entente (which literally means an understanding) indicates, the Triple Entente was a loose group of three countries based on mutual understanding. It was formed in order to contain the growing power of Germany.

With the formation of the Triple Entente it was now Germany's turn to feel that she was being isolated and encircled by a ring of enemies. Hence, from 1907 to 1914, Germany laboured to break up the Entente, to strengthen the position of Austria, her only faithful ally in the Balkans and to win over Turkey to her side. It is important to note here how some important changes occurred in the attitudes of Great powers towards Turkey. Earlier Germany and Austria-Hungary were opposed to Turkey but now they formed an alliance with Turkey.

Thus by 1914 Europe was divided into two opposing groups of countries. One group consisted of France, Russia, Britain and their allies and the other group consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and their allies. The emergence of these two hostile groups of countries made it inevitable that a conflict involving anyone of these countries would become an all European war. And as most European states possessed overseas empires and sought to extend them further, an all European war almost certainly was bound to become a world war, as it did between 1914 and 1918.

The formation of alliances and counter alliances and the changes in friendships among the powers, as described in the above pages is the result of the policy of Balance of power. This policy was regarded as the chief principle in international relations at that time. According to this policy, a strong nation or group of nations should not be allowed to dominate the international scene and hence such a strong nation or group of nations should be countered by the formation of alliances among other states into groups and counter alliances. The Balance of Power idea became an important idea in the theory of international relations. The formation of groups of states was regarded as a protection to small states against aggression from neighbours and other strong states. This was to some extent true. In the absence of a world government balance of power to some extent maintained peace among nations and afforded protection to the smaller states. But the dangers of balance of power are many. It encouraged military blocs and led to the race for arms and thus encouraging wars finally. The story of European politics in the 19th century is a good illustration of this.



1.1.6 The Rise of Industrial Capitalism

The growth of capitalism in Europe was the most important change that occurred in Europe. Industrial Revolution changed the economic wealth of the countries to a surprising extent. Formerly poor agricultural countries became rich because of industrial development. Though industrial revolution and capitalism made the working classes very poor, there is no doubt that these nations as a whole grew rich and very powerful.

The industrialization of the many European countries through the system of capitalism directly led to the expansion and intensification of colonialism into imperialism abroad. Capitalism required many raw materials for its industries and markets for its industrial products. As many countries in Europe became intense. These colonial possessions served as suppliers of raw materials and also as ready made markets for the finished goods of the industrial nations. But, after all the world is a small one and as some powerful nations like Britain and France had already acquired vast areas as colonies, few areas were available for the newly industrialized countries (like Germany and Italy) to be made into colonies. Thus arose a competition for colonies as a direct result of the spread of capitalism among the European countries.

The competition for colonies in its turn resulted in tensions which in their turn led to the increasing military power of the European nations. For instance, Germany and Italy expanded their naval power in competition with Britain and France. Apart from navies, armies also grew in numbers among the European powers because of rivalries within Europe, some of which have already been mentioned. This trend can be called as militarization of Europe as a consequence of imperial competitions. That is why some of the eminent political thinkers and economists say that capitalism leads to imperialism and imperialism leads to war.

Industrial revolution and militarization have another connection also. Industrial and scientific advancement under capitalism led to technological discoveries made in ammunitions and weapons. Main rifle weapons like high velocity rifles, field guns and many other weapons for the armies were discovered. The high explosive bomb was invented during this period. Even more important were the inventions of the tank for the army, the submarines for the navy and the aeroplanes for the air-force. These discoveries have completely changed the nature of war-fare. In addition poisonous gases and such other chemical preparations also became common. With these discoveries and the increasing militarisation of European politics many people began to fear the consequences of modern war-fare. As a result of such force there also occurred some developments in attempts to limit armaments and thus to avoid war. We will consider these developments later.

One of the direct consequences of the rise of Capitalism was the rise of the working class movement in Europe and America. Industrialisation immediately caused the misery of the working classes and other poor sections of the society. Economic inequality became very great and the working classes were demanding economic protection against the effects of capitalism which took the shape of frequent unemployment, ill-health of the working classes and general misery of the poor sections of the societies in capitalist countries. The idea of socialism gained influence and various types of social theories emerged. The working classes began to unite themselves into trade unions. Thus conflicts between the working class movement and the capitalist classes became an important factor in industrial societies. By the second half of the 19th century a broad theory of socialism was developed by Karl Marx in which he analysed that the conflict between the workers and the capitalists is bound to become irreconcilable. He predicted that working class revolutions would occur in capitalist societies. Marxism as a school

of socialism became one of the most prominent political and economic movements in the West. Though in the 19th century itself no Communist revolution took place, there were still many instances of working class-capitalist conflict. These social tensions were still many instances of working class-capitalist conflict. These social tensions were part and parcel of Western societies and the governments of the countries largely either ignored the demands of working classes or suppressed these movements when they became prominent. Many scholars regard that the struggle for colonies abroad of the Great powers of the Europe were directly connected to the needs of capitalism to maintain industries in the capitalist states in order to contain the working class movements in their countries. We have already mentioned that capitalism leads to rivalry among capitalist states for colonies abroad, it can now be said that the pressures of the working class movements within capitalist states also compelled these states to acquire colonies and to maintain their capitalist economies at home.

The forces of socialism are another important factor that shaped European politics. Many European countries gave some amount of liberty and rights to their people to meet the demands of liberty and equality coming from the people. These demands for liberty and equality were mostly due to the influence of socialist ideas in the 19th century. It can also be said that just as Nationalism was promoted by the theory of the demand for political democracy, it can also be said that the socialist ideas of the 19th century added the demand for economic equality among the poorer sections of the people. Therefore, the idea of nationalism and national self-determination which was strong in the 19th century as analysed in the previous pages was itself influenced partly by the rise of socialist ideas.

The most prominent demonstration of the influence of the socialism occurred in the rise of the Communist movement in Europe which led to the famous Communist revolution in Russia in 1917. This revolution not only put an end to the Russian empire, it also changed the politics of the world. Since then, Communism and communist revolutions became an important inspiration for the weaker and poorer sections of the world, particularly the working classes. What is important to note in this context is that though Socialism and working class movements do not prominently figure in the analysis of international relations, it is important to note that these ideas were already there when movements for nationalism, national self-determination, political democracy, fight against imperialism were taking place in the 19th century Europe. However, socialism becomes directly a very important force in the world politics after the First World War.

1.1.7 The domination of Europe over other parts of the world.

The domination of Europe over the whole world was another important feature of international relations during that period. Many factors contributed to this European domination. Firstly, the industrial revolution took place in Europe and this enabled Europe to advance in many areas. The progress in Science and Technology which was already in evidence even earlier made Europe the most important region in the world. Secondly because of this scientific, industrial and economic development Europe could establish its imperialism over other parts of the world, particularly over Asia and Africa. As has already been mentioned industrial capitalism of Europe led to imperialism over these parts of the world. The developments in science and technology enabled Europe to acquire new types of military power with which they could dominate other parts of the world. Thus both increased economic power, the very demand of this economic power and increased military superiority made Europe rule the world indirectly or directly. This is the reason why European politics determined the shape of world politics during the 19th century as also during the present century.

There were of course non-European powers which were acquiring prominence in world affairs by the beginning of the 20th century. Among these the most prominent were the United States of America and Japan.

1.1.8 The Rise of U.S.A. and Japan.

The U.S.A. became independent after the American War of Independence in 1776. But it remained aloof from international politics for long time. That is why its foreign policy was called isolationist, that is, remained isolated from the politics of other nations. During the 19th century, the industrial revolution also occurred in America. Because of the vastness of the USA and the minerals and economic resources that are available there, the USA emerged as a very powerful industrialised nation by the end of the 19th century. It was already exercising great influence over the countries of the American continent, particularly over the countries of South America. Though the USA did not become a very prominent imperial power, due to rapid industrialisation and the desire to acquire influence over the world, it began to acquire considerable naval power and through that power exerted its influence over parts of the world far away from its own territories. In particular, the USA was interested in acquiring its influence over the Pacific region, which is the region to the west of the United States and by that time Japan emerged as a powerful nation in the Far East of Asia. Gradually the U.S.A. and Japan became rivals in this part of the world, because both of them wanted to be the most influential power in this region.

Japan: Though Japan was an ancient civilization, it did not emerge into prominence till the end of the 19th century, but during the 19th century it quickly progressed, adopting industrialisation and becoming a strong centralised State. Though the country was small in area, it had an abundance of population which was much more than the population of many of the European countries. During the late 19th century, Russia and Japan came into conflict. Russia as a country extended upto far eastern Asia and as Japan grew powerful, both Japan and Russia wanted to dominate China. A serious conflict developed between these two countries leading to a war in 1905. In this war Japan defeated Russia in a famous naval battle. This surprised many nations in the world, as a relatively small and newly emerging Japan defeated the very big and old Russian empire. Thus, Japan was the only Asian power to acquire some prominence in world affairs even by early 20th century. Though Japan did not play an important part during the First World War, it became one of the big powers of world politics after the First World War. Its role in world politics in the first half of the 20th century was so big that it was one of the important parties during the Second World War.

China: The oldest civilization of the world and the largest country in terms of population, China in the 19th century remained passive and weak. Though, it did not become a colony of any European power like India and many other Asian countries, due to the weakness of the emperors who ruled China, the country remained weak and disunited. The European powers and Japan began to exploit China for their economic purposes. Once again in their attempt at gaining maximum concession from China, the European nations, the USA and Japan, developed rivalries among themselves. In any case, China remained a victim of indirect domination by outside powers even in the early 20th Century. In 1911, a popular revolution occurred in China which abolished the monarchy and established a republic. Since that time, China began to play some important part in the world politics.

1.1.9 The efforts at avoiding wars

The rise of militarisation, the growth of huge armies along with the discoveries of new weapons made many people in Europe fear about the prospect of war. While throughout history there

have been wars, still the developments in the 19th century made people realise that wars hereafter will bring disaster to the mankind. So many efforts were made during this period to limit the occasions for war and at least to limiting the damage caused by wars. These efforts can be mentioned as follows:

1.1.10 Efforts to limiting the attempt to wars :

By the end of the 19th century European statesmen agreed on the need to limit the destruction and the damage that wars would cause. Towards the end of the century at the Hague (capital of Netherlands) a series of International Conferences were held at which the European states agreed to a number of controls on the conduct of wars. Certain types of weapons like poisonous gases were prohibited from the use in wars. Other agreements relating to exchange of prisoners of war and free scope for activities for organisation like the Red Cross (an organisation started in 1850s to render service and first-aid to those injured in the battle-fields in wars) were also reached. Measures for disarmament, that is reducing armaments were, thus, for the first time considered by the politicians and statesmen. The fact that they are considering indicates the extent to which wars had become destructive due to the increase in armies and discoveries of new weapons in modern times.

1.1.11 Efforts at establishing International Organizations

Statesmen and other prominent people were also thinking of preventing or reducing wars. They realised that wars among nations are caused because there was no organisation to settle the disputes between the nations. Organisations like Law Courts or mediators had not come into existence to settle the disputes between the countries. Though there were attempts at such organizations earlier they did not succeed much. But by the end of the 19th century the desire to have an international organisation of this type figure prominently once again. It is this desire that ultimately resulted in the creation of the league of Nations after the First World War.

Though before the First World War a general international organisation could not be established because of lack of interest among the countries of the world, still organisations like International Arbitration Courts were established as a result of the Hague Conference already referred to. The purpose of these was to settle the disputes that arose between nations. It should however be noted that most of the nations were not prepared to refer their disputes for this type of settlement. This is because many of the disputes that arise between nations are not really capable of being solved by judicial settlement. Still to some extent the establishment of these arbitration courts is an indication of the desire to do something in the matter of controlling the disputes between nations from becoming wars. Thus, the various types or rivalries, competitions, tensions that Europe generated in the 19th century, to some extent (though a very limiting extent) contributed to politicians thinking about the creation of international organisations to control wars and to restrain the disputes between nations from destroying peoples and property through war.

1.2 THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The immediate cause for the First World War was not the Great power quarrels. The cause was supplied by the nationalistic quarrels of the Balkan states. We have mentioned that two small districts Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria by Turkey in 1878, but Serbia opposed this claiming that these districts should belong to it. The people of these districts also wanted to join Serbia. Therefore, a nationalist movement started in these areas to fight against Austrian rule. Austria followed a policy of suppressing this movement. Here again we find a conflict between nationalism in South Eastern Europe and the imperialism. This movement for

national self determination continued. In 1914 when the Crown Prince of Austria was visiting a town (Sarajevo) in Bosnia, he was killed by some nationalist agitators. Austria held Serbia, responsible for this and gave an ultimatum to Serbia. This ultimatum demanded that practically Serbia should give away some territories to Austria and that Serbia itself should become subordinate to Austria. Serbia did not agree to this ultimatum as accepting that would end its independence. Austria began preparing for war against Serbia.

Meanwhile, Russia which regarded itself as a protector of the Balkan states and was determined to support Serbia, demanded that Austria should not commence war against Serbia. The Russians also started their preparations for war against Austria. Then Germany, warned Russia against making preparations for war against Austria. This was because of the friendship and alliance between Austria and Germany. At this stage, France which had a treaty relation with Russia warned Germany.

As Austria invaded Serbia, the First World War began with the involvement of all the Great Powers and many other small powers. Russia, France, Britain and Italy were on one side, called as the Allied Powers and Austria, Germany and Turkey were on the other side, called as the Central powers (because Germany and Austria belong to Central (Europe)). In this manner, the two groups of Great Powers which emerged by the early 20th century ultimately clashed with each other giving rise to the First World War.

The United States, the non-European power joined the war on the side of the allies in 1916, that is, two years after the war began. The chief reasons for the U.S. joining the war were: 1) Germany in the course of the First World War began to attack American ships trading with the allies, thus violating international law. (2) The U.S.A. also regarded Germany as a threat to world peace that was why the U.S. which for a very long time followed a policy of isolation (i.e. not involving itself actively in world politics) decided to join Britain and France in fighting Germany.

The First World war was the direct result of the two main factors: (1) the conflict between imperialism and nationalism which was in existence throughout the 19th century Europe, and (2) the intense rivalry among the imperial powers. Of these it is generally regarded that Germany's aggressive policies contributed more to the conflicts. We have already observed how Germany followed a policy of acquisition of colonies. Apart from this it took to a massive expansion of its army and navy and became one of the most powerful countries in the world. During the conduct of the war it violated the laws of warfare. All these made the other nations regard Germany as the country responsible for the First World War.

While Germany's responsibility was more, the other Powers cannot escape the blame either. Almost all of them increased their military strength. During this period the race for armaments became very intense. Thus, but for the expansion of the armies and navies and the discovery of new types of weapons, this war would not have become a World War or a Great War as it is also called.

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1.3 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Briefly examine the impact of the idea of nationalism in European political situation during the late 19th Century.
2. Bring out the significance of the Balkan conflicts. In what way were they rehearsal for the First World War.
3. Examine the factors leading to the division of Europe into two hostile camps in the early 20th Century.
4. Examine the efforts made in late 19th Century for avoiding wars and limiting their destructive powers.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Examine the impact of industrial capitalism on world political situation.
2. Mention the causes for the domination of Europe over other parts of the world.
3. What were the immediate causes that led to a war in 1914. Why it is called a World War.

BRAOU

UNIT - 2 TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Contents

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2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to

- explain the circumstances under which
- versailles Treaty was made
- its provisions and
- its evaluation

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The first lesson dealt with the condition of Europe on the eve of the First World War. The lesson discussed the main features of the European situation at that time. These features clearly indicate the ultimate causes for the First World War itself. These ultimate causes broadly are quarrels among the imperial powers of Europe, the nationalist aspirations of many peoples struggles for self-determination and the rivalry for colonies abroad by the major powers of Europe. We have also traced the immediate cause for the First World War which was the conflict between nationalism and Austrian imperialism.

In this second lesson, we will discuss the outcome of the First World War. This outcome was the treaty of Versailles which was signed after the First World War with the defeat of the Central Powers i.e. Germany, Austria and Turkey and a few other small states. There were also other treaties signed along with the Treaty of Versailles between individual defeated powers and all the Allied Powers (i.e. the Victorious Powers). But as the Treaty of Versailles is the most important of these, we will be concentrating more on this Treaty in this lesson. This Treaty has rearranged the map of Europe, recognising the principle of national self-determination under

which many new nation states were created for the first time and some others were recognised as fulfilled sovereign states. The Treaty also recognised some fundamental principles of International law to be observed by all the countries of the world and the most important contribution of the Treaty was the creation of the League of Nations which was the very first International Organisation covering the whole world to be created in history. We will be discussing the League of Nations in the next lesson, as this lesson would be confined to the discussion of all other provisions and implications of the Treaty of Versailles.

2.2.0 THE POLICIES THAT SHAPED THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Before we actually discuss the provisions of the Treaty, it is necessary to mention some ideas and events that shaped the Treaty of Versailles.

2.2.1 The American entry into the First World War

In the previous lesson we mentioned how the U.S.A. entered the First World War on behalf of the Allies, i.e. Britain, France and Italy. We discussed how Germany's aggressive military policies resulted in America joining the Allies. The entry of the USA into the War marks the American participation in world affairs in a prominent manner for the first time in the history of the United States. Before the First World War, the United States, as already mentioned, followed a policy of isolation and did not take part in European politics. But because Germany ignored International law and interfered with America's ships trading with the Allied Powers, America became very bitter towards Germany and joined the War. America also regarded German policy even before the war to be anti-democratic. An important consequence of the American entry into the war was that the influence of the great American President Woodrow Wilson became very prominent over European politics and world politics. President Wilson was an idealist who wanted that international relations should be conducted on idealist and moral policies; that countries should adopt open diplomacy in their relations with other nations, and that principles of international law should be strictly observed by nations. He regarded that so far most countries, particularly European countries had not been observing these principles in their mutual relations. For example, Wilson was very critical of the theory and practice of Balance of Power which as we have mentioned earlier (i.e. in the first lesson) led to the formation of military blocs among the different nations of the world. European diplomacy was also based on secret negotiations between countries under which they entered into agreements about the future of the other countries and people without the knowledge of anyone else. This method of international relations is called a secret diplomacy which was very strongly criticised by President Wilson.

The most important idea of President Wilson was that an International Organisation be created so that all the nations of the world could become its members and that such an organisation could provide the opportunity for the quarrels and disputes among nations to be solved by peaceful methods like conciliation, mediation and negotiations. President Wilson was also an ardent democrat. He desired that the principle of national self-determination, i.e., people who belonged to different nations should have the right to determine their own Governments by forming independent States.

President Wilson joined the Allied Powers in war against Germany on April 6, 1917. He strongly criticised Germany as a "natural foe to liberty". The USA has come to be called an Associated Power joining the Allied Powers. Therefore, since the American entry into the war, the allied powers had come to be called as the Allied and Associated Powers. America joining

the War has strengthened the allies and led to the defeat of Germany. In November, 1918 Germany accepted its defeat and agreed to surrender to the Allies.

Even before Germany's surrender president Wilson in a famous speech declared the US policy towards the shape of new Europe and of the world after the war. He promised that Germany and its friends would be treated in a fair and just manner if they surrendered immediately. Even more important was Wilson's desire to build a new world by reforming international relations after the war. For example, he said that the United States was entering the war "to make the world safe for democracy" He also called the First World War as the "war to end all wars". From these sentiments the importance that President Wilson attached to the reform of international politics can easily be seen.

In his statement made before the surrender of Germany, President Wilson mentioned Fourteen Points which have become very famous in International relations. These fourteen Points relate to both the specific changes to be made in Europe and the new general principles of international relations that should be followed after the war. The Fourteen Points are:

1. International relations should be based upon open diplomacy which should replace secret diplomacy. Wilson formulated this principle as "Open covenants (agreements) openly arrived at".
2. Guarantee of freedom of seas.
3. No barriers in trade
4. Reduction of armaments
5. Adjustments of colonial claims based upon the interest of the people concerned.
6. Freedom to Russia to settle her own future politics.
7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgian territories.
8. Restoration of French territories.
9. Readjustment of the territories of Italy on the basis of Nationalism.
10. Austro-Hungary people be given opportunity for autonomous development.
11. Foreign troops be withdrawn from Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro.
12. The sovereign rights of Turkish Sultan be maintained.
13. A free Poland with access to the sea.
14. An International Organisation shall be established.

It is not necessary to explain in detail all the Fourteen Points. But it is enough to be summarised them as follow:

1. International relations should be conducted on the basis of free and open negotiations and not under the practice of secret negotiations and secret treaties between nations.
2. Every country big or small should recognise that the seas and oceans of the world belong to all. This point is important because in the previous centuries, while generally the freedom of the seas as it is called was recognised in international law, still in practice the big and powerful nations used to claim special rights and privileges in controlling some parts of the

seas of the world. For instance, Turkey claimed special rights over the Straits of Bosphorous and Straits of Dardanelles. But countries like Russia disputed these claims. President Wilson was proclaiming nations to evolve uniform principles in such cases and otherwise urge complete freedom of navigations and ships of all nations over the high seas.

3. The principle of self-determination is covered by many items in the Fourteen Points. By this principle Wilson was proclaiming the rights to independence of different nations in Europe.
4. The point that colonialism should be given up by the Imperial powers forms another important item.
5. Controlling the armaments of the nations through the policy of disarmament is another important item.
6. The establishment of an International Organisation is perhaps the most important item of the Fourteen Points. The Fourteen Points thus, served as the basis for the post-war settlement. This, therefore, is the most important consequence of the American entry into the First World War.

2.2.2 The Presence of Secret Treaties

While President Wilson had formally declared that in future international diplomacy would be open, in practice even during the course of the First World War the important powers, like Britain and France entered into secret agreements committing themselves to do certain things after the war. For instance, Britain agreed to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine after the war which was then, still under the Turkish rule. Similarly, Britain and France agreed to recognise the merger of the Turkish city of Constantinople and Russia. In return Russia recognised that Persia (Iran) and Mesopotamia (Iraq) would come under the British influence. Russia also recognised that the Rhineland of Germany, which was immediately to the east of France should be transferred to France. There were some other agreements also of a similar nature, which effected the peoples and territories of many parts of Europe without the consent of the States to which the territories belonged or of the people concerned.

Therefore, we can see how even before the Treaty of Versailles conflicting forces operated. Wilson on the one hand hoped for a settlement on the basis of the free and open discussion about the future. But the secret treaties during the First World War already agreed for distribution of territories among some other great powers in a conspiratorial manner. This conflict influenced to a great extent the settlement made after the war, as we will see during our examination of the Treaty of Versailles.

2.2.3 The Russian Revolution

The occurrence of the Communist revolution in Russia which abolished the monarchy and created a communist state for the first time in the world constitutes a very important event in the world history. The revolution was mainly led by the communists of Russia who became very prominent by the beginning of the 20th century. By uniting the working classes and intellectuals of Russia they created a revolutionary situation to destroy the rule of the Russian monarchy and to establish a government of the people. By November 1917 the communist party under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin could establish a Revolutionary Government. As these leaders belonged to the majority section of the revolutionary party, they were called the Bolsheviks (majority). Thus it was in November 1917 that a fulfilled Communist Government took over in Russia.

This had a very great influence over the course of European politics and world politics. Immediately after the revolution, the revolutionary leaders of Russia (now called Soviet Russia, short name for the Union of Soviet and socialist Republics) withdrew from the First World War and signed a treaty with Germany under which they agreed to recognise the claims for Germany over Poland and some other parts of northern Europe. The withdrawal of Soviet Russia from the war in 1917 to some extent weakened the allies though the allies won the war a few months later. The other important consequence of the rise of Soviet Russia was the ideological bitterness and quarrels between the new communist state, Soviet Russia and other European States who are capitalists in nature. This conflict created many problems in the relations between Russia and the other countries immediately after the war and in later periods of time too.

2.3 THE GERMAN DEFEAT - THE VERSAILLES CONFERENCE

Germany accepted the defeat and agreed to sign the Armistice (a preliminary agreement between nations involved in a war, pending the signing of a peace treaty). But the victorious Allied powers insisted that Germany should fulfill some conditions even before it can be allowed to sign the Armistice. These conditions were: withdrawal of German armies from all the Allied countries, the establishment of a democratic government in Germany in place of the despotic government of the German emperor Kaiser William and the cancellation of treaty that Germany signed with Russia after the Russian Revolution. Germany agreed to these conditions and the Armistice a huge peace conference has called for in the city of Paris in France. It was a very big conference, to which leaders of the big powers of the world, USA, Britain, France, Italy and also China and many small countries attended. In all more than 30 countries attended the Conference. Of course, the five Great Powers, the USA, Britain, France, Italy and Japan were most important of these and United States, Britain and France played most prominent role. Britain was represented by its Prime Minister Lloyd George and France by its Prime Minister Clemenceau and the United States by its President Woodrow Wilson. As already mentioned the very important fact is that the defeated nations like Germany, Austria, and Turkey were not invited to the conference. Thus the treaty was drawn up by the victors, and the defeated powers were not consulted in the making of the treaty.

After lengthy discussions, the allies prepared the final draft of the Treaty on May 7, 1919. Germany was merely invited to sign the treaty. Their request that the treaty should be sent to Berlin for their signature was also rejected. This shows that the Allied powers were very bitter and harsh towards Germany from the beginning, though the United States promised a just and honourable treaty. Germany felt that from the start it was treated harshly. In addition, as we will discuss later, other provisions of the Treaty were also very hard towards Germany. The Treaty was signed in the former grand French Royal Palace situated in Versailles near Paris. That is why it has come to be called as the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles was one of the longest treaties ever drawn up in world politics. It was nearly 400 printed pages in length and consisted of 440 articles. This to some extent indicates a wide range of arrangements made by the Treaty. Very soon the governments of all the countries except USA ratified the Treaty.

Broadly speaking the Treaty could be divided into two parts. One, the part relating to Germany and the other part relating to the establishment of the League of Nations. In this Unit the first part will be discussed, and the section dealing with the League of Nations will be covered in the next Unit.

2.4.0 THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

2.4.1 Territorial settlement with regard to Germany

Many German territories were given away to other countries. Alsace-Lorraine was handed over to France. This was a territory inhabited both by French and German people and was situated in between France and Germany. This territory was therefore in dispute for a long time. In 1870 Germany took it from France. Now under the Treaty of Versailles, France got it from Germany (in 1939 at the start of the Second World War Germany again took this from France). Saar region of Germany which contains rich mineral resources like iron and coal was also given to France. Belgium received some German territories situated on the Belgium - German border. Denmark also got some other places which Germany earlier annexed from Denmark. More importantly the newly created state of Poland was given parts of North-West Germany and the area called as Posen. As Poland wanted access to the sea to carry on its trade and commerce, the port city of Danzig was placed for Poland's use. And to reach this port city a certain area in Germany populated by German people was again give to Poland. This was called the Polish Corridor, because this area acted as a corridor for Poland to reach Dangiz pot. In this way some German areas were given to Poland. The city of Danzig itself was put under international control, that is, under the newly created League of Nations, for its mentioned now. Some of these German territories that were given away to other countries were populated by German speaking peoples. Even then for various other reasons like military security, the economic resources, these were transferred to other countries. In this manner the principle of national self-determination was not extended to some of the German speaking areas themselves. It should be remembered that the principle of national self-determination was supposed to be the most important democratic principle in the Versailles settlement and in some cases it was violated as in the case of Germany itself.

Germany lost an area called Sudetanland, situated on its borders to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia. This Sudetanland territory again was populated by substantial number of German people.

German colonies were completely taken away and were placed under the League of Nations mandate system. For example, the German colony of South West Africa (present day Namibia) was given to South Africa to be administered as a Mandate Territory under the provision of the League of Nations.

2.4.2 Economic Provisions

The Treaty of Versailles declared that Germany should bear the responsibility for all the devastations caused during the World War. And therefore Germany was asked to pay the compensation, called reparations to all the other powers with whom she was involved during the first World War. The amount of reparations was to be determined by an independent commission. In 1921 a Commission appointed for this purpose decided the Germany should pay L6600 million to the other countries within a period of 30 years. Further, Germany was asked to1 pay within a short time an amount of L 1000 million. All the properties of Germany both private and public in its former colonies were confiscated. Germany was also required to replace much of the fishing boats of the allied countries which were lost and damaged during the war. In addition, Germany was required to deliver much quantity of coal from its coal fields to France, Belgium and Italy.

In the economic provisions again we can see the inconsistency between the theory and practice of Allied policy towards Germany. In theory, Wilson and others assured Germany a just and fair treatment and not a vindictive and vengeful treatment, but in practice the reparation provisions were very harsh. While many wars were fought in Europe in the previous centuries, never before was a country asked to pay for all the damage done during the war.

2.4.3 Military Provisions

The Treaty of Versailles imposed many restrictions on Germany's right to maintain armed forces. These restrictions were based on the assumption that it was Germany's aggressive military policy that was ultimately responsible for the First World War. Therefore, many restrictions were to be placed on Germany so that its military power can be reduced to the minimum.

For instance, Germany was asked to demilitarise, i.e., not to have any military forces on the left bank of the river Rhine and as also on parts of the right bank. This was done primarily to satisfy France as the French territorial border lay on the territory to the left bank of the river Rhine. It should be mentioned that France actually wanted to absorb the entire territory between its borders and the German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. The French wanted to do this so that the border between France and Germany should extend up to the river Rhine. But the allies of France did not agree to this French demand and instead they provided for the demilitarisation of the left bank area to some satisfaction to the France.

Germany was compelled to abandon compulsory military service of its people. Only the army of voluntary recruits was permitted for Germany. Restrictions on the size of the German army and navy were imposed. Thus the army was not to be over 100 thousand soldiers. The navy was also restricted to have not more than very few big ships. Sub-marines and armoured cars were prohibited all together.

2.4.4 Other provisions

The Allied powers declared Germany to be the main culprit in the First World War. They further declared that German political and military leaders, especially, the former German Emperor, Kaiser William should be tried as war criminals. Germany undertook to do so. However the former German Emperor could not be tried as he sought refuge in Holland and German courts had no jurisdiction over him. Others were tried in Germany and only minor punishments were given.

The question of war guilt is an important one. In previous times, a defeated country was not tried for war guilt. This also made German people regard the Treaty as very harsh towards them.

But the idea of war guilt has incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles provided the precedent after the Second World War when Germany and Japan's political and military leaders were tried for war crimes against humanity.

2.4.5 Provisions relating to other areas

Apart from the provisions relating to Germany the Treaty of Versailles also made changes in the map of other parts of the world. For example, some parts of China were given away to Japan having emerged as an important power by that period already, demanded even more concessions in the Pacific Ocean region but the other powers at the Conference were not prepared to accede to this demand of Japan. The makers of the Treaty of Versailles did not take into consideration the interests of China much. This shows how the stronger powers were able to get their demands met at the expense of smaller powers, inspite of Wilson's principles that a just settlement of the world would be made at Versailles.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by Polish Corridor.

2.5.0 TREATIES WITH OTHER CENTRAL POWERS

It has been noted that in addition to the Treaty of Versailles, there were other treaties that the Allies had signed with the other defeated powers. The important of them are the following:

2.5.1 The Treaty of St. Germain

This was signed with Austria in September, 1919. Under this treaty, the Austro - Hungarian empire one of the oldest empires of Europe came to an end. The treaty recognised the independence of the newly created countries Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. This treaty also distributed other areas formally belonging to the Austro-Hungarian empire to some of the neighbouring countries like Italy, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

2.5.2 The treaties of Nully and Trainon

The treaties of Nully and Trainon were signed with the national governments of Bulgaria and Hungary respectively. Under the treaty of Nully some parts of Bulgaria were given to Yugoslavia, and some parts to Greece. It may be mentioned that even before the First World War, Bulgaria, Serbia (former name for Yugoslavia) and Greece had territorial disputes and the treaty of Nully after the war rewarded Yugoslavia and Greece at the expense of Bulgaria, which was on the side of the Central Powers. The Treaty of Trainon signed with Hungary gave some of the territories belonging to Hungary to neighbouring states like Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. Under this adjustment, about 30 lakhs of people belonging to the Magyar race were removed from Hungary and put under the rule of foreign peoples.

2.5.3 The Treaty of Sevres

This was signed with Turkey (the Ottaman Empire). By this treaty the Ottoman Empire was practically abolished. We have already seen how the former South East European or Balkan possessions of the Turkish Empire became free and after the War their independence was

formally recognized. In addition to these, the treaty of Sevres took away the Asian possessions of the Turkish empire also. Syria, and the present day Lebanon were given to France. The Holy place of Palestine and Mesopotamia (present day Iraq) were given to England. Of course, France and England were asked to administer these areas as mandates under the supervision of the League of Nations.

Thus came to an end the Ottoman empire also. But immediately after the War there was an internal revolution in Turkey when young army officers abolished the Turkish monarchy called the Caliphate, because the King of Turkey was also regarded as the Caliph or the representative of Prophet Mohammed. These young army officers proceeded to reform the country of Turkey on modern lines. They were reconciled to the loss of the imperial possessions of the Turkish empire, both in Asia and Europe and wanted to build Turkey as a strong nation-state. In this manner, aspirations of many of its Asia and European subjects.

The new government of Turkey led by young leaders opposed the treaty of Sevres, which the Allied Powers wanted to impose. These leaders led by Mustapha Kamal Pasha, felt humiliated by the terms of the treaty of Sevres and demanded a revised treaty, more favourable to them. The Allied Powers ultimately agreed to revise the treaty and a new treaty was offered to Turkey. This treaty called the treaty of Lausanne (a place in Switzerland where the treaty was signed between the Allied Powers and Turkey) in 1923. Under this treaty Turkey was allowed to retain some of the territories which she lost under the treaty of Sevres. Though Turkish empire itself disappeared Turkey then evolved as a nation-state.

From the above, it can be seen that the combined effect of all the treaties signed after the First World War was the disappearance of three empires and their monarchies. 1) the Austro-Hungarian empire, 2) the Ottoman empire of Turkey and 3) the German empire. The fourth empire, the Russian empire was also abolished as a result of the Russian revolution of 1917. Thus, the First World War directly or indirectly resulted in the disappearance of four old empires.

In the place of these empires came many small nation-states like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania. Of course, the former empires now remained in the shape of reduced states, Austria, Turkey, Germany and Russia. The map of Europe thus changed completely after the war. Nationalism ultimately succeeded but at the same time not all the demands of nationalism were satisfied, as in the creation of so many new states, small areas, districts and provinces populated by people belonging to a particular race, religion or language were attached to countries with people belonging to other races, religions and language. So peoples in these districts and provinces continued to agitate for the transfer to countries inhabited by their kith and kin. Thus many minority problems arose. The makers of new Europe, i.e., the framers of the Treaty of Versailles were aware of this problem and included in all the treaties provision relating to the protection of minorities in different states. Under these provisions, countries were required to give scope for the political countries. Even with these provision problems arose in almost all the countries.

2.6 EVALUATION OF THE TREATY

The Treaty of Versailles had become one of the very controversial treaties in international relations. Many people regarded it as a product of many considerations and problems which on the whole was the best that could be made under the conditions prevailing in 1919. Many others regarded it as a very bad treaty which was responsible for the Second World War. There is some truth in both the assessments. **We will now** examine some major criticism of the Treaty.

The first major criticism is that the Treaty was based on many mutual incompatible principles and policies. A few instances may be given.

Wilson's Fourteen Points were not at all implemented consistently. The principle of national self-determination was applied in the case of many small nations when they were allowed to become independent states under the Treaty. But, in the case of Germany itself this principle was not followed, as many German areas were given away to other countries. As we have already seen, this is led to anger and bitterness among the Germans, who felt that the Treaty was very partial was totally against them. But some scholars do not agree with this criticism on the ground that some adjustments even though they violated the idea of national self-determination were unavoidable. For example, the giving of some German territory to Poland was necessary to give Poland access to the port of Danzig. Similarly, the giving of Sudetanland to Czechoslovakia was regarded as essential for the protection of the Czechoslovakia as without this area Czechoslovakia would have become an easy target to future German aggression. On similar grounds arguments can be advanced on either side. But still there could be not doubt that these territorial readjustments provided the opportunity for powerful leaders like Hitler to provoke the German people against the Treaty of Versailles as a whole. These provocations and criticisms ultimately resulted in destroying the settlement created by the Treaty of Versailles within 15 years after the Treaty.

Secondly, the conflict between idealism and realism could also be seen in the economic demands made of Germany. Germany was asked to pay a very huge amount. Though Wilson and others assured Germany that it would be treated fairly and justly the demanded for reparations was regarded by the Germans as totally unjustified. Even many Western scholars criticised the reparation provision. The great economist John Keynes, even when he was a very young man, wrote against the reparation provision being very unjust and bad for the establishment of peace in England.

The criticism about the inconsistent application of the principle of national self-determination is also true in the case of other countries apart from the case of Germany. We have seen how in the creation of new states, people belonging to different nationalities existed in many states. Though provisions were made to protect their civic and educational rights in practice there minority peoples complained that their interests were ignored by the majority peoples of many of these states. In other words the nation states in practice began to ignore the sentiments of the minority sections of their populations. National self-determination therefore itself resulted in minority sections struggling for the recognition of their national rights. In the years after the First World War such agitations became frequent and quarrels between new nations also became common. Some states complained against their neighbouring states' treatment of the minorities situated in them. And these quarrels in their turn were exploited by bigger countries and their leaders to vehemently criticise the whole settlement of Versailles. As will be seen in subsequent lessons, people like Hitler and other dictators who came into power in different parts of Europe made use of these complaints, quarrels and disputes to ultimately destroy the Versailles settlement.

One of the very important weakness of the Treaty of Versailles was that the Great Powers who were responsible for the settlement, had their own particular selfish reasons to promote. The result was that many compromises had to be made in making the settlement. The principles of idealism preached by Woodrow Wilson were not followed. For example, France was primarily interested in keeping Germany powerless; England was interested in keeping the balance of power and thus retaining her influence over Europe. It was also interested not only in maintaining its colonies but in getting under its power the territories in Africa and the Middle

East which earlier belonged to the defeated imperial powers. Italy wanted to acquire more colonies and establish its dominant influence over countries of the South Eastern Europe which were close to it. Japan, a country that came into world politics in a prominent way for the first time, also demanded and to some extent got new territories. Even the United States which preached anti-imperialism was not free from the desire to establish its influence over some parts of the world. It was already exercising tremendous influence and authority over the countries of North and South America and even before the First World War, it was trying to extend its power and influence over the area in the Pacific Ocean. In this area the U.S. and Japan already became rivals.

The combined effect of all these conflicting interests was that under the Versailles settlement, principles and ideals were mostly ignored and the Great Powers, particularly the leaders of the victorious powers profited themselves. This can be seen from the way in which territories were distributed, some empires were eliminated and some empires were allowed to continue and even expand.

The Treaty of Versailles did not do anything with regard to the continuation of the empires of some of the European powers over Asia and Africa. Thus the British Empire over India and some areas of Africa, the French Empire, the Portuguese Empire and the Belgian Empire in Congo, (in Africa) were left untouched. Nationalism in Asia and Africa was not recognised while nationalism in Europe was recognised and many nation-states were newly created.

Another major criticism against the Treaty is that the United States did not ratify the Treaty and that therefore the implementation of the Treaty in Europe suffered because of the lack of support from the United States. But this criticism again is not entirely valid. The United States of course did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles in so far as the establishment of the League of Nations were concerned. As regards the other provisions of the Treaty, the U.S. did co-operate. For example it helped in solving the problem of Germany's payment of reparation money.

Of course the single major criticism of the Treaty relates to the point that because of some of its provisions and their implementation, the Treaty led to the Second World War. To some extent this criticism is correct. As mentioned before, the harsh provisions towards Germany provoked Germany to become antagonistic to the Treaty and its implementation. Similarly, other quarrels in Europe ultimately leading to the Second World War could also be traced to some of the provisions of the Treaty. But at the same time, it should be remembered that if other Great Powers had stood unitedly against Germany, the challenge against this settlement could have been resisted. Thus it is not so much Treaty provisions, but the unwillingness of the major powers of Europe to implement them subsequently, that led to Second World War.

There are many good points in the treaty. The establishment of the League is one very good step. Though the League also failed ultimately, still the very establishment of the League is a major development in international relations. This point will be discussed in more detail in the next lesson.

2.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. What were, the ideas of President Wilson for a new world order? To what extent did they affect the post First World War development.
2. Briefly examine the main provisions of the Treaty of Versailles with regard to Germany.
3. Critically evaluate the Versailles Peace Settlement.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What were the major effects of the treaties with the Central powers.
2. Examine the major drawbacks of the Treaty of Versailles.
3. Bring out the importance of President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

BRAOU

UNIT - 3: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS - ORIGINS AND SIGNIFICANCE

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- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
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3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to

- Explain the circumstances under which League of Nations was founded
- Its main organs
- Importance of its political functions

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The need for an international organisation has already been discussed. We have mentioned how in the history of the world, relations between nations usually result in wars because there is no world government to maintain law and order in the world, as there are governments within individual countries. Particularly by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, because of the frequency of wars and the discovery of more destructive weapons, statesmen and other leading personalities of the world were very much concerned about the effect of wars. That was why the desire to establish some type of international organisation was frequently expressed by the beginning of the century. President Wilson of United States of America was the best example among people who thought that an international organisation acting as a body to settle disputes between nations is a must to save the World from War. We have also mentioned how, even by the end of the 19th century efforts were also made for the establishment of permanent courts of arbitration to settle disputes between nations.

Mostly because of the persuasion of President Wilson, the other statesmen agreed for the creation of world body. The Treaty of Versailles, therefore contained a special section dealing with the world body, to be called the League of Nations. In fact, the League of Nations can be said to be the most important part of the Treaty. Before we come to the discussion of the League

and its composition, its organisation, and functions, it would be useful to mention the purpose for which an International Organisation is created.

The establishment and maintenance of peace and avoidance of war are the important objectives that people all over the world want to realise. Of course, establishment of peace throughout the world is a bigger and wider objective than avoiding war. Establishment of peace would mean that every man and woman would be happy and contented and that there will be no conflicts between individuals or groups of individuals. But this is a very difficult thing to achieve in the world at any time. But avoiding wars between nations can be regarded as the next possibility. Therefore, the main objective in international affairs is the prevention or avoidance of war.

But how to avoid wars? The simple answer is, because disputes between nations ultimately result in countries waging wars against each other, prevention of war is possible if the disputes between nations could be solved in peaceful manner, just as disputes between individuals within a country are normally solved, by peaceful methods either by mediation by neighbours, elders, or by judicial settlement by courts of law. But we have seen how so far in International Relations, organisations to solve peacefully the disputes between nations did not come into existence. So political thinkers and statesman decided that the first thing to do is to establish an international organisation which would provide the opportunity for countries of the world (who would become members of this international organisation) to submit their quarrels and disputes to this body for peaceful settlement. Here one thing should be remembered. It cannot be said that countries had never tried to solve their disputes peacefully before going to war. Their neighbours often tried to help them in solving the dispute by acting as middlemen. But because of the existence of powerful and less powerful states, the need to seek peaceful solutions was not always realised, because powerful states can always bring pressures through threats of war and through actual war on the less powerful states. That is the reason why in international relations wars were frequent in the past. We have also seen how in order to protect themselves countries usually join groups or blocs which acquire more strength by military power to safeguard themselves against other countries or groups of countries. This was called the Balance of Power. The result of all these causes was frequency of wars.

When the present century began, the desire to provide a world organisation to which all the nations would be required to refer or submit their disputes compulsorily became very strong. In other words, where previously the requirement to seek peaceful solutions was not made compulsory, now such a need was felt to be the very urgent. The world body was to perform this function of peaceful or pacific (pacific means peaceful) settlement of disputes between nations. By this method it is hoped that the opportunity for wars would decrease. In this manner an international organisation is intended to prevent wars; if not all wars, at least prevent frequency of wars. Therefore, providing the discussion of the disputes between nations and making recommendations for the solution of those disputes could be regarded as the very first objective or purpose of a realistic international organisation. The second important purpose or objective is collective security. This means that the world organisation will try to maintain peace and security collectively against the country which threatens peace and security. It will be necessary to explain this a little further. We have seen that the first purpose of an international organisation is to discuss and suggest solutions for disputes between nations. But if one country which has a quarrel with another country either refuses to accept the recommendations of the international organisation to solve the dispute or even after taking the dispute to the organisation attacks another country, then the world organisation should have to take steps against this country which can be called the aggressor country before it actually resorts to war. But the important point to note is that if attempts at peaceful settlements of disputes fail, a world body which is established to prevent the frequency of wars cannot but itself wage wars.

But this would indeed would be a grave situation. Because the world body will have to be very careful before it wages a war. Further because the world body itself does not possess armies as countries do, it will have to depend upon the support given by all the other member countries to enforce collective security that is to go to war against the aggressor country. For these reasons, the decisions to maintain security in order to enforce the recommendations of the body will have to be taken with great care.

Therefore, the above two functions of a world organisations; 1. attempting to solve disputes between nations through peaceful means by making suitable recommendations for the solution of the disputes, and 2. taking action against the aggressor nation which refuses to follow the policy of peaceful solution of disputes, are quite distinct. The second one is a more particular and more important function.

The third important objective of the world organisation is to reduce armaments (that is armies and destructive types of weapons with which armies are equipped with). This is an equally important objective, because the two functions may not always be fulfilled. Even if the world body recommends solutions of dispute, it may not be immediately solved. Further, it will not be possible for the world be to see that if wars cannot be prevented they could at least be made less destructive. To put it in other words, if wars cannot be prevented at least the incentive of wars should be reduced. This could be done by promoting disarmament. If nations do not arm themselves heavily to that extent, their urge to go to war will become less. Disarmament thus is an alternate of the world organisation as conceived by the internationalists and statesmen.

The fourth objective is to provide for the world court which would help in solving the disputes between nations. But not all the disputes in international relations can be settled by law courts, because not all the disputes that arise between nations are legal in nature. In fact most of the disputes are, what can be political disputes. This is because International law has not developed as national law developed. Therefore the purpose of world organisations is to develop international law which would facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes through international law courts. If disputes could be solved this way, it would be very good for peace in the world.

The last but not the least important of the objectives is to develop promotion of international co-operation in economic, health, educational and cultural fields. If such cooperation is promoted to the maximum extent then there will be no occasion for nations to quarrel among themselves. This could be called as the most comprehensive way of preserving peace. But in actual practice it is very difficult to achieve this maximum co-operation and understanding between nations so that they do not quarrel at all. What is possible is to try to solve quarrels by peaceful means and thus prevent wars becoming frequent. With the above mentioned objectives in the background, we will now proceed to an examination of the League of Nations. We will examine how its various organs are so arranged as to promote the above mentioned purpose and objectives.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the main objectives of League of Nations.

3.2 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The leaders assembled at Versailles decided upon establishing a world organisation on the lines discussed above. This was to be called the League of Nations. A League means a group of persons (or countries) who are bound by a common purpose and understanding. As all the nations of the world are to now form themselves into a world body this was named as League of Nations. Technically it is a League of not nations but nation-states i.e., a League of independent states.

The League of Nations was established as a part of the settlement made by the Treaty of Versailles. As already mentioned the establishment of a world organisation was part of the Fourteen Points mentioned by Wilson before the end of the First World War. President Wilson succeeded in convincing the other statesmen to agree to the establishment of the organisation. The Constitution of the League of Nations was called the Covenant of the League of Nations. A Covenant means an agreement or contract. The League's Constitution was therefore regarded as an agreement for establishing a world organisation.

The main objectives of the League can be stated thus: to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security.

- by making member nations not to go to war against each other;
- by promoting open and just relations between nations;
- by the establishment of international law and the rule of conduct among nations and
- by maintaining respect for treaty obligations among the members.

3.3.0 THE MAIN ORGANS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The following are the main organs of the League of Nations

1. The Assembly of the League
2. The Council of the League
3. The Secretariat of the League
4. The Permanent Mandate System
5. The permanent Court of International Justice
6. The International Labour Organisation and
7. The Committee for International Co-operation.

It will not be possible to examine all these in detail. Therefore, we will deal in detail with only some of the important organs.

3.3.1 The Assembly

The Assembly is the General Body of the International Organisation. As all associations have general bodies consisting of all their members, the league of Nations Assembly also consists of members of the League.

The membership consists of the original members and non-original members. The original members are those states which signed the Treaty of Versailles (and other allied Treaties) and those states who agreed to be Covenant before March 19, 1920. The non-original members are

the new members admitted after that date by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly of the League. The Assembly was required to meet at regular intervals. It could deal with any matter relating to any of the objectives of the League, particularly matters concerning the maintenance of the peace in the world. Therefore, the Assembly could be said to be the general purpose body which will provide general policy to promote the objectives of the League of nations.

The most important function of the Assembly is to discuss situations that arise in international relations which threaten peace and security. For example, it is declared that "any war, or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League and the League will take any action that may be deemed necessary to safeguard the international peace". In situations where peace is threatened the Assembly will meet and discuss the situation. The Council may also refer a dispute or situation to the Assembly for its consideration.

Further, any member of the League can bring to the attention of the Assembly any situation that disturbs world peace.

The Assembly can discuss the situation either during its regular meetings or it may even meet in special sessions.

When situations threatening world peace are brought to the notice of the Assembly, it has the power to recommend measures to prevent the situation from creating disturbances to world peace. So also when disputes between nations come before the Assembly it can make recommendations for their solution. These recommendations of the Assembly if made unanimously should be obeyed by the members. If any member was to disregard the unanimous recommendation of the Assembly decisions or recommendation, action can be taken against such member. But this action can only be taken by the Council of the League and not by the Assembly. The importance of this fact will be discussed when we examine the powers and functions of the Council.

There were also other functions of the Assembly which can be divided into two categories: 1) The function of electing members to various bodies and appointing important officers, and 2) the supervisory function.

As for the first, the Assembly elected new members to the League, it elected the non-permanent members of the Council, it also approved the appointment of the Secretary General who is appointed by the Council. The Assembly also elects the Secretary General who is appointed by the Council. The Assembly also elects the Judges of the International Court and it share costs power with the Council. There were also other such other functions which need not be detailed here. As for the supervisory function, as already stated, because of its power to consider everything coming under the scope of the League, the Assembly received reports from various other bodies in discharging their functions and the Assembly also exercised some supervisory powers over those bodies.

3.3.2 The Council

The Council of the League can be regarded as the executive committee of the League. No definite membership is fixed by Covenant. The Covenant stated that the Council shall consist of all the big powers who were the principal Allied and the Associated Powers during the war, and four other members to be elected by the Assembly from time to time. The big powers were to be the **permanent members** and these were the USA, the U.K., France, Italy and Japan. The U.S. did not join the League at all and hence it was not a member of the Council. There were

to be four other members who were to be non-permanent members. There was provision to increase the number of both the permanent and non-permanent members, but in practice, the total membership of the Council was kept small; it never exceeded eleven. The reason for making the big powers the permanent members was that they would give more strength to the Council in the performance of its various important functions.

The Council was required to meet at least once a year and more frequently if necessary. The Council could make decisions **only with the agreement of all its members**. Thus, unanimity of the entire Council was needed to take decisions. This provision is made to give maximum authority to the Council in implementing its decisions.

Along with the Assembly, the Council could deal with any matter that concerns the League as a whole and particularly with issues affecting the peace of the world.

The most important function of the League related to its role in dealing with the disputes between the states, we will briefly examine this role. Firstly, the members of the League were required to submit their disputes to the Council and the Council after studying the facts of the case can make appropriate recommendations for the solution of the disputes. Secondly, the Council may conduct enquiries into such disputes. Under the Covenant, the concerned member states agreed not to go to war against each other for at least three months after the publication of the report of the enquiry conducted by the Council. Thirdly, when the Council made unanimous recommendations on a dispute between members, the recommendations were binding on the members. Fourthly, if a member disregards a unanimous recommendation of the Council (or the Assembly) that member would be regarded as having committed an act of war against the whole of the League. In such a case, the Council had the power to take economic or military action against that state. In order to enable the League to discharge this function, the Covenant required that all the members of the League support each other in the enforcement of economic and military measures against the Covenant-breaking state. Fifthly, the Council has also the function of suggesting and recommending plans for the reduction of armaments. Thus the Council has a special responsibility in promoting disarmament. Sixthly, the Council has the function of formulating plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice.

From the above functions it can be seen that the Council had very wide functions. While the Assembly had the overall power to make policy recommendations on all aspects of the functions of the League, the Council's duties can be said to be more intensive. The most significant function of the Council related to the taking of action against a member state which resorts to war with other states or ignores the unanimous recommendations of the Assembly or the Council. As we have mentioned earlier, this constituted the application of the principle of Collective Security, under which the League as a international body punishes an aggressor state and comes to the rescue of the victim of aggression. But because such actions of the League were very crucial which may involve the League in war with the aggressor state. This very important function is entrusted to the Council which is a smaller body and not to the Assembly. Further, the decisions of the Council can only be taken with the consent of all its members. This provisions of the Council can only be taken with the consent of all its members. This provisions no doubt makes it very difficult for such decisions to be taken as unanimity among the members is difficult to secure. But this provision was included just in order to ensure that when the Council decides to punish a bad member for violating the principles of the League, the Council's decision should have maximum support of the members.

In this connection one other point should be mentioned. The reason why the Big powers are made permanent members of the Council was also for the very purpose mentioned above. That

is, that when sometimes the Council decides to take military action, it was felt essential that all the big powers should support that action. In other words, if even one single Big power does not agree with the action proposed by the Council, that body cannot take that decision at all.

The discussion of the functions of both the Assembly and the Council also shows that the League was to pursue open diplomacy. We have seen that the Assembly and the Council were to discuss in an open and in a free manner the problems that arise in world affairs and recommend solutions. In this way, open discussion of international affairs was made the chief method of the world organisation. This was what President Woodrow Wilson termed as Open Diplomacy. The Covenant of the League of Nations also required that all the agreements and treaties that member-states concluded among themselves should be registered with the League of Nations. This provision was also put to prevent the practice of the states concluding secret agreements between themselves. In this manner, the League of Nations wanted to encourage the democratic principle in the conduct of international relations.

It can be said that two new and important principles were introduced under the League of Nations. These were Collective Security and Open Diplomacy. Both these were not there in the practice of international relations earlier. Earlier, the practices of Balance of Power and Secret Diplomacy were prevailing.

Under Balance of Power, some nations formed themselves into military blocs. The creation of the blocs resulted in wars. Under the League of Nations, the practice of Balance of Power was discouraged and collective security was introduced. In theory this is a very important change in international relations. As already analysed, under Collective Security the League as a whole guaranteed to all its members (whether big or small) protection of their territorial integrity and sovereignty. This principle can be formulated thus: 'Aggression against any one will be regarded as aggression against every one and aggression anywhere will be regarded as aggression everywhere'. If this could only be implemented in practice successfully, it will indeed be a great contribution to world peace. The contribution of League of Nations consists in trying to implement this for the first time in world politics. Of course, the League had not succeeded in implementing it very successfully. This aspect will be considered in another lesson.

3.3.3 The Secretariat

This was the administrative organ of the League. It was headed by a Secretary - General to be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly. The Secretariat assists all the other organs of the League and co-ordinates their work.

3.3.4 The Permanent Mandate System

This is a very important creation under the League. The idea was that the areas of the world inhabited by people not capable of ruling themselves should be put under the care of more advanced countries so that former could improve themselves and reach a stage when they can become independent. This arrangement was intended as an alternative to the then existing system of colonies which were ruled by imperial powers. However, in practice the League of Nations applied this principle only to the colonies of the defeated powers and the victorious powers retained their colonial possessions.

The word 'mandate' means an obligation or order imposed on a state. In this case, the former colonies of the defeated powers were entrusted by the League to some major countries for their administration. An obligation is put on these big countries to administer these areas for the benefit of the peoples living in these areas. Administering these areas with a view to bringing

the people to an advanced level economically and politically was the mandate that the League of Nations gave to the concerned big states.

The League had the general power to supervise the administration of these territories by the mandatory state. The Covenant provided for the establishment of a Permanent Mandate Commission. Subsequently, such a Commission was established with some members of the League to supervise the functioning of the mandate system. Here again, the Council of the League was given important powers in deciding about the powers and functions of the mandatory states. The mandatory states submitted annual reports to the League about the progress of their mandated territories.

3.3.5 The Permanent Court of International Justice

We have already seen that the establishment of an international court was one of the important aspects of the desire to establish an international organisation, to facilitate the settlement of disputes through legal means. The Court was not established along with the League but acting under the authorisation of the Covenant, the Council of the League established the Court. The Council appointed a group of jurists to recommend plans for the establishment of a court. On their recommendation, a permanent Court of International Justice was established at the Hague, the capital of the Netherlands. It was to consist of 15 Judges from the various regions of the world. These judges were to be elected by the Assembly and the Council of the League for a period of nine years. The International Court cannot be compared to the Courts in individual countries. It had no automatic compulsory jurisdiction over the disputes between states. It could only decide cases that the states of the world chose to refer to it. Even then, the establishment of this Court is an important step in the development of international control over the relations among the states.

3.3.6 The International Labour Organisation

This organisation was also established under the League of Nations. The purpose of this organisation is to promote the condition of labouring classes throughout the world. The rise of industrialisation resulted in the increasing number of the industrial classes throughout the world and they were in a very poor condition in terms of wages, health, education. The working class consciousness had also increased with the growth of socialism and trade unionism. As a result of all these it was thought necessary to establish a world body where trade union leaders, experts concerned with the conditions of labour and governmental representatives could meet to promote the cause of the labouring classes and also contribute to increasing productivity in industries and agriculture in the world. The establishment of the I.L.O. is a good example of a world organisation devoted to the broader purpose of promoting the welfare of the most populous and important section of the world population, i.e., the working classes, through international co-operation. All the members of the League of Nations were its members. This organisation continued to exist even after the demise of the League.

3.3.7 The Committee for International Co-operation

This was also established under the League. Its purpose was to provide for cultural and intellectual co-operation among nations. It enabled scholars from different parts of the world to meet regularly so that different cultures of the world could be brought to the knowledge of all. The promotion of educational and cultural co-operation was to some extent helped by this body for the first time.

3.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS

The above description of the different organs of the League of Nations gives us some idea about the importance of the League. We can see how some of these organs were concerned mainly with purely political matters like settling the quarrels among the countries by peaceful methods, and thus preventing wars, promoting disarmament and enabling backward peoples in underdeveloped areas to progress towards self-government. Other organisations like the ILO and the Council for International Co-operation were intended to serve a wider and a general purpose of encouraging co-operation between nations in economic and educational fields.

But of course the function of the League of Nations in the political field are much more important. As has been noted before, after all the minimum aspects of peace is to avoid war. Therefore, the Assembly and the Council were much more important bodies. The importance of the League of Nations lies in the fact that it was the first international organisation to be created in the history of the world. It cannot be regarded as a world government because the member countries had not surrendered their independence to the League. They retained their sovereignties. What they did was only to agree to submit their quarrels to the League in the first instance and to agree to solve their disputes according to the recommendations made by the concerned organisations of the League, particularly the Assembly and the Council. Therefore, the states of the world consented to obey the League only to a limited extent.

Another important point is that even though one of the important objectives of the League of Nations was prevention of war, in practice its powers in this regard were limited. For example, member states are required to submit their disputes to the League and not to resort to wars. But if the Assembly or the Council of the League could not take unanimous decisions, then the League could not take any action against, an aggressor or a mischievous nation. As unanimous decisions are very difficult to arrive at, in actual practice the League in many important cases could not compel members to behave in the manner it recommended. If its recommendations were made on the basis of majority votes then they remained on paper as they were really not binding on their members.

In another lesson we will examine the actual working of the League, where we will also discuss to what extent the League was successful. There we will also examine the causes for the failure of the League.

**Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao
& Sri. K. Raghunath**

3.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the factors leading to the establishment of League of Nations.
2. Explain the composition and functions of the Assembly.
3. What were the functions of the Council of the League of Nations.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Explain the composition and functions of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
2. What was the role assigned to the International Labour Organisation.
3. Explain the objectives of the Committee for International Co-operation.

BLOCK - 2 THE WORLD AFTER THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

The units in this Block are;

- Unit - 4: Foreign policies of Major powers
 - Unit - 5: Foreign Policies of New States
 - Unit - 6: Germany and Soviet Russia
 - Unit - 7: The shape of the Non-European World
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BRAOU

UNIT- 4 : FOREIGN POLICIES OF MAJOR POWERS

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain the foreign policies of

- France
- England
- Germany

- Soviet Russia
- Italy and U.S.A.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The state of the world at the time of the Versailles Peace Settlement was described in the three lessons under Block I. But creating a new international order the Peace Settlement generated optimism among the nations. The optimism thus generated at the international level was strengthened by new concepts like nationalism and democracy at the national level.

The system of Collective Security had unique implication. In that it attempted to maintain world peace and provide security to small nations. But the system was based upon new responsibilities thrust on the major powers, particularly those powers which were important members of the Council. It meant inevitably that great powers had to play an important role in international affairs. Apparently they welcomed the new world-system, but there was no unanimity among them about the interpretation of the system. We now discuss the foreign policies of the important powers of the world and their attitude to the new world order.

4.2.0 FRANCE

France felt that she was the most adversely affected victim of German aggression in the Great War. Hence she insisted on harsh terms to be imposed on Germany in the Treaty of Versailles. She was not satisfied with the system of collective security which regarded aggression anywhere as aggression every where. France felt that aggression any where will in practice be treated as aggression nowhere. Hence she had more faith in the old system of security based on balance of power, which the League of Nations wished to abolish.

4.2.1 Quest for security

The peace makers at Paris had to bow again and again to the French demand for security. Military experts in France were of the opinion that so long as Germany possessed both banks of Rhine she had a spring-board for launching an army on the French plains. Hence Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister demanded at the Paris Conference non-German control of the Rhine area as a physical guarantee to French security. But President Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George were unwilling to this since the separation of Rhineland from Germany would create "a new Alsace - Lorraine in reverse". Instead, they guaranteed that England and America would come to the rescue of France in case Germany made an unprovoked attack. But when U.S.A. refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, France felt that she was tricked into surrendering a vital element of her national security.

Hence France turned its attention to the smaller powers of Europe in this regard. Suspicion of Germany, disillusionment with the League, dissatisfaction with England and the aloofness of the U.S.A., made France to make up with her old friend, the Soviet Union. In fact the most important factor that dominated the European affairs after the Great War was the French demand for security.

4.2.2 System of Alliances

Disappointed in respect of treaty guarantees, France directed her efforts towards a system of security based on armaments and alliances.

In the West, she concluded a military alliance with Belgium in 1920. IN the East, she concluded a treaty in 1921 with Poland which was equally afraid of German aggression. In the South, France found natural friends in the three newly created states, viz., Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. They were collectively known as the "Little Entente" states. The three states had at first concluded treaties among themselves and later with France. They virtually became the satellites of the big power, France. They supported France in implementing the Treaty of Versailles and expected French help against Hungary and Italy - whom they considered as probable enemies in the future.

Thus France acquired a new hegemony and expanding responsibility. However, these alliances were not only a source of strength but also a source of weakness. France had now to protect the frontiers of her satellite states. None of them was a big power and each of them had several enemies.

4.2.3 Occupation of the Ruhr.

The German request for a postponement of reparation payments led to differences of opinion between England and France. Germany had been a good customer to England and so she was favourable for granting such a request. But France felt that Germany should not be allowed to evade her obligations under any circumstances. So, in order to punish Germany for non-payment of reparations, along with the Belgium and Italy she occupied the German Ruhr in 1921. She thought that the mineral rich area would not only bring her profits but also serve as a military security. In fact it proved only to be a great loss to Germany without giving a corresponding gain to France. The yield from Ruhr was proved insufficient even to cover the cost of occupation. The act had further worsened the Franco-German relations. This episode only shows the extent of France's hostile attitude towards Germany and how it complicated the preservation of the spirit of peace and goodwill in Europe.

4.2.4 Locarno Treaties

An attempt was made in 1924 to allay the fears of France with regard to her security. The French Premier Herriot backed by his idealist foreign minister, Briand came to an agreement with the British Premier MacDonald. The agreement came to be known as the Geneva Protocol. It made provision for the pacific settlement of international disputes and for compulsory resort to arbitration by parties to any international dispute. But the protocol came to nothing since there was a change of Government in England and the Conservative Government of Baldwin which came to power defeating the Government of Mac Donald did not ratify it. Some other powers also were not willing to accept the agreement.

With the initiative of the German foreign minister, Stresemann further attempts were made to assure France about her security. A conference of the representatives of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy drafted a series of agreements in the Swiss village, Locarno. These agreements which came to be known as the Locarno Treaties which were formally signed in London (1925).

One of these treaties guaranteed the Franco-German and the Belgium-German frontiers. It confirmed the permanent demilitarisation of the Rhineland. It provided that states should not resort to war except in self-defence. England and Italy stood guarantee with regard to the Rhineland. In this manner France's insistence on having firm guarantees against future German aggression was sought to be met.

Arbitration treaties were signed between Germany on one hand and France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other. They provided that if disputes could not be settled through diplomatic channels, they should be submitted to an Arbitration Tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

A third group of treaties related to the eastern frontiers of Germany. Since England and Germany had expressed a different opinion with regard to the eastern frontiers of Germany, provision was made for mutual assistance between France and Czechoslovakia and between France and Poland. The Locarno Treaties, thus, provided for guarantees to protect the frontiers of some of the European countries, in addition to those generally contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

But it should be noted that the Locarno treaties were defective in several ways. Germany's eastern frontier was not satisfactorily settled. France had taken the burden of defending Czechoslovakia and Poland without British cooperation. England's commitment to help in case of mutual attack between France and Germany while being good in intention was beyond her capacity. Above all, the treaties were against the spirit of the Versailles settlement and its system of collective security because they were once again based on guarantees by a few countries rather than on guarantees by all members of the League. In other words, these Treaties resembled the practice of balance of power and not that of collective security. However, the treaties came as a great relief to war-torn Europe. The Locarno spirit created a good international atmosphere. Berlin, London and Paris acted together. France felt assured of her security and was no longer required to continue her desperate search for treaties and alliances. Germany gave up all claims to Alsace-Lorraine while France gave up all hopes of the Rhineland protectorate. More importantly Germany was admitted into the League of Nations as a permanent member of the Council in 1926. The real importance of the treaties was that while the peace of Versailles was dictated to Germany, she signed the Locarno treaties voluntarily.

4.3.0 ENGLAND

It is true that the United Kingdom had taken an active part in the birth of the League of Nations. Popular opinion in England was also in favour of an international organisation. Practically also she was the only other power to run the League of Nations along with France while the rest of the important powers were away from the organisation for different reasons.

However, England had certain reservations about the international organisation because she had world-wide responsibilities as an imperial power. Moreover, the domination of the League by France and her satellites made England become indifferent towards the world body. It was only on the occasion of the Abyssinian War (1935) that public opinion in England forced her to take action against Italy through the League of Nations. Of course this came to nothing because of the lukewarm attitude of France and of England's own changed attitude towards Italy.

4.3.1 U.K. and France

Though the Great War brought England and France together, there arose certain differences of opinion between the two powers during the post-war period. England did not agree with the French obsession for security. Without the cooperation of the U.S.A., England was not prepared to commit herself alone for French security. It is natural that the relations between England and France were strained. Moreover as we have seen already, the two powers had differences of opinion with regard to their attitude towards Germany. England did not also approve the military occupation of the Rhur Valley in 1932 by France and Belgium. However, England tried

to allay the fears of France specially against Germany. The Geneva Protocol (1924) and the Locarno Treaties (1925) were such attempts on the part of England. As a result, the trinity of Chamberlain (England), Stresemann (Germany) and Briand (France) played an important role in the international sphere in the post-Locarno period.

4.3.2 U.K. and Germany

As already seen, England was less antagonistic towards Germany than France. Besides having commercial interests, she felt that there was every possibility of a violent reaction within Germany if she was treated very harshly, specially with regard to the payment of reparations. That was why, the U.K. opposed the occupation of the Rhur and tried to bring Germany into the League of Nations.

However, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany changed the atmosphere. Even then England tried to save international peace by appeasing Hitler. But she could not continue the policy for long and prevent Hitler from plunging the world in the Second World War.

4.3.3 U.K. and Soviet Russia

England and Russia fought together during the Great War. But the situation became quite changed with the emergence of Soviet Russia after the 1917 Revolution. The post-war situation was regarded among the Western countries as a fight between democracy and dictatorship. While others were suspicious of Russian Communism, Soviet Russia was suspicious of Western Capitalism. In fact the origins of the cold war which became so prominent after the Second World War can be traced to this new development since 1917. Countries like U.K. and U.S.A. treated the Soviet Union as revolutionary and hence dangerous to peace and security. The Soviet Union on its part regarded the Western countries as the imperialist exploiters pretending as peace-loving democracies.

It was natural that the British attitude towards Soviet Russia was not sympathetic. The British forces had even fought in northern Russia along with anti-communist forces to destroy the newly established Soviet regime.

However, conditions began to thaw a little afterwards. Lloyd George had entered into a trade-agreement with Soviet Russia in 1921. The Labour Government which came to power in England in 1924 gave 'de jure' recognition to Soviet Russia. But U.K. - Soviet relations fluctuated between normal and bad on the whole, by the end of 1920s they became normal, though each state regarded the other with suspicion and caution. After all, the ideological enmity between capitalism and communism could not be forgotten.

4.4.0 GERMANY

For a considerable time after the First World War Germany remained an international Pariah or out caste. The Post-War German Republic had to ratify the humiliating treaty of Versailles and had to deal with political and economic uncertainties. She felt that she was humiliated beyond measures and was shy to come into the international system. Important powers like France as well as the East European countries were still ill-disposed towards her.

The Allied Powers should have assisted the new German democracy to consolidate itself because it had accepted the Versailles Settlement and adopted a pacific policy. But they weakened Germany by successive humiliations. For example the occupation of the Ruhr Valley

by France and Belgium was not only a humiliation but also a terrible economic loss to her. By discrediting the Weimar Republic, the Western powers unknowingly paved the way for the rise of internal opposition towards the new democratic state of Germany. This was how people like Hitler came into German politics and succeeded in capturing power destroying democracy.

4.4.1 Main Grievances

Germany had four main grievances against the settlement imposed on her after the first world war.

First, she resented the war-guilt clause under which she alone was declared guilty for the First World War. She felt that other countries were also responsible for the war.

Secondly, the treaty of Versailles contained provisions for the surrender and the trial of German war criminals including the former German Emperor Kaiser William. But those leaders in other countries who were also responsible for waging the war were not brought to trial as demanded by Germany. It was a policy of double standards.

Thirdly, another grievance of Germany was with regard to the treaty imposing disarmament and demilitarisation conditions on Germany alone. But the other powers did not disarm themselves. Germany complained several times that she had agreed to disarm herself in the hope that the others also would disarm.

Lastly, the question of reparations caused great hardship to the Germans. A serious currency crisis made Germany ask for a moratorium of two years. While England agreed, France dissented to the proposal and occupied the Ruhr (1923). Germany was thus crippled further. The Dawes Plan of 1924 and the Young Plan of 1928 could not save her. The Great Depression further worsened the situation. By 1932 Germany stopped reparation payments.

4.4.2 Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Soviet Russia.

Being friendless externally, Germany turned towards Soviet Russia. Both of them were virtually outside the family of Nations. Both of them were afraid of unfriendly Allied Powers. Again both of them required new trade contacts for economic development. An understanding with Soviet Russia appeared to Germany an oasis in the desert of enmity. The Soviet Union was eager to make friendship with the new Germany. As a result of all these, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922.

The Treaty provided for non-aggression between the two countries, commercial intercourse and friendship between the two countries. But the German Chancellor, Stresemann was aware that depending on Soviet Russia's Friendship alone would be inadvisable and therefore cultivated good relations with the Western countries. The Locarno Treaties (1925) enabled Germany to overcome her shyness and regain a respectable position in the family of nations particularly with the main European powers, France, England and Italy.

4.5.0 SOVIET RUSSIA

The bolshevik Revolution of 1917 caused several grievances to the Allied Powers. Russia after the revolution had deserted the Western Allies (France, England and Italy) at a critical phase of the War and concluded the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany (1918). The Treaty was, however, very harsh towards Soviet Russia. The internal policy of Revolutionary Soviet

Russia was bound to antagonise the Western powers. The Russian government repudiated the debts of the Czarist regime, nationalised foreign industrial enterprises in Russia and imposed state monopoly of foreign trade. In the political and economic fields the new Russian regime took measures of far-reaching importance. As a revolutionary communist state, a party dictatorship was established which was undemocratic by western standards, but which the Soviet leaders regarded as necessary for the eventual establishment of a classless society which would be inherently democratic and egalitarian.

4.5.1 Outline of foreign policy

If Germany was one type of a pariah (outcast) in the international field, Soviet Russia with her new communist system became another type of pariah in the international field. On her part, Soviet Russia had regarded the entire outside world as being controlled by hostile classes and hostile countries. In her eyes even the League of Nations was a bad international organisation controlled by the capitalist western states. The Soviet leaders described the League as a "Holy Alliance of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletarian revolution".

However, with all her animosity towards the outside world the new regime could not but evolve a meaningful relationship with the outside world. Beginning with the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922 with Germany, Soviet Russia slowly re-established relationships with the other important powers. She had also begun associating herself with the activities of the League of Nations and finally became a member of the League in 1934. There was an inherent dilemma for Soviet foreign policy. On the one-hand she regarded the outside world as controlled by capitalist states and hence hostile to her but on the other hand to exist as a country she had to enter into relations with others.

4.6.0 ITALY

Italy was one of the major powers of Europe. Prime Minister Orlando of Italy enjoyed the status of one of the architects of the post-war world along with Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of England and Woodrow Wilson of America. For the first time Italy emerged as a great power and became an important member of the League of Nations.

However, Italy had to face several difficulties in running a democratic system at home. Traces of Fascism, i.e., dictatorship based on narrow nationalist ideology, began to appear in Italy as early as 1922. As a result the Italian foreign policy became more aggressive as was evidenced by the Corfu incident in 1923.

4.6.1 Disappointment at the Treaty of Versailles

Italy joined the Allies in the Great War against her partners in the Triple Alliance. (Germany and Austria) She made enormous sacrifices in life and property for the sake of victory. Her gains at the end of the war were considerable. Thousands of Austrian-Germans and South Slavs passed under Italian rule though this violated the Wilson principle of national self-determination.

Yet Italy's territorial ambitions were not satisfied. Her territorial claims against Yugoslavia and Albania and her colonial claims in Africa were not accepted by the Allies. These grievances were to provide excuses for Italy's subsequent aggressive policies.

This was one of the factors which weakened the democratic government in Italy. The parliamentary system was not firmly rooted in the country. It was overthrown in 1922 by the

Fascist Party under a forceful leader, Benito Mussolini. He made Italian foreign policy more ambitious and more aggressive. He tried to secure colonial empire for Italy in Africa and make Italy really a great power.

4.6.2 Italy and South Eastern Europe

To begin with, Mussolini concentrated himself in the South Eastern Europe. It was so because while the national states on the west had taken a definite form, it was not so in the case of South Eastern Europe. We have discussed in some detail in lesson 9 how Mussolini dealt with South Eastern Europe when we discussed the Dodecanese, Fiume, the Corfu incidents. He regarded the Mediterranean as 'Viva' (life) for Italy while it was only 'Via (a road)' for the others. In fact, the Italian Fascists began to describe the Mediterranean as "our sea".

4.6.3 Italy and France

France was Italy's most powerful rival in the early post-war years. Both aimed at naval superiority in the western Mediterranean. Moreover, Italy held France responsible for her not getting enough rewards at the Paris Peace Conference. Hence while France supported the "Little Entente" States (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia), Italy supported their rivals i.e., Hungary and Bulgaria.

4.6.4 Italy and Germany

Germany also was suspect in the eyes of Italy. Italy annexed the South Tyrol which was socially and linguistically a part of Austria at the time of the war. Austria wanted to get it back, but it was too weak to challenge Italy. However, Italy suspected that in case of Austrian union with Germany, Germany would press for the restoration of the South Tyrol. This apprehension prevented Italy from befriending Germany against France in the beginning. However, the rise of Hitler in Germany gradually brought the two countries closer.

4.7.0 U.S.A.

The basis of American isolationist foreign policy was laid as back as the 18th century. President Washington stated in his farewell speech to the American people that the great rule of conduct for America with regard to foreign nations should be commercial. He said that Europe had a set of primary interests involving controversies and hence it would be unwise for America to implicate herself in those affairs. He added that the distance of America also would not allow it to involve in European affairs. So he advocated a policy of keeping aloof from involvement in international relations, which were mostly controlled by European powers.

Another American President, Monroe, also actively preached the same policy of non-interference in the European affairs. His doctrine was followed by the U.S.A. more or less for a century.

But Germany's belligerency during the First World War drew America into the conflict. Moreover, the U.S.A. feared that in the event of victory of Germany over England and France which appeared likely America had to fight Germany alone. To avoid that catastrophe America joined the war (1917) Moreover as President Wilson declared America wanted to make the world safe for democracy. American participation in the war and the leadership of Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference marked the climax of American involvement in world politics for the first time.

4.7.1 Isolationism and its effect

But immediately after the war the isolationist trends of the previous century began to assert in America. The Treaty of Versailles was rejected by the American Senate. It was felt that the terms of the Treaty were not in keeping with the Fourteen points of President Wilson or the declared war aims of the U.S.A. Moreover, the Covenant of the League of Nations put upon its members various responsibilities. It was felt that the signing of the Treaty would involve constant American intervention in European as well as world politics. All this was considered to be an unnecessary burden and unwise deviation from the traditional norms of American foreign policy.

While the Democratic Party was for an unconditional ratification of the Treaty, the Republicans favoured it only with certain reservations. There was also a small group of thorough isolationists. Finally the Treaty was rejected by the American Senate.

Hence the U.S.A. withdrew from the post-war complications in Europe. Though the country had evinced some interest in Europe in the 1920s (eg. Dawes Plan, Young Plan, Kellogg-Briand Pact), her isolationism was complete in the 1930s.

As a result of American isolationism, the burden of maintaining the Versailles system fell upon the shoulders of England and France. They received American help to win war. But they were deprived of it when they needed such help to win peace.

However, some critics doubt whether the membership of the U.S.A. would have strengthened the Covenant of the League. The reason is that the League had suffered from several defects. Moreover the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany would have killed the League even otherwise.

14.7.2 U.S.A. and the League

Though the U.S.A. did not join the League, she took part in the discussions of some of its bodies though they were not allowed to vote. Many American experts in law, medicine and science served the League in various capacities:

After 1924 the U.S.A. began to send her delegates openly to take part in the conferences summoned by the League. On the occasion of the war in Manchuria it was an American that was deputed to work with the Council of the League as a mediator.

4.7.3 Washington Conference

Though America remained aloof from Europe, she concentrated her attention on the Far East. The predominance of Japan and the disintegration of China were the two important problems affecting that part of the world. The rise to prominence of Japan was regarded with apprehension in the U.S. as Japan would be tempted to expand in the Pacific area which was considered crucial to U.S. economic interests. Japan was also increasing its naval strength. So, by the 1920s it was felt desirable to avoid naval competition and rivalry. This was also a part of the policy of promoting disarmament to which the League of Nations was committed in theory. So to put a stop to these rivalries and particularly, to strengthen the position of China in relation to the fast growing power of Japan in East Asia, the U.S. took the initiative in organising in Washington (D.C.) a Nine-power conference of the major naval powers of the world and China and Japan. These were the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Japan and China. This

conference dealt with naval disarmament and the political equilibrium in East Asia. The conference was able to agree on a number of treaties which were as follows.

1. By the Nine-Power Treaty all the nine participants in the conference agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity in China. By this it put a break on the growing pressure of Japan on China and strengthened the "Open Door" policy of the U.S.A. It can also be said that by this the U.S. wanted to increase its influence over China.
2. A Five-Power Treaty signed by the U.S.A., England, France, Italy and Japan provided for naval disarmament under which proportionate strengths of the navies of these States were fixed.
3. A Four-Power Treaty signed by the U.S.A., England, France and Japan was signed under which they agreed to respect each other's possessions in the Pacific area and to settle disputes with regard to those possessions by peaceful means. This Treaty set a limit to Japanese territorial ambition in that part of the Pacific.
4. A Sino-Japanese understanding on Shantung provided the restoration of the whole Shantung peninsula to China by Japan.

The Washington Conference thus provided some new basis for the East Asian International scene. The U.S.A. was satisfied and China secured some gains. The conference contributed to political equilibrium in the Far East for about a decade. But Japan was not satisfied since her territorial ambition was curtailed. Her Manchurian adventure in 1931 was only a protest against the Washington Conference.

4.7.4 Dawes plan

Even with regard to Europe America did not follow a policy of complete isolation. Because specially in the economic field, America made substantial contribution to the stabilisation of post-First World War Europe.

The payment of a heavy amount by way of reparation was beyond the capacity of Germany in the post-war period. The occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium further worsened the economic situation in Germany could not pay her reparation amounts to England, France, Italy, Belgium and others; they were unable to make their payments to the U.S.A. in their turn. Thus arose a situation when something must be done to set the situation right.

Under these conditions an international committee of experts was appointed to suggest ways and means of putting Germany's finances in order. America, England, France, Italy and Belgium were on the Committee. Its chairman was the American representative, Charles Dawes. The 'Dawes Plan' suggested the following measures (1924) to enable Germany to pay her reparations to other countries.

1. The establishment of German Central Bank in which reparation payments were to be deposited.
2. Grant of international loan of 800 million gold marks to Germany (Germany got most of the loan from the U.S.A).
3. Allocating specified amounts of German revenues for reparation payments.
4. The German territory Ruhr, which was occupied by France was to be given back to Germany.

The Dawes plan had many merits. It had helped German economic recovery. It limited the demands of the Allies.

However, the Dawes Plan had some defects also. Though it enabled Germany to make payments by grant of loans, this did not solve the main issue that Germany was under great pressure financially. All its resources had to be diverted to pay its reparations only. Even the huge loan it got from the U.S., it had to give it back to others as war damages. However, the Dawes Plan which came into force from October, 1924 created an atmosphere of peace and security. Ruhr was evacuated. Relations between Germany and other States became more cordial.

4.7.5 Young Plan

By 1928 another international committee became necessary to fill the gaps in the Dawes Plan and to meet the new situation in Europe. France was more and more bent upon getting her reparations so that she could clear her own war debts. Germany wanted to get back her Rhineland and desired a reconsideration of the whole reparation problem.

As a result of these, another committee was constituted in 1929 to go into the whole matter. Its chairman was another American, Mr. Young. The Young Plan made the following proposals.

1. Germany was to make 37 annual payments at the rate of 100 million a year. In addition to that, she had to pay 22 smaller annual payments as a part of the payments to be made by the Allies to the U.S.A. towards war debt.
2. The Allied Powers were to evacuate the Rhineland by June, 1930. This was a major concession to Germany.

The Young Plan came into force from May, 1930. Rhineland was evacuated. And a detailed and definite schedule of payments and number of instalments was fixed.

But the Economic Depression of 1929-31 had hit the German economy hard more than that of others. Payment of reparations became impossible. President Hoover of America had to declare a moratorium suspending the payments for one year from 1931. Even after that period Germany had expressed her inability to pay the reparations. An attempt was made at the Lausanne Conference (1932) to cancel all reparation claims on Germany in return for a single payment. But the arrangement could not be implemented. But the overall result was that reparations stopped though countries like France continued to regard that Germany defaulted on her obligations.

4.7.6 Kellog-Briand Pact

As already noted, the Locarno Treaties (1925) emphasised the principle of arbitration for peaceful settlement of disputes. Later an attempt was made even to 'outlaw' war when a proposal to that effect was placed before the American Senate. The French foreign minister, Aristide Briand declared in 1927 that his country was ready to sign an agreement with the U.S.A. out-lawing war. The U.S.A. Secretary State, Kellog then suggested that the agreement may be made multilateral instead of being confined only the U.S.A. and France.

As a result 14 powers including England, France, the U.S.A., Italy and Japan met in Paris (1928) and signed a pact. This is the famous Kellog - Briand Pact or the Pact of Paris. By 1930 as many as 65 States including the Soviet Union signed the Pact.

The text of the Pact was a brief document. It contained a preamble and 3 Articles only. The signatories condemned war and resolved to settle all disputes by peaceful means. The great significance of this event was more psychological and moral. For the first, time, in history, nations agreed to regard war itself as illegal. This declaration raised optimism. While so far the - sin was avoid war as far as possible, the Kellog-Briand Pact went further in outlawing war. This strengthened the spirit of the League of Nations. However, the Pact of Paris had certain serious defects.

First, the Pact did not outlaw war if it was waged in self-defence or in fulfilment of previous treaties or in accordance with the League's Covenant and the Locarno Treaties.

Secondly, the Pact of Paris did not create any machinery to enforce the arrangements. This defect was soon felt as Japan's aggression over Manchuria and Italy's aggression over Ethiopia (Abyssinia) could not be checked. Thus in practice the grand declaration of declaring war illegal did not really make nations, give up war. It amounted to nothing more than a pious, and sometimes, hypocritical, declaration of good intentions.

4.7.7 End of Isolationism

America which evinced considerable interest in the European affairs in the 1920s was comparatively more isolated in the early years of the next decade. However, it was Hitler who indirectly did not permit the U.S.A. to be away from 'other people's quarrels. As the dictatorship of Hitler resulted in increasing acts of aggression, even the U.S. was not able to remain unconcerned at what was going on in Europe.

President Roosevelt who came to power in 1933, tried to keep America neutral by a series of Neutrality Acts in 1935, 1937 and 1939, under which some arms sales to some nations continued. However, the fear of Hitler was upper most in his mind. When war actually broke out in 1939 he repealed the arms embargo which hampered the action of the democratic nations. When France fell in 1940 he openly declared his assistance to the democratic countries as against Germany and Italy. Finally the U.S.A. entered the war on the side of the Allies when Japan bombed her Pearl Harbour in the Hawaii islands on 7th December, 1941. Soon Germany and Italy declared war against the U.S.A.

The U.S. bore the main burden of the war in money, material and man power terms. Though others like the Soviet Union and the U.K. sacrificed all they had to withstand Nazi Germany, but for the part played by the U.S. in the Second World War, the other allies would have faced an almost impossible situation in their war against Germany.

Sri K.V. Kotilingam

4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. The quest for security dominated French foreign policy in the interwar period. Elucidate.
2. Briefly discuss attitude of major European powers towards Soviet Union in the 1920s.
3. Examine the foreign policy of the U.S.A. during the interwar period.

II. Answer the following in about 10 line each

1. Write a short note on Locarno Treaties.
2. Examine the foreign policy of the revolutionary Soviet Russia in the early 1920s.
3. Though America remained aloof from Europe, she concentrated her attention on the Far - East. Explain.

BRAOU

UNIT - 5 : FOREIGN POLICIES OF NEW STATES

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5.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to explain the foreign policies of

- Austria
- Hungary
- Rumania
- Yugoslavia
- Poland and
- Turkey

5.1 INTRODUCTION

At the close of the First World War the German, Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires were dissolved. The dissolution of these empires led to the creation of new States which are sometimes described as the succession states because they were born out of these big empires. The five states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland may be regarded as the Russian succession states, while the three states of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia may be regarded as the Austrian succession States. The dissolution of the German empire resulted in

some areas being separated from Germany and joined in some cases to some of the succession states mentioned.

However, the name of succession states was given in the Peace Treaties to four states only viz., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The creation of these states was based on the nationalist feeling of the people concerned and the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination.

These States adopted very liberal and even democratic constitutions. Most of them took pride in calling themselves republics. But with the exception of Finland and Czechoslovakia, they did not succeed in remaining democratic. They became dictatorships, open or concealed.

15.2.0 AUSTRIA

The First World War claimed three thrones. The oldest dynasties of the Romanovs in Russia, Hapsburgs in Austria and the more recent Hohenzollerns in Germany had disappeared. Even while the war was going on, the fate of the Austro-Hungarian empire was sealed. Acting on the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, different people living in different parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire began to claim separate national states. Emperor Charles 1 tried to save the Austrian empire by organising Austria as a federal state. But failing in his attempts to save the empire Charles 1 abdicated the throne on 11th November, 1918.

The Treaty of St. Germain (1919) registered the dismemberment of the old empire of Austria-Hungary. The former Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Moravia were formed into a new state called Czechoslovakia. The Slav provinces (provinces inhabited by people of Slavic origins) of Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Serbia which came to be known as 'Yugoslavia. Italy got South Tyrol, the Trentino and the northern coastal strip of the Adriatic including Trieste and Istria. Poland received the former Austrian area of Galicia. Hungary was separated from Austria. In short the once mighty monarchy of the Hapsburgs had now shrunk to a tiny Republic of Austria. It was now little more than the imperial city of Vienna and some Alpine provinces. Though the new small state of Austria was inhabited entirely by German speaking people, the Allies had forbidden the union of Austria with Germany ('Anschluss'). This was because they feared the combination of the German and Austrian areas into a powerful Germany. That was why eventhough the stipulation violated the principle of national self-determination, the principle was not applied in the case of Germany and Austria.

5.2.1 Austria as a Republic

Austria was declared to be 'a democratic Republic' on the day following the abdication of Emperor Charles I (12th November, 1918). It was also then decided to make it a part of the German Republic. The Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists desired union with Germany because they thought that this link with the Great Socialist Republic would strengthen them against the attempts of national states which were trying to break away from Austria. But the bulk of the bourgeois population of Austria opposed such union because they feared that Austria would be swamped with cheap German goods and that Austria would have to share the reparations with Germany which appeared most likely. However the controversy was clinched by the Allies themselves who prohibited the union of Austria with Germany as mentioned earlier.

Internally the new Austrian republic was troubled by the quarrels between the Social Democrats and Christian Socialists. Mr. Engelbert Dollfuss of the Christian Socialists became the Chancellor (Prime Minister) in 1930. He set up his own dictatorship in order to suppress the

Social Democrats and also to fight the growing Nazi menace in Austria. He relied mainly on a private fascist organisation within Austria and on the Italian dictator, Mussolini outside Austria. For reasons of Italian security against the Nazis, in the initial stages Mussolini opposed the union of Austria with Germany. Austria soon became a dependency of Italy both in domestic and foreign policies.

But Hitler who became a very powerful leader in Germany, was an Austrian himself and desired the union of Austria with Germany very much. Already the Austrian Nazis were working as the fifth column for Hitler's Germany. After Hitler came to power a band of Austrian Nazis tried to bring about the merger of Austria with Germany. In 1934 they killed the Austrian independence. About this time Mussolini of Italy was also unwilling to see Austria join Germany and this compelled Hitler to postpone his attempts at integrating Austria with Germany.

After four years, Hitler succeeded in his ambition to get his German homeland, Austria join Germany. By 1938 Mussolini became a fast friend of Hitler and a major obstacle to the merger of Austria was thus no longer there. Hitler first compelled the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, to take the Austrian Nazi leader Mr. Inquart into his cabinet. Mr. Inquart immediately became the Chancellor of Austria and invited the German army to invade Austria "Thus died Austria" (1938).

5.3.0 HUNGARY

During the First World War revolutions broke out both in Austria and Hungary in the midst of the military collapse of the Austrian empire. A People's Republic was declared in Hungary (October, 1918) under Count Karloyi. Immediately he withdrew the troops from the war front and dissolved the army. The Czech and Rumanian elements of the former Austrian army invaded Hungary. Karloyi could not prevent this and he resigned.

Now power went into the hands of Bela Kun who was a friend of Lenin, the Russian Communist leader. Bela Kun was in Russia and was trained in Bolshevik (Russian Communist) theory and practice. He declared a dictatorship of the proletariat and organised a Red Army in Hungary. Bela Kun attacked the invading Czechs and drove them out of Hungary. But his army was unable to withstand the onslaughts of the Rumanian army which occupied most of Hungary including the capital, Budapest. The Rumanian army withdrew only when Clemenceau of France issued an ultimatum in this regard. Thus Hungary ultimately managed to remain independent and free after it declared its independence from the Austrian empire.

5.3.1 Opposition to the Treaty of Trianon

After Bela Kun's brief communist rule in Hungary Vice-Admiral Nicholas Horthy became the Head of Government. He was elected as regent in March 1920. Meanwhile a National Assembly was elected. Hungary was still proclaimed as a kingdom. But as David Thomson remarks, it was a kingdom without a king ruled by an admiral without a fleet.

Hungary was forced by the Allies to accept the Treaty of Trianon (1920) without having an opportunity to plead her case. She was deprived of her non-Magyar (Hungary's people are known as Magyars) subjects just as Austria was deprived of her non-Germans. Hungary ceded Transylvania to Rumania, Slovakia to Czechoslovakia and Croatia to Yugoslavia. On the whole she lost two-thirds of her former territory and three-fifths of her former population. Like Austria, she lost all access to the sea. Thus Hungary, which came into existence at the end of the First World War, was born as a crippled child.

Naturally Hungary bitterly opposed the Treaty of Trianon. In order to get this treaty revised she made all attempts including even an attempt to restore the Hapsburg dynasty. This was only a veil to conceal her secret desire of getting the Trianon Treaty revised. As a result of Hungary's opposition to the Treaty of Trianon, Czechoslovakia Rumania and Yugoslavia were alarmed about their own defence. They were afraid that they will lose the gains they made at the expense of Hungary under the Treaty. Hence they (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia) formed into the group known as "The Little Entente" As a reaction to this, Hungary approached Italy for an alliance. Italy was also dissatisfied with the peace settlement and hence responded favourably to Hungary's request. Austria also fixed this. Thus came into existence the Italo-Austrian and Hungarian combination in South and South Eastern Europe.

5.4.0 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia was a new state created after the First World War based on the principle of national self determination. The territories which together became Czechoslovakia were the Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. The new State also contained some minorities like the Germans, Magyars, Poles and Ukrainians. But the new State treated the minorities in a generous way.

Internally, Czechoslovakia had a stable democratic government and balanced economy. Compared to other parts of Eastern Europe she was industrially well advanced. Though she had some agricultural base also, she was better placed industrially. To secure agricultural products Czechoslovakia exchanged her machine goods with the neighbouring states in the east and south-east of all the new states that were born after the war, Czechoslovakia remained highly democratic till it was brutally occupied by Hitler in 1938.

5.4.1 Little Entente

Externally, Czechoslovakia was concerned about the security of her Slovakian territory which she got from Hungary. Hence she took the initiative in forming the "Little Entente" with the other powers Rumania and Yugoslavia. Their common fear of Hungary brought them close to Czechoslovakia because Rumania got Transylvania and Yugoslavia got Croatia respectively at the end of the First World War at the expense of Hungary. Hence they readily responded to the initiative taken by the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, M.E. Benes. However, Mr. Benes did not look upon the association of the three states as merely an anti-Hungarian alliance. He wanted it to be a more positive organisation for the economic cooperation of the people in the three states. Due to his diplomatic efforts and skill the Little Entente came into existence in July, 1921.

The Little Entente States wanted to establish a connection with a big power like France, though not collectively as members of the Entente but individually. France which was also eager to have close friends ready to enforce the Treaty of Versailles, readily responded. Thus the Little Entente States of Eastern Europe became closely associated with France in Western Europe.

Apart from France, Czechoslovakia had good relations with the other powers of the West because she was a strong-hold of democracy in the East. She had cordial relations with Russia also and her leaders had personal contacts with Stalin and other Bolshevik rulers. Hitler was to come on the scene to destroy the state of Czechoslovakia and dismember her in 1938.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Who are the members in Little Entente.

5.5.0 RUMANIA

Rumania emerged from the First World War more than doubled in size. She had already got Dobruja in 1913 from Bulgaria. After the War, she got Transylvania from Hungary, Bukovina from Austria and Bassarabia which she seized from Russia. As a result of her enlarged territories Rumania took rank among the middle-sized states of Europe, next to Spain and Poland.

5.5.1 Concern for Security

Her foreign policy was mainly intended for security against hostile states. As we have already seen she had hostile states on three sides from whom she got her territories. she had Russia to the north, Bulgaria to the south and Austria and Hungary to the west.

She joined the 'Little Entente' along with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (1921). Because of her fear of Russia about Bassarabia she concluded defensive alliances with Poland in 1921 and with France in 1926. She had even concluded a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in 1933.

Internally, her working of democracy was not satisfactory. The state could not prevent one king, Carol, who she banished from the country from coming back and proclaiming himself as King Carol II. But he had to face severe troubles from a new party called the Iron Guard which was fascist, anti-semitic and pro-German. The struggle went on till the Second World War, when the Nazis swept off everything before them.

5.6.0 YUGOSLAVIA

The birth of modern Yugoslavia may be traced to an agitation in the early years of this century by the Southern Slav (People belonging to particular racial group in Eastern Europe) subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire called the Yugo. The agitation was first started by Croatia and Slovenia and later the people in Serbia led the movement. Austria-Hungary which was the champion of Pan-Germanism tried to crush this Pan-Slavic movement. However, the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' was founded in 1915. At the end of the First World War the Slav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken away from Austria and were added to Serbia. The kingdom which was thus enlarged became the 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia'. However, the kingdom was long troubled by internal quarrels between its two important parts, the Serbians and the Croatians. They belonged to the same racial stock (Slavic) but history gave them different language, religion and political traditions.

5.6.1 Foreign Troubles

With regard to Yugoslavia's foreign policy, we have already seen how her concern for security made her enter the Little Entente. Thus she became a friend of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and France.

But her chief problem was to find a secure position on the Adriatic coast. The problem had in the past continuously vexed Serbia. Now Yugoslavia had to fear the hostility of Italy, the most powerful of the Adriatic countries

We will illustrate a few of the disputes between Yugoslavia and Italy. Italy wanted to have some areas in the territory called Dalmicia which actually consisted of nearly seven lacks of Yugoslav people. During the war the Allies promised to give these territories to Italy. However, this was not done when the Treaty of Versailles was finalised. Though Italy pressed for this, her ambition remained unfulfilled and Italy was sore about this.

Another instance of quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia arose out of Italy's claims to an area known as Fiume. This was commercially important for Italy, though it was included in Yugoslavia.

The area of Fiume consisted a majority of Italians. Hence Italy claimed that under the principle of national self determination Fiume should belong to Italy. But for other reasons it was given to Yugoslavia. Sometime after wards the Italian residents living in areas neighbouring Fiume marched into Fiume and occupied the territory. This became a major crisis in the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia. This was solved in 1924 when the two countries signed a treaty under which most of the Fiume area was given to Italy with Yugoslavia enjoying some economic facilities in the main harbour of Fiume.

The State of Albania was another cause for quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia. Albania became an independent country in 1912 with the help of Italy. This was resuled by neighbouring Serbia, which as we have seen became the State of Yugoslavia after the war. Italy practically dominated Albania till 1928. This Italian domination of Albania rouse Yugoslav fears. In 1928 a Muslim leader of Yugoslavia, named Ahmed Zogu proclaimed himself King of Albania and tried to free Albania from Italy's control. In this he was not very successful. Subsequently Mussolini, the Italian dictator, annexed Albania into Italy. This was nothing short of the violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Yugoslavia was opposed to this but could not do anything as the great powers of Europe themselves kept quiet.

The above instances reveal the nature of disputes that arose out of the new political settlement arising after the first World War. They also reveal how big powers like Italy tended to ignore the peace settlement in the pursuit of their own interests.

5.7.0 POLAND

Like the Jews, the Polish people kept up their national soul alive for centuries together although they remained without homeland for long period in history. Poland was dismembered in the last quarter of the 18th century being partitioned among Russia, Prussia and Austria. From then onwards the Poles remained without a homeland till the beginning of the 20th century.

One of the 14 Points of President Wilson (13th point) was about the revival of Poland as an independent nation state with access to the sea. Even while the First World War was going on the Polish people became a free nation when Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary lost their grip on their parts of Poland due to their defeats. The Peace Conference had only formally recognised the independence of Poland.

Poland attended the Peace Conference along with the other new States like Czechoslovakia which were recognised by the Allies. She had later become an important member (a semi-

permanent member) of the Council of the League of Nations in 1926. Had there been no opposition from Germany which became a member only that year, Poland would have become a full-permanent member of the Council along with England, France, Italy, Japan and Germany.

In any case, the old Polish empire was revived after the First World War. She got a portion of Germany, i.e., West Prussia, to form a Polish Corridor to the Baltic sea. She could use the Baltic port of Danzig which was internationalised and made a free city under the control of the League of Nations. Moreover, certain German enquiries like upper Silesia which were not Polish at the time of the partition of Poland in the 18th century, were included in her new frontiers on the score that their population was predominantly Polish. But a plebiscite was to be held in those territories so that the people of these area could decide whether to remain in Poland or to be retained with Germany.

But Poland was not satisfied with her eastern boundary as she felt that certain areas in Lithuania (a small state of Poland's east) should belong to her. Ultimately she got some of these areas.

So also boundary disputes led Poland to a disastrous war with Russia. The Red Army of Russia almost reached Warsaw, the capital of Poland. France which helped Poland in the war sent one of her best soldiers, General Weygand, for the task. The war was ended by the Treaty of Riga (1921) under which some territories with large Russian populations came under Polish rule. This left a legacy of bitterness between Poland and Soviet Russia which led to Russian claims against Poland in the succeeding years.

5.7.1 Foreign Relations

Right from the beginning Poland was afraid mainly of Germany on the West and Russia in the East. Hence her foreign policy was largely decided by this concern for security. She turned to France which was also in quest of security. By the Franco-Polish Treaty of 1921, the two countries undertook to consult each other on all international matters of mutual interest and to act together to maintain all treaties to which they were or might become parties. Again in 1922 France and Poland concluded a military convention which was renewed in 1932 for a further period of 10 years. France strengthened the Polish army and forgetting her own loans to England, she poured money into Poland for military purposes. We have already seen how France stood behind Poland in her Vilna and Russian issues.

At the time of the Locarno Treaties (1925) France insisted upon the inclusion of some countries in the negotiations, one of which was Poland. Poland signed the arbitration treaties which provided that all disputes between Germany on one hand and France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other should be submitted either to an arbitration tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, if such disputes could not be solved through diplomatic channels. When Germany refused to accept her eastern frontiers, France entered into another group of treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia separately which provided for mutual assistance.

Poland was still afraid of Russian aggression and so turned to Germany also for friendship. She came out of the French influence and came to an understanding with Germany on some issues. In 1934 Germany and Poland concluded a Pact by which they gave up for a period of 10 years the use of force for the settlement of disputes. As a result, disputes about the German minority in Poland and about Danzig were no longer heard. But in so doing, Poland miscalculated German intentions. Because Hitler within five years turned against Poland itself by invading Poland.

Just before the Second World War when Hitler was threatening Poland. England arranged an alliance between England, France and Poland to defend Poland against Germany.

However, Poland was not saved because Germany and Russia whom Poland feared from the beginning came to an understanding among themselves to promote their interests at the cost of Poland. Hitler marched into Poland on 1st September, 1939 which was a signal for the Second World War. Russia occupied her share of Poland on 7th September, 1939. Hitler and Stalin made another partition of Poland called the 'fifth partition' on 29th September, 1939.

Poland was thus again dismembered.

5.8.0 TURKEY

As E.H. Carr remarks, the Treaty of Versailles was a "dictated peace" which determined most of the subsequent history. The reaction to it was most seen in countries like Germany and Turkey. We will now discuss what happened to Turkey as a result of the settlement after the First World War. Turkey was an ally of Germany and Austria and hence was defeated state. The victorious Allies, wanted to impose a treaty, called the Treaty of Sevres, on Turkey.

5.8.1 Treaty of Sevres

The Allied Powers were very harsh towards Turkey and humiliated her very much. After the Treaty of Sevres, 1920, nothing remained of the once mighty Ottoman Empire except Constantinople and the mountainous region of Anatolia (the homeland of Turks). Though Turkey retained the straits (Bosphorous and Dardanelles), she was prevented from placing her armed forces on either side of the coast. Moreover, she was compelled to allow free passage through the Straits to the ships of all nations. Thus the Straits became neutral, internationalised zone. Though Turkey had crucial European possessions (Constantinople and the Straits), the centre of gravity had shifted to her Asian possession only. She even transferred her capital eastward to a city called Ankara.

Beyond these, the losses of Turkey were colossal. She had to renounce all her rights in her former possessions in Africa, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia. She lost earlier all her Christian dependencies in the Balkan Peninsula. Greece occupied a part of eastern Thrace, Smyrna and the adjacent territory on the coast of Asia Minor. Armenia was made a separate independent State. In short, Turkey lost all her dominions outside the old Turkey proper. However, she still continued to have considerable international status because of her location on the Bosphorous sea which was a very important sea passage for Eastern Europe into the Mediterranean and from there to the world outside.

5.8.2 Mustapha Kemal Pasha

Naturally there was an immediate reaction in Turkey. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, a Turkish soldier of great dynamism became the leader of the dissatisfied Turks and began to demolish the arrangements made by the Treaty of Sevres even though his own King, the Sultan of Turkey, was prepared to implement the Treaty.

He began to undo what the treaty had done to Turkey. Disregarding the orders of the Sultan to see that the Turkish armies are demobilised Kemal Pasha actually reorganised the Army. Next

he set up a parallel government at Angora (later named Ankara) as a rival to the Sultan's government in Istanbul (Constantinople).

Kemal Pasha now addressed himself to the task of clearing the country of foreign troops stationed by the Allies. He drove away the Italian and French troops from the Turkish soil. By a friendly arrangement with Soviet Russia, he got back Kars and Ardahan. He then overthrew the recently established Armenian republic.

He recaptured Smyrna and drove away every Greek soldier from Asia Minor. He wanted to recapture some of the former Turkish possessions in Eastern Europe. But then England threatened war if he tried to cross into Europe (1922).

At this juncture encouraged by Kemal Pasha's patriotic leadership the Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the Sultanate (1922). The next year Turkey was declared a republic (1923). Mustapha Kemal Pasha was unanimously elected the President of the New Republic. Thus a new Turkey was established, consolidating what was left of the former Turkish Ottoman Empire.

5.8.3 Treaty of Laussane

Kemal Pasha's success in asserting the Turkish demands and in uniting the people under a new spirit of nationalism compelled the Allied powers to conclude a fresh treaty with the Republic of Turkey. In July, 1923 a new peace was concluded at Laussane, Switzerland, between Turkey on one hand and the Allies and Greece on the other.

The Treaty of Sevres (1920) was scrapped. In Asia, Turkey retained Asia Minor and the Aegean Sea islands of Imbros and Tenedos. In Europe, she retained Constantinople and Eastern Thrace with Adrianople and Gallipoli Peninsula. Thus, Turkey kept control of both sides of the Straits. However, Turkey agreed to demilitarise the straits and give free access to ships of all countries to and from the straits. A cruel innovation at Laussane was the exchange of Turks from the Greek areas and Greeks from the Turkish areas. Thus by the Treaty of Laussane, Turkey gave up all her claims to her Asiatic and African possessions. But although she lost the whole Arabic-speaking part of her possessions, Kemal had saved a large Turkish portion of the former Ottoman Empire which now became cohesive.

The Treaty of Laussane was the last of all treaties concluded with regard to the First World War.

5.8.4 Kemal Pasha's Internal Policy

Though the new Turkey had a constitution vesting the supreme authority in a National Assembly, Kemal Pasha practically became a dictator. There was only one party viz., Kemal's People's Party. Kemal was not only the President of the Republic but also the Commander-in-Chief. But he was a benevolent dictator who used his powers for the good of his country. Kemal Pasha undertook many social and economic reforms to modernise Turkey. The Caliphate (which combined the Islamic religious headship and political headship) was abolished (1924). The State now became secular and religion became purely private. 'Shariat' or Holy Law was replaced by a modern code of civil law (1926). Polygamy was abolished and marriage was made civil. To reduce the influence of religion in civil affairs, he removed the Arabic alphabet with which Koran and Islam were associated. Latin alphabet was adopted for the Turkish language. Kemal Pasha toured the country with a blackboard to instruct the people in Latin. All traces of foreignism in the Turkish words were removed. For example the Christian name for the city of

Constantinople, the old capital, was changed and a new name Istanbul was given, and Angora, the new capital, became Ankara. Kemal Pasha outlawed all traditional forms of dress like the veil of women and the Fez cap as well as the baggy trousers of men.

Much care was taken to safeguard both the political and economic development of the country. Agriculture received state patronage. A Five-Year Plan was launched in 1934 for rapid industrialisation. Foreign capital and experts were utilised. Kemal had done what no other Asiatic ruler had done outside Japan so far. He had modernised Turkey.

5.8.5 Foreign Relations

Kemal Pasha was at first suspicious of the western powers. The reason was that they meted out a harsh treatment to Turkey at the end of the First World War. Hence Kemal Pasha turned to the Soviet Russia for friendship in the initial stages. He concluded with Russia a treaty of mutual guarantee and neutrality (1925). But the subversive attitude of the Communist alienated his sympathies for them.

Gradually Kemal Pasha turned towards the Western European powers. He joined the League of Nations in 1932. He made friendship with most of his neighbouring states.

In 1934 Turkey became a party to the Balkan Entente. Next he turned to the East and concluded an Eastern Pact with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. The four powers agreed to abstain from interfering in one another's internal affairs and to consult on matters of international concern.

Turkey thus displayed a pacific and friendly attitude. She earned the sympathy of the Western powers. They agreed to concede the request of Turkey to militarise the straits which was forbidden by the Treaty of Sevres as well as of Lausanne. The Convention of Montreaux allowed Turkey to fortify the area (1936). Thus the little foreign influence that was still left was removed.

Worn out by his Herculean efforts, Kemal Pasha died in 1938, one year before the Second World War. He spent his whole life in making Turkey great both internally and externally. Kemal Pasha had two titles which he fully deserved. One title is 'Kemal' which means 'Perfection'. He got it for his proficiency in mathematics when he was at the military staff college at Constantinople in his young age. The other title is 'Ataturk' which means 'Father of the Turks'. He got it for his services to the nation.

Sri K.V. Kotilingam

5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Explain the meaning and importance of succession States.
2. What factors have contributed to the emergence of Poland
3. Explain the emergence of Czechoslovakia as a new State.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. How did Austria emerge as a Republic?
2. Why Hungary was opposed to the Treaty of Trianon?
3. What factors influenced the shaping of Yugoslavian Foreign Policy?

UNIT - 6 : GERMANY AND SOVIET RUSSIA

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6.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will explain

- The internal conditions in Post War Germany.
- The internal conditions in Post War Soviet Russia

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The military collapse of Germany in 1918 was followed by a short period of anarchy and confusion. Kaiser William II abdicated the throne and fled to Holland along with his family (November, 1918). A provisional government was set up by Frederick Ebert who was an able leader of the Socialist Republican Party. But the Communists (called 'Spartacans') became very active and wanted to bring about a revolution of the Russian type. Germany was now threatened by a civil war. Ebert and his fellow Socialists were determined to suppress the Communists at any cost. Communism was banished though it received much encouragement from Russia.

6.2.0 WEIMAR REPUBLIC

The Allied powers dictated that Germany should be a democracy after the First World War. Accordingly a Constituent Assembly was elected by secret ballot of all Germans over twenty years of age. It met in the town of Weimar in 1919 and elected Ebert as the President of the German Republic. It then proceeded to draft a new constitution.

The Weimar constitution, so called after Weimar where it was drafted, abolished monarchy and set up a democratic republic. Franchise was given to all German citizens over twenty years of age without reference to sex. Provision was made for initiative, referendum and recall which are the most important devices of direct democracy.

Legislature was made bicameral. The lower house, Reichstag was to be elected by the people. The Upper House, Reichstag was to represent the federating states in the country.

Executive power was entrusted to a President elected by adult franchise for a period of seven years. He was to act on the advice of a ministry headed by a Prime Minister (called as Chancellor) responsible to the legislature.

Frederick Ebert was the first President of the Weimar Republic (1919-25). The next President was Field Marshal Von Hindenburg (1925-34) after whose death Hitler the leader of the National Social (Nazi) Party became the President in addition to being the Chancellor (Premier). The device of plebiscite which was provided by the constitution was used by him as a support to his usurpation of power. Hitler was acclaimed as the sole leader (Führer). Finally he became the dictator of Germany and established what is called the Third Empire (Reich). Germany became a single unified state ruled by a single political party. (National Socialist Party or Nazi Party).

6.2.1 Internal Conditions - Economic

Internally, Germany after the establishment of the Weimar Republic suffered from two major handicaps, viz., a) economic dislocation and b) attacks on democratic policy.

The post-war economic scene in Germany was terrible. The repayment of monetary reparations by Germany to England, France and Belgium had very ruinous effects as seen in the earlier chapter.

The occupation of the Ruhr Valley by France, Belgium and Italy in 1923 had further crippled Germany's economy. The German currency had totally collapsed. There was spiralling inflation. Wages and salaries had to be revised, monthly at first and daily later. Savings, bank balances, annuities and pensions became worthless overnight. It cost hundred of billions of Marks to mail a letter. The paper on which currency was printed had long been worth much more than the currency itself. Hence the government was obliged to print new denominations across the faces of old bills and postage stamps in order to save paper.

To check this tendency the government had taken certain measures. New currency was introduced. The government followed a strict policy of deflation. The new Mark; enabled the government to balance its budget and business returned to normalcy. But the government had to dismiss hundreds of thousands of its employees. Unemployment rose rapidly. Germany which experienced the horrors of inflation till then now began to experience the horrors of deflation.

To these troubles was added the burden of reparations. The attitude of the victors remained vindictive in extracting reparations. This made it impossible for Germany to recover economically. Even though many experts warned that extracting war damages would only make German situation worse, the Allies persisted in demanding reparations from Germany.

There were several forces acting against the successful working of German democracy. They were: (1) the imperialist followers of the deposed German Emperor, Kaiser (2) the traditional military class which always favoured war-like policies and opposed democratic and liberal ideas and institutions, (3) the landed (feudal) elements which were against ideas like socialist and democracy. All these reactionary forces on the one hand and the communist and socialist forces which promoted radical agitations against the Governments, on the other together challenged the newborn democratic set up of Germany. Trade union movements further added

to the tensions and social struggles, even though they reflected the power of the working class interests.

The moderates and the intellectuals tried to run democracy safely but in vain. The occupation of the Ruhr not only crippled Germany's economy but also strengthened the reactionary forces. The Versailles Treaty was regarded only as a Pact of the Big Powers. Gradually respect for democracy decreased.

Gradually the reactionary forces began to have the upper hand. They secured many seats in the 1925 election. The death of the popular and able Chancellor Stresemann in 1929 gradually paved the way for the capture of power by Hitler. Though several people hated the National Socialist Party of Hitler, its militarism and anti-democratic spirit, the reparation problem, deteriorating economic condition, humiliation of Germany at the hands of France and others helped increase the Nazi influence. The Nazi Party won more and more seats in the elections of 1931-32 and 1933. In 1933 the Party came to power along with the other nationalist parties. There were three Nazi ministers in a cabinet of twelve. Hitler became the Chancellor (Premier) constitutionally and became the President after the death of President Von Hindenburg. Soon he destroyed the Weimar constitution and established a thoroughly totalitarian dictatorship of the worst kind.

6.2.3 Foreign Policy

We have already seen in Unit 4 how a friendless Germany turned towards another friendless country, viz., the Soviet Russia and how they signed the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922. Naturally the Allies, the former enemies of Germany resented the search of Germany for friends.

Stresemann, who was the German Chancellor and Foreign minister from 1923 to 1929 tried to alter this trend and move closer towards England and France, whose leaders were also willing to be friendly towards Germany. Stresemann tried to keep the reparation obligations and secured the evacuation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium (1924). He supported the Locarno Treaties (1925) which gave Germany a respectable position in the European states system. Germany became a member of the League of Nations (1926).

However, important issues like the reparations issue continued to trouble Germany's relations with its neighbours. The Young Plan provided for the final settlement of the reparation question by fixing easy and long instalments. Even these instalments were not paid after 1932. In 1928 Germany signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris) and thus further consolidated its acceptability among the European states.

However, Stresemann had no time to consolidate the new relations, specially between France and Germany. His death in 1929 was really a great loss. The Economic Depression made Germany's position worse. All these paved the way for the rise of Hitler who reversed the policy of cultivating friendship with Germany's former enemies. Hitler went even to the extent of withdrawing Germany from the League of Nations.

But it should be noted that by the time Hitler came to power some important grievances of Germany were removed. However some more remained still, like Germany's desire to unite with Austria, her desire to regain some of her eastern frontiers which she lost under the Treaty of Versailles and her insistence that the restrictions on her right to have armed forces should be removed. Hitler used them skillfully in his propaganda and utilised them as stepping stones to his rise to power.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Why Germany is called as Weimar Republic ?

6.3.0 SOVIET RUSSIA

We have seen in Unit 4 how Soviet Russia was a new and unique phenomenon in world politics. For the first time the Soviet Revolution of 1917 introduced a revolutionary economic theory favourable to the working and poorer classes as a major factor in international relations. The leaders of the Revolution in Russia were not satisfied with the revolution in their own country. Their proclaimed objective was an international socio-economic revolution leading to the establishment of world communism.

6.3.1 Internal Conditions

When the Revolution took place in Russia (March 1917), Russia was fighting the war against Germany along with the Allies (the U.K., France and etc.). In Russia a Provisional Government was set up and the Russian Emperor, the Czar was forced to abdicate.

The Provisional Government was a bourgeois or middle class government in outlook and composition. It was composed mainly of constitutional democrats. There were moderate republicans led by men like Milinkov who was a professor-politician. The new government was for the continuation of war against Germany. It promulgated a number of liberal reforms. It announced that a national Constituent Assembly would be elected to draft a permanent constitution.

But by this time, in war-torn and economically backward Russia, the masses cared little for political reforms. Their more urgent demands were peace, land and bread. Thus the revolution which also led strong liberal democratic elements drifted towards a purely radical social movements. Local Committees (known in Russian as Soviets) of working men and soldiers were set up all over Russia by the Communist leaders of the Revolution. They became the centres of propaganda and popular agitation. Workers refused to work and peasants began to seize the large estates of nobility. Soldiers refused to obey their officers and even murdered some of them. Subject nationalities like Finns and Poles began to break away from their union with Russia. At this juncture, the liberals were turned out of the Provisional Government. They were replaced by moderate socialists known as Mensheviks. Their leader was Alexander Kerensky.

But Kerensky also proved unsuccessful in establishing a new political order. He wanted to continue the war but bring it to a speedy and honourable conclusion. He wanted to guide the revolution through a safe course. He assured the people both political democracy and social reform. But as a leader of moderate socialists (Mensheviks who were minority) he wanted to bring about Socialism by gradual stages and through constitutional means. However, his policy was opposed by extreme socialists (known as the Bolsheviks and who were in majority in the Russian Communist movement). They were opposed to the war. They wanted to overthrow the existing social order by force and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat (working class). They were led by the famous Russian revolutionaries Lenin and Trotsky who returned from

exile to lead the Revolutionaries. Taking advantage of the internal disorder and external defeat, they captured power in November, 1917. This capture of power is regarded as a second revolution. Kerensky fled the country. Thus the power passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks after the second revolution.

Immediately afterwards, Lenin and Trotsky began to consolidate their work. A peace treaty was concluded with Germany and her allies. This Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was no doubt humiliating for Russia, as it dismembered the Russian empire. Still the Communist leadership felt it necessary to stop the war at any cost in order to establish a revolutionary Communist society in Russia.

Lenin began to give effect to the principles of Marxian socialism. Private property was abolished. Land was given to the peasants to be cultivated for the benefit of the State. Factories were seized from their private owners without compensation and kept under the management of workers. All public debts were repudiated. Even, religion was abolished and the Russian Orthodox Church came under very severe criticism.

But Lenin had to use drastic methods to effect all these. Individual liberty and political democracy were sacrificed. All opposition to the Bolshevik party was stamped out. A tribunal known as 'Cheka' awarded death punishments to thousands of people who were accused of opposing the Revolution. Czar Nicholas II and the members of his family were shot dead (July, 1918) while they tried to escape. Danger from within and without increased the violence of the Revolution. It should be mentioned that the Bolshevik Revolution was based on definite theory that, the Communist Party alone represents the real interests of the hitherto exploited working classes and that it is necessary that a dictatorship of the working classes should be established under the direction of communist party. A working class dictatorship will have to resort to very radical and even violent methods to suppress the enemies of the Revolution the propertied classes, including the middle classes. This is the only way to establish the rule of the working and poor classes, who after all, constitute a vast majority of the people in any society. Therefore, the dictatorship of the Communist Party, which stands for the working class interests, is not necessarily against the spirit of democracy. The party's decisions, according to Lenin, will be arrived on the basis of democratic centralism, under which, policies will be discussed frankly and freely within the party - but when once decided, all are bound by the decisions and any opposition will have to be denied scope.

Naturally Russia's former allies saw a threat to their existing political and social system in the new Russian revolutionary order. Between 1917 and 1920 they actually supported the anti-communist White Russian forces in an unsuccessful attempt to suppress the Bolsheviks. When the revolution started in 1917 France, England and the U.S.A. stopped all supplies to the Bolshevik regime. In 1918 the forces of England, France and Japan landed on the Russian soil. They set up White (called 'White' in contrast to the 'Red' regime of the Revolution) regimes around Russia. Additionally, France used her satellites in the Eastern Europe (Poland and Rumania) for the purpose of encircling Russia and threaten the Revolutionary regime there.

Thus, Soviet Russia had to undergo terrible difficulties. Revolts and famines had devastated the land. However, the country withstood all these attacks under the new system. By 1920 conditions became a little favourable for her. The civil war inside and the western intervention from outside came to an end. The 'White' invaders were gradually expelled by the Red Army which was organised and given a shape by Trotsky. This phase of the revolution is known as 'Militant Communism' and lasted for three years.

The political structure of Russia was determined by the Constitution of 1918. (It was progressively liberalised by the constitutions of 1924, 1936 and 1977). The constitution of 1918 set up a Soviet (council of workers) in every city and district. Over these local Soviet, were the provincial soviets and the national All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The national congress choose a Central Executive Committee which in its turn chose the Council of Ministers known as People's Commissars. All productive workers of 18 years were given franchise without reference to sex.

The state was at first known as the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR). In 1922 when Russia got enlarged by the recovery of certain other regions, a federal system was established under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Thus the new state of Soviet Russia had come into existence, the real power being in the hands of the Communist party under Lenin. The revolution had become successful primarily because of three reasons.

First, there was a great deal of dissension in the ranks of those who opposed the revolution. The royalists were not friendly to the republicans and the militarists did not like the liberal politicians.

Secondly, the peasants whole-heartedly supported the revolution in its advanced stages too. They feared that their lands would be lost if the old landlords returned. The other working classes also supported the Revolution fully.

Thirdly, the intervention by the Allies was not full. They were exhausted by the First World War and had to face several post war problems. It was not easy to take extensive operations in a huge country like Russia. Hence they withdrew their forces in 1919. The remaining opposition in the country was no match for the Red Army.

6.3.2 Lenin's Period

But it was not an easy task for Lenin to stabilise the new system. Nationalisation of property and state ownership of the means of production brought in several difficulties.

The peasants cared little for the Communist theory and wanted the lands for themselves. They were themselves not free from capitalist motives of profits and private ownership. They were reluctant to hand over the surplus produce to the state. When they were compelled to surrender so, they decided to cut down the production. To this state of affairs was added a terrible famine in 1921. It was the severest famine on record and claimed about five million lives. Had not the U.S.A. given generous help in this regard the toll would have been staggering.

The industrial situation was equally grave. Though factories and industrial plants were nationalised, the workers were not found suitable to run them. They were not trained in management affairs. Indiscipline and inefficiency among them hampered their work. As a result, production fell and prices rose. The breakdown of the railway system further worsened the situation. Goods and grain could not be transported to their destination. Shortage of food and diminished industrial production made people resent the Soviet Government.

Lenin understood the dangerous situation. As a remedy to this he introduced a New Economic Policy (NEP). This policy to some extent diluted the Marxian Communism and it made a compromise between socialism and capitalism. Nationalisation was applied only to big

industries and public utilities. Private enterprise was allowed to sell their surplus produce in the open market. Foreign capitalists also were allowed in a restricted way. The New Economic Policy was not a return to capitalism. It was only regarded as a temporary arrangement in the midst of stupendous difficulties. In fact it saved the Bolshevik Government and averted a bigger crisis.

6.3.3 Stalin's Period

The death of Lenin in 1924 saw a struggle between Trotsky and Stalin. Trotsky ably helped Lenin in paving the way for the November Revolution (1917) and in organising the Red Army. He believed in the immediate goal of world communism. But Stalin, being a realist, first wanted the national revival and experiments with socialism in Russia. In the struggle that followed between these two leaders and their respective followers, many members were purged and even faced the firing squad. Trotsky fled the country in 1929. He was assassinated in Mexico in 1941 by alleged Russian hirelings.

The crowning achievement of Stalin was the inauguration of a planned economy. The First Five Year Plan was implemented from 1928, the second from 1932 and the third from 1938. The main principles of the plans were nationalisation, industrialisation and increase in production. Private capitalism was to be eliminated and economic self-sufficiency was to be promoted.

The first Five Year Plan mainly aimed at industrial goods and industrial machinery. The production of coal, pig iron and petroleum was doubled. The supply of electric power was almost trebled. Many automobile and tractor plants were erected.

Cooperation from all sections of citizens was fully sought. To encourage production prizes and extra quotas (rations) were announced for factories. Several technical schools were established. The services of foreign experts were secured.

In agriculture the plan aimed at eliminating the rich farmers (Kulaks). Collectivisation was introduced. It combined the feature of communism with limited individual ownership. Small farms were grouped together for collective farming. It was encouraged by tax reduction and easy facilities. Agriculture was progressively mechanised.

The first Five Year Plan had other goals also. Efforts were made to remove illiteracy. School attendance for seven years was made compulsory. State schools were set up all over the country to impart both technical and academic training. Since Marxism is materialistic, public religion was discouraged and atheism was encouraged. Church properties were confiscated on a large scale.

Though human material was exploited on a large scale, in many cases harshly, the system of planning yielded rich dividends. Industry and agriculture progressed by leaps and bounds. Natural resources were successfully tapped. The nation grew self-sufficient in food and industries. The lot of workers and peasants had greatly improved. Unemployment was stamped out. On the whole, the success in such a short time was so tremendous that it is a record unparalleled in history.

6.3.4 Foreign Policy

To begin with, the Soviet regime tried to promote world revolution by stirring up and aiding communist uprisings all over the world. This was the foreign policy which the government followed between 1918 and 1921. Lenin organised the Third International or Comintern with

Moscow as its head quarters. To attract the people in Asia, Russia denounced the imperialism of the western powers. The special privileges which the Czarist regime had acquired in China were surrendered. Russia gave up all extra-territorial and financial rights in Turkey. The Afghans were incited to resist British control. All these acts estranged the western powers and so Russia had to remain isolated for a time from the politics of Europe.

But Soviet Russia could not remain aloof for long. Lenin realised that truce with the Capitalist world was necessary to consolidate the power of the Bolsheviks in Russia and to improve the economic conditions. Russia urgently needed foreign manufactures and foreign technical advice. These could not be secured unless the Soviet propaganda inciting the Communist Parties in other countries stopped.

After Lenin's death, Stalin also realised that peace with foreign states was necessary to ensure the success of his Five Year Plans. Russia could not be industrialised without foreign capital in addition to foreign technical assistance.

All these factors made Russia follow a policy of gradual reapproachment with the outside world beginning from 1921. She re-entered the area of world politics. Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in one country' allayed the fears of the western powers that Russia would promote Communist revolutions in their countries.

The outside world also began to recognise the new regime in Soviet Russia. Beginning with the trade agreement with England in 1921 several countries concluded trade agreements with her. This 'defacto' recognition of Russia was extended to 'de jure' recognition when England under the Labour Government established diplomatic relations with her. Soon Italy, France, Japan and most other European states accorded recognition to Russia. Though the U.S.A. had recognised her only in 1933, she had concluded commercial agreements with Soviet Russia much earlier. Common fear of Japan brought Russia and the U.S.A. together just as common fear of Germany brought Russia and France together.

The Soviet Union had at first condemned the League of Nations as an instrument of the capitalist states. Stalin said: "The League of Nation is an organisation designed to mask preparations for war". But soon afterwards Russia gave up its hostile attitude towards the League. She extended its cooperation to the League's disarmament programme as well as to its economic and humanirian activities. The Soviet delegates appeared for the first time at the World Economic conference at Geneva in 1927. Next year the Soviet Union joined the Western powers in signing the Pact of Paris. In 1929 she sent a representative to sit on the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. There years later Russia actually took part in the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Finally, as Italy and Germany became openly aggressive in their policies, towards Soviet Russia though it was to join the League of Nations (1934). It was done at the instance of France with which Russia concluded a mutual assistance pact the next year (1935).

With regard to Soviet Russia's relations with the United kingdom, we have already seen that the Anglo-Russian Commercial Agreement of 1921 provided for a commercial intercourse between the two countries. The British Labour Government had recognised the new state officially in 1924. The relations between the two countries received some jolts with the publication of the Zinoviev letter (1924) which was alleged to be an instance of the Soviet Union inciting the British Communists to sabotage British industry and to resort to strikes. However, normalcy was restored by 1929.

In the case of her European neighbours, Russia made concessions of her own territory which earlier formed part of the Czarist empire. Non-aggression pacts were concluded with Turkey, Lithuania, Iran, Afghanistan, Poland, Finland, Latvia and Estonia. By recognising some of these States which broke away from the Czarist empire Soviet Union showed that it was not guided by the old and narrow nationalist ambitions. In any case, by concluding these treaties Russia succeeded in breaking the iron circle of her foes and in progressively isolating the powers engaged in hostilities with herself.

We have already seen how France had in the beginning joined the other western powers in trying to contain the Soviet Union. The relations between the Soviet Union and France were strained on two counts. (a) the Soviet Union had undertaken several political and economic measures which affected the vital interests of France. Like the other western powers she resented the Five Year Plans of Soviet Russia. There was a fear that cheap goods would be exported to Western Europe by Russia, thereby trying to destroy the capitalist economy. France had an unfavourable balance of trade with the Soviet Union and hence she tried to control Soviet imports by a system of licences. (B) Moreover, France regarded the Rapallo Treaty of 1922, between Germany and Soviet Russia as an 'unholy alliance' between two potential enemies. However, the rise of Hitler in Germany brought a change in the atmosphere and bridged the gulf between Soviet Union and France. Even when Hitler was only propagating his views in 1931 negotiations were started for a trade agreement and a non aggression pact. The non-aggression pact of 1932 and the trade agreement in 1934 were the result of such changed attitude. Further suspicion about Soviet Communism decreased with Russia suspending its revolutionary propaganda abroad. The Soviet anxiety with regard to Hitler's hatred of communism and his resolve to wrest some of Soviet territory to be used for German colonisation further led to closer French-Soviet relations. A five year Treaty of Mutual Assistance was concluded between the two countries, in 1935. Thus the pre-war atmosphere of Franco Russian alliance was revived in a new context.

We have already seen how the Soviet Union concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany in 1922. It was reaffirmed by the Treaty of Berlin (1926) by which the two powers agreed to remain neutral if one of them was attacked by a third power.

But the rise of Hitler and the National Socialist Party (Nazi party) to power in Germany caused worry to the Soviet Union. National Socialism was violently opposed to Soviet Communism and regarded the Soviet Union as the worst enemy of Germany. During the next four years the relations between Russia and Germany were conducted on the presumption of hostility. In the Spanish Civil War the two powers gave their support to the opposite parties. Hitler concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact (i.e. anti-Soviet Union) with Japan in 1936. Next year Italy joined the pact.

But the attitude of England and France towards the Soviet Union gradually led the Soviet Union to come to an understanding with Hitler in 1939. Stalin tried much to come to a friendly understanding with the Western powers as against the common enemy, Hitler. But England and France were reluctant to come to a satisfactory pact with Soviet Russia. Stalin thought that those powers wanted Russian involvement in a war with Hitler and the mutual destruction of Fascism as well as Communism. The policy of appeasement adopted by the western powers towards Hitler made Stalin think that those powers were not reliable. England and France acquiesced again and in Hitler's successive acts of aggression in Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia. After Hitler, Mussolini openly supported General Franco in Spain, Russia intervened in the Civil War to help the republicans. But England and France failed to back up the Soviet Union in this regard. Stalin suspected that the governments of Chamberlain in England and Blum in France really subscribed to Hitler's thesis that Nazism was the bulwark

against communism. No doubts were left in the minds of the Soviet leaders about this when England and France compromised with Hitler at Munich. Stalin charged England and France with the crooked plan of inciting Germany to attack the USSR so that after Russia and Germany had exhausted themselves they might dictate terms of peace solely on the basis of their own interests.

The Soviet Union then entered into an agreement with Hitler's Germany. In 1939 Stalin concluded a commercial and non aggression treaty with Hitler. Under this, Russia and Germany agreed not to attack each other. In this manner, Soviet Russia tried to keep herself uninvolved in any future war between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other.

But the Nazi-Soviet pact was not a natural one. The Nazis hated communism while Russia hated and dreaded Nazism. Hence the pact could not survive for long and Germany invaded Russia in 1941. There is a little doubt that the conclusion of a pact with Nazi Germany was prompted by Russia's fear that the Western states would let her down if she used to remain committed to them against Nazi Germany.

Sri. K.V. Kotilingam

6.4 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Analyse the causes for the failure of democracy in Germany and the rise of Nazi party.
2. Briefly examine the domestic conditions in USSR during the inter-war period.
3. Discuss the foreign policy of the USSR in the inter-war period. What was the attitude of major European power towards the USSR?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Briefly examine the foreign policy of Germany during the 1920's.
2. Explain the causes for the success of revolution in Russia.
3. Examine the major foreign policy objectives of the revolutionary regime in Russia during the inter-war period.

UNIT - 7: THE SHAPE OF THE NON - EUROPEAN WORLD

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7.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be in a position to explain the conditions in West Asia, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, China, Japan, India, African and Latin America countries.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Once the centre of the politics of the world was Europe. Therefore other territories and areas of the world are identified in terms of their location in relation to Europe. Areas which are situated to the east of Europe are usually referred to by this criterion. For example, the area immediately to the east of the Europe, i.e. the territory of Asiatic Turkey and places close to it, is popularly called the Near East. The area that lies next to it constitutes is referred to as the Middle East. The third zone comprising of China and Japan is referred to as the Far East, as it lies far to the east from Europe.

7.2 MIDDLE EAST OR WEST ASIA

The whole territory that lies between present day Pakistan and Turkey can be regarded as the Middle East. As already mentioned we can call it as West Asia also. Some areas in North Africa, like Egypt are also included under West Asia as these areas are quite close to West Asia proper.

The area connects three seas viz., the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Red Sea. There are two important waterways also in this region. One is the Suez Canal that connects the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean. The other is the Dardanelles connects the Black Sea with the Mediterranean.

Though countries like Iran (Persia) have been independent from ancient times, most of the territories in the Middle East which are inhabited by the Arab people were in the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire. Colonial powers like England and France tried during the past few centuries to bring the Middle East countries into their fold at the expense of the Turkish Empire. They were successful in doing so to a considerable extent.

During the First World War, the Middle East countries supported England and France for various reasons. The Arabs hated the Turkish rule. To counter the menace of Germany which received Turkish support in the Middle East, England had to promise the Arabs that they would be given freedom and that the Turkish empire would be dismembered. Moreover, the principle of national self-determination as proposed by President Wilson of America gave hopes to the Arabs. Naturally, they supported the Allies during the First World War. As we here seen after the war, the Turkish empire was broken up and particularly Turkey lost all its Asian territories i.e., the Middle Eastern areas.

However, only one region was made independent after the war under the Peace treaties. It was the Arabian coastal area of the Hejaz. It contained the two holy cities of the Muslims-Mecca and Madina. Later the Country extended almost to the whole of the Arabian Peninsula (except at the tips) under Ibn Saud and came to be known as Saudi Arabia.

7.3 IRAQ, SYRIA AND LEBANON

The leaders of the Allied powers felt that the Arabs were backward and hence it was not desirable to apply the principle of national self-determination to the rest of Arab territories. Thus Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) and Syria did not get independence.

Mesopotamia which was renamed as Iraq was given to England as a mandated territory, under the Mandate system of the League of Nations. Considerable measure of independence was given to Iraq by the mandatory power, England.

Syria was given over to France, as mandated territory. France divided Syria into two areas. One is the larger dependency called Syria and the other is a smaller one called Lebanon both ruled by France. However, the area south of Syria was handed over to England. This area was further divided by England into two zones. One is the coastal zone more or less identical with ancient Palestine. The other is a desert zone beyond the Jordan river called Transjordan. Thus these important Middle Eastern areas were divided into five units with Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan under British Mandate and Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate.

The outstanding feature of the life of the Arab peoples in the post-war years is the growth of nationalism.

Iraq ceased to be a mandate in 1932 and became an independent country. Syria and Lebanon ceased to be mandates and became independent republics in 1944. In 1946 England recognised the independence of Jordan which became the kingdom of Jordan under rulers of the Hashemite dynasty. The problem of Palestine is a complicated one. It troubles the Middle East and the world even today. Hence it is discussed in detail in the next section.

7.4 EGYPT

Egypt was another Arab country that formed a part of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa. It was ruled by the viceroys of the sultan, the latter having only a nominal power. England began

to strengthen her position in Egypt from the second half of the 19th century. British control over Egypt became important because of the Suez canal which was dug during 18th century. The route through the canal to the countries of the East like India, South East Asia and Australia is much shorter than the sea route which passed round the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa. Therefore Britain got interested in acquiring indirect power over Egypt. France which was interested in Egypt from the time of Napoleon resented British control, also wanted to secure influence. Actually it was a French engineer who designed and constructed the Suez canal and because of this France had some share in the management of the canal. But British influence and control over Egypt became more prominent by the end of the 19th century. And at the end of the First World War Egypt became a protectorate of England. Egypt was given independence in 1936 by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance. In 1937 Egypt was admitted into the League of Nations. She became a republic in 1953, when a group of army officers inspired by Arab nationalism rose in revolt against the king of Egypt and established a new Government.

7.5 PALESTINE PROBLEM

Palestine which was assigned to England at the end of the First World War as a mandated territory has a long history. Originally it was the land of the Jewish people. But since 4th century A.D. the Jews started migrating outside mostly to various parts of Europe. Though the Jews got scattered all over the world for centuries they regarded Palestine as their ancient home. Thus for a long time Palestine was populated more by the Arabs and not the Jews. Towards the end of the 19th century a movement called 'Zionism' was started in Europe for the return of the Jews to their home land. (The word 'Zion' refers to the holy place of Jewish gods). A Zionist congress was organised in 1897 in order to secure a legally recognised Homeland for the Jews. Several Zionist congresses were held in latter years also to create a homeland in Palestine for the Jews. The Zionists were those Jewish sections scattered in Europe who were canvassing for a separate Jewish state in Palestine.

When Turkey entered the First World War (1914) against the Allies both the Zionists and the Arabs began to support the Allies with the hope that the Allies will help in the creation of the states they were clamouring for. But during a critical stage of the war Arthur Balfour, the British foreign minister made a declaration in 1917, perhaps under Zionist pressure that a 'national home' for the Jewish people would be established in Palestine. He had also announced that the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine would be well protected.

England had her selfish interests also in the proposal. Palestine had a political and strategic advantage for her. Control over Palestine would strengthen British control over Egypt and add to the security of the British communications with the East. The misfortunes of the Jews excited considerable sympathy in the Western countries. Hence countries like France and America endorsed the Balfour Declaration. Moreover, in the U.S.A. the Jews constituted a powerful political group which exercised much influence over the government.

The Balfour Declaration pleased the Jews but provoked the Arabs. The Arabs had been living in Palestine for many centuries though it was the land of the Jews in the long past. The political rights of the Arabs there were recognised by the Allied powers in 1915. They gave valuable support to the Allies during the war against Turkey and expected political rewards after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

But the Arab protests were not heeded. In accordance with the Balfour Declaration the Mandate for Palestine was handed over to England in 1920. There was a significant difference between Palestine and the other mandated territories. England was to create a 'national home for the Jews there i.e. create a home for the Jewish people who were not actually there in Palestine but most of them for centuries were living in different parts of Europe.

Now the Arab protest took a violent form. In 1920 and 1921 there were serious riots in Palestine. Then two concessions were made to the Arabs. (1) Trans-Jordan was separated from the Palestine and kept under an Arab ruler. (2) England promised that the Jewish nationality would not be imposed upon the Arabs in Palestine. But the Arabs were not satisfied. They did not also participate in the elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council (1923).

In fact the Arabs had several deep-rooted grievances. After the Balfour Declaration Jews were pouring into Palestine from all sides. The implementation of the Declaration meant the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination was not respected in the case of the Arabs in Palestine. Land legislation which allowed the new-comers to purchase large portions of arable soil threatened the existence of thousands of Arabs. Zionist organisations in the West were financially helping the new-comers in purchasing lands. Thus the grievances of the Arabs were not only political but also economic.

In the thirties many Jews migrated to Palestine from Central Europe to escape Hitler's barbarism. The Arabs who feared that by this they were still further being reduced to a minority broke into riots in 1936. This was the position in Palestine by the time the Second World War broke out in 1939.

After the Second World War the situation in Palestine became still worse. The national spirit of the Arabs had increased on one hand and tens of thousands of Jews were still pouring into Palestine on the other. At last in 1947 the U.N.O. appointed a special committee which proposed a partition of Palestine into three parts - an Arab State, a Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem, the last of which was to be governed under the Trusteeship Council. Most of the Jews in Palestine welcomed the proposals but the Arabs bitterly opposed the partition of Palestine. On this basis the State of Israel (the Jewish State) was declared and the United Nations Organisation approved this but with a very narrow majority of votes.

The new state of Israel was at once recognised by the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. In 1950 Israel was admitted to the membership of the United Nations Organisation.

The Arab states rejected the creation of Israel and vowed to destroy it. Their grievance against the creation of the Israeli state was increased because large numbers of Arab Palestinians fled from Israel which did not take care to provide safety to them. Thus began the intense enmity between Israel and the Arab states. The Arab states, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq attacked Israel but were defeated by the latter. Israel occupied further Palestinian territory. Since then several wars were waged between Israel and the Arab States. The problem is still complicated by the Western powers support to Israel and the Russian sympathies towards the Arab states. The Arab-Israel conflict will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by Balfour Declaration

7.6 CHINA

One of the important developments of modern times is the awakening of China. Contact with the western imperialists shook China out of her medieval lethargy. The rise of Japan as a strong power and exploitation by European powers made her realise the need of radical changes in China. The Chinese Emperor Kuang Hsu issued a series of decrees in order to put China on the road to westernisation. The most important of these was with regard to the educational sphere. The old examination system based on the study of Confucianism was done away with. New subjects were introduced with special emphasis on the scientific culture of the West. Students who went abroad for studies specially to Japan and U.S.A. brought with them modern ideas when they returned to China. They became critical not only of their own institutions and practices but also of the ways of the Western imperialists.

It is these students who became the pioneers of Chinese nationalism. It is they who loudly protested when the Paris Peace Conference (1919) awarded Shantung to Japan. They demanded the resignation of the Chinese ministers whom they suspected to be the tools in the hands of Japan. They urged the government not to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. The national feeling thus generated received further impetus under the leadership of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen who voiced a nationalist ideology. It was Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen who was responsible for establishment of a Republican state and the fall of Manchu dynasty in 1911. He became the President of the Provisional Republic of China proclaimed in 1912. The party he founded was called the Koumintang Party. It stood for Chinese nationalism.

Chinese nationalism received further impetus when Japan invaded Manchuria (1931). China appealed to the League of Nations but the League failed to do anything to check Japanese imperialism. Hence there arose the feeling that China's salvation lay in self-reliance without depending upon foreigners.

Meanwhile Chiang Kai-Shek who became the leader of China after the death of Sun-Yat-Sen in 1925 began efforts in right earnest to unify the country. He led expeditions against those controlling different parts of China and thus obstructing China's unity.

Chiang Kai-Shek undertook several measures which improved China's position internally and externally. The government was reorganised, roads, were constructed, communication facilities were improved, factories were built, schools were founded, prisons were reformed, laws were codified, foreign experts were invited and the budget was balanced.

Chiang Kai-Shek's greatest achievements were in the field of foreign affairs. He freed China from many foreign restrictions. He tried to terminate all the extra-territorial rights that foreign powers were enjoying in China. But his efforts were hampered by the Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931.

But Chiang Kai-Shek's party and government also became very corrupt. Chiang was more concerned with concentrating power in his hands. His subordinates also became power seekers. Partly because of their preoccupation with fighting the regional war lords, Chiang lost touch with common people and their economic problems.

Meanwhile, the communist movement became a very important factor in China. Inspired by the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917 a group of people like Mao Tse-Tung founded the Communist Party in 1921. At first the Communists joined the Kuomintang in the hope of winning them over to their views. But slowly the two sides felt that the differences between them could not be reconciled. Communist opposition to Chiang and the suppression of communists by Chiang Kai-Shek became common. However, the Communists were able to establish their control in some of the rural areas of China in Kiangsi first and Yen-an later. They organised Communist 'governments' and relieved the peasants from the exploitation of landlords and rich peasants.

But the invasion of China by Japan in 1937 led once again to a temporary union between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The two sides presented a united front to the common enemy. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in 1941, the Sino-Japanese conflict became a part of the Second World War. China offered stiff resistance to Japan in spite of great odds. Had they submitted to Japan before the Pearl Harbour attack, Japan would have become even more powerful. As recognition of this the Allies not only abrogated their extra-territorial rights in China but also gave her a permanent seat in the Security Council of the U.N.O. that was founded after the close of the Second World War.

But with the collapse of Japan in the Second World War the quarrels between the Kuomintang and the Communists were renewed. By 1949 the Communists were able to win the whole of mainland China, driving Chiang-Kai-Shek to a small island called Taiwan or Formosa where the Nationalists were protected by the U.S.A. The Chinese Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung proclaimed the People's Republic of China on 1st October, 1949 with Mao Tse-tung as the Chairman. But because of the USA's non-recognition of this China, the U.N.O. also did not give membership to Communist China. Formosa was still recognised as 'China' in the U.N. till 1971, when Communist China was at last admitted to the U.N.

7.7 JAPAN

The Japanese traditionally call their country 'Nipon' which means 'The land of the Rising Sun'. It is a group of islands in the Pacific Ocean. The rise of Japan is one of the most astonishing features of modern Asian history, in fact of world history.

Till the beginning of the 19th century Japan had no contact with the outside world and was dominated by medieval ideas of feudalism and serfdom. The King was the nominal head of the State. The real power was in the hands of his general, the Shogun.

The Japanese did not like the presence of foreigners on their soil. Hence they resented the coming of European traders and Christian missionaries who were visiting Japan from the 16th century onwards. A series of decrees were passed not only preventing foreigners from entering the land but also forbidding the Japanese to go outside.

But from the middle of the 19th century several changes occurred there which transformed Japan into the most powerful of the nations. From 1854 Japan began to renew her contacts with the West. America was the first to make a treaty with Japan. Other nations also rushed to make commercial treaties with her.

However, the fear of foreigners again began to grip the Japanese. They were alarmed at the fate of China in the hands of foreigners. They realised that the only way to deal with the foreigners was to become modernised. Consequently there was a Revolution in 1867. The King Mikado was made the real ruler and the Shogunate lost its power. A new constitution based on the model of the British and German constitutions was adopted in 1869. The army, the navy, the local government, the laws and the educational system were all remodeled after the European systems. Feudalism was abolished. Railways, and steamships were constructed. Great changes were made in the Japanese industry and trade.

Japan now began to entertain imperialist designs. The growth of her trade made her seek foreign markets. She first turned towards Korea which was then under the control of China. The result was the Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) which lasted for nine months. Japan not only drove China out of Korea but also invaded Manchuria. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) that concluded the war, China was forced not only to give much territory to Japan but also to pay a large indemnity. Thus Japan demonstrated to the European Powers that she was a military power to reckon with in the Far East. The war had increased the Japanese prestige as well as her appetite for imperialism. The war had also demonstrated the weakness of China and exposed her to the spoilage of the European Powers.

The European Powers, specially Russia, backed by Germany and France, posed as the friends of China and made Japan surrender most of her gains she got in the Sino-Japanese War. It should be noted that Russia and Japan were natural antagonists. Both of them were expanding powers and both of them were seeking expansion over the same area from opposite directions. Hence a collision between them was inevitable.

Japan was not prepared to forgive Russia which was responsible for making Japan lose much of what she gained from China. Moreover the growth of Russian influence in Manchuria alarmed Japan. So she was making full preparations for a war against Russia. As a prelude to it she entered into a defensive alliance with England in 1902. She asked Russia in 1904 to withdraw from Manchuria and the Russian refusal to do so led to the Russo-Japanese War (1904). In this war Japan completely routed the Russian army at Mukden, the capital of Manchuria and won a famous naval victory at Tsushima. Japan defeated Russia in more than one Portsmouth, Russia abandoned Port Arthur. She evacuated Manchuria and recognised the claims of Japan in Korea. The Russo-Japanese war raised Japan's prestige and stimulated her imperialist designs. Japan's victory showed the Chinese the efficacy of western education and methods and indirectly led to the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. India also got much inspiration in her freedom struggle when a small Asiatic Country defeated a European giant. At home Russia's position became weak with regard to her neighbours and the Romanov dynasty was soon to tumble down in a revolution.

Japan now became a rival to the European Powers in securing privileges in China. Taking the example of the aggressive European practice, she annexed Korea in 1910. She learnt European imperialism along with adopting European political institutions.

Japan's opportunity for realising her Imperialist ambition came when the First World War (1914-18) broke out and when the European powers were busy with it. As an ally of England, she declared war upon Germany and annexed her possessions. Japan's imperialism showed at its worst when Japan forced upon China with a 48-hour ultimatum the famous "Twenty ONE DEMANDS" (1915). The fulfilment of these demands not only gave her practical control over Manchuria but established a virtual protectorate over China. One of these demands provided for the non-alienation of Chinese gulfs, harbours and coasts to any other power. In other words Japan

wanted to close: China to Europe and to keep Asia for herself. Hence it is described as the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine".

Thus Japan emerged from the First World War politically powerful and economically prosperous. At the Versailles Peace Conference she secured substantial gains. However, Japan's imperialist ambition did not abate. To this was added the clash of American and Japanese interests in Manchuria. For a time war also appeared to be likely between the two countries. At this juncture President Harding summoned a conference in Washington (1921-22). All the powers except Russia that had interests in the Far East were invited to the Conference (see also Units No. 4 and No. 11).

7.8 INDIA

By the end of the First World War India entered a new phase of her freedom struggle. The year 1919 was an important landmark in the history of India's struggle for freedom for three reasons.

First, it was during that year that Gandhiji entered the arena of Indian politics directly.

Secondly, it was during that year that the Rowlatt Act came into force and that an unarmed mob peacefully protesting against the Act in the Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar (Punjab) was massacred mercilessly by General Dyer. This roused more the national consciousness of the Indians.

Thirdly, it was during that year that the Government of India Act of 1919 was made. The Act put India for the first time on the road to responsible government though on a limited scale. The ministries in the Provinces were divided-Reserved and Transferred. The transferred departments were placed in the hands of the Indians on the model of parliamentary government. Ministers were selected from and responsible to the Legislature.

The Jallianwallah Bagh massacre was so ghastly that it transformed Gandhiji, a loyal citizen of British India into a determined enemy of the British Empire. He launched the new technique of Satyagraha which he evolved and successfully tried in South Africa. The Non-cooperation Movement (1920-22) brought the British administration to a stand still. Under Gandhiji's inspiration the jail lost its terror and became a pilgrimage for the fighters of freedom. One chief feature of the non-cooperation movement was the importance given to Swadeshi and the boycott of all foreign goods, specially foreign cloth. When the movement was at its height a mob at Chauri Chaura set fire to a police building when 22 policemen including a sub-inspector were burnt to death. Shocked at this Gandhiji called off the movement (1922).

After the suspension of the non-cooperation movement a section of Congressmen led by Motilal Nehru and Chittaranjan Das formed the Swaraj Party. Their aim was to enter the legislatures under the Act of 1919 and bring about the destruction of the system of dyarchy provided by the Act from within. However, most of the Congressmen ("no changers") opposed entering the Legislatures.

The British Government sent the Simon Commission (1927-28) to study the Indian conditions and make suitable recommendations with regard to constitutional reforms. The Commission was boycotted by the Indians as all the 7 members in the Commission were Whites. The Lahore Congress (1929) under the Presidentship of Young Jawaharlal Nehru, declared 'Purna Swaraj' (complete independence) as the goal of India.

The British government now arranged a Round Table Conference in London to discuss constitutional reforms. The congressmen did not attend the conference. Instead Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement famous by the name of Salt Satyagraha. The movement had a constructive side also like propagation for Khaddar, prohibition of liquor, upliftment of Harijans etc. At the initiative of Lord Irwin, Gandhiji came to an agreement with him (Delhi Pact, 1931). Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference in London after suspending the movement. He returned to India with empty hands and renewed the movement which continued till 1934.

Meanwhile the Third Round Table Conference also was held in London. In 1932 the British Prime Minister, MacDonald announced the 'Communal Award' by which the British government wanted to separate the depressed classes from the majority Hindu community just as it separated the Muslims earlier. Gandhiji now undertook a fast unto death against this danger and gave up the fast only when he came to an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar over this, under which reserved seats were to be given to the Harijans but from the seats allotted to the Hindus.

The Government of India Act of 1935 was passed which provided for autonomy in the provinces. In the elections that followed congress ministries were formed in 7 out of 11 provinces (1937) in British India. However when the Second World War broke out India was dragged into the war without the consent of the Indian and so the Congress ministries resigned (1939) in the Provinces. The Congress Party decided not to support the British in their war effort.

The victory of the Congress at the elections in 1937 widened the rift between the Hindus and Muslims. In 1940 the Muslim League under Jinnah passed the Lahore resolution demanding a separate state of Pakistan.

The rapid success of Germany, the Japanese victories in the early years of the war in Asia made the British realise that they must do something to satisfy the aspirations of Indian nationalism. In 1942 the British government sent a team of senior ministers, called the Cripps Mission to India to offer new terms. Dissatisfied with the British attitude the Congress launched the 'Quit India' Movement (8th Aug., 1942) to which the government replied with wholesale arrest and very severe repression. Subhas Chandra Bose left India and set up the Azad Hind Government (Government of Free India) in Singapore (1943) and organised the Azad Hind Fauz (Indian National Army) to fight the British with the help of Japanese. Thus during the period of the Second World War there was no progress towards freedom in India.

At the end of the Second World War, the Labour Party which promised freedom in India came to power in England under the leadership of Clement Atlee. He sent another Cabinet Mission to India (1946) to work out a plan for handing over power to the Indians. A Constituent Assembly was formed to frame a new constitution for India. The Muslims were bent upon having a separate Pakistan even by using violence. On the 'Direct Action Day' (16th Aug. 1946) when Jinnah incited the Muslims to direct action, the gutters of Calcutta flowed red with blood. The painful drama came to an end when Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, announced that the British would leave India whether there is agreement between the Congress Party and the Muslim League about the future of agreement or not. This left no alternative to the Congress but to accept partition of India. Thus on Aug. 15, 1947 India became independence. The largely Muslim majority areas of British India became Pakistan.

7.9.0 AFRICA

A notable feature of the modern period is the European colonisation of large part of the world. America and parts of Asia were colonised by the Europeans as back as the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. It was only the nineteenth century that the colonisation of Africa took place.

Though Africa is situated very near to Europe, it remained a 'Dark continent' unknown to the European till late in the nineteenth century. It is true that the northern shores of Africa had been known to Europe from a very ancient time but most of its interior remained unexplored till late in the nineteenth century. Some of the European nations had some coastal stations in the east and the west, but they were negligible. During the first half of the nineteenth century the only important European settlements were the French Empire in Algeria in the north and the British possessions of Cape Colony and the territories in the southern most tip of Africa, which were settled by Europeans, who were come to be called as the Boers.

The main reason why Europe remained away from Africa was physical. The coasts of Africa are mostly inhospitable. Access to the interior is blocked by deserts and malarious swamps. Even the rivers are not convenient for navigation. They are punctuated by steep falls and pass through tropical forest. Moreover, the wants of the Africans were very few and hence trade with them was not profitable.

7.9.1 Beginning of Colonisation

But by nineteenth century several factors favoured the colonisation of Africa.

First, the need for labour to work in the cotton, sugar and other plantations in the European colonies in the American continents made the Europeans acquire African colonies as places to get African slave labour force. Most of the colonies on the West Africa coast came into being for this purpose.

Secondly, great explorers like Livingstone had not only mapped out the territory but also revealed the value of colonies. They were needed both as markets and as suppliers of raw-materials.

Thirdly, the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous advances in the sciences of engineering and medicine. The development of these sciences enabled the Europeans to overcome the obstacles which had so long prevented them from entering into the interior of Africa.

Fourthly, the Industrial revolution revealed the value of colonies. As observed, they are needed both as markets and sources of raw-materials, for the industries established in the major European countries.

Fifthly, the nations of Europe were eager to have colonies to increase their national pride also. Italy and Germany which were added to the list of Great Powers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century also competed with other European nations for colonies to increase their national prestige.

Sixthly the desire to spread Christianity led several missionaries to go to Africa and colonise the land specially after England made efforts to abolish slave trade.

Lastly, Africa was the only continent left for the new great powers to occupy. Asia was already occupied to a great extent and America was no longer available to be colonised.

7.9.2 Course of Colonisation of Africa by European Powers

North Africa was mainly partitioned between France and England. France occupied Algeria and Tunis and obtained a protectorate over a large part of Morocco. Spain secured control over some part of Morocco. Italy occupied Tripoli after a short war with the Sultan of Turkey who was the nominal ruler over a large part of the northern coast of Africa. Egypt and Sudan which are the most fertile regions of North Africa came under the British influence.

In Central and Western Africa many European countries had acquired colonies. The French established their control over the Sahara and a part of the Niger Valley. She also formed the Gold Coast colony. Gambia and Sierra Leone came under British influence. A British trading company established the colony of Nigeria. Germany established her supremacy over Togoland and Cameroons.

Portugal planted colonies in the region called Portugese Guinea. Spain acquired control over the region called Spanish Guinea. The only region on the coast that remained hands of the natives was Siberia.

In 1876, the King of Belgium organised a company to explore the Congo Basin. Most of it came gradually under the Belgian control. France acquired colonies in the southern Congo area. The regions to the south of the Congo were acquired by Portugal and Germany. The Portugese had established themselves in Angola and the Germans in German South-West Africa, (modern Namibia).

The earliest European settlement on the Eastern Coast of Africa was Mozambique. It was a Portugese colony. Zanzibar a group of islands in the Indian Ocean close to the East African coast belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar were divided between Germany and England. The Germans and the English established control over what were known as the German East Africa and the British East Africa. Near the Equator, Eritrea came under the control of Italy. Somaliland was partitioned among England, France and Italy. The island of Madagaskar was acquired by France. The only native kingdom which remained independent on the east was Ethiopia or Absinia. Italy tried to conquer her, but was defeated in the battle of Adowa (1896).

The first to settle in South Africa were the Dutch. Their colony in the South is known as the Cape Colony. It passed into the hands of the British during the Napoleonic Wars. But the Boers who were the descendants of the original Dutch settlers there hated the British rule. So they left the Cape Colony and settled in the regions which lay to the north of the Orange river. There two Barr republics were established, the Orange Free State and Transval. Another state grew up called Natal. The English defeated the Boers (Boer wars) and annexed all these state in 1902. All the four colonies were given self-government and joined together into the Union of South Africa. Later England added the southern part of Bechuanaland to it. Cecil Rhodes, the governor of Cape Colony established Rhodesia, a new colony to the north of South Africa.

With regard to the partition of Africa two points deserve notice.

Firstly, the partition of Africa was effected without a major European War.

Secondly, the partition was not a slow process. It began briskly in 1880s and was almost completed before the outbreak of the First World War.

By 1914 the whole of Africa was parcelled out among the European powers with the exception of Abyssinia and Siberia. Abyssinia was conquered by Italy in 1935 but was made independent again at the end of the Second World War.

Except countries like Egypt which became independent in 1936, almost all the African colonies remained under foreign domination either direct or indirect till the Second World War. Even after the War it was only in the 1960s that a large number of states became independent in Africa. The illiteracy and backwardness of Africa were responsible for its sad plight. Moreover, the imperialist powers parcelled out Africa as they liked into unnatural boxes. As a result there are people belonging to different tribes and languages in each territory. This factor even today is responsible for problems of national integrity which many newly independent nations of Africa are facing.

7.10.0 LATIN AMERICA

The region which goes by the name of Latin America consists of the countries in the South America, Central America and the Caribbean. Cuba, Haiti and Jamaica are some of the Caribbean area. Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama are the Central America. The South American countries are Venezuela, Columbia, British Guiana, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Bolivi, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina.

At the beginning of the Modern period geographical discoveries began to connect Europe with the rest of the world. Spain and Portugal took the lead in this regard and brought Latin America began to be influenced by the sense of nationalism. They resented foreign rule and began to rise in revolt everywhere. The French Revolution in Europe not only made European monarchies disappear, it also created the opportunity for the South American colonies to fight successfully against their European masters, Spain and Portugal.

In 1811, Venezuela rose in rebellion and set up a revolutionary government under the leadership of Simon Bolivar. He then occupied Spanish Columbia and Ecuador. Later he invaded Peru. Meanwhile a leader called San Martin began a revolution in Chile and proclaimed its independence. Like Bolivar he had also invaded Peru and occupied its capital. For a time a conflict appeared inevitable between the two leaders of the freedom movement in Latin America. But patriotic Martin resigned his leadership into Bolivar's hands and retired from politics. By 1825 the other Spanish colonies also became independent. The great landmark in this respect was the revolt in the Portugese colony of Brazil which got separated in 1825.

However, the King of Spain, did not want to be a passive spectator of the dismemberment of his colonies. He appealed to the European Powers for help and some of them were willing to help the Spanish King in putting down the revolts. But England was opposed to the intervention of European powers in Latin America. She promised to help the U.S.A. if that century was prepared to check European intervention in the affairs of Latin America. Encouraged by this support, President Munroe of the U.S.A. issued a declaration which goes by the famous name of the Monroe Doctrine (1823). He declared that the U.S.A. would fight any country which tried to send troops to any part of Latin America. In later year, the Monroe Doctrine formed the chief principle of the American foreign policy. As a result of the Monroe Doctrine the rebellious American colonies secured the needed protection from European intervention and the opportunity for consolidating their freedom. (But the Monroe Doctrine also made the USA a dominant power over all the other Latin American countries. Both politically and economically the U.S. exercised influence and control. It can even be said that the U.S. exercised indirect colonialism over Latin America)

7.10.1 Between the Two World Wars

Later also the U.S.A. tried to maintain intimate relations with the Latin American countries. It also tried to assure them that it would not dominate them. President Wilson declared in 1913 that the chief object of his administration was to respect the sovereignty and political integrity of the Latin American States. He hoped for a reign of justice and a period of cooperation. When the U.S.A. signed the Kellogg, the American Secretary of State declared that even without the Pact of Paris on European power would have thought of attacking any one of the South American countries or imposing its form of government over it.

Two treaties were worked out in Washington in 1929 providing for inter-American conciliation and for inter-American arbitration. President Hoover went on a good-will tour of important Latin American countries. President Roosevelt declared in 1933 that the U.S.A. would follow only 'the policy of the good neighbour' towards the Latin American States. To prove his good intentions, he gave up U.S.A.'s existing treaty rights to intervent in Cuba, Panama, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. He organised a special inter-American Conference in 1936 in Buenos Aires where the U.S.A. signed many Conference of American States which took place in 1938 in Lima (Peru) issued the 'Declaration of Lima'. The Declaration provided for respect for sovereignty and independence of each American State. This Declaration itself shows how by then the Latin American States were already feeling and resented the U.S. domination over them.

When the Second World War broke out, the Foreign Ministers of the American States met in Panama in 1939 and created a Neutrality Zone including the whole of South and Central America and South of Canada. The U.S.A. declared that the security of 21 American Republics should not be endangered.

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, the Latin American States expressed their solidarity with the U.S.A. All the Caribbean and Central American States except Mexico declared war against the Axis powers. All the South American States except Chile and Argentina broke off their diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers. The American Republics gave to the U.S.A. highly important and useful war material as well as air-bases. Before the end of the war the remaining countries like Argentina also declared war against the enemies of the U.S.A. After the war was over, all of them became the charter member of the U.N.O.

7.10.2 After the Second World War

Even after the Second World War efforts for unity were continued. In 1945 an agreement known as 'Act of Chapultepec' underlined American solidarity. In 1947 the 'Rio Treaty' was signed by 21 American Republics providing for cooperation in matters of defence. The U.S.A. gave them economic aid also. In order to implement the provisions of the Rio Treaty the 'Organisation of American States' (O.A.S) was set up in 1948. Thus the Pan-American States system was like a constellation of small planets round a huge sun.

However, this system did not last long. The Latin American States were gradually dragged into the East-West Cold War. The reasons for this are as follows:

First, the United States which, as already see, was exercising dominating influence wanted to ensure the political and diplomatic support of the Latin American countries, particularly in the United Nations.

Secondly, precisely because of the Cold War, the United States was also afraid that the influence of communism would grow in Latin America under its control even more. However, gradually communist influence, especially the influence of the Soviet Union began by the fifties in some parts of this area. For example, the revolution was the despotic and anti-popular rule of dictators who were supported by the United States.

Thirdly, the U.S. economic interests were vast in Latin America and this is the main reason why the United States did everything possible to keep Latin America in its group in the context of the Cold-War between U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

Of course, since the last 25 years things have changed and in Latin America, the reaction against the U.S. domination is common. Though many countries in Latin America are still friendly towards the U.S., it cannot be denied that in general there was a strong feeling to assert their real independence against the domination of the U.S. As we will examine later, the Latin America is now treated as the part of the Third World along with Africa and Asia. If all the countries of Africa and Asia were the direct colonies of European powers, countries of Latin America have been in indirect American domination. It is but natural that Asia, Africa and Latin America should now find a common interest in asserting their independence in the post-colonial period.

Sri. K.V. Kotilingam.

7.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines

1. Trace the events leading to the establishment of the state of Israel.
2. Briefly examine the imperialist activities of Japan upto the Second World War.
3. Examine the factors leading to the colonisation of Africa.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines

1. Trace the course of colonisation of South Africa
2. Explain the U.S. interests and its role in Latin America
3. What were the reasons for the success of the communists over then Kuomintang party in 1949.

BLOCK - 3 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DECLINE OF THE SYSTEMS

The units in this Block are:

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UNIT - 8 : THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains the conditions specially in Europe and America leading to the Economic Depression.

After reading this unit you will be able to explain the conditions which led to the great Economic Depression.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The world was hit by an economic depression and was shaken to its roots during the closing years of the third decade and the opening years of the fourth decade of this century. An economic depression is a situation where the economic condition of a country suffers from decline in profits to the producers of goods, closure of factories and trade, growing unemployment and further decline in production. In a general sense, depressions are a common and regular feature of capitalism which runs on market forces and is supposed to be free from state control. Because of this, capitalism repeatedly passes through a circle or cycle of periods of economic growth, stopping of growth, decline in growth leading to fall in production and further unemployment. But after some time, economic conditions would improve again when short supplies and cheap labour result in the beginning of new industries, more employment, more purchasing power and so on. This is called the Trade Cycle-which is regarded as a feature of capitalism. But the Depression of 1929-31 was so bad leading to closure of industries and exceptional unemployment that millions of people in America and Europe became very very poor. This depression was regarded not as a passing phase but as an indication of the general break down of the

capitalist system throughout the world. The depression occurred at a time when it appeared that the European world was settling down both economically and politically.

The world in mid-twenties had some reason for hopefulness. The Dawes plan which partly solved German's reparation problem held out for Europe promise of economic stability, while the Locarno treaties, as examined in the previous lessons seemed to assure political stability. The Washington treaties seemed to guarantee peace in the Pacific region and the Far East. The League of Nations appeared growing in prestige and influence. Therefore it seemed then that a united, peaceful and prosperous world could be hoped for confidently.

8.2 BOOM AND OPTIMISM - ECONOMIC STABILITY AND HOPE

The Locarno period not only eased tensions between Germany and France, but held in check the disruptive forces that threatened a healthy economic life in Europe since 1918. It produced half a decade of apparent prosperity and stability. The basis was the revival of world trade resting mainly on the American loans to European countries which invested this money as capital in public works and business enterprises. Goods produced by the new industries were exported in exchange for imports from abroad. Thus trade and industry within countries prospered along with growth in internal trade. Novel means were adopted to step up productivity and send cheap goods flowing round the channels of world trade. This period saw mass production of manufactured goods, livelier methods of salesmanship and high pressure advertising, growth of new industries which made automobiles, aeroplanes, radios and gramophones-along with many other articles for common consumption. For this reason it came to be called as the boom (upward movement) period.

The centre of the boom was the United States of America where the age of abundance in goods and products seemed to have arrived. For the first time, thanks to tremendous production many types of articles like cars, refrigerators, radios, were available at cheap prices for even common people.

8.3 SHRINKAGE OF WORLD TRADE

But because of its tremendous internal resources, the USA which was also the creditor to Europe neither needed nor wanted goods from the other countries. Rich in diversified natural resources, immense industrial and agricultural productive activity, it imposed taxes on goods coming from abroad with a view to encourage production within itself.

Yet the US lavishly lent money abroad, demanded repayment of war-debts and wished to sell its surplus products. Only two ways were left from the other countries to repay their war-debts and to pay for goods they imported from the US:

- i) to pay in goods and services which was not possible due to high US taxes on them, or
- ii) to pay in gold. This was the only alternative left to those countries and in fact they repaid in gold till their own sources ran dry.

As a result, most of the world's supply of gold was drained steadily into the United States. the only way for the USA to export her goods was to lend dollars enabling others to purchase its goods. But then this only increased the burden of the borrower countries and also increased the fear that some of them may not repay their loans. Other rich countries also were reluctant to loan big to countries needing them.

Money flowed from the USA into Germany for reconstruction purposes and for facilitating the payment of reparations. France and England which received reparations from Germany paid the money in their turn to the U.S.A. to clear war debts. The U.S.A again used this money for lending. This process went on repeating itself. But a time came when US lending decreased and halted the prosperity of the Locarno period was thus eventually destroyed.

8.4 THE CRASH OF 1929

The first sector which felt the beginnings of the economic decline was the agricultural sector in America and Canada. Scientific methods which enabled the agricultural sector produce in abundance lead to a fall in agricultural prices from 1926. This had an effect on other parts of the world also. The North American farmers, the Australian fruit and meat growers, Brazilian coffee growers and sugar planters in Java found world prices for their goods depressingly low. The real crash came when the American stock market, where shares in companies are bought and sold by people, collapsed on 29, October, 1929. This was the result of declining profits which made investors invest less in starting or expanding business and industry. This was called the Great Crash of Wall street, the place in New York City where the American stock market is situated.

This had devastating effects on the producers of food and raw materials. The underfed masses, specially of Asia and Africa, were unable to pay even the low prices for the goods required. The crash of 1929 meant ruin for the growers of wheat, cotton, coffee, cocoa, sugar and meat every where in the world. Ruin in one sector meant the drop of demand for all other types of goods also. Prices dropped and dropped. The efforts of different countries to protect farmers and manufactures by protective taxes only led to further decline in international trade. Bankruptcies occurred, factories had to reduce their production or to close completely and millions of workers went out of work. Decline in purchasing power still lowered demand. Thus arose throughout the world the paradox of 'poverty amidst plenty'. Stocks of food were destroyed because too many were too poor to purchase it.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by Great Crash of Wall Street?

8.5.0 RESULTS

With the Wall Street Crash, the economic growth which was visible in Europe quickly began to vanish. One country after another fell into economic difficulties which in their turn led to internal political changes in these countries.

National attempts to bring recovery were too late, too feeble or too dangerous. In spite of the new Bank of International Settlement, international cooperation did not reach a stage where over-production in one area could be adjusted by international credits to forestall the tragedy of scarcity in another.

The Russians regarded capitalism as one which was on its last legs and regarded their own state-planned economy as free from crises like the Depression and Crash. Individual nations driven

by self-interest began to insulate themselves economically by fostering self-sufficiency, and politically by creating authoritarian states. National economic autonomy became a global feature resulting in further decline in world trade. In short the Great Depression had effects similar to those produced by the First World War itself. These devastating effects were felt simultaneously on the economic, social, political, and international planes.

Ordinary people and even governmental authorities found themselves helpless to tackle the problems of sudden economic collapse in the midst of great prosperity. Financiers and economists believed the slump to be only a severe trade cycle depression. But in fact it was a crisis that developed during a long period leading almost to the breakdown of capitalism itself.

To the financial and commercial crisis was added the crisis of confidence in production and distribution throughout the world, in the democratic functioning of governments and in international peace.

8.5.1 Economic Effects

The Great Depression had humbled even the greatest financial powers of the world. Five thousand American Banks were closed in three years. America stopped lending money abroad and began withdrawing short-term loans. These measures pulled down the foundations of European recovery, specially in Germany and Austria. The biggest and the most reputable Bank of Austria went bankrupt shaking the whole of Europe. All foreign capital was withdrawn from Germany.

The situation was so serious that president Hoover of the U.S.A. had to issue 'moratorium', postponing for one year all payments on debts to the U.S.A. by the other governments. In this regard President Hoover consulted England first which welcomed the idea. The measure was opposed by France which feared that the measure was an initial step to cancel all reparations from Germany. Thus was created a source of renewed friction between two major countries of Europe.

By July British credit also began to suffer. England had to take recourse to an unbalanced budget which was only heres to her. The Bank of England began to lose gold by withdrawals at the rate of two and half millions of pounds a day. The Labour Government had to resign whereupon the Labour Prime Minister, Macdonald, set up a national government including Conservatives and Liberals. To save the pound the government took Britain out of the gold standard under which till then the values of different world countries were determined with reference to the price of gold.

All the Stock Exchanges in Europe were closed. Gold standard was given up by the Dominions too. Only a few countries remained in the gold standard which indeed made little sense in a continent almost devoid of gold.

Governments reacted to the new world economic situation in three different ways.

First they assumed drastic powers to control currency and exchange rates, raised taxes on imports and imposed stiffer quotas on imports.

Secondly, regional arrangements were made among the nations: Eg: (i) Ottawa agreements (1932) with regard to the British Commonwealth. (ii) agreements among the Scandinavian countries of the 'Oslo Group'. (iii) agreements among agricultural countries of Eastern Europe.

Thirdly, countries took collective action such as the ending of reparations. Eg: (i) The Lausanne convention (July, 1932) (ii) the World Economic Conferences in London (July, 1933)

The United States of America was the worst hit by the Depression. For example, agriculture had received a severe set-back. Steel industry worked only at one-tenth of its capacity. F.D. Roosevelt who became the President in 1932 took several measures to meet the situation. He abandoned gold standard in 1933. The New Deal programme was launched with several welfare measures to protect the employed and poor and also to facilitate the recovery of the economy. He wanted to create a healthy tonic to cure the economic paralysis by the display of courage, vigour and determination. He thought that just as collapse began in the U.S.A. economic recovery too should begin there.

8.5.2 Political Effects:

The unsettled economic and social conditions after the war, later coupled with the ill effects of the Economic Depression undermined the foundations of democratic form of government in Europe. Even before 1929 parliamentary institutions in many countries were either discredited or overthrown. Even the stronger democratic systems surviving elsewhere were hit by the economic collapse caused by the Depression.

Authoritarian governments were set up in Spain, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Poland and Lithuania. In Italy the authoritarian government of the Fascist party under Mussolini gained further support. In Germany the National Socialist Party of Hitler grew more popular.

Even in countries with more firm democratic institutions, it became common to entrust drastic emergency powers to national governments. In France the law-making power was delegated by the parliament to the cabinet and the government was empowered to issue laws by decrees. President Roosevelt of the USA had acquired special powers under the 'New Deal' programme of Germany. The National Government of Ramsay Macdonald of England was given emergency powers by five separate Enabling Acts passed by parliament.

8.6.0 MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CRISIS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

It was not only the democratic states but also the single party dictatorships like Russia, Germany and Italy that passed through internal crisis in the mid 1930s. Purges were made in the parties along with attempts to salvage the economic situation.

More than these, the 'crisis' in economic life led to a crisis in morals and psychology. In the post-1934 period all faiths in values and rights that inspired the world after the war were shaken and broken. The economic crisis and the rise of Fascist dictatorships together altered the destiny of Europe from an optimistic one to a gloomy one. Morally people were shocked that so soon after the war, Europe should witness economic and political decline.

8.6.1 Germany

The foundations of this moral crisis was first seen in Germany during the great currency collapse in 1923. the situation was aggravated by Germany having to pay millions of dollars as reparation. Unemployment and inflation created panic and hysteria among the people, specially in the middle class. Struggles and strikes became common. The Depression of 1929 made the situation more worse and ruined German economy. With this German democracy suffered. All efforts to rescue democracy, salvage capitalism and pursue peace were doomed to failure.

Leaders like Hitler propagating dictatorial policies and criticising democratic institutions and values gained more popularity.

8.6.2 Austria

Austria was the main central European victim of the crisis. The events that took place were comparable to those of Germany. Simultaneous emergence of authoritarian dictatorships was of special significance during that period. Because of economic and political instability no Prime Minister could remain in office for more than a few months. A Nazi party, having close connections with the German Nazi adopted all types of tactics including elections on the one hand and violence and murder on the other. However, Italy was opposed to the merger of Austria with Germany as that would bring a stronger Germany closer to Italy geographically. So, for some time, Germany's desires remained unfulfilled. But as will be seen later, ultimately Germany succeeded in forcibly taking Austria.

8.6.3 Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia also was considerably hit by the Depression of 1929. But because of her relative economic isolation and controlled domestic economy, she suffered less from the Depression than her western neighbours. The First Five Year Plan which was launched in 1928 was declared to have fulfilled its targets only in four years i.e., by 1932. The plan reorganised large sectors of industry doubling the industrial production. Agriculture also had recovered considerably though the policy collectivisation of agricultural lands did not prove very successful. Sixty per cent of the farms were collectivised. The Plan was meant more for production of heavy industrial goods than for increasing the production of consumer goods. However, the economic slump in the world had effected the export capacity of Soviet Russia to a considerable extent and thus the Soviet Union also suffered indirectly from the Depression.

Soviet Russia was, however, benefited in a different way. Hostility of Europe towards Soviet Russia was forgotten in Europe's efforts for economic recovery. Therefore Soviet Russia was allowed free to proceed with her long-term planning without the fear of external opposition. Those were the years when many countries in Europe even appreciated Soviet state planning as a cure for the sickness of capitalist system.

8.6.4 Italy

Fascist Italy which was one of the three single party dictatorships was also very badly affected by the Depression. Between 1926 and 1930 unemployment trebled in Italy. Its dictator Mussolini tried to hide this fact through false propaganda that Italy than in England or the USA. But Mussolini advertised his small relief measures in a great way. His propaganda misled many people in England and the USA to think that Mussolini was working miracles in Italy.

But Mussolini could not deceive the Italian citizens for long who were acutely feeling the pinch of the Depression. It was apparent that the Fascist dictatorship was no better than the despised democracies in combating the Depression. Moreover, as in all single party dictatorships discontent began to be voiced from within the ranks of the party itself. At the end of 1934 and early in 1935 a group within the party became very strong preferring an aggressive policy. The wing which mainly consisted of narrow nationalists and militarists began to press for a 'second revolution'. From this inconvenient situation created jointly by the economic slump and political discontent within and without the party, Mussolini sought to escape by resorting to external aggression against Abyssinia in Africa.

8.6.5 Other parts of the World

The Depression had its effects outside Europe too. It brought a new threat to the control of Western nations over India and eastern Asia. The native people in these places were determined to remove their colonial bonds. The situation was seriously complicated for the western powers by the rising appeal of Russian Communism in Asian countries and by the rise of imperialism in Japan. However the movements for independence and the influence of communism did not succeed until after the Second World War.

But it was a hard time for the Western powers. Fascism and Nazism were threatening in Europe. The western countries were further put to difficulties by the growth of Japan which was seriously challenging their power and influence in East Asia. They were even prepared to compromise with Japan and ignore her aggressive policies in that part of the world.

8.7 CONCLUSION

Thus the Great Depression had devastating economic and political effects on the world. Economically, the various expedients resorted to by various governments did not bring the desired relief to millions of victims. Moreover, economic unrest and political unrest supported each other to the damage of the countries. Downhearted people were easily attracted towards agitation and rebellion. Communists promised workers rule in future. Fascists promised work, bread and national glory under a national leader. These two began to score over the old institutions like democracy and capitalism. Dictators were becoming stronger in many countries and democracy was weakened.

The Great Economic Depression had considerable bearing on the Second World War.

First, countries like England, France and the USA reeled under the weight of the Depression. Several economic and social problems which arose in the wake of the Depression shook the foundations of the different states in Europe. These states which were preoccupied with their own problems could not check the aggressive acts of Italy or Germany. In a way the appeasement policy followed by France and England was mainly due to their preoccupation with internal economic problems.

Secondly, as a result of Depression unemployment became rampant everywhere. Hence states began to take all possible steps to mitigate the evils of unemployment. One of such measures was the production of arms, which provided employment at least to some sections of the unemployed millions. Thus the policy of disarmament which was a necessary condition for international peace was abandoned. It was more a curse than a boon.

Sri K.V. Kotilingam

8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. Describe the conditions that led to the economic crash of 1929.
2. Describe the economic and political consequences of the Great Depression.
3. How did the Great Depression affect the different countries of the world?

II. Answer the following questions in about 10 lines each

1. How did the Economic Depression affect international trade?
2. How did the Great Depression affect Germany and Italy?
3. What was the effect of the Great Depression on Soviet Russia?

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UNIT - 9 : THE RISE OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

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- 9.9 Hitler's Foreign Policy
- 9.10 Conclusion
- 9.11 Model Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- the conditions that favoured the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany
- their internal policies and the danger posed by them to the world.

9.1 BACKGROUND OF FASCISM

The unification of Italy was completed in the year 1870. It was a thing accomplished by Mazzini's moral inspiration, Garibaldi's sword, Cavour's diplomacy and King Victor Emmanuel's tact and good sense. Italy had been freed from foreign domination and was united into one state. She was provided with a parliamentary constitution.

But unfortunately Italy remained disorganised socially, economically and politically. People were sunk in poverty and illiteracy. The Pope and those supporting the Catholic Church were opposed to the new national government. Above all, parliamentary system of government was soon found to be unsuitable to Italy. These conditions coupled with the situation created by the First World War served as a favourable background to Fascism. The following points may be noted in this regard.

First, democratic form of Government was alien to the Italian traditions.

Secondly, Italy retained much of its local attitude and so required a strong unifying force for the development of a national outlook. This factor became most favourable for the rise of Fascism in Italy.

Thirdly, the state of Italy after the First World War contributed much to the rise of Fascism. Italy was greatly disappointed by the treatment it received at the Peace Conference of Paris. Many Italians felt that she was not sufficiently rewarded for all the contribution she made to the War on the Allied side. Hence the Government began to take a strong line and adopt a less

cooperative attitude in foreign affairs. The people also wanted the government to follow a more aggressive policy to assert Italy's importance in Europe.

Lastly, the post-war economic difficulties made the internal situation very unfavourable. During the years that followed the First World War Italy was full of disorder and discontent. It was mostly due to economic and financial hardships. The cost of living rose very high. Socialism which was already active before the war now increased its strength. There were many labour strikes. In some cases the workmen seized factories. Even the peasantry were affected. Some of them refused to pay taxes. In some rural communities peasants ousted the landlords and seized their property. Industry and commerce were in disorder. Corruption became rampant. Poverty and unemployment increased. For some years Italy appeared to be marching towards communism. The Governments, though democratically elected proved incapable of dealing with the situation. Italy now required a bold leadership to meet the internal difficulties and a party called the Fascist Party came into existence promising to make Italy strong and prominent in the world.

9.2 ORIGIN OF THE FASCIST PARTY

It was under these conditions that the Fascists appeared in Italy. Many patriots, mostly belonging to the middle class were alarmed at the inability of the government in dealing with social disorder and communist menace. It was out of them that a body of enthusiasts arose who came to be known as Fascists. Their leader was Benito Mussolini.

The Fascists adopted the black shirt as a sort of uniform and received regular drilling. They set up clubs all over Italy and attacked the socialist agitators everywhere. The efforts of the Fascists to save Italy from anarchy and communism appealed to the conservatives in the country who joined the Fascists ranks. Soon Fascism became popular. The Fascists and Socialists started fighting each others openly in the streets. Unemployed youth, ex-military men, landlords, capitalists and other such sections came under the Fascist flag. Membership of the party grew by leaps and bounds. The Italian government also remained neutral in the quarrels between the Fascists and the socialists and thereby helped the Fascists indirectly. The Fascists, however, won few parliamentary seats in the 1921 elections, but Mussolini declared in Naples (1922) that they would march to Rome if the government was not handed over to them. In fact he marched upon Rome and seized the government (1922). The Liberal Prime Minister Facta resigned. In order to avoid civil war, King Victor Emmanuel III wisely accepted the situation and offered the Premiership to Mussolini who formed the government on 30th October, 1922. This incident shows how democratic institutions were openly defied and even the King of Italy had to compromise with the Fascists.

It was now an easy march forward for Mussolini. All the anti-Fascist parties were mercilessly crushed after he came into power. The murder of a socialist member of the parliament shows to which extent the Fascist government went. All democratic institutions were suppressed. The press was controlled. Freedom of speech and meeting was seriously curtailed. Though parliament was not abolished it was reduced to the position of an advisory council. Electoral laws were changed in favour of the Fascists. In theory Mussolini was the head of the government under a constitutional sovereign, but in fact he became a dictator of the first order.

9.3 PHILOSOPHY OF FASCISM

The word 'Fascism' is derived from the Roman word 'faces' which means a bundle of sticks and an axe which stood as a symbol for strength through unity of a country. The old Roman

Empire used it as its symbol. Now the Fascists adopted that symbol. They wanted to organise themselves into 'fascios' (bundles) and carry on their work united. They represent the authority of the State. Respect for the authority of the State was the chief philosophy of Fascism. But the Fascists had not created a whole philosophy of thought; rather they have picked up suitable ideas from a number of sources. The following are the chief points of Fascism.

First, the Fascists regarded the state or (nation) as the final and most important stage in evolution. The state is not a mere aggregate or group of individuals. It is like a living organism in which all the moral and spiritual values of a people are represented. Fascism is opposed to any recognition of the individuals rights against the State. According to Fascism the individuals are completely subordinate to the State. They say that: "Everything within the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State". The State at any time can make use of the individuals as instruments for its ends.

Secondly, Fascism repudiates and ridicules democracy. It identifies democracy with mob rule. It has nothing but contempt for civil liberty of individuals, free speech and democratic institutions. On the other hand, it stood for dictatorship and strong government. In the place of liberty, equality and fraternity, Fascists wanted authority, order, discipline and worship of the nation-state.

Thirdly, Fascism has put forth the theory of the corporate State. The State does not consist of individuals, but of groups of corporations. Labourers, employers and all other interests are to be organised into corporations which are to serve as electoral colleges for the election of members to the Fascist legislature. Thus it stands for functional representation.

Fourthly, Fascism like communism which was also a product of the conditions generated by the First World War, is against parliamentary democracy and for dictatorship and one-party state. But communism rejects parliamentary democracy because it believes that parliamentary democracy does not promote real democracy, but only help the economically rich sections of a society. Therefore, Communism theoretically stands for democracy for the working classes. It, in fact, believes that the State should be abolished. Thus philosophically Communism and Fascism are totally opposed to each other. That was why Fascists regarded the socialists and the Communists as their chief enemies.

Fifthly, Fascism is strongly imperialistic. The nation, as it grows must have the means of expansion and self-expression, To the Fascists, an empire represents an inspiration and a duty. In this aspect Fascism is opposed to pacifism. Perpetual peace is a dream. According to them " war is to man what maternity is to woman".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

How the word Fascist Originated.

9.4 MUSSOLINI'S INTERNAL POLICY

Fascism did bring some benefits to Italy in the beginning.

First, of all Fascism restored the nation's confidence in itself. It restored order and made the administration efficient.

Secondly, Mussolini did much in the economic sphere. He balanced the budget and stabilised the currency. Fascism encouraged economic self-sufficiency for Italy.

Thirdly, much was done to ease the social conditions. Public works were undertaken and unemployment was reduced. Measures were taken to reduce illiteracy. Education was encouraged by increasing the number of schools and by enforcing the laws of compulsory attendance in schools.

Fourthly, Mussolini did much in the area of industry, though by supporting the workers. Strikes and lockouts were prohibited. Trade unions were controlled.

Above all, Mussolini, like Napoleon earlier in France settled the long-standing dispute with the Pope from 1671. By the Latern Treaty concluded in the Latern (palace) in 1929 Pope Pius XI recognised the kingdom of Italy as it emerged in 1870 with Rome as its capital. The Italian State on its part, recognised the Pope as a sovereign power ruler over a part of the city of Rome called the Vatican. Along with this treaty a Concordat was concluded by which the future relations between the Italian state and the Papacy with regard to the Catholic religion in Italy were defined. Thus Mussolini, like Napoleon, made a political use of religion and secured the stability of the state.

Thus Fascism saved Italy from disorder and anarchy and secured her a commanding position in Europe. But as we have seen already these advantages were secured at the cost of political liberty and democracy.

9.5 MUSSOLINI'S FOREIGN POLICY

It Mussolini's internal policy stood for autocracy and destroyed democracy, his foreign policy stood for expansion and imperialism and damaged internal peace and security. At the Paris peace conference Italy was neglected by the Allies in the distribution of colonial rewards. So Mussolini sought to rectify this wrong by adopting a vigorous policy of colonial expansion, specially in Africa. For this he strengthened the Italian army and navy. Militarily Italy was made one of the strongest states in Europe. The Fascists glorified war as a symbol of national vitality. Mussolini aimed at reviving the prestige of ancient Roman Empire making Italy into a very great power.

Mussolini turned his attention towards Eastern Europe. By an agreement with Greece Italy secured the Dodocanes Islands. But the more important event was the Italy's occupation of 'Corfu' a small place to the east belonging to Greece on the pretext that some Italians were killed. Though Mussolini had to vacate the aggression, Greece had to pay the compensation for the death of the Italians. The Corfu incident (1923) had revealed that neither the League of Nations nor the Great Powers could prevent a power like Italy if it commits aggression. Mussolini did not forget this lesson in his later adventures.

France was Italy's most powerful rival in the early post-war years. Moreover, Italy felt that France had gained much at the Versailles while Italy was put to a loss. Therefore Italy did not fully support the Treaty while France was bent upon implementing it. Again both French and Italy aimed at a naval superiority and control of the Western Mediterranean sea. Italy had even claimed Tunisia and Corsica which were under the French possession and the affair had almost

come to a crisis. Further, while France was very friendly towards some of the small states in Eastern Europe like Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Italy supported their rivals, Hungary and Bulgaria. So for some time France and Italy were not friendly. But the rise of Hitler in Germany brought a change in the Franco-Italian relations and facilitated cooperation between the two powers. Competition between them ended with the treaty of 1935 and both of them agreed to have mutual consultations if Hitler tried to occupy Austria. France and Italy also came to a settlement over colonies in Africa. Italy got some French territories in Africa and agreement was reached about Italy's status in Tunisia. But again Italy's aggression over Abyssinia once again spoiled the relations between Italy and France. And this brought Italy and Germany closer.

The relations between Italy and Yugoslavia were strained from the beginning. Yugoslavia wanted to retain the advantages she got from the peace Treaty. Prompted by agitational movement she wanted to acquire a large portion of Dalmatia from Italy. The quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia was in fact a struggle for the control of the Adriatic sea. Another issue between Yugoslavia and Italy was over place called Fiume which Mussolini claimed for security reasons. Fiume was at first made a 'free city'. But in 1924 an agreement was reached between the two powers by which a greater part of the city was incorporated in Italy. However, the quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia continued over the problem of Albania. The Tarana Treaty of 1924 brought Albania under Italy's control. Finally Mussolini conquered it in 1939.

Mussolini's role in the Spanish Civil War (1936) increased Italy's prestige'. Mussolini sent several volunteers to Spain in support of General Franco who was also fascist leader and who proclaimed a war against the democratically elected government of Spain.

But the most daring achievement of Mussolini was the conquest of Ethiopia. He wanted to wipe off the humiliation of Italian defeat at Adowa at the hands of the Abyssinians in 1896. But the real cause was that he wanted food for his growing population and colonies to enhance Italy's prestige. Hence Mussolini took advantage of some border incidents at Walwal to attack and conquer Abyssinia in 1935. King Haile Selassie of Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations. But the League did not help him. Thus Italy took Abyssinia by aggression.

Germany also was a suspect in Italian eyes. Italy had annexed South Tyrol which was racially and linguistically a part of Austria at the end of the First World War. Austria was too weak to challenge Italy. Italy feared that if Germany and Austria were to be united into one country, then Germany may claim South Tyrol again. Otherwise also, Italy was against Germany uniting with Austria. But as both Italy and Germany emerged as authoritarian states with Fascist-Nazi theories, they began to grow very friendly towards each other. In his aggression against Abyssinia, Mussolini came closer to Hitler for his support. The two dictators supported the fascist rebels under General Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Thus Italy moved very close to Germany and ultimately formally joined the Anti Cominten Pact in 1937. This pact was first concluded between Germany and Japan against the Soviet Union. This new partnership between Germany, Japan and Italy was called as the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. "Axis" means an alliance between states which is aimed against some other states. Thus Axis was first aimed against the Soviet Union. But in practice it was used by Italy and Germany to support each other in their aggressions in Europe. Thus when Germany marched into Austria and later into Czechoslovakia Italy supported Germany. Hitler, on his part, supported Italy taking over Albania. In 1939, Mussolini and Hitler signed a military alliance. When Hitler invaded Poland in 1939 Mussolini kept quite and joined Hitler after Hitler declared war against France and Britain.

9.6 WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND THE RISE OF THE NAZI PARTY.

We have seen in Unit 6 how the miserable plight of Germany after the First World War facilitated the rise of Nazis to power. The Treaty of Versailles had brought Germany down from the position of one of the great powers of Europe. She had been crippled politically, militarily and economically. Moreover, Germany had been humiliated by being forced to confess her war guilt. She was saddled with the burden of reparations. She was forced to disband her army. Therefore it was natural that there was bitter resentment among many Germans. Many people in Europe hoped that Germany would become a good and peace loving state under these restrictions. They also hoped that Germany could soon recover and become a responsible member of the family of nations. But very few people realised that the harsh restrictions would provoke the German people to bitterness and lead to the rise of militant and extremely dictatorial leaders like Hitler. But actually that is what happened in Germany by early 1930s.

The Nazi party derives its name from the National Socialist Party established after the First World War. It was founded and popularised by an unknown person called Adolf Hitler with the aim of re-establishing German greatness. It mixed socialism with nationalism, but gave more importance to nationalism than to socialism. It adored the traditional values of Germany in the military and cultural spheres. It was anti-democratic and opposed all democratic values on which the Weimar Republic stood. Though it recognised the importance of labour welfare, it felt that all workers should strive for the greatness of Germany. Thus it opposed communism and regarded Russia as Germany's greatest enemy, both historically and ideologically.

9.7 NAZI PHILOSOPHY

Nazism is not a systematic philosophy of life and society. It is only a mixture of certain ideas taken from Hegel and other writers who idolised the power of the state against the individuals. Hitler's book 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle) which is the Bible of the Nazis contains the most salient features of Nazi thinking.

First, though Nazism stands for authoritarianism and the power of the state, Hitler's book deals more about the importance of the leader (Führer). Mussolini of Italy (Fascism) spoke about 'state' because the authority of state never existed in Italian politics. But in Germany there had been a powerful state with a strong civil service and also military. Hence Hitler did not imitate the theory of Mussolini who advocated a strong state and instead advanced the theory of the importance of the leader. Hitler has traced three stages in this respect. (a) At the bottom are the people who are neither good nor bad but only mediocre. In a social struggle they fall in behind the victor and have a strong desire to find leaders. (b) Above the masses is the natural aristocracy. It is the 'elite' or the leading and the ruling class. This class grows out of the natural social struggle and is different from the group that emerges through the mechanical device of vote-counting. (c) At the head of this elite class of the national socialist is the 'Leader' or Führer. It is in his name that everything is done. He is said to be 'responsible' for all and his acts cannot be called in question. Faith in him alone can enable the people even to move mountains. In short, according to Hitler's theory, the relation of the people (folk) to the leader is essentially mystical and beyond rational analysis.

Secondly, Hitler propounded the theory of racial superiority. He stated that the German people (who belong to a branch of the Aryan race) are superior to others and are fit to rule the world. Some German writers, even before Hitler, wrote about the superiority of some races. For example, one author wrote that Aryans are the culture-creating race. They spread from the north to Egypt, India, Persia, Greece and Rome and created all the ancient civilisations. However all

the ancient cultures have declined because the Aryans interbred with the lower races. All science, art and philosophy have been created by Aryans. Jesus Christ himself was an Aryan and Christianity which originally reflected Aryan ideals became corrupt later. The practical effects of the racial theory on the national socialist policy were many: (a) It led to a general policy of encouraging population increase, particularly of the supposed Aryan elements. Even marriages and large families were subsidised. But it should also be borne in mind that German expansion was justified on the ground that Germany was overpopulated. (b) But the worst effect was the encouragement of anti-Jewish policy which ultimately resulted in untold suffering for the Jews in Europe. In Germany, to begin with the racial theory produced anti-Jewish legislation prohibiting marriages between Germans and Jews. Anti-semitism (anti-Jewish attitude) led to many atrocities. Property of the Jews was expropriated, Jews were excluded from professions and business and they were reduced to the status of 'subjects', not citizens. Hitler combined his hatred for communism and his hatred for the Jews. He propagated that communism is the result of Jewish intellectuals. National insecurity was attributed to conspiracies by Jews. All these led to a cruel policy of persecuting the Jews and finally of extermination of Jews in millions.

Thirdly, the racial theory which was allied to pan-Germanism was also used to foster the idea of an expanded German state surrounded by a ring of satellite states. This demand for more territory was justified by the national socialist party on the ground that Germany needed 'living space' which in German language was called "Lebensraum". But under the pretext of Lebensraum Germany resorted to imperial conquest of other countries. Hitler told the German people that both France and Britain were really weak and cannot stand the might of Germany. He strongly advocated the expansion of German territory so that German rule can be established in various parts of Europe as it existed in the medieval times. He was particularly emphatic that Germany should conquer Russia as the German's, according to his idea were superior to the Russians. His goal was that the German people should be the leaders of the whole region. Lastly, the theory of 'Lebensraum' had several practical implications. The Nazis believed that states grow as long as they are vigorous and they die when they cease to grow.

All these tenets meant expansion and militarism externally. It also meant the unification of all Germans scattered in many countries. Austria was to be brought into Union (Anschluss) with Germany. Alsace and Lorraine were to be secured or seized from France. All the parts inhabited by the Germans in the East European countries should become parts of Germany. All this was German nationalism at its worst and most aggressive.

Internally Nazism meant totalitarianism and dictatorship. The Nazi party alone was allowed to exist. All offices in the state were filled by the Nazis. The federal system was practically abolished. Local government was killed. People were denied the fundamental freedoms such as liberty of speech. A secret police called Gestapo was created to hound out those who opposed the Nazi party. Government control was extended to all spheres of life. The radio, the newspapers and the motion pictures come under the state control. Church was subordinated to state. All trade unions were suppressed. Communists were out cast and Jews were killed in large numbers. However, the Nazi government took various measures to increase economic prosperity and eradicate the evil of unemployment totally. The economic development of Germany during that period was unprecedented.

9.8 CAUSES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE NAZIS

Conditions prevailing in Germany after the First World War were most favourable for the rise and success of the Nazi Party. The following are the chief factors that contributed to the success of the Nazis.

First, the Treaty of Versailles was a dictated peace as far as Germany was concerned. The German delegates were not even allowed to discuss the treaty with the Allies. They were only called in to receive and sign the document. The loss of territories, the burden of indemnity, the surrender of German nationals who were charged with the crimes, the war - guilt clause - all these were ruinous to Germany's power and prestige. She was stripped not only of her Empire but also of her armaments. Germany was split into two by creation of the Polish Corridor. A large slice of the industrial area of Silesia was given to Poland. Above all, the other nations were not favourable to disarmament which Germany had hoped before she laid down her arms. It is ideal to expect that Germany would long put up with this type of discrimination. In fact the Treaty of Versailles did not make Europe safe for democracy. It actually sowed the seeds of future conflict. Some critics opine that the responsibility of the Treaty of Versailles for the rise of the Nazis should not be exaggerated. They say that Hitler would have appeared on the German scene even otherwise as Mussolini had appeared in Italy. They point out that the prestige of German had increased after the Locarno treaties when Germany joined the League of Nations also. All foreign forces had withdrawn from the German territory by 1930 and the problem of reparations ended by 1932. Hence when Germany was about to free herself from the fetters of the Versailles treaty, Hitler imposed himself on the country.

Secondly, it was the fear of communism among some important sections of the people that was cleverly used by the Nazis. The increase of strength of the Communists in the German Reichstag (German Parliament) from 77 in 1930 to 100 in 1932 alarmed the Germans to his advantage. He warned that to million Communists would spring up in the event of the failure of the National Socialist Party. Hence the Nazis received support specially from the rich people and industrialists.

Thirdly, the Economic Depression of the late twenties and early thirties had hit Germany very hard. The evils of depression came on top of the evils of a War-shattered economy made worse by the hard attitude of the victors at the Paris Peace Conference. Agriculture and industry were ruined. Unemployment was terrible. The German people, specially the middle class and the lower classes, could not secure even the bare needs of life. This provided the fertile ground for a determined leader like Hitler to secure the support of the people by promising many things to many people. The Nazis promised better conditions to the farmers, security for small traders against inflation and employment to the unemployed youth. All these coupled with the idea of the revival of German glory made people rally round Hitler.

Lastly, Hitler adopted certain tactics and methods that caught popular imagination. He used all the instruments of power i.e., force, elites and symbols. In certain cases he used force to ensure compliance to his wishes. He used the elites as the pillar of his party. Some of them like Goebbels, a close associate of his were used for propaganda purposes. The ordinary masses were bewitched by the symbols he used. If theories of 'Nordic race' and militarism served as symbols of ideas, Swastika, brown shirts and black shirts were used as visible symbols.

9.9 HITLER'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of Hitler was in accordance to his theory of 'Lebensraum'. In 1920 the official programme of Hitler's National Socialist Party laid down three principles of German foreign policy. They were:

1. The principle of self-determination should be applied to all people of German race and they should be united into a single state of Great Germany.

2. The treaties of Versailles and St. Germain should be cancelled. All restrictions imposed by the two treaties including the prohibition of Austrian union with Germany (Anschluss) should be removed.
3. Germany should be allowed to acquire new territories for the support of her people and the settlement of her surplus population.

The policy adopted by Hitler was opposed both to the pre-war system of balance of power and the post-war system of the League of Nations. He spoke about only one continental power i.e. Germany which should acquire 'world power'. The means of achieving that power should not be mere "flaming protests" but the real "sword".

In the very year of his coming on to power, i.e., 1933, Hitler took some momentous decisions. During that year he first withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and then from the League of Nations. Thus he started rearming Germany with big military forces which were forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.

France was very suspicious of Germany from the beginning and Hitler's coming to power, was fearful of France's attitude towards her. Hitler was extremely enimical towards France and wanted to isolate France. In 1934 Germany concluded a pact with Poland by which they gave up the use of force against each other in the settlement of disputes for ten years Poland became friendly towards Germany because she was afraid of Russia. Thus Poland came out of the French influence and sought security against Russian aggression.

The same year Hitler's attention was directed towards the Danube region and the Saar. The problem of Saar was solved by a plebiscite (1935) in which 90 per cent of votes were cast in favour of Germany.

The rise of Hitler raised fears not only in France even more so in Russia. The friendly spirit created by the Rapallo treaty concluded between Germany and Russia in 1922 was gone by the time Hitler came to power. Now France and Russia came together and concluded a five year pact of mutual assistance in case of aggression from an other country. The Russians were suspicious of Hitler's intentions in the east and the French about his intentions in the west and with regard to Hitler's attitude towards "Little Entente" states (Czechoslovakia and others) which were dependent on France for their security. Thus the pre-war Franco-Russian alliance came again into being under changed conditions. But Hitler regarded the France - Russian alliance as directed against Germany. He declared that the French action was against her obligations under the Locarno Treaties.

Hitler had already repudiated the Treaty of Versailles in 1934. In 1936 he reoccupied the Rhineland and isolated the Locarno treaties too. No action was taken against Hitler either by France or by England or the League of Nations. The treaties of Versailles and Locarno were undone.

Hitler did not at all object when Mussolini invaded Abyssinia. Hence in return Mussolini stood by the side of Hitler in supporting Franco whom Germany supported in the Spanish Civil War. Mussolini joined Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact and thus came the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis into existence (1937). Mussolini later concluded a formal military alliance with Hitler (1939). Meanwhile, Hitler occupied Austria with force (1938).

After swallowing Austria, Hitler turned towards Czechoslovakia. The pretext he gave was that the German people in the Sudetanland (a part in Czechoslovakia) should be united with their

Fatherland (Germany). War seemed imminent. The British Prime Minister flew back and both between England and Germany begging Hitler not to precipitate a crisis. However Hitler was relentless and so other big powers like Britain had to compromise with him. This compromise was made under the Munich Agreement (1938). By it Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetanland to Germany. The four powers, England and France, in allowing Hitler to take Sudetanland came to be called as the policy of appeasement or a policy of trying to please Hitler. This timid policy only further encouraged Germany to be more aggressive.

Hitler next swallowed the Baltic port of Memel in Lithuania.

Finally, Hitler demanded the surrender of Danzig from Poland which was again a clear violation not only of the Versailles treaty but also of the German-Polish Pact of 1934. Now England gave up her policy of appeasement and announced that England would come to the rescue of Poland in the event of German aggression. Moreover, England, France and Poland concluded alliance according to which the three powers stood guarantee to each other's territorial integrity. Hence when Hitler invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939, England and France had no choice but to declare war against Germany. Thus began the Second World War.

9.10 CONCLUSION

1. Just before his invasion of Poland, Hitler concluded a pact with Russia (August, 1939). It appears surprising how there could be a Nazi - Soviet Pact when Russia hated Nazism while Germany hated Communism. It was only recently (1935) that Russia concluded a pact with France, fearing German aggression. This new agreement between Germany and Russia was the outcome of the following factors. Hitler wanted to make Russia neutral when he wanted to invade Poland. Otherwise he had to fight on two fronts i.e., on the east against Russia and on the west against England and France. Stalin, the dictator of Russia, also was afraid that the Western powers wanted to involve Russia in hostilities with Germany and keep themselves aloof. The fact that England and France did not consult Russia at the time of the Munich Agreement offended Stalin. Moreover an understanding with Hitler provided an opportunity for Stalin to extend Russia's influence in Eastern Europe. However, the German - Soviet pact was an unnatural marriage which was the result of convenience, not of real understanding. The pact was broken when Hitler invaded Russia (1941).
2. It also appears surprising why England and France followed a policy of appeasement against the aggressions of Hitler. It was the result of three factors.
 - a) Both England and France were facing terrible economic troubles because of the Great Depression. Their economies were shattered. England had troubles in different parts of her empire also while the diminishing population of France was a serious factor to her from the military point of view. Thus they were preoccupied with their domestic problems.
 - b) Both England and France were afraid of Russia and her Communism. The Western powers wrongly thought that they could check Soviet expansion by supporting Germany. Therefore they were prepared to keep silent when Germany occupied other states illegally.
 - c) England and France probably believed in the traditional diplomacy and did not suspect Hitler's sinister designs. Chamberlain believed in Hitler's assurances. It was only after the German occupation of Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, in violation of the Munich Agreement that British policy had radically changed. Now Chamberlain declared that England would resist "any power which attempted to dominate the world by force". But

it was already late. Hitler, encouraged by the timid policies of a big power like Britain, grew bold and indulged in further aggressions also. He finally invaded Poland. But England and France this time decided to stop Germany. Thus started the Second World War.

Sri K.V. Kotilingam

9.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Describe the philosophy of Fascism
2. What was Italy's foreign policy under Mussolini?
3. Describe the salient features of the Nazi philosophy.
4. How far was Hitler responsible for the Second World War?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. What was the importance of Mussolini's Lateran Treaty with the Pope in 1929?
2. Trace the relations between Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany.
3. Trace the rise of Nazism in Germany and account for its success.

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UNIT - 10 : THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be in a position to

- explain the working of the League of Nations
- its political and non-political achievements; its failure and the various causes that contributed to such failure.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The League of Nations came into existence on 10th January, 1920 when the Treaty of Versailles came into force after the first world War. We have already discussed the composition and powers of the League in an earlier lesson. The League was in existence for about two decades from 1920 to 1939 though it was formally merged in the United Nations Organisation in 1946 after the Second World War. In about 20 years it was called upon to deal with several political disputes most of which were connected with issues arising out of the First World War. The League was able to solve many of the problems. It was, however, not able to solve the other problems primarily because they involved the Big States and because the League had no coercive powers against the big powers. It is these problems that ultimately led to the failure of the League and the outbreak of the Second World War. But it should be said to the credit of the League that it was successful in the non-political sphere. This coupled with the partial success in the political field gave hope to mankind about its future, though the League had formally disappeared. It was to take rebirth in another form, that is, as the United Nations.

10.2.0 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE - POLITICAL

One of the main and difficult functions of the League of Nations was the pacific settlement of disputes among sovereign states. The problems were not confined to Europe or to the peace treaties signed after the First World War alone. It had to deal with disputes among states in various parts of the world. We will discuss a few instances of the League's work.

10.2.1 Aaland Islands

The first dispute to come before the League of Nations was the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the sovereignty of the Aaland Islands (1920). According to Article 11 of the covenant of the League any friendly nation without selfish interest may bring an international dispute to the notice of the League for settlement. It is under this Article that England brought the Aaland Islands who were under the authority of Finland and who once belonged to Sweden. Though the government stayed aloof from the agitation, the Swedish people had sympathy with the agitators. When the government of Finland sent troops to the Aaland Islands and arrested the agitators, the people of Sweden demanded counter-action from their government. War appeared to be likely and so England took the initiative in bringing the dispute to the League of Nations. A meeting of the Council of the League was held in London where both parties presented their case. The Council gave its decision in 1921. Under this the Aaland people were to have autonomy and their political rights were to be protected but Finland's authority was confirmed. Thus a potential quarrel was avoided and a good compromise solution emerged.

10.2.2 Albano - Yugoslav Crisis

According to Article 16 of the League's Covenant, sanctions may be imposed over a State which disturbs peace and security or violates the League's recommendations. The League threatened for the first time to use the Article in the Albano-Yugoslav crisis. The problem arose out of the

alleged advance of the Yugoslavia. Prime Minister Lloyd George of England sent a telegram to the Secretary-General of the League informing him about the threat to international peace and requesting him to summon a meeting of the Council to examine the possibility of using Article 16 of the League's covenant, i.e., sanctions. Within a week the Council met. Both nations Albania and Yugoslavia gave public assurances not to resort to war. A neutral zone was established between the two countries and the trouble ended within a short time. Here again, the League was able to intervene and help in solving a dispute between two nations.

10.2.3 Dispute between Greece and Bulgaria

The settlement of the Greek-Bulgarian conflict is one of the solid achievements of the League of Nations. In October, 1925 the commander of a Greek frontier post was killed along with one of his men. By way of reprisal, the Greek army marched into Bulgaria which appealed to the League of Nations. Within three days the Council of the League met and asked the Greek government to withdraw its troops within twentyfour hours and return to pre-hostility conditions within sixty hours. Within a few days the governments of England, France and Italy were asked to send military commission to the spot to enquire into the incident and report to the League. Both parties - i.e., Bulgaria and Greece agreed in advance to accept the decisions of the League's Commission. The report was ready within a week's time. Greece not only withdrew her troops but also paid 210,000 dollars to Bulgaria by way of damages as per the report of the Commission. Here again we see effective active action by the League.

10.2.4 Dispute between Peru and Columbia

The League of Nations had successfully resolved the dispute between Peru and Columbia also. In 1932 Peru seized the border Province of Leticia from Columbia. War seemed imminent. But the League of Nations intervened immediately and its timely actions prevented war between the two countries. The province of Leticia was peacefully given back to Columbia.

We have already seen how the League of Nations was mostly successful when the parties involved in a dispute were small powers. Most of the examples given above belonged to small States and so the League had achieved considerable success with regard to them. But there were many disputes which the League could not solve because they involved big powers. The following disputes belong to this category. They were solved outside the League of Nations. They only satisfaction is that the League of Nations had dealt with them to a certain extent as an international organisation. It was only when these disputes were of a serious nature that the League had failed and then the Second World War became inevitable.

10.2.5 Dispute between England and France

In 1921 there arose a dispute between England and France over the nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco. The decrees issued by France in Tunis and Morocco conflicted with the nationality laws of England. The French decrees provided that any person either born in France or on the soil of the French colonies would be a French citizen. The British government asked the French government to refer the matter to arbitration. But France contended that it was purely a domestic or internal affair of France. But the permanent Court of International Justice opined otherwise and ruled that it was not purely one of domestic jurisdiction. The dispute was finally decided by the mutual negotiations between the foreign ministers of England and France. Though this was not a dispute that threatened peace and security, yet it shows how initially the big powers assumed hard attitudes.

10.2.6 Seizure of Vilna by Poland

In 1920 Poland seized Vilna in Lithuania by force of arms and separated it from Lithuania which was actually in possession of that place. The League had tried to mediate in the affair. But Poland

with the backing of France rejected the League's offer of mediation. An independent accord was concluded among France, England and Italy in 1923. The accord upheld the seizure of Vilna by Poland. Here we see Poland with the help of a big power like France successfully robbing Lithuania, a small state, of its territory and the League unable to do anything.

10.2.7 The Corfu Affair

The Corfu incident which took place in 1923 really exposed the weakness of the League's machinery in dealing with disputes involving a Great Power. In August of that year, an Italian General along with three of his men were murdered on the Greek soil. The Italian government under Mussolini demanded apology as well as full reparation for the crime. As Greece refused to accept all the demands, Italy occupied the Greek Island of Corfu. In September, 1923 Greece referred the matter to the League's Council. The League could not do much in the matter. Though war was averted and Corfu was returned to Greece, it was not the League but the Council of Ambassadors that solved the dispute. Greece had to pay the indemnity or compensation which Mussolini demanded. The incident shows clearly how a big power could disregard the League of Nations if the big state was determined to have its way. But some critics opine that the matter is not wholly discouraging on the ground that the League had acted vigorously and was within an easy reach of settlement of the dispute. It proved that there was a forum before which even a Great power like Italy had to defend itself at the bar of world opinion.

10.2.8 Seizure of Memel by Lithuania

Lithuania which was not a great power seized the city of Memel in January, 1923. The place was till then administered by the Allies pending a final decision with regard to its fate. The League of Nations was forced to accept this act of aggression. However, it was able to effect an agreement which secured some autonomy to the German population of that city.

10.2.9 Mosul boundary dispute

The Mosul boundary dispute involved England which was a Great Power and Turkey which was not a member of the League of Nations by then. According to the treaty of Lausanne (1923), the frontier separating Turkey from Iran which was a mandated territory to England, was to be drawn by a friendly arrangement. But the parties failed to agree on a mutually acceptable boundary line because both of them claimed the Mosul region which was rich in oil. The matter was referred to the League in 1924. The situation became very grave and a number of frontier incidents had also occurred. A neutral commission of enquiry appointed by the League heard both the parties to the dispute and submitted its report to the League's Council in September, 1925. By this time Turkey also became a member of the League. Turkey agreed in advance to accept the decisions of the League's Council on which she was given a seat also. Since the decision was to be unanimous, it meant that any decision could not be taken without Turkey's own consent. But when the boundary commission actually gave Mosul to Iraq (England) and the Council wanted to follow the commission's advice, Turkey went back on her word and refused to accept the League's decision. However England entered into a compromise with Turkey. The Anglo-Turkish treaty gave a small part of the Mosul region to Turkey along with some royalties on the Mosul oilfields and England was allowed to keep the rest of the Mosul territory as part of Iraq. However, even this case cannot be considered as a test of the League's strength in imposing its decision on a Great Power. In fact the settlement was favourable to England and so she accepted it.

10.2.10 Dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay

Armed clashes began to take place between Bolivia and Paraguay from 1928. In that year itself the League had sent a telegram to the two powers asking them not to disturb international peace at least as members of the League. The mediation of the Pan-American conference (1928) and

a meeting of the two powers in Washington (1929) came to nothing. The report of the Commission of enquiry appointed by the League (1932) was not accepted by Paraguay. Because she felt that she had a strong case, she even gave notice of quitting the League if the dispute was not decided in her favour. The issue continued for some time. The dispute was finally solved outside the League as a result of the efforts of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and the United States of America (1938).

10.3.0 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE NON-POLITICAL

The League of Nations had not been successful in its efforts in the political sphere. It could not secure disarmament nor could it prevent aggressions and wars. But it did accomplish much in promoting social and humanitarian and economic co-operation between countries.

10.3.1 Health Services

The League of Nations set up the Health Organisation in 1923 with a Health Committee and a Secretariat. This Organisation performed a lot of useful work in organising action against malaria, leprosy, smallpox, cancer, tuberculosis, syphilis, heart-disease, cholera, plague and other diseases in many parts of the world. It helped researches in medicine. It helped nations to improve national health and organised technical conferences. This organization can be regarded as the predecessor to the present World Health Organisation under the U N O.

10.3.2 Humanitarian activities

The League of Nations was entrusted with some humanitarian services which it discharged with considerable success. It released about 1 1/2 millions of prisoners-of-war from Russia and sent them to their respective homelands. It cooperated with China to organise relief work in flood affected areas. It helped the Greek government in settling about 1 1/2 millions of refugees from Turkey.

10.3.3 Financial activities

There was a Financial Committee of the League to advise it on financial matters in general and on financial assistance to member countries. The Committee tendered advice of financial problems also which could be solved by international cooperation. It helped to tackle such problems as counterfeiting and falsification of commercial documents.

The Financial Committee was responsible for the issue and supervision of League's loans to Austria, Hungary, Greece and other countries. A general finance conference was held in Brussels (1920), in Geneva (1927) and in London (1933) to help nations in the field of financial relations.

When Austria was on the point of economic collapse in 1921-22. The League of Nations arranged for an international loan and helped the country's economic recovery. Similar help was given to Bulgaria and other countries also. The League established international conventions with regard to customs, export of certain commodities etc.

10.3.4 Social Services

The League of Nations had turned out much socially useful work. It achieved much in the field of control of business in dangerous drugs like opium, hashish and other dangerous drugs, prohibition of traffic in women, promotion of child welfare, suppression of trade in obscene

literature etc. The League also held a slavery convention in 1925 to abolish slavery Commission in 1932, to enforce International regulations against slavery in any part of the world.

10.3.5 Minorities

In spite of the adoption of the principle of national self determination at the Paris Peace Conference, large minorities were still left under alien rule or were transferred to alien governments. About 7 1/2 million Germans, 3 million Magyars, 1/2 million Yugoslavs, 1 1/2 million Bulgarians and 4 1/2 million Ukrainians were placed under the rule of alien rulers. There was frequent tension as efforts were made by the majority groups in various countries to assimilate the minorities. These minorities were demanding protection of their languages, cultures and other minorities rights.

The Peace Conference made certain provisions for the protection of the rights and liberties of the minorities. The League of Nations was given the responsibility to see that those obligations were actually carried out by member countries. Another precaution that was taken with regard to the minorities was that the guarantee treaties signed by the governments of old and new countries with regard to the minorities were made a part of the fundamental law of the concerned countries. Such minorities treaties were signed by Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Greece, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. The minorities were given the freedom of religion, civil and political rights of citizenship and equality before law without any distinction of birth, nationality, language or religion.

But, the League itself could not directly compel any country in the case of protection of minorities. There was nothing about the minorities in the Covenant of the League of Nations. But even then it had taken some effective steps to safeguard the welfare of the minorities. The League's different organs were constantly used to make policy recommendations for the protection of minorities rights. For example, the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat devoted a good part of their efforts towards this. The minorities section of the Secretariat was entrusted with the duty of receiving petitions from or on behalf of the minorities from any member country.

However, even these efforts were not free from defects. The procedures of receiving petitions were not at all quick but dilatory. Neither the minorities nor the petitioners were given the benefit of hearing. The Council of the League being only a political but not judicial organ could only resort to measures of conciliation and compromise. Above all, the big powers did not sign any treaty with regard to the welfare of the minorities as the smaller powers had done. They did not use their influence in ensuring fair treatment to minorities everywhere. The League of Nations could not prevent the persecution of the Jews in Germany and other countries. This was a glaring example of the League's inadequate influence to ensure the protection of human rights then.

10.3.6 Transport and Communications

The League had set up the autonomous Communication and Transit Organisation in 1920. The organisation cooperated with river commissions, labour unions, railway agencies, air traffic associations etc. belonging to various nations. The League tried to simplify procedures to facilitate passenger and goods traffic internationally. A model passport was adopted for general use throughout the world. It recommended that stringent regulations with regard to passports and visas should be removed. It recommended agreements with regard to transport in international rivers, maritime signals, the lighting of coasts and road traffic. Help was given to the Polish government with regard to inland shipping problems and to the Chinese government with regard to the development of waterways and roads.

10.3.7 Legal activities

The League of Nations had undertaken several legal activities. It was responsible for drawing up a large number of international agreements and conventions. An attempt was made to codify laws relating to nationality, territorial waters, state responsibilities etc. The permanent Court of International justice played a major role in all these activities.

10.4.0 CAUSES OF THE LEAGUE'S FAILURE

The League of Nations had made sincere efforts to promote national security and international peace for about fifteen years since the Treaty of Versailles. But the League could not be better than the members who composed it. The members did not abide by the recommendations of the League when those recommendations conflicted with their national interests. As time passed on the war-time unity of the Allies had disappeared and gave place to disagreements over subsequent policies. Other nations were in no mood to share the heavy responsibilities when the U.S.A. the most powerful nation on earth, was not a member of the League. Besides these, there were other factors which contributed to the failure of the League of Nations. They may be stated as follows.

10.4.1 Weak Foundations

It was a grave political mistake to include the Covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty. The inclusion made many states to regard the League as only a part of the Versailles Treaty and nothing more than that. It seems as if the victorious powers wanted to build an organisation on the basis of the humiliation and weakness of the defeated powers. The League appeared to be an institution meant to safeguard the political arrangement organised by the victors for their own advantage. The defeated powers like Germany regarded the League as an impediment to their recovery and progress. Even victorious powers like Japan and Italy did not like the status quo protected by the League.

The working of the world organisation was based on democratic and parliamentary practices. Such practices are more familiar to England and France but were new to the majority of the League's members. They found it difficult to adjust themselves to such parliamentary practices as majority rule and compromise.

10.4.2 Defects in the Covenant

There were some defects in the Covenant which put the League to difficulties in promoting peace.

First, war was not outlawed or completely forbidden. War between any quarrelling states was lawful (a) if the League's Council failed to submit a unanimous report with regard to a dispute (b) if the dispute concerned matters covered within the domestic jurisdiction of any state and (c) if three months elapsed after an award or decision was made by the League.

Secondly, forcible measures and military operations which did not fall within the legal definition of war did not come within the League's jurisdiction. For instance, the Japanese aggression in Manchuria was not war in the technical sense and so Japan was named as an aggressor by the League.

Thirdly, the Covenant provided for a weak system of sanctions. It was virtually impossible to implement sanctions because the League had no 'teeth' or military resources. As a body the

League had no military power independently of the member states. When the League attempted to apply the sanctions to Japan for its aggression in Manchuria and to Italy for its aggression in Abyssinia, both the aggressors withdrew from the League.

10.4.3 Helpless before Big Powers

Most of the members of the League asserted their independent sovereign status and were unwilling to tolerate the League's interference in their affairs even if they concerned the League. This was more so with the Big Powers. England was more concerned about her Empire than the international body. The U.S.A. (though not a member of the League, was more interested in her Monroe Doctrine) and hence was opposed to League's concern with the American continent. As we have already seen Japan, Italy and Germany did not like the interference of the League with their policies which were aggressive. They withdrew from the League when it tried to do something to stop their aggressive actions. The League had to play a role that was little better than that of a helpless spectator of blatant aggressions by powerful and mischievous states.

10.4.4 Failure in achieving disarmament

One of the new principles included in the Peace settlement was disarmament. The objective was no doubt excellent. But the provisions relating to the limitation of arms were applied only to the defeated states. Hence it was suspected that the Big Powers wanted to keep their potential enemies such as Germany in a state of perpetual weakness. This explains why the efforts directed towards disarmament did not fully succeed, though the League did make some efforts.

The first important step towards disarmament were taken at the Washington conference (1921-22). But the decisions were confined only to naval matters with regard to the British Empire, the U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy. Moreover, the League of Nations as a body took no part in this conference although all its participants, except the U.S.A., were members of the League.

But the League did not pursue the issue of disarmament seriously after the Washington conference. However the entry of Germany into the League after the Locarno Treaties brought the issue again to the forefront. But this time Germany insisted on the general limitation of armaments of all nations as promised by the treaty of Versailles, not merely German disarmament. The Council of the League appointed a preparatory Commission to pave the way for a Disarmament Conference. The Commission which met in 1926 could not arrive at an agreement. While France presented her own views about disarmament England and Germany thought otherwise. The three power conference of big powers also held at Geneva in 1927 could not achieve anything.

The Naval Conference held in London in 1930 achieved some success and extended the Washington Treaty for a further term of five years. This encouraged the League to organise another Disarmament Conference in 1932 which was attended by as many as 61 states including 5 non-members of the League. But there were too many plans and the delegates brought as many as 337 separate proposals. The conference failed to evolve any general principle. Unable to achieve any working compromise the conference ceased to meet from 1934. The failure of the conference may be traced to three important reasons.

First, the conference began its deliberations at a time when the political climate and economic situation were unfavourable. Japan invaded Manchuria and Nazis were rising to power in Germany.

Secondly, Germany demanded equality with regard to disarmament while France demanded security, the two could not be reconciled. After coming to power Hitler Germany withdrew from

the Disarmament Conference as well as from the League of Nations. . There could be no general disarmament without German cooperation. In fact, Germany openly declared that she was no longer bound by the limitations imposed upon her.

Thirdly, some of the great powers had conflicting views over the issue. The Soviet Union advocated Universal disarmament. France proposed the organisation of international police working under the League to supervise the measures taken by different states with regard to disarmament.

The main problem with disarmament was differences of opinion as to how to achieve it. Some countries proposed that armies of the nations should be reduced in number. But the problem was how to guarantee that reductions in armies really took place. Others proposed that the defence budgets of countries should be reduced but here again differences of opinion arose about the effectiveness of this method. Should the armies of the countries be reduced in quantity, i.e., in numbers or in quality i.e., limiting more destructive type of weapons like submarines, big ships air crafts and etc. The Disarmament Conferences of the League had spent much time on these general proposals, but in the end nothing came out of these conferences.

Thus failed the attempts to achieve disarmament before the Second World War. As a result there prevailed the same atmosphere which prevailed before the First World War. Competition in armaments grew and secret treaties were concluded. The spirit of Balance of power returned and the spirit of the League of Nations slowly vanished.

10.4.5 No Collective Security

One important reason for the outbreak of the Second World War was the failure of the collective security system set up after the First World War. 'Collective Security' means collective measures for maintaining international security by resisting threats to peace. It implies a machinery for joint action to prevent (or counter) any attack against established international order. The underlying idea is that peace is indivisible. It also implies that the world body should have 'teeth' (military force) at its command. 'Collective Security' differs from 'Collective Action'. In that while the former is a permanent arrangement made under the aegis of the world organisation the latter is only a temporary arrangement made by a few states.

The Covenant of the League of Nations provided for collective security. Article 10 of the covenant mentions that every member of the League should respect the territorial integrity of the members of the League. Article II says that war or the threat of war should be a common concern to the whole League. Article 16 provides for 'sanctions' against an aggressor. If economic sanction fails, force also may be used.

But there are three important defects in the arrangements made in this regard.

First, Article 5 of the Covenant says that there should be a unanimous decision in the Council of the League to take any action, Because of the mutual jealousies of the Council members unanimity cannot be expected.

Secondly the League of Nations did not define war and so war was not completely outlawed. States began to take to military operations even when their disputes were before the League.

Thirdly, the League of Nations had no military force to effectively apply sanctions against any aggressor.

Thus the system of collective security became weak from the very beginning. France found the League of Nations useless and was desperately in search for security. In fact the Locarno Treaties (1925) and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) clearly show the ineffectiveness of the League in maintaining peace and security. The aggression of Japan in Manchuria and the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia clearly revealed the weakness of the League. Total failure of the League came with the aggressions of Hitler and his direct violations of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The premature death of the League was mainly due to the fact that it failed to maintain the system of collective security.

10.4.6 Economic Nationalism

The spirit of nationalism that prevailed before the Second World War was another factor that contributed to the failure of the League of Nations. The Economic Depression of 1929-31 was so severe that the political and economic system began to collapse everywhere. To counteract the evils of Depression every state including the Big States began to take all possible steps to protect only their interests. Every state began a tariff war and the international trade shrank to alarming levels. The world Economic Conference which tried to do something in this regard could achieve little. The economic distresses led to the rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and militarism in Japan. These states embarked upon a policy of aggression not only for markets but also for raw-materials. This situation gradually led to the failure of the League of Nations and the outbreak of the Second World War.

10.4.7 Not a Representative Body

One of the weaknesses of the League of Nations was that it was not really a representative body. At no time of its history all the members, at least the Big Powers, were inside the League.

The USA did not join the League at all though it was President Wilson who insisted that the Covenant of the League should be a part of the Treaty of Versailles. The First World War had affected the global importance of Europe and it ceased to be the centre of the world. It was necessary to establish a new order on a world-wide scale. But this could not be done without the American cooperation.

Germany was not a member of the League till 1926 and even afterwards it withdrew from it in 1933 when its acts of aggression began to be questioned. So also Japan left the League in 1933 and Italy in 1937. Soviet Russia became a member of the League only in 1934 but it had to be expelled from it in 1939. England and France were the only Great Powers left in the League by 1940.

10.4.8 British and French Dominance

When the League of Nations started functioning the United States of America stood aloof, Soviet Russia was engulfed in Revolution and Italy was in order. Naturally the task of defending the Versailles system fell upon England and France. They became the guarantors of the treaties, the protectors of little states, the keepers of the peace and the agents of the League of Nations. They had not only the responsibility but also the hegemony of Europe.

But this arrangement led to two important difficulties.

First, England and France did not see eye to eye on many issues. The differences were specially strong with regard to the issue of Germany. Thus the League of Nations could not get united leadership

Secondly, there was resentment against the Anglo-French leadership. The League of Nations controlled by these two powers was regarded as a partisan body only. Thus the moral authority of the League was weakened.

10.4.9 Attitude of Big Powers

Any organisation is what its members make it. The League of Nations would have succeeded if the Big Powers had displayed a healthy attitude towards it. To some of them the League was only an utopia that cannot be worked successfully. To some others it was only a useful or useless organisation depending upon conditions or selfish interests.

Prime Minister Lloyd George of England tried to utilise the League partly to contain the Soviet Union. Clemenceau of France regarded it as an instrument to safeguard the peace settlement. Germany considered it as an organ of the victorious powers. To Soviet Russia the League was an imperialist agent to destroy her new civilisation.

- a) As already observed, the USA was not a member of the League of Nations. Hence its rivalries with Japan did not come into the orbit of the League. These rivalries resulted in the Second World War.
- b) Russia was not admitted into the League till 1934 because of the fear of Communism. It was only when Nazism was raising its head that she was admitted into the League. Moreover, its suggestions were usually disregarded by the other Big Powers over many issues. It is interesting to note that Soviet Russia was not consulted at all at the time of the Munich agreement. All these made Russia pursue her own course of action including the occupation of her neighbouring territories. Ultimately her occupation of Finland in 1939 led to her expulsion from the world body.
- c) Though England played an important role in the League's affairs from the beginning, it had serious differences with France which was the only other power that played a dominant role with regard to the League. England was afraid of Russian Communism. This had made her go even to the extent of appeasing the German and the Italian aggressors.
- d) As already observed, France had played a dominant role with regard to the League from the beginning. But in her Quest for security she gave only secondary importance to the League of Nations. It was as a result of the French Quest for security that the Locarno Treaties and the Kellogg-Briand Pact were concluded.

As a result of all these, the history of the League of Nations between the two World Wars became one of deceptions, frauds and trappings. The very diplomats who had to operate the covenant began to circumvent it. If these were the foes of the League from within, militarists and Fascists began to attack the League openly from without.

10.4.10 Aggressive acts-that sounded the death-knell of the League of Nations

It was Japan's aggression in Manchuria, Italy's aggression in Abyssinia, Civil War in Spain and Hitler's aggressions that administered mortal blows to the League of Nations. The first three of these four are dealt with in detail in the next lesson and the fourth is already discussed under Hitler's foreign policy.

- a) The first shock to the League of Nations was given by Japan. In 1931 she violated the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg Briand Pact by occupying the Chinese territory of

Manchuria. It had also set up a puppet state there. China appealed to the League of Nations. The League condemned this act of aggression and appointed a commission under Lord Lytton to report. But the League's efforts had no effect on Japan. When the Commission's report went against her, Japan withdrew from the League (1933) and continued her aggressive policy. Her aggressive activities ultimately merged in the Second World War.

- b) Italy under Mussolini pursued an imperialist aggressive policy. She made an unprovoked attack upon Abyssinia (1935) which was a member of the League. Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Abyssinia appealed to the League against Italy's aggression. The League declared Italy to be the aggressor and recommended the application of economic sanctions. But the sanctions were not effective and Haile Selassie fled abroad, because the big powers like England, France did not cooperate with the League. The King of Italy was proclaimed Emperor of Abyssinia. Italy withdrew from the League (1938). It was a shattering blow to the League of Nations. It had clearly proved that the League had no 'teeth' and that collective security was a dream.
- c) The civil war in Spain was another international event that showed the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations. Spain became a ground of conflict between democracy and dictatorship which ended in the victory of the dictator Franco. England and France because of their differences of opinion, remained neutral and watched the course of events in a resigned way. The help of socialists and communists from all countries could not save the republican government which was socialist in nature. Franco who was inclined towards Fascism received invaluable help from Hitler and Mussolini. The whole affair took place beyond the purview of the League and served as a rehearsal for the bigger war to come.
- d) It was Hitler who finally hit the League mortally. His aggressive acts in Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and finally in Poland pushed the world into the Second World War.

The outbreak of the war indicated that League of Nations failed in its primary function i.e., maintaining security and peace and preventing war.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

Why League of Nations could not become a representative body ?

10.5 CONCLUSION

Thus ended the League of Nations. But to say that the League has failed is to oversimplify matters and belittle the importance of that organisation.

First, the League spread the idea of international cooperation. It made people aware of the world's conditions and problems, both political and non-political.

Secondly, the League was not an alliance, but a body that was to be open to every state ultimately.

Finally, the League has spread the belief that aggressive war is a crime against humanity and that even a big power has to explain itself at the international forum.

Sri K. V. Kotilingam

10.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. What were the political achievements of the League of Nations?
2. Describe the success of the League of Nations in the non-political sphere ?
3. What were the causes of the failure of the League of Nations?
4. Estimate the work of the League of Nations. Was the League a total failure?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. How did the League of Nations deal with the problem of minorities?
2. What was the attitude of the Big Powers towards the League of Nations?
3. How did the League fail to effect disarmament?
4. Was the League successful in maintaining Collective Security?

BRAOU

UNIT - 11 : THE REACTION OF EUROPEAN POWERS

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11.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- the Japan's occupation of Manchuria
- Italy's aggression on Abyssinia
- the Spanish civil war

11.1 INTRODUCTION

We have read about Japan in Unit 7 from the time of its modernisation till the Washington Conference (1921-22). Though the Conference had recognised the importance of Japan in the Far East, she was not happy because she was not allowed parity in naval strength with the U.S.A. and Britain. To this were added her domestic problems.

All these made her Prime Minister, Tanaka enunciate an expansionist policy in 1927. He drew up a document known as "Tanaka Memorial". It has acquired historical significance because it has a strong influence on the future foreign policy of Japan. The document advocated a

vigorous foreign policy to safeguard as well as improve the interests of Japan in the Far East or East Asia. It argued that Manchuria and Mongolia were not parts of China proper. The document advocated that Japan should acquire those two territories as an initial step towards conquering China after which the conquest of India, Indonesia, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe might be undertaken. Hence the first step in this great imperial design was to be the conquest of Manchuria. Such were Japan's imperial ambitions.

11.2.0 IMPORTANCE OF MANCHURIA TO JAPAN

Japan's policy over Manchuria was largely influenced by economic considerations.

First, Japan's population was mounting at the rate of a million per year and had doubled in a century. Her mountainous islands with little arable lands were insufficient to support her increasing population. To add to her troubles, the USA passed a new immigrant law in 1924 closing the doors of entrance to Asiatics. This prevented Japanese from going to the U.S. Japan thought that it was both an injury and insult to her. Clearly, neighbouring China with her dependency Manchuria was the solution.

Secondly, Japan could support herself only by expanding her manufactures but she was poor in coal, iron and raw materials without which industrial expansion would be impossible. Manchuria was rich in coal and iron which were badly needed for the industries of Japan.

Thirdly, Japan badly needed markets abroad for the disposal of the increasing surplus of her industrial products. They could not be absorbed at home, China with her teeming millions would provide her with the best market.

Thus the need of space, raw material and markets made Japan embark upon a policy of imperialist expansion towards China to begin with.

To this was added a historical pretext on which Japan carried out her aggressive policy in Manchuria. Under the Russo-Japanese treaty of 1905 Japan had a right to station fifteen thousand troops in Manchuria for the protection of the South Manchurian Railway. In fact it was about Manchuria that Russia and Japan waged a war and concluded a Treaty in 1905 under which Manchuria came under the influence of Japan. Politically Manchuria was a part of China, but she was too weak to defend it against aggressors like Japan.

11.2.1 Timing of the aggression

Japan had chosen the year 1931 as the most favourable time for the acquisition of the territory.

Europe was busy with her problems. World-wide depression confronted European statesmen. They had to face the problems of unemployment, moratoria on debts, disarmament, tariff barriers etc. The political situation of Germany in particular was abnormal.

China also was passing through a great crisis. Many groups began to struggle for supremacy after the death of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1925. Though Chiang Kai-Shek came into power and had stabilised himself a little he had to face many rivals. There was no unity among the Chinese. Central control over the outlying provinces became loose. Famines and floods added to the misery of the people. To these were added the bandit activities of the local military chiefs.

Thus there could be no better opportunity for Japan to conquer Manchuria.

11.2.2 Japan's occupation of Manchuria

Japan ordered her troops into Manchuria on the pretext that an attempt was made by Manchurian to blow up the South Manchurian Railway line. Japan's contention was that the railway line was vital to her. In fact the Japanese built towns along the railway. They had also executed several projects which added substantially to the prosperity of the area. The foreign banking business of Manchuria was completely in the hands of the Japanese. Japanese investments in Manchuria amounted to about one million dollars in 1931. The terminus of the railway was at Darien which was under Japan. More than half of the foreign trade of Manchuria passed through that port.

It was on the night of 18-19 September that a Japanese patrol claimed to discover some Chinese soldiers near Mukden trying to blow up the South Manchuria railway. Mukden was the capital of Manchuria as well as the railway head-quarters. It was a good enough excuse for the Japanese. There was some fighting and about 10,000 Chinese soldiers were either dispersed or disarmed. Within four days all the Chinese towns within a radius of 200 miles north of Mukden were occupied by the Japanese. The Chinese government in Manchuria evacuated Mukden. By November, 1931 the whole of Northern Manchuria was in the hands of the Japanese. By January 1932 the whole of Manchuria was conquered by Japan. Even Shanghai was attacked, but the Japanese established a puppet regime in Manchuria which they called Manchukuo in Japanese.

11.2.3 Intervention of the League of Nations.

China which could not resist the Japanese aggression appealed to the League of Nations for intervention. The appeal was made under Article II of the Covenant. The League then passed a resolution asking for Japanese withdrawal from Manchuria. Japan completely ignored the League resolution.

China appealed to the League again. The League's Council this time invited the U.S.A. also as an observer. This had offended Japan because she did not want the Americans who were pro-Chinese to have any say in the matter. The League's Council passed another resolution demanding Japan to withdraw from Manchuria within a specified time. Japan, however, vetoed the resolution in the Council.

11.2.4 Stimson Doctrine

After Japan completed the occupation of South Manchuria, Stimson, who was the U.S. Secretary of State, issued a statement (1932). The main theme of the statement was that the USA Government would not recognise any situation or agreement that would militate against the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. This statement came to be known as the 'Stimson doctrine'.

Mr. Stimson's statement was a clear warning to Japan against annexation of Manchuria. But the warning had no effect on Japan. In February 1932 Manchuria was converted into a puppet Republic. A Manchu prince by name Henry Pu Yi was named as the president of the Republic of Manchuria.

11.2.5 Lytton Commission

Meanwhile the Council of the League appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Lytton, the British representative. The purpose of the mission was to go to the Far East, study the situation and submit a report. The members of the Commission were England, France,

Germany, Italy and the U.S.A. The Commission worked at leisure and submitted its report in 1932, one year after the event.

The Lytton Commission tried to arrive at a compromise between the interests of China and Japan in Manchuria. However, it declared the puppet regime in Manchuria null and void. The League accepted the recommendations, but did not condemn the Japanese aggression. Moreover, no reference was made to the application of sanctions against Japan under Article 16 of the Covenant of the League.

Japan treated the entire matter with defiance. It did not care for the resolutions of the League. She consolidated her power in Manchuria. Worse than that, Japan withdrew from the League and thus showed her contempt for the international organisation (1933).

11.2.6 Importance of the event

Japanese aggression over Manchuria had far reaching consequences Japan's aggressive policy came as a shock to the whole system of collective security and the League. But the responsibility shall be laid both at the doors of Japan and at the doors of those who worked out a system of sanctions that proved to be ineffective.

In the resolutions of the League there is no mention of sanctions at all. The U.S.A. which issued the 'Stimson doctrine' did not pursue the matter seriously. On the other hand, the attitude of England was more surprising as is evidenced by the statements of its leading people. For example, Mr. L.S. Amery who was a leading Conservative statesman stated in the British House of Commons that Japan legitimately needed markets. He added that if the policy of Japan in Manchuria was to be condemned, the policy of England also in India and other countries was to be condemned.

Japan's aggression over Manchuria was the first major shock to the League in its 12 year history. In fact Japan's defiance of the League marked the first stage in the dissolution of that international body. As the League took no action Japan not only retained her control in Manchuria but also embarked upon a policy of further imperialist expansion. Moreover, taking inspiration from Japan Mussolini and Hitler pursued the same policy of expansionism and destroyed the League totally.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the name for Japan's occupied Manchuria ?

11.3.0 ITALY'S AGGRESSION OVER ABYSSINIA

Abyssinia or Ethiopia was the only other independent African State besides South Africa and Liberia in the African continent. Italy had already tried to occupy Abyssinia in 1896. But Italy had suffered a humiliating defeat at Adowa in that year.

When Mussolini came to power in Italy he made plans for the conquest Abyssinia though that country was itself a member of the League of Nations. England and Italy tried to establish

spheres of influence in that part of Africa and Abyssinia protested (1921). Mussolini had requested for concessions there, but Emperor Haile Selassie refused such concessions. Hence Mussolini decided to take an adventurous course to bring Abyssinia under his control.

11.3.1 Importance of Abyssinia to Italy

Many factors were responsible for the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy.

The population of Italy was always on the increase. Hence there arose the necessity of acquiring some territory for the surplus population.

Italy wanted raw materials for her industries. The conquest of Abyssinia would put minerals in the hands of Italy. Moreover, Abyssinia would serve as a good market for the finished products of Italy.

The internal condition of Italy required the diversion of the attention of the Italians. Mussolini's dictatorship deprived the Italians of their liberties. Moreover, economic conditions in Italy were miserable then. The Economic Depression had affected every state of Europe, but the condition of Italy was very bad. Unemployment increased and even the wages of the employed were reduced. The Italian currency depreciated. Italy had an adverse balance of trade. Under these conditions an adventure against Abyssinia would not only divert the attention of that Italians but also rouse their patriotic feeling to avenge the defeat at Adowa in 1896.

Above all, Abyssinia had great strategic importance for Italy. It lay between the Italy's two African colonies of Somaliland and Eritrea. Italy's East African Empire would become compact and contiguous with the addition of Abyssinia. Moreover, Italy could attack the British position in Sudan from Abyssinia.

11.3.2 Timing of the aggression

Mussolini had timed the Abyssinia adventure in such a way that it was most favourable to him.

From the Japanese success in Manchuria Mussolini realised that he would have an easy victory in Abyssinia. Neither the League of Nations nor the Big Powers could do anything in the case of Manchuria. The system of collective security proved ineffective. The only thing the League of Nations could do was to pass resolutions.

Another favourable factor for Mussolini was that the world had not yet recovered from the bad effects of the Economic Depression. Every country was preoccupied with its own economic problems. The rulers were too busy with those problems to turn their attention effective to such an adventure.

Moreover, the statesmen of Europe were getting more worried about the rise of Hitler in Germany and his aggressive activities. Italy was a lesser evil and hence they may not take much notice of the Italian aggression. They may give more importance to the peace in Europe than to the prevention of Italy's aggression over Abyssinia.

11.3.3 Conquest of Abyssinia

Mussolini took much time to make preparations for an attack on Abyssinia. In 1932 the conditions in Abyssinia were studied by a high Italian official. His report stated that the disintegration of Abyssinia could be easily effected on political lines and that a military victory

on the part of Italy would make the task more easy. Attempts were made to create dissensions among the important people of Abyssinia. Mussolini and his generals arranged a number of border clashes to prepare the ground for the final conquest.

Mussolini was waiting for an excuse to launch his aggression. His opportunity came in 1934. There was a clash between the Abyssinia and Italian troops near the village of Walwal when a few Italians were killed. Italy put forward unreasonable claims for indemnity. Mussolini refused when Haile Selassie wanted to put the matter to arbitration under the treaty concluded between Italy and Abyssinia in 1928. Haile Selassie then appealed to the Council of the League under Article 11 (January, 1935). But Mussolini refused to discuss the matter on an equal footing with Abyssinia. the reason he gave was that the State was a land of barbarians and uncivilised people. He defied the League by saying that he would pursue his designs "with Geneva, without Geneva or against Geneva".

Haile Selassie again appealed to the League under Article 15 of the Covenant (March, 1935). Even now England and France, who needed Mussolini's support against Hitler, adopted only dilatory tactics. One or two committees appointed by the League recommended to give some slices of Abyssinia to Italy. But Mussolini rejected the offer saying that Italy's requirements could not be satisfied with the offer of "a couple of deserts".

Haile Selassie made an appeal to the President of the United States of America. But he rejected it on the ground that the matter was already under the consideration of the League of Nations.

Mussolini was now determined to pursue his plan. His hands were already strengthened by his agreements with France (Laval-Mussolini Agreements) concluded earlier that year. In January 1935 the French Prime Minister Laval had possibly given him a free hand in Abyssinia or at least given him to understand that France would not object to Italy's conquest of Abyssinia if it did not clash with French interests. Mussolini also came to know that England was not worried over Italian predominance in Abyssinia so long as its own (England's) interests in Africa were safe. With this favourable background Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in October, 1935, even without making a formal declaration of war against that country.

11.3.4 Late action of the League

Mussolini's action in Abyssinia violated so many treaties that the League had a fit case in it to take drastic action against Italy. The adventure violated, in particular the treaty concluded among Britain, France and Italy in 1906 guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Abyssinia. Italy had also violated another treaty concluded with Abyssinia in 1928 agreeing to submit all disputes to arbitration and conciliation. The action was also against the covenant of the League as well as the Pact of Paris (1928). In fact it was Italy which supported Abyssinia's admission to the League of Nations and now it was Italy that chose to destroy Abyssinia.

But unfortunately the League did not take immediate action and delayed it till October 1935 when Italy launched its full-scale invasion. It was only then that the League had declared Italy as an aggressor under the Covenant and this was the first time in its history to declare a state as an aggressor. The Assembly of the League had also decided to apply sanctions against Italy under Article 16 of Covenant. The sanctions were in the form of an embargo on warlike material to Italy to stop all credits to her and to stop imports from Italy. This is also for the first time that sanctions were used against a member state. As mentioned earlier, sanctions were not used against a member state. As mentioned earlier, sanctions were not used in the case of Japanese aggression in Manchuria. But the sanctions imposed on Italy were very mild. for example no

sanctions were laid on supplies of petrol which was so essential for Italy to carry on military operations.

But even these sanctions were not effective in operation. England and France were not prepared to weaken Italy against the rising power of Hitler. Moreover, England feared that its navy might be attacked by Mussolini. The British and French foreign ministers Hoare and Laval prepared a plan which actually tried to appease the Italian dictator. The public opinion in England and France was so strong against this Hoare-Laval Agreement that both of them had to quit office. But nothing was done against Italy, specially to its oil supplies which continued to flow. The U.S.A. had even increased its oil supply to Italy.

Nobody saved Abyssinia. In fact Hail Selassie who attended the session of the League's Assembly in person asked the members "What reply have I to take back to my people" The answer was that the issue was long dead and that it awaited only burial. Finally, the League had even lifted even the mild sanctions against Italy. The formal annexation of Abyssinia already announced in May, 1936. The curtain fell finally in July, 1938 when the Council left the matter of recognising the new status of Abyssinia to each individual member.

11.3.5 Failure of the League - Causes

In spite of the violation of several treaties by Italy vitiating international relations, the League of Nations had acted in a leisurely and half hearted manner. The League had passed certain resolutions and imposed certain sanctions. But the sanctions did not include oil which was vital to Italy nor were they effectively implemented.

Expert opinion says that Italy would have been easily checked in the initial stages. When Mussolini crossed over to Abyssinia he placed Italy in a dangerous position strategically. Italy would have been strangled to death even without closing the Suez Canal through which Italy had to reach Ethiopia.

The primary responsibility of the failure of the League can be put on England and France. These two powers had been the leaders of the League since its establishment and it was their duty to safeguard its strength and prestige. But self-interests made the powers not oppose Mussolini.

France, on its part, was threatened by the rise of Nazi Germany though there was no such threat to England. Hence France found a friend in the Fascist dictator who also wanted the French support in preventing Nazi Germany from harming Italy's interests. It is because of these reasons that France connived at the Italian aggression.

England was less justified than France in her weak action. She was more insular than France and had sea as natural frontiers to her. Moreover, she had naval superiority. Still further she had just concluded a Naval Agreement with Hitler. Yet England also had followed the French line in being soft towards Italy for several reasons. She did not want to go too far to defeat Mussolini because Hitler's Germany was the real enemy. Nothing should be done to weaken the anti-German front. Moreover, war with Italy would mean only a war of England against her. Not even France, let alone others, might come to her rescue.

11.3.6 Significance of the event

The Abyssinian crisis, remarks Gathorne-Hardy, marks a crucial turning point in the post-war history. The triumph of Italian aggression affected the whole world with fundamental consequences.

First, Mussolini's success in Abyssinia made possible his intervention in Spain on behalf of the Fascist General Franco.

Secondly, the weakness of the League was fully exposed. The system of collective security had failed. The word 'sanction' no longer carried a threat. As we have seen already, the League had failed in taking effective action in the Abyssinian case where there was a clearer case of intervention than in the Manchurian affair. Mr. Litvinoff, the Soviet representative at the League of Nations made a funeral speech when he said that they met there to close a page in the history of the international organisation.

Thirdly, the 'Stresa front' consisting of England, France and Italy was finally broken. It was to the immense delight of Hitler. In other words, though France and Britain condoned Italy over Abyssinia in order to keep the Stresa Front alive, still Italy's aggression did not but make Italy a very unpopular country. Therefore the Britain, France, Italy front became very ineffective against Germany.

Fourthly, the affair ultimately weakened Mussolini too. With his hands bloody, he did not dare oppose the absorption of Austria by Hitler. Gradually Mussolini was drawn into an alliance with Hitler.

Finally the eclipse of the League was a loss to England and France but a gain to Hitler. Germany could now pursue its aggressive policies without fear of resistance either from the League from which she already withdrew in 1933 or from England and France. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland or any other victim could not now look to the League for security. Except expelling Russia from the League for invading Finland, the League did not take any action against any aggressor. It had only remained a passive spectator of annexations, aggressors and wars in Europe and elsewhere.

11.4.0 SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Spain remained neutral during the First World War. But like the rest of the other States, she could not escape the political and economic instability which gripped Europe after the war. Outwardly Spain was a monarchy under King Alfonso XIII, but a dictatorial regime was established by General Primo de Rivera (1923-30). However he resigned in 1930 because he was tired of the task of establishing order and meeting bad effects of the World Economic Depression. King Alfonso restored the constitution, but abdicated the throne (1931) because the republican sentiments were very strong in the country.

11.4.1 Beginning of the Civil War

At this juncture a National Assembly proclaimed Spain a republic and decreed a new constitution. Azana, the leader of the Radicals became the President of the young Republic.

The National Assembly passed a series of laws intended to strengthen democracy. Church property was nationalised and the estates of the nobles were confiscated. During the first two years the government was in the hands of liberal intellectuals and socialists. But the radical policy of the government was regarded it as too slow. There was continuous political struggle between the Right and the Left. Government forces had to crush several insurrections, chiefly supported by the socialists and communists (1934).

Thus the functioning of democracy was seriously effected. Matters came to a crisis when the left-wing 'Popular Front' (Front Populaire) won the general election in 1936. The army chiefs

issued an ultimatum to President Azana threatening that the military would take the matter into their hands if the disorders in the country were not quelled. Suspecting the fidelity of the military leaders, the government retired a number of officers and transferred many others to distant posts. Among the transferred was General Franco who was 'exiled' to the Canary Islands.

The signal for the outbreak of the Civil War was the murder of a policeman by the Madrid Fascists. As a retaliation the police killed the Spanish Fascist Leader, Calvo Sotelo. Four days later General Franco flew to Morocco and made himself master of the Territory. Within a few days garrisons under military leaders rose into mutiny against the government in all parts of Spain. Then Franco proclaimed a military rebellion and crossed into Spain with an army. He overran southern and western Spain and after some time advanced towards the capital Madrid. However, Madrid was saved by the popular Militia.

11.4.2 Course of the Civil War

Meanwhile President Azana set up a government with Largo Caballero as the premier who was a left-wing socialist with communist leanings. He not only admitted the communists into his government but also obtained important help from the Soviet Union.

Thus broke out a terrible civil war between the Republican government consisting of radical leftist parties, anarchists, communists all other socialists on the one hand and the Army led by Franco supporting Fascist and rightist sections of the country.

Shortly the civil war had turned into a rehearsal for a greater drama to be played soon on a bigger stage. Socialists and communists from all countries gave support to the Republicans while Hitler and Mussolini took up the cause of Franco.

International brigades of Communists were formed in all countries and rushed to Spain to defend the Republic. Even in the U.S.A. a brigade named Abraham Lincoln brigade was formed and sent to Spain. Many leading communists trained in Moscow like Tito of Yugoslavia and Dimitrow of Bulgaria took an active part as aides to Caballero.

On the other side, the rebels sought and obtained help from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Some right-wing politicians and their supporters also came to Spain to support the Fascists.

Thus the Spanish Civil War became a contest between Russia on one hand and Italy and Germany on the other.

From the middle of 1937, the war turned favourable to the rebels. The reasons for this were better generalship and air superiority of the rebels who were helped by Germany. The common people supported the Republican government and made terrible sacrifices. Unprecedented brutality marked the Civil War. Madrid fell to the rebels in March, 1939 and by the end of the month the whole of Spain was in Franco's possession. The civil war came to an end after about 2 years and nine months (1936-39) and the legally elected government of socialists and radical parties disappeared.

11.4.3 Attitude of the European Powers

The Civil War in Spain made the country an attractive prize for some countries. If the Republicans under Caballero won, there was a possibility that Spain would have become a satellite of Russia. Or if Franco won, the country would enter the Fascist orbit.

We have seen how Russia under Stalin helped the Republicans and how Italy and Germany under Mussolini and Hitler helped Franco.

The two other Great Powers of Europe, viz., England and France followed an ineffective policy of non-intervention though they were supposed to have sympathy for the Republicans as they were the lawfully elected government of Spain.

On one hand England and France feared about the possibility of the Republican regime becoming communist. They also feared that their help to the Republicans would provoke Italy and Germany to give greater help to Franco.

On the other were afraid of the victory of Franco which was most likely. As far as France was concerned, a hostile Spain might block the sea-routes between France and her African possessions. Moreover, Franco had to provide effective defence for the Pyrenees frontier which separated France from Spain. As far as England was concerned, Franco might use the Spanish territories like Morocco to interfere with the British imperial communications. Britain also had large capital investments in Spain.

Because of these reasons England and France assumed the role of neutrals. They placed an embargo on the supply of war material to both sides in the Civil War. They had also invited all European countries to follow their example and to form a non-Intervention Committee to supervise such work. But nothing came out of this and the Committee was reduced to a farce.

11.4.4 Importance of the Spanish Civil War

The victory of Franco in the Spanish Civil War did not help the Fascist camp directly. Spain took no significant part in the power struggle in Europe. Moreover, she remained neutral during the Second World War.

Nor did Franco's victory mean any material loss to France and England. Spain, after all needed the British capital for her economic benefit.

But the Civil War in Spain had several other important effects.

The non-intervention policy of England and France created deep differences between Soviet Russia and the Western powers. This was indirectly helpful for Hitler to come to an understanding with Stalin. Russia was also annoyed by the attitude of England and France who did not consult her at the time of the Munich Agreement. Hence the Russo German Pact of 1939 became possible.

But the immediate effect of Franco's victory was to raise the prestige of Fascism in Europe and lower the prestige of democracy. Though Hitler's aggressions in Austria and Czechoslovakia could not be regarded as the direct result of the Spanish Civil War, it still encouraged him to embark upon an aggressive policy.

Moreover, the Spanish Civil War had considerable influence on the formation of rival groups in Europe. In the Fascist camp, it drew Mussolini and Hitler together. In 1937 itself Mussolini visited Munich and Berlin. In the course of a speech he said, "Tomorrow all Europe will be Fascist; one hundred fifteen million men will arise joined together in an unshakable faith." At the end of the speech there was a storm of applause indicating the storm that was shortly going to blow over the world. The stage was thus set for the Second World War.

11.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. Describe Japan's aggression over Manchuria.
What was its importance?
2. Describe Italy's aggression over Abyssinia.
What was its importance?
3. What were the causes of the Spanish Civil War?
How did it become important internationally?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. What was Manchuria's importance to Japan?
2. What was Abyssinia's importance to Italy?
3. What was the attitude of the European Powers towards the Spanish Civil War?

BRAOU

UNIT - 12 : THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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12.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain the various causes that directly or indirectly led to the Second World War.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The system of collective security set up after the First World War came to an end with the aggressive acts of Hitler, specially with his occupation of the Rhineland. As a result, the League of Nations was reduced to a mere shadow. The guarantees of the Locarno treaty were no more and Germany rearmed herself disregarding all types of treaty obligations. On the whole, Europe returned to a lack of system or the system which had existed before the year 1914. Every big or small state began again to rely on armed strength or alliances for its security. In a sense, international anarchy was prevailing then - a state of things ripe for small or big conflicts.

12.2 DEFECTS OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

It should be noted that the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles was largely responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War.

Treaty displayed a spirit of vengeance by imposing on Germany such terms which made her reel. It had stripped her of all armaments and left her naked before her enemy. It had deprived of all her colonies. The treaty saddled her with a crushing war indemnity. Above all, the war guilt clause was fastened on her. All this was done without giving Germany any opportunity to plead her cause. Forced to accept a dictated peace, the Germans felt deeply humiliated. A bitter sense of injustice rankled in their minds. On top of all these, a series of economic crises aggravated

the situation further. The Germans wanted to get out of this state of depression and despondency. Hitler promised to give to Germans what they wanted. With the willing cooperation of the downhearted Germans, he began to demolish the entire structure which was built elaborately by the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the short-sighted and selfish policy of the victor powers was as much responsible for the Second World War as Hitler's aggressions. Many critics felt that the war might have been avoided if the Treaty of Versailles was not so harsh or even if the treaty was timely revised. In view of all these, Marshal Foch remarked that the Treaty of Versailles was no peace but only a truce for twenty years.

12.3 RISE OF DICTATORSHIPS AND CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGIES

One important result of the First World War was the spread of democracy. Thrones were toppled down in Russia, Germany and Austria. Thus three of the oldest royal dynasties in Europe passed away viz., Romanoffs of Russia, Hohenzollerns of Germany and Hapsburgs of Austria. Communism with its own conception of democracy got established in Russia. Liberal democratic constitutions were adopted in Germany and Austria. Most of the new states created by the Treaty of Versailles set up republican constitutions with a parliamentary government based on democratic franchise. Greece abolished monarchy in 1922 and set up a republic. Even in Turkey the Sultanate and Caliphate were abolished and a republic was set up with Kemal Pasha as its President. Every where people began to turn to republicanism and in some places to communism in their search for a better state of things. On the whole conditions seemed most favourable to democracy.

But as ill-luck would have it, this trend towards democracy had been arrested as time went on, specially in countries where dictatorships began to rear their ugly heads. Post-war Europe was confronted with a variety of perplexing problems. In many cases democracy was found incapable of coping with those manifold problems. Hence the experiment in dictatorship was tried in many countries, notably in Russia, Spain, Italy and Germany. Though Russia was finally driven to the fold of the western powers, her ideology of communism and workers' dictatorship was opposed to the western ideology of capitalism and democracy. Military authoritarianism became successful in Spain under Franco. Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany stood for a totalitarian state in which there was no room for individual freedom of any kind. Hence they were a challenge to the democratic ways of life prevalent in Western Europe. Mussolini openly declared that the struggle between the two worlds would permit no compromise. He said "Either we or they". Hence it is no wonder that all human rights and moral considerations were thrown to the winds. Inhuman crimes like mass murders at the concentration camps were committed without any compunction of conscience.

Hence the fight against Nazism and Fascism amounted to a fight for freedom and civilisation. That was why the Allies clearly formulated their war aims in the famous Atlantic Charter of 1941. President Roosevelt summed up the war aims of the Allies as consisting of four freedoms. They were freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and political freedom. The 'unconditional surrender' which the Allies wanted from the Axis powers did not mean the destruction of the populace in Germany, Italy or Japan. It only meant the destruction of the ideology which threatened not only political liberty but also the civilisation as it grew up in Europe. Thus the ideology of the Allies stood in marked contrast to that of the Axis Powers.

12.4 SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM

One great result of the First World War was the triumph of the principle of Nationalism. The Novel principle of national self determination received popular content at the end of First World

War. Nationalism won signal triumphs when Empires were dissolved and peoples groaning under their authority were released into separate independent units. Thus out of the old Russian empire four independent republics were set up: Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Poland was recreated by gathering up the fragments seized by her neighbours during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Fragments from the late empire of Austria-Hungary were taken to create the new state of Czecho-Slovakia. They also enlarged the possessions of Rumania, Italy and Serbia (later called Yugoslavia.) The territory of Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France. The Danish-speaking portion of Schleswig was restored to Denmark. The influence of nationalism was not confined to Europe alone. Its impact was felt in China, India, Turkey Ireland and in many other places. As a matter of fact nationalism received a great impetus through the First World War and became assertive after it, chiefly in the new states.

However it should be noted that though the principle of nationalism is highly commendable, it became difficult at the end of the First World War to apply it fully to the conditions prevailing then. In fact, while solving some old problems it created many new ones. Large minorities had to be left in different countries such as the Germans in France Czechoslovakia and Poland. Many Magyars were left in Yugoslavia and Rumania. Poland retained a large number of Russians. In fact the principle of national self-determination could not be applied fully without large-scale exchange of population.

As time passed on the principle of national self-determination served as an inciting slogan for territorial changes after the First World War. Instead of promoting stability it began to provoke discord. For example Hitler took full advantage of this anomaly and began to swallow territory after territory. Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland became the victims of his aggression.

12.5 ALIENATION OF RUSSIA

When Germany and Italy were threatening peace and security in Europe, the Western powers were not wise enough to muster support from all the enemies of Fascism and Nazism. Their attitude towards Russia was one of excommunication and they even encouraged the Fascist force against her. Instead of recognising the common enemy, they hated Russia and her communist ideology. They turned down the proposals of Russia for peace and friendship. Russia became disillusioned by the unhelpful attitude of England and France in her opposition to Germany and Italy.

In fact Stalin realised that peace with foreign States was necessary to ensure the success of his Five Year Plans. Without the help of foreign capital and foreign technical experts rapid industrialisation of Russia would be impossible. Hence he had even discarded the orthodox communist theory of immediate world revolution. He declared that the best propaganda for communism would be the success of the Russian experiment. Peace was necessary to achieve it. He was suspicious of the aggressive activities of Japan and Germany and so abandoned his former attitude of indifference to the League of Nations. To safeguard Russia's position he brought her into the League in 1934. Next year he concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with France.

But Stalin's policy of collective security based on cooperation met with cold response from France and England. The events in Central Europe brought a radical change in his attitude. He came to distrust the leadership of London and Paris when Britain and France agreed to accept the demands of Hitler at Munich (1938). The policy of suspecting the Soviet Union which was adopted by England and France ultimately forced Stalin to be equally suspicious of France and England. He signed a pact of neutrality with the Nazi Germany shortly before the outbreak of

the Second World War. Pact with Stalin encouraged Hitler to embark on a policy of further aggression and plunge the world in another war that was more global and more destructive than that of the first.

12.6 BREAKDOWN OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

We have seen in Unit 10 how the League of Nations failed in maintaining collective security which ultimately led the world to a war path. In fact the League of Nations had made sincere efforts to promote national security and international peace for about fifteen years since the Treaty of Versailles. But the League could not be better than the members who composed it. The members of the League did not abide by its recommendations if they conflicted with their national interests, real or supposed. The fact is that the First World War had greatly intensified nationalism and made it sometimes even intolerant.

Each national state regarded as an end in itself and wanted to place its own interests above everything else. When this was the feeling everywhere it became difficult to maintain collective security through the League of Nations. The League could become successful only if nations subordinated their policies and interests to international adjustments.

In addition to this general atmosphere which militated against collective security there were other factors also which contributed to the same result. Stresemann of Germany and Briand of France were largely responsible for the maintenance of European peace while they were alive. But the death of Stresemann in 1929 and the death of Briand in 1932 removed two good statesmen from the scene. They died at a time when the Great Depression was telling most terribly on the economic and political health of Europe. The depression intensified the prevailing distress in Germany and provided the opportunity for Hitler which he was seeking to establish his dictatorship. Hitler's blatant nationalism proved to be the greatest menace to international security.

12.7 FAILURE OF THE POLICY OF DISARMAMENT

One important reason for the Second World War was the League's failure in achieving disarmament. The question of disarmament is very intimately connected with the security of nations. If nations do not disarm, security would always remain a security on paper only. But this was a problem which presented great difficulties to the League and eventually proved insoluble. Each nation wanted some other nation to take the first step in disarmament.

Compulsory disarmament was imposed upon Germany after the First World War. But she contended that she had accepted the proposal in the hope that the other nations also would disarm. In fact it was one of the provisions of the covenant of the League of Nations that there should be a general limitation of armaments of all nations. But despite this, there was no general disarmament. Some success was achieved in respect of the rivalry in naval armaments. The Washington Conference held in 1921 had some notable gains in this regard. The five great naval powers viz., England, the U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy agreed to limit their battleships, aircraft carriers and cruisers in a fixed ratio. Though England, France and Italy struck a discordant note in certain respects the Washington Conference had made substantial efforts to secure disarmament since the Armistice.

Attempts were also made to secure a general limitation of land armaments. The League of Nations appointed a commission in 1926 to study the problem and make suitable recommendations. The commission submitted a draft treaty to the League's Council after collecting information for five hard years. The World Disarmament Conference met in Geneva in 1932 to proceed further in the matter.

But the efforts at disarmament were doomed to failure. The Geneva conference achieved nothing. From the beginning France and Germany could not agree and their viewpoints were diametrically opposite. France would not disarm. Her vital necessity was security. She wanted to base this security upon military superiority. Germany felt insecure if France would not reduce her army. So she insistently demanded parity with France in this regard. Therefore there was a deadlock and the conference was adjourned without finding any way out.

Thus the final attempt to keep the spirit of the League of Nations alive ended in failure. Germany which was now dominated by Hitler withdrew from the conference in 1933. She then proclaimed her intention of rearming despite the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles.

There was another important factor which militated against the policy of disarmament. The Great Economic Depression produced several evils and the most important among them was terrible unemployment. Nations began to take all possible steps to mitigate this evil. They even resorted to the production of arms in order to create employment for atleast a fraction of the unemployed millions. This step, however useful, went against the policy of disarmament as envisaged by the covenant of the League of Nations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

How efforts for Disarmament were started?

12.8 DIVISION OF EUROPE INTO WAR CAMPS

As time passed from the time of the Treaty of Versailles, Europe gradually began to be divided into war camps, specially in the fourth decade of the century bilateral or multi-lateral treaties began to be concluded among nations. As a result, the same atmosphere which existed before the First World War prevailed before the Second World War also. The first point of the Fourteen points of President Wilson was left to the winds. The first point in the fourteen clearly stated that covenants should be openly arrived at among nations. But it was honoured more in breach than in observance. As against Russia, Germany concluded the Anti-comintern pact with Japan in 1936. Next year Mussolini joined the pact, thus paving the way for the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. France and Russia already concluded the Franco-Soviet pact in 1935. More strange than this was the pact between Germany and Russia concluded just before the Second World War. Some of the pacts were meant for defensive purpose while others were clearly meant for aggression against some other power or powers. More tragic was that when the aggressive acts of some of these nations were questioned, these nations began to withdraw from the League of Nations. It was in this manner Japan and Germany left the League in 1933 and Italy in 1937. The League of Nations was practically dead. It ceased to exist as an effective force after her failure on the question of Manchuria and Abyssinia. Both big and small states lost their confidence in that international organisation. The efforts of France at collective security failed and the theory of Balance of Power gained importance. The only alternative left for the different nations was to have a trial of strength by an armed conflict. It was only a question of time for the Allies and Axis powers who stood face to face to actually commence a world conflict.

12.9 ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Whatever might be the other causes for the Second World War, economic needs and material interests lay deep at the root of the conflict. In fact the communists regard war as the obnoxious outcome of capitalism and conclude that imperialism is nothing but the highest form of capitalism. The Second World War also was to a great extent fought for raw materials, markets for exports and colonies for growing population. These were some of the factors which led to the First World War also. The struggle did not end and became even more serious by the time of the Second World War. Both Germany and Italy were struggling hard to increase their influence over other parts of the world for raw materials and markets for exporting their surplus goods. Both of them were dissatisfied after the First World War. The same was true of Japan. Italy and Japan in particular, were the poorest in natural resources. Italy had virtually no coal, little oil and only small iron resources. Japan had insufficient resources of coal and iron and no oil resources at all. Moreover she needed land for her constantly increasing population. During the Locarno period (1925-29) these countries found some markets for their finished goods and also got raw materials. But the situation was radically changed because of two primary reasons.

First, most of the undeveloped regions of the world were occupied or controlled by the United States of America, England, France, Belgium, Portugal and the Netherlands. Germany, Italy and Japan were left with almost no place to occupy in the world for raw materials or markets.

Secondly, the Great Depression brought about a great change in international affairs, specially on the economic front. Almost all countries resorted to a policy of protection to save their own industries. High tariff walls were erected. International trade came almost to a stand still. As a result Germany, Italy and Japan suffered terribly. They had a feeling of economic suffocation because of the non-availability of raw-materials and the absence of markets for their manufactured goods.

These circumstances brought Germany, Italy and Japan together. They embarked upon a course of aggression Japan invaded Manchuria (1931) and Italy occupied Abyssinia (1935). Above all, Germany started a long course of expansion and aggression which ultimately led to the Second World War.

12.10 DIVERGENT VIEWS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

The two powers that played a dominant rôle from the establishment of the League of Nations were England and France. The reason was that the other important powers were away from the activities of the League for different reasons. America did not join the League. Russia was busy with her revolution and Italy was in disorder. Germany was branded as the aggressor and was not allowed to join the League till 1926. But England and France had not the same views specially with regard to Germany. In fact Hitler was encouraged in flouting the League of Nations and in embarking on a policy of aggression by the divergent policies pursued by England and France with regard to Germany. The two countries drifted apart diplomatically at a time when the implementation of terms of the Treaty of Versailles demanded cooperative action.

France feared a revival of vengeful Germany. To them the treaty was the only guarantee of their security. So their statesmen opposed the reduction of reparations or any other measure that would improve the position of German situation. They did their best to hamper the economic recovery of Germany.

England, on the other hand, felt more secure in her isolated position and naval strength. She was mainly interested in the revival of her trade. Germany had been one of her best customers and

hence she welcomed any step that might help Germany's economic recovery and increase her purchasing power. Hence she opposed any step that might prove financially harmful to Germany.

Thus England and France pursued divergent policies. It enabled Hitler to violate the Treaty of Versailles with impunity. Finally he made a bid for the hegemony of Europe.

12.11 APPEASEMENT POLICY

The policy of appeasement followed by the important powers of the world towards aggressors was also an important cause of the Second World War. The policy of appeasement means the policy of making concessions to dictatorial and ambitious powers. It also means the toleration of the violation of international agreements by them. The aim is to persuade them to maintain international peace even at the cost of ignoring their aggressive action.

The policy of appeasement appeared in international politics in the earlier thirties in connection with Japanese aggression against China in Manchuria. England, France and the U.S.A. practically allowed Japan a free hand in carrying over her aggressive acts. The reasons for this policy were many. America had vital political and commercial interests in the Far East. Japan's ascendancy in the Far East was regarded as a guarantee against Russian domination in that region. Japan's imperialism was looked upon as a stabilising force in Asia. England regarded Japan as a friend. She did not want to take military or commercial risks by imposing sanctions against Japan. Thus Japan's success in Manchuria was the first blow to the League of Nations.

England and France displayed the same halting policy with regard to Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure. The League which was already weakened by the withdrawal of Japan and Germany in 1933 felt powerless to restrain Mussolini. England and France consented to the Italian aggression. The Hoare Laval Pact of 1935 shows how ugly appeasement can be.

The policy of appeasement reached its climax in the attitude of England and France towards Nazi Germany and the rise of Hitler to power did not make any change in her attitude. Though France was not favourably disposed towards Germany in the beginning, she later became England's partner in appeasing Hitler and increasing his appetite. When Hitler repudiated the Versailles and the Locarno treaties, England and France lodged no effective protest. When Hitler and Mussolini sent military help to Franco in the Spanish Civil War they followed the ineffective policy of non-intervention. Even with regard to Hitler's march upon Austria (1938) the Prime Minister of England sent only a formal protest for which Hitler replied that England had no business to interfere with the internal problem of German people. Thus Hitler violated with impunity the major points of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain which prohibited the Union of Austria with Germany. Hitler's next victim was Czechoslovakia. The British Prime Minister, Chamberlain formulated and implemented the policy of appeasement. He persuaded Franco also to consent to it. The Munich agreement (1938) did not merely mean the surrender of Sudetenland by Czechoslovakia to Germany. It actually paved the way for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. This had happened in spite of the French treaty of alliance with Czechoslovakia which imposed obligations on France for the defence of that small State. Even the proposal of Russia for a conference against Hitler was ignored. The fate of Czechoslovakia was sealed.

But it should be noted that the policy of appeasement did not ensure peace. It became clear even before the Munich Pact.

First, after swallowing Manchuria Japan invaded China (1937) and launched a war which ultimately merged into the Second World War.

Secondly, Italy's territorial ambition was not satisfied by the conquest of Abyssinia. She was in search of new victims. Albania fell in 1939.

Thirdly, Hitler's success in Austria and Czechoslovakia emboldened him to further acts of aggression. He swallowed Memel in Lithuania and then fell upon Poland.

12.12 HITLER'S AGGRESSIVE ACTS

It has been observed how the policy of appeasement led Hitler from aggression to aggression. But there would be an end to anything. England and France followed the policy of appeasement till Hitler swallowed Memel. But they could not connive at him when his lustful eyes fell upon Poland. After taking Memel Hitler demanded that Danzig should be incorporated in the German state and that the Polish Corridor should be ceded to Germany. Chamberlain now gave up his policy of appeasement. He announced that England would come to the rescue of Poland in the event of aggression. He concluded a formal alliance with France and Poland. The three powers agreed to guarantee one another's independence and territorial integrity. Chamberlain had also entered into negotiations with Soviet Russia which was the only great power which could give effective help to Poland. But Russia already felt offended because she was not consulted by the Western Allies at the time of the Munich Pact. Hence Chamberlain's negotiations with Russia did not make satisfactory progress. While the negotiations were still going on the world was started by the news that Germany and Russia concluded a non-aggression Pact (1939) for ten years. Hoping that England and France would not fight Hitler marched the German troops into Poland on September, 1 without any declaration of war. On 3rd September England and France declared war on Germany. Thus began the Second World War in 1939 and continued till 1945.

Sri K.V. Kotilingam

12.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Mention briefly the important causes for the Second World War.
2. To what extent did appeasement policy and the divergent views of England and France contribute to the outbreak of the Second World War.
3. Explain the cause for the failure of the policy of disarmament and collective security.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Examine the reasons for the division of Europe into armed camps before the Great War.
2. Mention the aggressive acts of Hitler in the 1930's.
3. What are the economic interests underlying the outbreak of Second World War.

BRAOU

BLOCK - 4 : SHAPING OF THE POST-WAR WORLD

The units in this Block are:

Unit - 13: The UNO Charter and the main organs

Unit - 14: Cold War in Europe and Asia - Rise and Decline

Unit - 15: The rise of the Third World and the Non-Aligned World

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UNIT - 13 : THE UNITED NATIONS

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 - 13.3.7 The Trusteeship Council
- 13.4 An assessment of the United Nations working
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13.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be in a position to explain

- the organisation and functions of U.N.
- the organs of United Nations
- an assessment of the working of UNO

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The need for a world organisation to help solve disputes among the nations of the world and to prevent wars has been discussed in the first few units of this book. The establishment of the League of Nations itself was the first significant move made in this regard. The League of Nations did not prevent the outbreak of wars or the invasion of one country by another. Even as the Second World War was raging, the Allied countries - Great Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union-planned to create a new world organisation undeterred by League's failure. The fact that both the USA and the Soviet Union were involved with the issue made the Allies fully confident of forming a new and better organisation than the League of Nations. Such confidence was not misplaced because the USA which was not a member of the League and Soviet Russia which withdraw from it after being a member of it for some time, had along with the others come together to mediate the process of creating the new organisation. Further, they were aware of the inadequacies of the League and the causes for its being ineffectual. This was what prompted them to make the proposed world organisation as broadbased and as wide in its scope and objective as possible and to admit all peace loving members to its membership. Further more, they wanted the new organisation to be concerned not only with the prevention of wars but also with the securing of the cooperation of the nations in non-political spheres such as the economic, social, cultural and scientific. Thus the formation of the objectives of the proposed world organisation resulted in considering international peace to be not merely absence of war but the realization of international cooperation in various departments of life.

As we shall discuss later, not all of these objectives have been fully realised. For instance, though the Allies promised that all peace loving nations would be taken into the organisation, this promise was not interpreted in its true spirit. For example, Britain was not prepared to grant freedom to its colonies like India. So on the one hand, the Allied powers in proposing the new organisation were asking freedom loving people everywhere in the world to join the Allies in fighting the Fascist powers, but on the other important Allied countries like Britain would not even promise freedom to their colonies after the war.

But still the proposal was put forward energetically by the U.S. and the Soviet Union backed by Britain and later by France and China.

We shall now trace the stages by which the proposal for the new world organisation known as the United Nations Organisation came to be implemented.

13.2 STAGES IN THE FORMATION OF THE UNO

As already stated the proposal for the United Nations arose during the Second World War. The first Stage was the signing of the Atlantic Charter. This was a document signed by Britain and the USA even before the USA entered the war. This was signed by the American President Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Churchill on board a ship in the Atlantic Ocean (hence the document is called the Atlantic Charter). The main purpose of the Charter was to express American support to Britain when it (Britain) was alone fighting the war against Germany. But in this Charter, the two big powers for the first time announced their intention to create a new World Organisation to establish international peace and justice, and to stand up against aggression. The Atlantic charter stated that "After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". Thus the initial proposal for the ensuring of international peace was made. The second stage was reached when on January 1, 1942, after both the USA and the Soviet Union joined the war against Germany, the Atlantic Charter setting forth the aims of the Allies was sent to 26 countries which were fighting the war along with the Allies. These 26 countries reaffirmed the principles and proposals contained in the Atlantic Charter.

The third stage occurred in 1943 when in Moscow the foreign ministers of the USA, the USSR and the UK and China signed a declaration called the United Nations Declaration which affirmed "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of peace and security". Thus we see that the term 'United Nations' was first used by the Allies in 1943.

Even while the war was going on, the Big Four which issued the UN Declaration at Moscow proceeded to prepare a broad outline of the Constitution of the World Organisation (The future UNO). For this purpose, the representatives of the four countries met in October, 1944 at a place called Dumbarton Oaks near the city of Washington (D.C) the capital of the USA. At this meeting the main organs of the proposed organisation were decided upon, viz., the General Assembly, the Security Council (which was to act as the executive body) the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice. We shall deal with these bodies later. Thus it was at Dumbarton Oaks that the major Allied powers decided on the broad structure of the United Nations Organisation.

Still certain important details like the powers of the important bodies, particularly those of the Security Council, were left out to be taken up later. This happened because (1) there was some agreement among the big powers themselves and (2) these powers wanted to refer them to the other powers who had in principle agreed to the formation of the UNO.

The draft constitution as formulated at Dumbarton Oaks was then sent to the other 22 countries for their opinion.

The next important stage was the Yalta Conference which was held in February, 1945 where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met during the closing stages of the Second World War. This conference was not mainly concerned with the United Nations constitution. It was primarily concerned with the problems of the post-war settlement. But as the United Nations was to be an important part of the post-war settlement, the Yalta conference discussed the formation of the United Nations also.

As mentioned earlier, it was at Dumbarton Oaks that the Constitution of the UN was broadly decided by the great powers, who differed on certain important details. It was at the Yalta conference that these differences of opinion came to be resolved. The most important issue was that of the composition of the Security Council of the United Nations. The big powers decided at Yalta that the Security Council should have only the great powers as its permanent members and that only the permanent members should have the power of veto in the decisions of the Security Council. This was different from the position under the League of Nations where the veto power was not confined only to the permanent members. Indeed under the League of Nations, all the members of the Council had the veto power. The reasons for making the change in the voting procedure of the Security Council of the UN will be explained later. The final stage in the birth of the United Nations was reached when on the 25th April, 1945 a conference was held in the city of San Francisco, in the USA, to discuss the constitution of the UN which is called the Charter of the United Nations. Forty four countries consisting of those, who as Allies fought against Germany, Italy and Japan in the Second World War and of others who agreed to support the UN Declaration, met at this conference.

This conference is of great historic importance. The UN Charter as broadly decided at Dumbarton Oaks and as modified by the three great powers at Yalta, was discussed at length. On many points there were differences of opinion. For instance, the smaller powers objected to the proposal to give the veto power only to the permanent members of the Security Council. But the big powers, who were to be the permanent members, were able to persuade the other members to agree to it.

At San Francisco in spite of differences of opinion on some issues relating to the Charter, all the participating countries supported the idea of forming a new world organisation to prevent future wars and to provide for international cooperation.

The Soviet Union which is a communist country and the USA the UK and France which were capitalist countries unanimously supported the idea and objective of the United Nations as set forth in the Preamble to the UN Charter. The Preamble states that the UNO was established for the following purposes: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and word of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

The Preamble brings out the determination of the member countries to provide for a world organisation to ensure peace and to promote wide international cooperation in non-political fields also.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the main objectives of U.N.O.

13.3.0 THE ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The following are the organs of the United Nations

- a) The General Assembly
- b) The Security Council
- c) The Secretary General
- d) The Economic and Social Council
- e) The Trusteeship Council
- f) The International Court of Justice.

13.3.1 The General Assembly

The General Assembly consists of all the members of the United Nations Organisation. This body can be regarded as the general body of the UN. This is comparable to the Assembly of the League of Nations though the General Assembly of the United Nations is in some respects much more powerful body and in some other respects a weaker one than the Assembly of the League.

Articles 3 & 4 of the Charter deal with the subject of membership. All the countries which participated in the San Francisco Conference and those which signed the Declaration of United Nations (1942) automatically became members of the UN.

In addition to these, the membership of the UN is open to all other peace loving states which accept the obligations under the Charter. The General Assembly has the power to admit a new member on the recommendation of the Security Council. There were 51 original members. After the United Nations was born more than 100 members were added and now the UN consists of 165 members.

As per the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the General Assembly could upon the recommendation of Security Council suspend a member if it prevented the UN from performing its important functions. The General Assembly could also expel a member from the UNO if it persistently violated the Charter. The General Assembly is required to meet at least once a year. The General Assembly meets every third Tuesday in September. It could also meet as many times in a year as its members wished. The General Assembly elects its President every year at its annual session. Much of the work of the General Assembly is done by different committees, each committee consisting of a delegate from every member country. It can be said that each of these committees is a General Assembly dealing with some specific aspect of the activities of the General Assembly.

1. The primary function of the General Assembly is the one relating to the general debate on the world situation. Article 10 empowers the General Assembly "to discuss any question or any matter within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for the present Charter". Thus the General Assembly could discuss any cause concerning the world situation. Under this provision it (1) discusses matters of war and peace, situations that threaten international peace and security, (2) considers solutions and makes recommendations in respect of disputes and (3) takes up issues relating to world poverty, economic co-operation, world health etc. These are only examples. Indeed, the General Assembly can debate any issue "under the sun"

Of the wide ranging issues which the Assembly debates, the most important are the political i.e., those relating to the settlement of disputes between nations and the maintenance of international peace, and security. However this particular power the Assembly shares with the Security Council which is given a precedence over the General Assembly.

As per Article 12, when the Security Council is dealing with any issue relating to peaceful settlement of disputes and maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly cannot take up that issue. Subject to this restriction, the General Assembly can discuss anything and make recommendations.

The General Assembly can also bring to the attention of the Security Council situations likely to threaten the peace and security in the world. Thus we see that the general debating function is the one by which the General Assembly concerns itself with both political and non-political issues, urgent as well as not so urgent routine as well as special matters. Using this power the Assembly can have its say in any matter referred to it by its members. But it has limited powers to enforce its recommendations. For instance, if there is a quarrel between two nations which may disturb world peace the General Assembly has the power to tell the parties concerned to act or not to act in a certain manner. But if a party to a quarrel refuses to do so, there is not much that the General Assembly can do. In this respect the Security Council has greater power than the General Assembly because it can impose sanctions or 'punishment' on a member state which disregards its resolutions on certain important matters. The General Assembly has no such powers.

But there were occasions when the General Assembly exercised more or less the powers of the Security Council even though they were not specifically given to it under the Charter. This happened during the Korean war. At that time the Security Council passed a resolution proposing military action against North Korea which invaded South Korea in 1950. This was possible because the Soviet Union was then boycotting the Security Council and its absence could not be interpreted as veto. So, even though the Soviet Union did not vote for taking military action against North Korea, the Security Council by an overwhelming majority vote decided to take such action. However, very soon the Soviet Union returned to the Security Council and started vetoing the resolutions moved in the Council relating to the Korean war. As a substantial majority of the UNO were in favour of the war against North Korea, the General Assembly decided to deal with the Korean issue taking it away from the agenda of the Security Council. Technically this was not possible under the Charter as the Security Council itself was considering the issue relating to maintenance of peace and security. However, because the Korean crisis was grave and because the Security Council was not able to take any decisions at the time (owing to the hostility between the two blocks), the Western bloc took this unusual decision of transferring the issue to the General Assembly. The resolution of the General Assembly transferring the Korean issue from the Security Council to the General Assembly was called the "Uniting for Peace Resolution".

The General Assembly also established another method of dealing with international problems effectively during the Cold War period when the Security Council became paralysed because the Soviet Union, and big Western Powers disagreed over many world issues. This method can be called the 'Little Assembly method'. Under this method small committee of the General Assembly was constituted to be able to meet whenever it was necessary.

The above mentioned attempts to assert the importance of the General Assembly were necessitated because the General Assembly could take decisions by a majority vote, whereas the Security Council could take decisions only with the consent of all the permanent members. Of course, with the help of these procedures, the Western bloc, which during the late forties and fifties had more than 2/3 majority in the General Assembly, could see that policies favourable to it were passed in the United Nations whereas in the Security Council they could not do so due to the exercise of veto power by the Soviet Union.

Another function of the General Assembly can be broadly called the elective function'. The Assembly elects members to various other bodies of the UN, apart from electing its own President annually and Chairmen of its various committees. For instance, the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Trusteeship Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council and such other bodies are elected by the General Assembly.

The powers of the Assembly to make appointments to the various organisations of the UN can also be classified along with the elective functions. It is under this power that the important offices like the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and others are appointed. In some cases the General Assembly makes this appointment with the consent of the Security Council.

Another function of the Assembly is a supervisory function. Under this the General Assembly supervises the work of the other bodies of the UN, such as the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council which submit annual reports to the General Assembly. By this method all the members of the United Nations (who are represented in the General Assembly) are given an opportunity to know and discuss the work done by the other UN bodies.

The function of controlling the finances of the United Nations is another one. Under this the General Assembly passes the budget of the U.N., allots funds to various bodies and also approves their annual accounts.

As mentioned earlier, the non-political role of the United Nations is much more than that of the League of Nations. This expanded role in non-political matters is discharged by the General Assembly. For example, issues relating economic co-operative in the world, world-health, world food supplies, educational and cultural co-operation figure prominently in the General Assembly's programme of activities. The General Assembly holds special sessions to discuss these issues. The Assembly held such special sessions on the world's economic development, co-operation between the developing nations, removal of racial discrimination in the world and the such other issues.

13.3.2 Security council

As already mentioned, the Security Council can be regarded as the most important body so far as the political functions of the United Nations are concerned. It is entrusted with the all important function of maintaining peace and security, i.e., the crucial function of preventing threats to the peace and security of the world. Its composition and powers should be such that it is able to discharge this function; and hence they are different from those of the Council of the League of Nations.

At first the Security Council consisted of a total of 11 members, five permanent members and six non-permanent members. In 1965 the membership was increased to 15 members with the addition of five more non-permanent members. This was done because there was a tremendous increase in the membership of the United Nations during the 60's necessitating an increase in the membership of the Security Council in order to give adequate representation to the U.N. members in the Security Council.

The U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K., France and China are the permanent members. These countries are made permanent members because they are regarded as the big powers or great powers of the world. Of course, not all the five powers are equally big or great. The USSR and the USA are obviously the most important powers of the world. But Britain and France are also given big power status because of their military and economic strength. China was made a permanent member as population-wise it was the largest country in the world. When in 1949, the Communist Government was established in China the Western powers did not recognise Communist China and the pre-communist government which after 1949 shifted to Taiwan (the KMT Government) continued to represent China in the U.N. for a very long time because of American objection. Finally in 1971, the Communist China was admitted to the U.N. and became a permanent member of the Security Council in place of Taiwan.

The permanent members remained unchanged while the non-permanent members are elected for a term of 2 years. When once a member country of the U.N. is elected to the Security Council for a term, it cannot be elected for a second consecutive term, though it can become a member of Security Council at a later date. The ten non-permanent members are in practice elected in such a manner that the various regions of the world like Asia, Africa, Latin America, West Asia and other areas get representation in the Security Council. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly.

According to the provisions of the Charter, the Security Council normally decides by majority vote. However, there is an important exception to this provision which says that on important issues, all the five permanent members should give their concurring vote. In other words, on important matters even if one permanent member does not vote, the resolutions of the Security Council cannot be passed. All resolutions involving substantive or procedural matters are regarded as unimportant. Therefore, on substantive issues like making recommendations on matters of peace and security, the resolutions of the Security Council should be supported not only by a majority of the members of the Security Council but also by the unanimous consent of all the five permanent members. Procedural resolutions like fixing the dates of the meetings of the Council, adjourning the meetings of the Council etc., require a simple majority vote and not the unanimous vote of the five permanent members. In this respect the Security Council differs from the Council of the League of Nations in which the veto power was given to all members (permanent as well as non-permanent) which made it difficult to secure the unanimity needed for getting any resolution passed by it. The founding fathers of the United Nations thought it fit to provide the veto power only to the permanent members and not to all the members of the Security Council. In allowing only the permanent members to exercise the veto the purpose is to ensure that the decisions of the Security Council would have the support of all the big powers. Further, it should be noted that the Security Council is empowered to take stringent action against an aggressive member of the U.N. Such an action may take the form of the imposition of either economic or military sanctions against a member violating the Charter. It is therefore, essential that the decisions of the Council should be supported by all the big powers in order that they might be effectively carried out. Indeed, the opposition of one or more of permanent members could lead to a very awkward and even dangerous situation. Further, it

will be difficult to implement the decisions of the Council when they are opposed by one or more of Great powers. Furthermore, it could also lead to a direct confrontation or conflict between the U.N. and a great power. The U.N. cannot allow such a situation to arise and that was why the so called veto power is given only to the permanent members of the Security Council.

The most important function of the Security Council is the maintenance of peace and security in the world which subsumes many other functions.

First, the Security Council can discuss any matter concerning the maintenance of peace in the world. In this it resembles the General Assembly. But when the Security Council is considering a matter relating to peace and security, the General Assembly cannot discuss it. This is so because the Security Council is given the primary responsibility of maintaining peace and security. Any member of the United Nations can bring a matter concerning Peace and Security to the notice of the Security Council. The Security Council members can themselves take notice of world events that threaten peace and security to the notice of the Security Council. For example, if war breaks out in any part of the world between two nations any member of the U.N. or a member of the Security Council can ask the Security Council to meet immediately to consider the situation. The fact that the Security Council can be convened at short notice makes the Security Council, the more appropriate body to consider such situations. Representatives of the members of the Security Council stay at the U.N. and hence it is easy to arrange meetings of the Security Council.

A relating function of the Security Council is to make recommendations on matters concerning the maintenance of peace and security. For example, when war breaks out between two nations the Security Council can call up on the parties to stop the war and to solve their dispute in a peaceful manner. It can also recommend methods of solving the problem in a peaceful manner. It can suggest mediation to solve the dispute. The Security Council can also appoint investigative commissions, i.e., bodies to enquire into the dispute.

Thus the Security Council does perform the functions of Investigation, Interposition, Conciliation and Recognition in cases where international disputes arise.

The most important power of the Security Council is to take action by way of 'punishing' a country which violates the Charter, under this provision the Security Council can take punitive measures of many types. It can enforce what are popularly called economic relations and even communications with the State violating the Charter and ignoring the advice of the Council. The Security Council can also decide upon taking military action of various types like blockade and even resort to war against an aggressor State.

But it should be noted that the United Nations has no military force of its own. How, then, can it take military action? The answer is that the Security Council has to depend upon the co-operation of the members of the U.N., particularly the great powers (i.e., the permanent members) in carrying it out. To facilitate this the Charter, through its Article 46, provides for a Military Staff committee to assist the Security Council in taking military action against an aggressor member. This Military Staff Committee (MSC) would consist of the military Commanders of all the permanent members. The Commanders of the other members of the UN could also be requested to join the MSC to facilitate the military action by the Council. In practice, however, the MSC has remained defunct.

Though in principle the U.N. has the power go to war against any country violating the Charter, in practice it is unable to use this power. In fact, except in the case of Korea during 1950-53,

the UN did not use this provisions. This is so because in the Security Council there has been no unanimity among the permanent members to take sanctions against a country.

The Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocs and particularly between the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR made it all the more difficult for the Security Council to achieve unanimity of opinion needed for enforcing peace and security. This aspect of the problem is discussed to some extent in the Chapter on 'the Cold War'.

When the UN was established it was hoped that all the permanent members, particularly the USA and the Soviet Union, would co-operate with each other to realise the objectives of the UN including that of safeguarding international peace and security through collective measures like economic and military sanctions against countries disturbing world peace. But this hope was belied by the outbreak of Cold War in international politics almost immediately after the establishment of the UN and hence the sanctions clauses of the Security Council powers remained virtually suspended.

But even though direct military action to punish an aggressor country has not been possible, (except in the case of the Korean conflict) the UN has been using other types of military intervention to preserve peace. The most important aspect of this is the 'peace keeping' function. But this function is more a function of the General Assembly than of the Security Council. This aspect of the matter has been discussed earlier in the previous section dealing with the General Assembly.

Other functions of the Security Council can be classified as its electing and appointing functions. For instance, the Security Council has a role in the admission of new members to the U.N., and in the appointment of the Secretary General and other officers of the U.N.

13.3.3 The Economic and Social Council

As mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, the UN lays a emphasis on non-political functions also. In other words, it wants to encourage co-operation between the countries of the world in economic, cultural, health and other departments of life. Peace in the world would ultimately depend on the realization of international cooperation which is what the UN should promote and seeks to promote.

With this purpose in view the UN established the Economic and Social Council as one of its principal bodies. As the name indicates, the Economic and Social council (ECOSOC) deals with all aspects of economic and social co-operation between countries of the world.

The ECOSOC consists of 54 members of the UN elected by the General Assembly. Every year the General Assembly elects 18 members of the ECOSOC, each for a period of three years. In this way some measure of continuity is maintained in the ECOSOC. The ECOSOC functions under the authority of the General Assembly.

The functions of the ECOSOC are very broad. Article 62 (Clause 1) says "The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matter to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations and to the specialised agencies concerned.

The members of the ECOSOC are representatives of the member governments. The Council meets thrice a year and functions through Committees and sub-Committees. The most important function of the Council is to bring the various specialised agencies of the UN into an effective relationship with the UN itself. Thus the ECOSOC's main function is to co-ordinate the activities of the specialised agencies of the UN such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation (F.A.O.), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Technically, these specialised agencies are not the main organs of the U.N. They function under the overall supervision of the ECOSOC which in its turn is under the supervision of the General Assembly.

During the last forty years the ECOSOC has been trying to promote international economic co-operation. The most important instance is that of the ECOSOC's efforts to help the economic development of the poorer parts of the world. It has been doing this through various measures like the observance of Development decades during the sixties and seventies of the century. The purpose of this is to promote measures for the economic development of the Third World. During these years the ECOSOC has been exerting pressure on the developed countries, i.e., the capitalist countries of the West and the developed socialist countries to extend aid and help to the less developed Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The General Assembly, as has been pointed out, also deals directly with many of these issues. Experts feel that there is an overlapping of the functions of the General Assembly and the ECOSOC. But there is no doubt that the ECOSOC has succeeded to an appreciable extent in promoting international cooperation. Not many realise that even though the world is still beset with international political conflicts, there has been substantial cooperation in many other areas among the countries of the world. In various fields like communications, health, education, economic development, sharing of the benefits of the science and technology, many agreements have been reached between nations. There are many organisations consisting of government representatives promoting and providing for such co-operation. The various specialised agencies of the U.N., especially the WHO, FAO, UNESCO, have been mainly responsible for this. The ECOSOC coordinates their activities.

But there are inherent limits to international co-operation. For instance, the rich nations are not prepared to cooperate fully in the economic development of the poorer nations because richer nations have been exploiting the poorer nations (the Third World) in various ways. The richer nations are at best prepared to give some financial aid to the poorer nations but are unwilling to allow fundamental changes to come in the international economic order. That is why the Third World nations are now pressing for basic changes in the economic order. This problem is discussed in detail in another chapter.

13.3.4 The Secretariat

As all big organisations need to be administered efficiently, the United Nations Organisation also has a secretariat to organise, administer the UN to make it function efficiently.

The UN Secretariat now consist of more than ten thousand officials. These officials can be regarded as the civil servants of the United Nations.

The functions of the Secretariat can be divided into six.

1. The first function can be called as that of the Parliamentary Clerk. Because the UN functions as a World Parliament (though without the necessary powers that Parliaments have) many

officials are needed to do a range of services like interpreting the discussions, translating the speeches, drafting the minutes, providing the library facilities etc. Whenever the bodies of the United Nations meet, these civil servants are engaged in interpreting and translating the speeches and in keeping minutes. The higher civil servants are also engaged in interpreting the rules and procedures of the various bodies of the United Nations.

2. The second function can be called as the information function. The United Nations member countries and their representatives are to be provided with wide range of documents, papers and other material to function as members of the United Nations and to take part in the proceedings and in the decision-making in the world organisation. This function is also a very important function.
3. The third function is even more important. The United Nations provides many positive services to the member nations like giving economic aid, technical assistance and such other services. Expert international civil servants are necessary to carry out these functions. For example, the United Nations created a Special Fund for Economic Development in 1959. This fund was to help the countries in making the plans for their economic and technical development. In 1966, the United Nations Development Programme was started and even now this constitutes a very important aspect of the United Nations work in helping the economic development of the member countries, particularly the poorer countries. This programme and other programmes have export administrators recruited from various member countries. But they become the servants of the United Nations and constitute part of the United Nations civil servants.
4. The United Nations has a small field service which acts like an unarmed police force whose function is to provide transport and communication facilities and look after UN official teams and commissions working in different parts of the world. It has been mentioned earlier that the United Nations sends teams to various parts of the world to investigate disputes and for other purposes and the UN Field Service looks after their security and arranges necessary facilities for them.
5. More importantly, there is the function of administering the United Nations itself. The United Nations has now grown into a very big organisation with more than 150 states as members and the UN offices have also grown. Therefore, the administration of the offices is very important function to be performed. Thousands of UN civil servants are in fact engaged in administration. Most of these offices are located at the UN headquarters in New York and some offices are also there in other parts of the world.
6. The most important function of the UN Secretariat is the diplomatic or the political function. The United Nations, as is well known, performs its main function of maintaining the international peace and security through diplomacy. Though most of this is done by diplomats of member countries, still there is a lot to be done by UN officials also. After all, in the meetings of the various UN bodies diplomats or representatives of member countries take many decisions to solve world problem. But many of these decision involve follow up action. Decisions are often arrived at in broad guidelines and a lot of details in implementing these will have to be provided by UN officials. It is in this context that the diplomatic function of the UN Secretariat comes into existence. This can be compared to the functions of higher civil servants in individual countries. We know that though political leaders decide about policies to be followed, still civil servants contribute a lot not only in implementing these policies but in providing the details in policy-making. The higher officials of the UN Secretariat also do such functions. Higher UN officials belonging to the Secretariat are

frequently involved in carrying on diplomatic negotiations, in recommending solutions to international problems and in implementing them.

13.3.5 The Secretary General

In this context, the role of the Secretary General, and his immediate assistants, the Under Secretaries General is very significant. The Charter provides for "the Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He is the Chief Administrative Officer of the organisation. As Secretary General he sits in all the meetings of the various organs of the United Nations. He not only makes an annual report to the General Assembly of the UN, he is also empowered to bring to the notice of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security (Art. 99). Thus, the Secretary General has the power to bring any issue to the notice of the United Nations.

In the initial years of the United Nations, the role of the Secretary General was limited. However, since the early 1960's the importance of this office increased.

The role of the Secretary General increased with the increase in the peace-keeping functions of the UN. In the earlier sections of this lesson, the importance of the peace-keeping function is discussed. Under this function, the UN has been sending its peace-keeping teams, military observers, cease fire supervising teams and such other teams to various parts of the world where wars or near-war situations arise. The peace-keeping function was effectively used in the Arab-Israel conflict, in Indo-China, in the Congo and in Cyprus. By this method, the UN effectively contained some international conflicts from spreading.

As peace-keeping functions increased the role of the Secretary General also increased. This is because in organising peace-keeping missions, the Secretary General, as the highest official of the UN, will have to organise the peace-keeping missions, supervise their work and also constantly report to the UN (either to the General Assembly or to the Security Council) about how peace-keeping is being done and how to improve it. Thus, in discharging this function the Secretary General naturally performs many other tasks which probably were not thought of when the Charter created the post of Secretary General. For example, in the discharging of the function of organising and administering peace-keeping, the Secretary General enters into negotiations with the concerned states. In this way he becomes the chief diplomatic negotiator on behalf of the UN. Many times, he initiates new policies to suit the circumstances and then informs the General Assembly or the Security Council, which are the ultimate bodies that take decisions on peace-keeping. It can thus be seen that a great expansion in the powers and functions of the Secretary General took place over a period of time.

The expansion of the powers of the Secretary General as mentioned above, occurred during the 50s but it was in the context of the Congo problem when Mr. Dag Hammarskjold was the Secretary General that the increased role of the Secretary General became very prominent. The problem arose when the Congo got independence from Belgium in 1960. Immediately thereafter, a civil war broke out in Congo when one province threatened to separate itself from the whole country and establish itself as an independent state. This province was instigated by the former colonial power, Belgium. Other foreign states and elements were also involved. The state of the Congo appealed to the UN to prevent the intervention of foreign forces helping the rebel province. It was in this context that the UN decided to send a UN force (recruited temporarily from some of the member states because the UN has no force, of its own). This force was sent not to take part in the civil war, but to see that foreign forces do not enter the civil war.

It fell upon Mr. Hammerskjold to organise the force, to supervise its work, frequently negotiate with the leaders of the Congo and the leaders of the province fighting the civil war against the government of the Congo. In this manner the Secretary General played a very important role in the whole Congo affair. It can even be said that in crucial matters he functioned as a one-man United Nations. Sometimes the exercise of these powers in this context were severely criticized. But since then, the powers of the Secretary General, in practice, if not in theory, have come to be recognised as necessary and vital to the efficient functioning of the United Nations.

The expanded role of the Secretary General has now come to stay. For example, in the Iran-Iraq war, the Secretary General of the UN himself tried to mediate between the two warring states though he has not been successful. Again, in the Afghan problem, the Secretary General had appointed his personal envoy to bring about a compromise between the Afghan Government and Pakistan and the Soviet Union to end the Afghan crisis. Indications are that this diplomacy may succeed. Thus, the Secretary General (no doubt with the authorisation of the UN bodies) can be effective in mediating between quarreling nations even though the General Assembly and the Security Council may not be successful in solving such problems directly through public diplomacy.

From the very beginning the post of the Secretary General was filled not by a person belonging to either the Big Powers or those actively involved in the Cold War. This was felt to be necessary because the Secretary General should be regarded as an impartial officer. This consideration is still prevailing in the selection of the Secretary General by the United Nations.

So far there have been six Secretaries General. The first two (Mr. Trygve Lie and Mr. Dag Hammerskjold) came from the small Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden respectively. The third belonged to Burma (Mr. U' Thant), the fourth (Dr. Kurt Waldheim) was from the small neutral country Austria, and the fifth Secretary General (Mr. Perez de Cuellar) is from the Latin America country of Peru. The sixth in succession and the present Secretary General is Boutros Ghali and hails from Egypt. Partly because of their national backgrounds, but mostly because of their personal impartiality and rectitude, the Secretary General's office has become a highly respected and powerful office.

13.3.6 The International Court of Justice

It is stated earlier that under the League of Nations a permanent Court of international Justice to provide for the judicial settlement of disputes between nations. Even then it was not envisaged that all the disputes between nations will be referred to this court as the development of International law has not become so wide and precise as to enable every type of dispute that arises between the countries in the world to be solved by judicial settlement.

When the League was formally abolished in 1946, the name of the former World Court was changed to the International Court of Justice.

This Court consists of 15 Judges elected by both by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The process of election is a complicated one. Member countries of the United Nations nominate individuals to the positions of the Judges and these names go to both the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations. These two bodies elect the Judges (i.e. they elect as many persons as there are vacancies on the Court) and the persons getting an absolute majority of votes in both the General Assembly and Security Council are declared elected. If the number of persons elected by this procedure exceeds the number of vacancies, then voting is done to eliminate the surplus number of candidates.

It should be mentioned that the Judges elected are not the representatives of the countries nominating them. They are elected in their individual capacity. As per the qualifications of the Judges the requirements are that (1) They should possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial office or they should be eminent jurists, and (2) they should represent "the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world".

Thus, care is taken to see that persons eminent in the field of Law are appointed and that the Court should represent the various legal systems of the world. The Judges retire in groups of five every three years. Re-election of Judges is permissible.

It has already been stated that the World Court cannot exactly be regarded as a Court for the World, as it has no real jurisdiction over most of the disputes arise between nations of the world. The jurisdiction of the Court is left to the decision of the individual countries. Countries may choose to submit any of their disputes with other nations to the Court or they may not do so. The statutes of the Court (constitution of the court) provide for what is called the Optional Jurisdiction Clause which individual countries have the option to sign. When they sign the Optional Jurisdiction Clause they agree to bring certain types of compulsorily before the Court. Hence the optional Jurisdiction Clause is a clause which allows compulsory jurisdiction of the court over some types of cases concerning disputes between the countries. In this manner, provision is made to increase the scope of the Court's activities and to encourage nations to submit more and more of their disputes to the World Court. But in practice few nations have signed the Optional Jurisdictional Clause and even those who signed it have chosen to make exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court. This shows the reluctance of nations to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the court. Still the very existence of the court is a favourable development in international relations. Under some circumstances when the issues involved are rather clear, there is a moral compulsion for the states to submit their quarrels to the court.

Of course, another major difficulty is that the court's judgments are not necessarily binding on the states concerned. The judgment of the court can be flouted. A few instances can be given. In 1973, Australia and New Zealand approached the Court to get an injunction against France not to carry out atomic tests in the Pacific region surrounding Australia and New Zealand. the Court gave such an injunction against France but France did not obey the injunction and carried out the nuclear tests in the Pacific region. similarly, Britain and Germany filed a suit against Iceland against expansion of the fishing limits to 200 miles of Iceland's coastline. The court gave a judgment in favour of Britain and Germany but Iceland declared that it is not bound by the judgment. Thus, it can be seen that the existence of the court does not signify that at least the legal disputes between nations could be settled by judicial settlement. The courts presence is more an indication of the growing desire of world public opinion about the need for a court and for the promotion of settlement of disputes through the World Court.

Another limitation of the World Court is that only states or countries could approach the Court. Individuals or world organisations (even the United Nations) cannot be a party to a disputes before the World Court. But one good development is that in recent years individuals and public opinion groups are persuading some countries to move the Court against other countries who are directly or indirectly guilty of violation International Law. This is a good trend. By this method, countries carrying on economic relations in South Africa, in violation of the United Nations recommendation that member states should not trade with South Africa, are now brought before the Court through the initiative of public opinion groups. Eventhough, the Court's judgment may still be not binding on the 'guilty' states this trend helps in focusing public opinion on such activities.

The United Nations can approach the World Court for its advice on many aspects of the UN work. There are many instances of the United Nations seeking such advisory opinion. Such opinions relate to the legal interpretation of the provisions of the United Nations and also of the various treaties that are signed between states and registered with the United Nations. The advisory opinion of the Court, however, is not binding on the parties. For example, the United Nations sought the advisory opinion of the World Court over the issue of the South West Africa to the United Nations to be put under the Trusteeship system. The World Court gave the opinion that South Africa was legally wrong in holding on the South West Africa and that the territory should be put under the Trusteeship system. But South Africa refused to abide by the decision. As has already stated in another context in this unit the world problem now is how to take away South West Africa (Namibia) and to give that territory complete independence. This is one of the major problems the United Nations is facing.

13.3.7 The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council is created as a principal organ of the United Nations to administer some of the territories ruled by colonial powers to prepare these territories for self-government and independence. It will be recalled that under the League of Nations a Permanent Mandates Commission was created to look after the colonial territories ruled by the former Axis Powers. But the Permanent Mandates Commission was only an advisory body to the Council of the League. Under the United Nations the Trusteeship Council is to be a separate body working under the over all supervision of the General Assembly. The former mandated territories and some other territories were given to the Trusteeship Council to be administered by it. By the time the United Nations was born the demand for decolonisation increased and the United Nations felt that the world body must do something more positive to bring colonisation to a speedy end. The creation of the Trusteeship system is a part of this desire.

The membership of Trusteeship Council is to consist of (1) the administering powers (i.e. those administering the Trusteeship Territories), (2) all the permanent members of the Security Council and (3) as many other members as are needed to make the number of the administering powers and the non-administering powers equal. Here the important difference between the Trusteeship Council and the Permanent Mandate Commission under the League should be pointed out. The Permanent Mandate Commission consisted of 8 independent experts and not the official representative of the Government. Under the Trusteeship System States are representative of the Government. Under the Trusteeship System States are represented as members, those administering trust territories, the big powers and some states who are not entrusted with administering of Trust Territories. By this method it is intended that all the members of the United Nations should have a voice in the administration of the Trusteeship Territories.

As already pointed out, the Trust Territories are those "Colonial Territories" that were formerly managed by the Mandate system. Of course, not all colonies were managed by the Mandate system because the colonial empires of the victorious powers in the First World War were left with them. Only the colonies of the defeated powers, Germany and Turkey were put under the Mandate system of the League. Some of these became independent during inter-war period. Those that still remained under the Mandate system by the time the League was wound up were handed over to the Trusteeship Council along with the few other non-self governing areas.

The Trusteeship Council had the following powers:

1. It has a right to know from those States administering the Trust areas as to how these areas are being administered.

2. It can accept petitions from various sections of the people living in these areas about the administration of the areas and;
3. It has right to visit the Territories periodically to know at first hand the condition of those territories.

It can be seen from these powers that the Trusteeship Council is given wide powers to supervise the administration of the Trust Territories. Because the Trusteeship Council works under the general supervision of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Assembly itself can discuss matters relating to the administration of those Territories and suggest reforms in the administration. It is through this power that the United Nations ensures that these former colonial areas now placed under the Trusteeship are in fact administered as Trusts of the world body and that the administering States are in fact doing everything to bring them to the stage of self-government so that they can be given full independence in course of time.

In 1946 when the Trusteeship Council came into existence there were trust territories, many of them in Africa. By now most of them have achieved independence. As is well known, the post-second-world war period, witnessed the growing demand for de-colonisation. The charter of the United Nations itself contains a lengthy, "Declaration concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories" which very clearly states that it is the UN's responsibility to bring these Non-Self-Governing Territories to the stage of the self-government and independence. In addition to this commitment, during 1960s when de-colonisation progressed with rapid speed the United Nations General Assembly passed another "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". This declaration is intended to prompt Western European countries still having colonies to grant independence to their colonies. But the spirit of this declaration was also related to the Trusteeship System. States administering Trust Territories were thus asked to speed up the process towards full self-government of those territories. Accordingly, most of the Trust Territories have now become independent.

Apart from the functioning of the Trusteeship Council the General Assembly itself has been taking very keen interest in demanding for the independence of all the areas in the world. For instance, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly (a Standing Committee) practically became the committee where colonial issues are discussed very frequently. The Fourth Committee itself used to send observers to non-self-governing areas to find out how those areas being ruled and to recommend action for the granting of independence.

In this context, one important point may be noted. The South Africa was entrusted with the administration of the South West African Territory under the Mandate system by the League of Nations. When the Mandate system ended after the Second World War, South Africa refused to enter into an agreement with the United Nations to administer the territory under the Trusteeship System. The United Nations has been demanding that South Africa is still administering it in violation of the wishes of the United Nations and other international bodies. The Namibian problem highlights the persistence of colonialism of the most brutal type. The white dominated South Africa is still practising racial segregation both in South Africa and in Namibia. Freedom struggle for the independence of Namibia is going on and the United Nations in pursuance of its responsibility towards this non-self-governing territory is trying to make South Africa leave Namibia. The problem here is that the Western powers in the United Nations are not fully prepared to compel South Africa even though for nearly 30 years South Africa has been flouting the wishes of the United Nations with regard to the independence of Namibia.

13.4 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS WORKING

In this context, it is not necessary to examine the working of each of the institutions of the United Nations. It will be enough to discuss the over-all working of the organisation and consider its successes and failures.

On the most important function, that of maintaining peace and security, the United Nations has a mixed record of success and failure. It has been observed that except in one single instance Korea—the United Nations was not able to take military action against an aggression. In other words, the Security Council's primary function of maintaining peace and security through the taking of economic and military sanctions could not be carried out extensively or effectively. This was so because of the Cold War between the Eastern and Western blocs. Whenever the question of taking economic or military action came up the great powers were not able to agree.

Of course, in some cases, as in the case of South Africa, the UN did recommend the imposition of economic sanctions. South Africa has been practicing the policy of 'Apartheid', or racial discrimination, and has also been denying democratic rights to the African and coloured peoples who constitute nearly 80 of its population. The UN has since a long time been demanding that the white minority government has been defying the UN and world public opinion. But only in recent years the UN had actually recommended the imposition of economic sanctions. But even in this regard many of the Western governments like the U.S. and the U.K. have not been serious about implementing sanctions against South Africa. This is so because they have strong economic relations with South Africa and further, they are not prepared to be very strict with the government of South Africa as it consists of the white people. Thus it may be seen that though the UN itself consists of a majority of third world countries who are opposed to the racist policies of South African government, the UN is not able to do much because of the reluctance of the Western powers to exert pressure on the majority white racist government of South Africa. Thus the influence of Western economic interests and racialism have been preventing the UN taking a united stand on the South African question.

Some of the major disputes between nations still remain unsolved. For instance, in West Asia, the dispute between the Arab countries and Israel is continuing resulting in considerable loss of life and property. The Arab states had rejected the existence of Israel and some of them still do so theoretically. And the creation of Israel was to a great extent the result of the pressures brought by the Western powers to create a separate state for the Jews of the world but in so doing the Western powers completely ignored the wishes of the Arab people. This was the root of the problem. The Arab States in their hostility to Israel remained inimical to the Israel and Israel became very belligerent in protecting its existence. Already four wars have been fought since 1948 and no solution to the problem is in sight. The UN has passed many resolutions calling upon Israel to return the territory it annexed from the Arab states and the Arab states to reach a peaceful settlement with Israel. But Israel has not implemented the UN recommendation to return Arab territory and therefore, some of the Arab states like Syria and Jordan are still in a state of war with Israel. The Israeli occupation of Arab territories resulted in Palestinians being driven out of Israel and the influx of refugees created the PLO which is now the main body speaking for the Palestinian Arabs. Israel even refuses to recognise the PLO. This dispute still constitutes a major problem of world peace. The UN has not been able to do anything because it can only make recommendations but not implement them by force except of course, by resorting to the sanction clause. And resort to the sanction's clause is almost impossible because the USA would not agree to any UN action against Israel.

There are problems like the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war which the UNO has not been able to solve. In the case of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union justifies its

intervention on the ground that it was invited by the Afghan Government to help it restore order in Afghanistan. The issue is very complicated and the UN could only appeal to the countries concerned - Afghanistan, USSR and Pakistan to arrive at a compromise.

Even though, it would appear that the UN is ineffective in solving the political problems in international relations, it must be remembered that it can only make recommendations or suggestions to the member countries. Beyond making recommendation by majority vote and thus exerting moral pressure on the members, the UN as a body cannot do much.

There are many instances when the United Nations did succeed, if not in solving a problem, at least in containing the problem in this manner it prevented the escalation of conflicts between nations. This is exemplified in the Peace-Keeping function of the UN. Many instances can be cited in this regard. In Congo, when the civil war broke out in 1960 (immediately after Congo became independent) with some Western powers supporting the rebel leaders in Congo, the UN sent its Peace Keeping force to prevent fighting and by this it helped Congo to survive as a unified State. When in Cyprus the minority Turkish population established a separate Turkish-Cypriot State, resulting in a war between the Greeks and the Turks, the UN sent a Peace Keeping force to prevent the escalation pending the solution of the main problem of the establishment of the Turkish-Cypriot State. In the Arab-Israeli conflict also the UN resorted to its Peace Keeping function many times. After 1948 war it sent UN observers to supervise the ceasefire, and also after the 1956, 1967 and 1973 wars. Its observers were stationed in various parts of the borders between Israel and some of the Arab states concerned to observe and report on the ceasefire violations. So, it can be seen how though the UN is not in a position to solve the main conflicts, it has at least helped in containing the conflicts and in preventing them from becoming worse.

On the issue of disarmament also the UN has not been able to do much. However, it should be stated that it was at least able to initiate some important steps. For instance, it proposed many measures to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Measures such as the Outer Space treaty, the Sea-bed Treaty and the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty are some examples. The Outer Space treaty prohibits the placing and the use of nuclear weapons in outer space; the Sea bed Treaty prohibits the placing and testing of the nuclear weapons under the sea, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty prohibits the acquisition of nuclear weapons by those that do not possess them.

By these treaties the united Nations tries to secure Nuclear Disarmament. But the Un is not able to do anything with regard to the five countries (the USA, the Soviet Union, the UK, France and China) who already have nuclear weapons. The USA and the Soviet Union, in particular, have thousands of nuclear weapons. Beyond agreeing marginally to limit their stocks of weapons, they are not prepared to effect any substantial reduction of their nuclear arsenals.

Again, though because of the ideological and political conflicts between the American bloc and the Soviet bloc, the UN has not been able to do much in ensuring world peace it has to some extent helped in reducing international tensions. This point is discussed in a separate unit. In this unit it is necessary to point out that the relaxation of tension is partly due to the presence of United Nations. It is true that in the United Nations, the two antagonistic super powers are not prepared to make compromises. But through private diplomatic efforts and through direct talks the two super powers and also the powers of the rival blocs have been trying to reduce their tensions. Part of the credit for this should go to the United Nations.

Another development in the United Nations is that since the mid-Sixties of this century, the strength of the Third World has increased in the General Assembly. This has the effect of

reducing the voting power of the Western bloc in the UN. Because of this development, the Third World Countries are able to exert pressure on the UN and make it pay as much attention as possible to issues relating to the world economic development and cooperation among the nations of the world.

The UN in this regard has promoted the North-South Dialogue. The North refers to the Western industrialised and under-developed (or developing) Third World Countries. The dialogues over issues relating to economic aid, transfer of technological and industrial knowledge from the industrialised countries to the developing countries, more favourable trade relation for the Third World countries, etc. The Third World countries through the UN are now able to argue forcefully that since in the past they were exploited economically and politically by the rich industrialised nations they should be assured of better economic relations as would prove helpful to their economic development. Even in this regard the efforts of the UN have not succeeded to any appreciable extent. But the point is that at least the dialogue has begun between the North and the South and it is hoped that it would lead to a better economic deal to the third world countries.

Thus it may be seen that although the UN has not measured up to the expectations of its founding fathers, it stands between the world and total chaos, which is no mean achievement.

-T.S.Mohana

13.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Examine the various stages in the formation of the United Nations.
2. Discuss the role and functions of the Security Council.
3. Assess the role of the United Nations in international affairs.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Examine the role of the United Nations in the process of decolonisation.
2. Write a short note on the International Court of Justice.
3. "The Secretary General is the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organisation" - Explain.
4. Briefly explain the powers and functions of the General Assembly.

UNIT - 14 : COLD WAR IN EUROPE AND ASIA

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- 14.0 Objectives
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- 14.2 The Cold War: Meaning and Characteristics
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14.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain:

- the origins of cold war
- the spreading of cold war to Asia
- the decline of cold war

14.1 INTRODUCTION

War is one of the major factors which after of consolidate the power position of nation states in the global society. The Second World War is no exception. The collapse of 'balance of power' which marked the political map of Europe for a long time was, perhaps, the most significant outcome of the Second World War. The Axis Powers of Europe were shattered after their defeat in the war and the Allied powers of Europe, specially Britain and France, though not the losers, lost much in terms of men and material. The consequent weakening of the European states created a power vacuum which was speedily filled in by the US and the Soviet Union. Though these two states incurred heavy losses during the war but they were able to retain a position of superiority vis-a-vis the European powers which enabled them to dominate the international politics in the post-war period.

The relations between the Superpowers - the United States and the Soviet Union - even before 1940 were not friendly. The USA had a government based on the liberal democracy and an economy based capitalism. The Soviet Union since 1917 had a government based on Communistic version of democracy and an economy based at state control. Because of their ideological differences, the relations between the USA and Soviet Union, even before the War were marked by mutual suspicion and mistrust. It was only in 1941 that the two became Allies in the face of common threat from the Axis powers, particularly, Germany and Japan. Many

expected that in spite of their ideological differences, the Superpowers would somehow be able to maintain a minimum amount of cordiality and thus guide the World politics with at least minimum amount of agreement in the post-war period. But instead, the Superpowers, became engaged in what came to be called 'Cold War' which was marked by all the features of war without bursting into a 'shooting war' or 'hot war'.

It was as a result of this Superpower conflict that international politics took on a new dimension in the immediate post-war years. The world saw the division of Europe into two rival blocs, the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern bloc consisted of the Soviet Union and the East European countries which turned communist. The Western bloc consisted of the United States and the countries of Western Europe which were truly capitalistic in character. These two blocs which emerged in Europe in the late 40's were held together by military alliances (NATO in the West, Warsaw Pact alliance in the East) by economic aid and organisations (Marshall plan, Molotov plan, organisation of European Economic Community, Comecon, etc.) and by political values shared by the respective political leaders. These two blocs were hostile to each other, their hostility being based on ideological differences and on political rivalry.

With the spread of the Cold War to Asia and the rest of the World in the 50's a similar development took place elsewhere. Since each of the two Superpowers acted as a pole around which most of the countries in the world aligned themselves, the term 'bipolarity' is used to describe this new form of international order.

14.2 THE COLD WAR: MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS

Coined by Bernard Baruch, an American industrialist and statesman, the term 'Cold War' generally refers to the intense hostility and tension that developed in the US - USSR relations and more broadly in the relations between the Eastern bloc which is Communist and the Western bloc which is Capitalist. As a concept in international relations, it denotes a state of constant conflict and tension, maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed conflict between the antagonists. The Cold War was a bipolar conflict in which both the sides attempted, without direct negotiation, to apply pressure on each other in order to dominate the other. Every such attempt was interpreted by the other side in the light of its own policy and led to retaliation, which in turn provoked further hostile responses from the other side.

The essential characteristic of this Cold War was a complete breakdown of relations between former war-time allies; a breakdown so complete that although each responded to and paralleled other's actions, there was not attempt to achieve a political dialogue and to reach settlement in the conflict. This led to a situation in which each of the contending Superpowers perceived its own actions as defensive and that of its opponents as aggressive.

Another important characteristic of the Cold War is the development of a big arms race between the two blocs. Because of the discovery of the atom bomb, nuclear weapons were acquired in huge numbers by both the blocs making the Cold War a very dangerous type of conflict in the world. This arms race has become much more dangerous than those in the earlier periods of world history. But although every expression of hostility was used, neither side pressed its position to the point of going to a war. It is true that the Korean crisis led to an armed conflict, and the Superpowers were involved in it, but the essential point is that the Superpowers fought the war by proxy, i.e., indirectly, through other powers and they did not directly take to arms against each other.

Yet another characteristic of the Cold War is that the conflict between the Superpowers did not confine itself to one particular region like Europe or Asia but extended to almost all parts of the

World. In their efforts to expand their spheres of influence for political or strategic, ideological and economic reasons the United States and the Soviet Union began to intervene in the conflict of other countries to gain whatever advantage they could.

14.3 ORIGINS OF COLD WAR

It is still a controversial point as to when the Cold War began and who started it. The beginning of Cold War and the responsibility for it are closely related questions, neither of which can be easily answered. Some observers trace the origin of the Cold War to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Western intervention in 1918-21. They say that there was hostility between the Soviet Union and the Western powers even during 1919 and 1940 and that the Cold War began even before the outbreak of the Second World War. Other observers feel that no particular event triggered off the Cold War, and that it could be linked with the traditional Russian imperialism, the threatening nature of communist ideology and its advocacy of revolution, the paranoia of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator. The Soviet Union is blamed for turning Eastern European countries into Communist states immediately after the Second World War. There are other scholars who blame the USA and the Western European states for trying to isolate the Soviet Union and even for trying to destroy her because of their (the Western powers) opposition to communism. These scholars say that it was the provocative policies of the Western powers that made the Soviet Union pursue certain policies which appeared to be very aggressive.

Another school of thought, 'realists' as its propounders are called, suggest that the origins of the Cold War can be found in the very nature of nation-state system. The Realists begin with the assumption that international politics is essentially anarchistic and that it resembles a Darwinian struggle between nations for survival. Indeed, the struggle for power, to maintain or acquire it, is held to be the very essence of international politics. The emergence of two very powerful countries with the capacity to play a major role in world politics, they argue is bound to create a struggle for power. The realists, therefore, argue, that the hostility between the US and the Soviet Union would exist regardless of their internal politics and ideologies. Thus, there are many theories and approaches which explain the origin and nature of Cold War. Perhaps, the Cold War is a result of the interplay of all these multiple factors and forces.

14.4 EVENTS

The major factors which led to the Cold War conflict between the two Superpowers can be traced to the war time conferences on post war settlement. The Soviet Union under Stalin entered the war with a clear cut goal of securing or strengthening its borders on its west. Britain, under Churchill's Prime Ministership, wanted to prevent any single power from dominating Europe. Essentially, a traditionalist and an enemy of Communism, Churchill resisted any extension of Soviet influence beyond Russia's pre-war boundaries. As a result of these different goals, which were complicated by suspicion of each other's motives and an unwillingness or incapacity to perceive the problems confronting each other, disagreements marked the wartime conferences at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam.

The Yalta conference in February 1945 has been regarded by some as the high point of war-time collaboration among Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. At this conference the Big Three planned their final moves against Germany, delineated their zones of occupation and jointly endorsed the plans for the establishment of the United Nations. Yet, even at Yalta differences were apparent. For instance, the Western principle the right of every people to choose its own form of government - represented in the Atlantic Charter conflicted with the Soviet Union's purpose to have 'friendly' governments on its Western borders.

By the end of the War, the Soviet Red Army had advanced over 1500 miles from Stalingrad in the Soviet Union to the centre of Germany. It had also penetrated deep into the Balkans. When the USSR annexed some areas along its western borders-parts of Finland, the entire countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and parts of Germany, Rumania and Poland - the western powers passively accepted Russia's territorial expansion. They did so because they felt Russia deserved to be recompensated for loses sustained in fighting the Germans and also because the Red Army being in firm control of these areas, nothing could be done to dislodge them except by starting another war. But, when the Soviet union attempted the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe, it created a rift between the Western powers and the Soviet Union.

In most of the European countries Communists had become strong and were respected for their resistance to Nazism. Joseph Stalin who wanted to establish friendly governments in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania, he set out create Communist governments obedient to the wishes of the Soviet Union from leftwing coalitions and Popular Fronts. In the case of Poland, Stalin went back on the pledges made at Yalta to take some of the leaders of the non-communist Polish government in exile into the Communist Polish government. The Western supported Polish leaders were denied power. As a matter of fact, when they went to Poland in 1946 to join the new Polish government they were arrested and some of them were shot dead. This incident made the Western powers not only angry but also suspicious of Stalin's motives in Eastern Europe.

Another incident in the development of Cold War is related to Azerbaijan, a province in Iran. During the War the Soviet Union and Britain together occupied Iran and removed the ruler of Iran, the Shah. After the war Britain withdrew its troops from Iran. But the Russian troops stayed back and the soviet union sponsored an autonomous Azerbaijan Republic ruled by local Communist Party. By 1946, situation became tense. Western leaders feared that the Soviet Union was trying to permanently keep that part of Iran under its control. Through heavy diplomatic pressure the Western powers forced the Russians to withdraw from Azerbaijan part of Iran. In May 1946, the Iranian army moved into this province and suppressed the Communist regime.

The incidents mentioned above exemplify the nature of the Cold War. On the one hand, the Western powers feared that the Soviet Union was eager to expand into other countries and feel that they should opposed it. On the other hand, the Soviet Union justified its policy on the ground that its security needed friendly (i.e., communist type of government) on it own borders. It should also be remembered that the Soviet Union did withdrew from Azerbaijan.

Another major instance of the Could War was the events relating to Greece. Greece, in south eastern Europe was occupied by the Nazis during the war. After the war Greece came under the British occupation and they installed a Greek government there. Meanwhile the Communists in Greece began a civil war opposing the post-war Greek government. The British government which was already by that time exhausted because of the long Second World War, told the Americans that it (the British Government) was not in a position to deal with the Greek situation. The American government then decided to send troops into Greece to crush the Communists and to support the pro-western Green Government installed with the British help.

This decision of the United States was taken under what is called the Truman Doctrine, because Presidential Truman of United States announced it as a part of U.S. policy. Under this policy the United States undertook to militarily support European governments threatened by communism. The Truman Doctrine is also called the policy of containment - that is, a policy of containing communism from expanding. By this policy the United States for the first time

after the II World War declared its intention to contain communism and the influence of Soviet Union. Thus the United States concluded that the Soviet Union was actively behind the Communist movements in various parts of the World and that the Soviet Union was bent upon converting European countries into communist countries.

The Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment added further sharpness to the Cold War. The Soviet Union regarded the policy as an instance of American aggressiveness. There is some truth in the Soviet complaint against America. Actually, the Greek communists were not directly encouraged by the Soviet Union. They were to some extent popular in Greece at that time and further they were to some extent popular in Greece at that time and further they were receiving support from the neighbouring country Yugoslavia which by that time became a communist country. Therefore, the American policy in accusing the Soviet Union was to some extent very provocative. The Soviet Union accused America of trying to destroy genuine communist movements in various parts of Europe because of America's ideological hatred towards Communism. The Soviet Union felt that it was America that has become aggressive towards Communism.

In Greece, because of American intervention following the Truman Doctrine the communists were suppressed and a pro-western government was established. This incident shown how the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc began to see each other as enemies and were each trying to accuse the other of expansionist tendencies.

Since the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. became even more closely involved in protecting Europe from Communism. In 1947, the American Secretary of State, George Marshall announced the Marshall Plan. Under this the US offered economic aid to European countries which were economically weakened after the II World War. This economic aid was offered to all countries of Europe including the Communist countries. But the Communist countries interpreted the Marshall Plan as yet another policy to strengthen the non-communist governments with a view to contain Communism. Whereas the Truman Doctrine offered military help to European countries against Communism, the Marshall plan offered economic aid to contain Communism. Here also it can be seen how each step taken by the big power like America was interpreted by the other big power the Soviet Union, as being hostile. The result was that the Cold War increased in intensity.

Interpreting the American policy as aimed against the Soviet Union the soviet leader Stalin resorted to a policy of strengthening Soviet control over Eastern Europe. It should be remembered that immediately after 1945 the Soviet Union was in control of Eastern Europe. It was seen how Poland became a communist state. After 1947 the Soviet Union further consolidated its control over Eastern Europe by encouraging the establishment of Communist governments in other Eastern Europe countries like, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. These countries had governments consisting of communist parties and non-communist parties. But after 1947, by various methods these governments came under the total control of the communist parties. This was accomplished partly through the use of force and partly through manipulating elections that were held in these countries. This process could be called as the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe - that is the way in which Eastern European countries were brought under Communist rule. The instance of Czechoslovakia illustrates this process in all. There a mixed government of communists and non-communists had existed since 1946. But gradually the non-communist ministers and leaders were removed from power due to Soviet pressure. The conversion of Czechoslovakia into a purely communist country came a bitter surprise to the Western powers. The West accused the Soviet Union of violating the promises it made at Yalta to hold free elections and allow democratic governments to exist in parts of

Europe. The Soviet Union on its part justified its policies in Eastern Europe as not violating democratic norms. It argued that the people in these countries of Eastern Europe supported Communism. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union was to some extent responsible for imposing communist governments in these countries but the Soviet Union had to protect itself against what is considered to be the aggressive policies of Western powers, that was why for security reasons it was necessary to have around itself communist countries. Here we can see how ideological and security reasons together contributed to the intensification of Cold War. The Soviet Union created a Soviet bloc of countries and gave them substantial economic aid. Under Molotove Plan (Molotove was the foreign Minister of Soviet Union then) the communist countries were brought into one economic group. The Molotove Plan can be regarded as the Soviet version of the Marshall Plan.

When the Eastern European countries were brought under the Soviet control, the Western powers feared that Communism, under Soviet leadership would expand further and that Western European security was in danger. With this fear in mind, the U.S. and the Western European states formed themselves into a military alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1949. A few years later, Soviet Union responded to the Western attempt at military alliance with the signing of Warsaw Pact with its East European allies. The signatories decided to set up a unified command of Armed force.

Thus the Cold War finally took the shape of the formation of two rival military blocs. Now it is necessary to discuss another major problem, the German problem which played a very important part in the development of the cold war.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by cold war.

14.5 THE GERMAN PROBLEM

One important development in the Cold War politics that provided a powerful stimulus for the integration of Western Europe into a military alliance was the German problem.

The surrender of Germany at the close of the War created an extremely sensitive area between the soviet Union and the Western powers. Both the sides were interested in the future of Germany because of the potentialities of Germany as a great power. At the Yalta and Potsdam conferences the Big Four, i.e. the USA, Britain, France and the Soviet Union agreed to retain a united Germany. And according to the plans drawn up at these conferences Germany was divided into four zones of occupation, as a purely temporary measure, with each zone under the control of one of the Big Four. These divisions were primarily meant to facilitate the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany. It was expected that a peace settlement would follow and Germany would then be left to herself. Until then, an Allied Control Commission, representing the Big Four occupying powers was to direct German affairs. Initially there was some amount of cooperation between the four occupying powers but soon the Cold War atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust became prominent, rendering the functioning of Allied Control Commission ineffective.

Russia and France which had suffered the most due to German aggression more than once, wanted a demilitarised and weak Germany. The Russians felt fully justified in seeking recompense for the huge losses they had suffered in the War. They therefore, proceeded to take what they could from their zone. The Russians also demanded a share in the spoils of other zones to which the Western powers had tacitly agreed to at the war-time conferences. France, a victim of German aggression, sympathised with the Russian attitude, but of which the USA and Britain disapproved. Soon the Soviet side and the other Western powers particularly the US and UK began to accuse each other of not following the agreements they signed at Yalta and Potsdam.

In this quarrel, ideological differences became inevitably involved. With the Soviet Union fostering Communism in its zone and the Western powers trying to eliminate it in their zones. Both the sides paid lip service to the idea of reuniting the country but they could not agree on reparations and on the future political set up of Germany. Churchill therefore, remarked in early 1946 that "from Settlin in the Baltic to Triesti in the Adriatic, an Iron curtain has descended upon the continent". To the east of this Iron curtain lay the Soviet zone of Germany and states such as Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania etc., where communism took root, to the west lay the other zones of Germany and states which remained capitalist.

Towards the end of the 1946, the Western powers made efforts to integrate the Western zones. These efforts were mainly intended to strengthen the German economy which had been inflicted with a high inflation rate, shortages and black marketing. The Western powers felt that the best way to prevent break down of order in their zones was to strengthen the German economy. This inevitably required a new start with a new German economy. But the Big Four could not reach an agreement on a single currency for the whole of Germany. In June 1948, the Western powers - the USA, Britain, France - as a part of the program for the economic reconstruction of Europe through the Marshall aid plan-introduced a new currency in their zones. The Soviet Union responded to this move by introducing its own currency reforms in the eastern zone.

Thus, practically, the division of Germany into two states, West Germany and East Germany was complete. However, the actual formation of the two German states took place in 1949 after a major crisis between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. This crisis is called the Berlin Blockade.

14.6 BERLIN BLOCKADE

The city of Berlin (the capital of Old Germany) was also divided into four zones of occupation though Berlin city fell within East Germany. Berlin was given a special status and was not allowed to come under any single Allied power because the Allies expected the whole of Germany to be united eventually. Accordingly under the Potsdam agreement (1945) the Soviet Union agreed to allow free communication between the Western part of Germany and Berlin.

But when the Western powers began to unite West Germany into a separate political unit, the Soviet union was very angry and wanted to retaliate by cutting off the access of West Germany to the city of Berlin. Accordingly, in 1948 she declared that rail and road communications between West Germany and Berlin would be blocked. By this method the Soviet Union wanted to make the whole city of Berlin to come under its authority as a part of East Germany, which was still under Soviet control.

When the Soviet Union imposed the Berlin Blockade the Western powers were taken aback. They regarded the blockade as another instance of the Soviet Union's aggressive and expansionist policies. If they kept quite, then, the whole city of Berlin would come under Soviet

occupation. So they began sending airplanes full of food supplies, water and other essential commodities to the people living in West Berlin. This is called the Berlin Airlift. In this way, the Western powers avoided direct war with the Soviet Union but managed to rescue the people of West Berlin from surrendering to the Soviet Union.

For some months, the Berlin Blockade continued and the Berlin Airlift also went on. Realising that its intentions could not be realised the Soviet Union lifted the blockade in early 1949 and once again communications between the Western part of Germany and West Berlin were resumed. Though occasionally the Soviet Union tried to interfere with these communications since 1949, in practice, West Berlin contact remained intact. Even today they continued to be so.

The Berlin crisis shows how hostile the relations between the Soviet Union and the Western powers had become by 1948. The Western powers got further convinced that the Soviet Union had become very aggressive. They decided that the only way to contain the Soviet Union's aggression was to establish a military alliance among themselves. Therefore in April 1949 the Western powers founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

After the Berlin Blockade the Western powers also decided to allow the Western part of Germany to become an independent state called the Federal Republic of Germany and popularly known as West Germany. Soviet Union in its turn allowed the eastern part of Germany to be formed into a separate state called the German Democratic Republic, popularly called East Germany.

Thus we see the effect of the Cold War in the way Germany got divided into two parts - West Germany under the influence of the Western powers and East Germany becoming a full fledged communist state. What was supposed to be a temporary division, became for all practical purposes a permanent division. This happened because the Soviet Union and Western powers could not agree on how to unite Germany as each side wanted a united Germany to remain under their influence.

The Soviet Union had some reason to be afraid of a unified Germany under Western influence because the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan together amounted to the United States choosing to remain involved in European affairs. And this was interpreted by the Soviet Union as aimed against itself. That is why, the Soviet Union objected to the unification of Germany, to which it agreed to earlier. With this fear in mind, the Soviet Union consolidated East Germany, which was under its occupation into separate political unit in 1949.

The Western powers had their own reasons to unify West Germany into a separate country. They argued that the majority of German people would have preferred a non-communist government in Germany and, the Soviet Union was preventing the unification of whole of Germany. In this way, contrary to the original intentions by 1949 the old Germany got divided into two Germanies. And this division of Germany further increased the hostility between the Soviet Union and the US dominated Western powers. With this, the division of Europe into two blocs was complete.

Thus, whatever may be the origins of Cold War, the world was firmly in the grips of a bipolar conflict between the Superpowers and their allies in 1949. The Iron Curtain that Churchill had spoken of in 1946 had become a reality in 1949 with the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and with the build up of the US strength in Western Europe.

14.7 COLD WAR - SPREAD TO ASIA

Thus by 1949, the territorial limits of Cold War in Europe were more or less established. In the succeeding years, the theatre of Cold War shifted to Asia. Towards the end of 1949 China became a communist state. The emergence of Peoples Republic of China, as the biggest communist state not only perfected the Capitalist verses Communist dimension of the Cold War, but also shifted the theatre of Cold War to Asia.

After the war had ended, events in Japan were going largely according to the US wishes. Developments on the Chinese mainland took a different turn. In spite of the vast US financial and military assistance to the reactionary KMT party of Chiang Kai Shek, the KMT forces could not hold against the Communist forces in the civil war that ensued between them. In October, 1949, the Peoples' Republic of China was established with Mao Zedong as the President. Chiang Kai Shek retreated to Formosa (also called Taiwan). Pursuing the policy of containment of Communism everywhere, the US Government looked upon the new Communist Government in China as a hostile one. The American government refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the Communist Government in China. It recognised Chiang's KMT regime in Formosa as the only real and legitimate government of China.

China regarded the United States as a 'capitalist war monger' and declared one of its main ambitions to be to drive the US imperialism out of Asia. The USA in its turn, took the view that Communist China was engaged in a struggle to destroy the way of life of the "free countries" of the world, for, the primary purpose of Mao's regime in its external affairs was to extend communist revolution to the rest of Asia and thence to the rest of the world. It was against this background that a fresh crisis developed between the superpowers over Korea.

14.8 KOREA CRISIS

Korea, an ancient country located between China and Japan had been a virtual protectorate of Japan since the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. With the defeat of Japan in 1945, Korea was divided in the middle at the 38th parallel i.e. at the 38 latitude to facilitate the Japanese surrender. The Russian who had been fighting the Japanese north of Korea in Manchuria, occupied the northern half and the Americans occupied the southern half of Korea. Koreans in both parts of the country wanted re-unification but the American-Soviet Commission was unable to agree on means for achieving it.

In 1949, with the Korean Communist party firmly in control in North Korea, the Russians began to withdraw their occupation forces. This move increased the pressure on America to withdraw its forces from South Korea which it did a few months later. In June 1950, the North Koreans launched a massive attack on the South. Therefore the US extended assistance to South Korea as a part of its containment policy. The United Nations troops were assigned the task of repelling the aggression by North Korea. However, American troops constituted the bulk of the UN forces under the command of General Mac Arthur, and the Korean war was fought more as American Vs the North Koreans than as the UN troops against the North Korean aggressors. After the initial setbacks, the UN forces, in the autumn of 50 nullified the force of the northern invasion. Within a short time, General Mac Arthur forced his way into North Korea. When he pursued the North Koreans towards the Chinese border on the Yalu river, the Chinese fearful of invasion, launched an attack, inflicting defeats on the UN forces and driving them southward again.

General Mac Arthur now demanded the authority to carry the war into the Chinese territories. But as such action risked the enlargement of war, America's allies cautioned it against extending

the war into China. General Mac Arthur was dismissed but the fighting went on in the area of the 38th parallel. Negotiations started between the two sides partly because of the pressure of non-aligned countries like India and a truce between the UN forces on the one hand and the North Koreans and the Chinese on the other was signed in 1953. With this the Korean war ended, and the two Koreas remained separate.

Though the Korean war ended in 1953, the Cold War in Asia did not. Actually, as in the case of Europe, the Western powers were now convinced that communist China has become a threat to East Asia. Communist China, as seen by the United States, now loomed over this part of the world as Japan had in the pre-war years. Communist movements in Indo-China, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma and Thailand seemingly presaged the advance of communist power over the entire East Asia. These geographically distinct and often nationalist movements were perceived by the United States not as isolated and radical nationalist movements but as a part of the world wide communist expansion.

In the immediate years following the Korean war, the United States, therefore took the lead in opposing Communism in Asia. It began to strengthen Japan and South Korea against communist aggression. The United States also formed a Western military alliance in South East Asia on the lines of NATO. This alliance, the South East Asia Treaty Organisation, consisted of the USA, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Philippines and Pakistan. The composition of SEATO shows that while some of the countries of the region were genuinely afraid of communism (expanding from China and North Korea) the Western countries who do not belong to this region were more interested in opposing communism in this area. This was because, countries like the USA thought that their world wide interests are involved.

14.9 INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

Soon after the Korean crisis was over, Indo-China became the arena of Cold War. After the defeat of Japan in 1945, France came back to reestablish its hold over Indo-China (i.e. Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam). But by then a strong nationalist movement had emerged in Vietnam and some of the prominent leaders were Communists. These communist nationalists with the help of China acquired control over the northern parts of Vietnam. In 1954, the poorly equipped communist nationalism thoroughly defeated the French forces at Dien Bien Phu. The United States which was theoretically opposed to colonialism advised the French to continue their rule in Vietnam as the nationalist victory would result in the spread of communism in Indo-China and the whole of South East Asia. But the defeat of Dien Bien Phu and the pressure of public opinion the world over compelled the France to agree for withdrawal from Indo-China. At the Geneva conference in 1954, it was agreed to partition Vietnam at the 17th parallel as a temporary measure. As a result two new states emerged - the North Vietnam and the South Vietnam. The South Vietnam Government to abide by the decisions of the Geneva Conference with regard to holding of elections and the unification of Vietnam. The United States which was opposed to the unification of Vietnam under the leadership of the Communists, actively intervened in the politics of South Vietnam to save it from falling to Communists. This was followed by the massive military intervention of the United States in Vietnam, to suppress the popular uprisings in South Vietnam and to fight the North Vietnam. In a latter lesson we will examine in detail how Vietnam emerged united and independent in 1975. Here it is sufficient to note that the Cold War spirit led to the massive military intervention of the United States in Vietnam and a delay in the unification of Vietnam.

14.10 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The most tense incident of the entire Cold War rivalry was the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. The United States was alarmed when it discovered that Russian nuclear missiles were being

positioned on the Cuban Island which was less than hundred miles away from the US coast. President Kennedy demanded their instant removal and imposed a blockade of Cuba to prevent Soviet ships from entering Cuba. This resulted in a direct and intense confrontation between the superpowers. Khrushchev tried to bargain, demanding the withdrawal of America missiles from Turkey as a part of a package deal. The tension lasted almost a week before the Soviet union gave way. Missile carrying ships from the USSR turned back and Khrushchev ordered the missiles in Cuba to be crated and returned.

The Cuban crisis had important results. The enormity of what might have happened in case of a war between the Superpowers seemed to bring both the sides to their senses and produced a marked relaxation of tension. The hot line - a direct telephone link - was introduced between Moscow and Washington to allow swift consultations.

14.11 THE DECLINE OF COLD WAR

Scholars disagree as to when the Cold War declined. Some say that the Cold War ended with the death of Stalin in 1953 with more cordial East-West relations developing after Nikita Khrushchev became the leader of the Soviet Union and began to pursue a policy of coexistence. Others hold that the Cold War ended after the 1962 eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union in Cuba. They argue that during the Cuban Missile crisis the Superpowers realised the consequences of possible nuclear destruction, if the cold war turned into hot war at any stage. A few other scholars have expressed the opinion that the Cold War far from being over still continues, although it may often exist below the surface, while the East-West relations appear normal.

Due to the emergence of various factors and forces-the change in the Soviet leadership, development of nuclear arms race, the break up of bipolarity, the emergence of the non-aligned world-there occurred a thaw (the melting of the frozen relations) in the Cold War. The new leadership that emerged in Soviet Union in 1953 was less aggressive in its opposition to the Western world. Khrushchev, the Soviet leader recognised that war between capitalism and communism could not be regarded as inevitable, because the rapid advances made in nuclear weapons technology on both the sides made the prospect of war suicidal for both the parties. Thus, Khrushchev endorsed the concept of peaceful coexistence. The non-aligned countries like India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Egypt also canvassed for the idea of peaceful coexistence in addition to playing an important mediating role in the East-West Crisis over Korea and Vietnam. This created a conducive atmosphere for the thaw in mid fifties.

The thaw or the relaxation in Cold War showed itself in several ways. In 1955, the Russians agreed to give up their military bases in Finland. In the same year, Bulganin the Soviet Prime Minister attended a summit meeting in Geneva where he met the US President Eisenhower along with the Prime Ministers of England and France. Because of the moderating influence of Britain and France on American leadership, the Geneva summit generated a spirit of cordiality which came to be called the general spirit. The summit did not solve any of the outstanding disputes between the two blocs, but it broke the ice and established direct communication between the contending Superpowers who were not on speaking terms earlier.

However, the thaw was only partial. Neither side relaxed their grip over their spheres of influence. On the contrary, they attempted to extend them. Thus, Khrushchev while making conciliatory moves, was quick to respond to anything which seemed to be a threat to the Eastern bloc, as is evident from the ruthless suppression of a rebellion in Hungary in 1956. The US on

its part committed itself to support colonial and anticommunist interests in Indo-China after the French withdrawal. Occasionally, old quarrels such as those over the status of the city of Berlin began to reemerge to continue the tensions.

One significant factor that contributed to the relaxation of Cold War tensions in the 60's is the break up of bipolarity. Within the Soviet bloc, China began to challenge the Soviet domination of the communist world. This development considerably diluted the aggressive stand of the US and its Western allies towards the Soviet Union, because the myth of monolithic communism was shattered. Similar development took place in the Western capitalist bloc. The Western bloc no longer exhibited the same cohesion that was evident in the immediate postwar years. This became evident in the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt (1956) against the wishes of the America. Further the Western European powers no longer shared the US fear of communism. Having recovered economically, Western Europe particularly France under Charles de Gaulle became politically assertive. The Western Europe no longer followed blindly the American lead.

Thus with the world environment dramatically altered within a span of a few years the old strategic formulations of the bipolar or two sided cold war conflict lost much of their relevance. Yet, the rivalry and the competition of the two Superpowers continued beyond their territory and took many manifestations of power and pressure in the international behaviour. Often, as we shall see in the subsequent lessons, they have extended and maintained hostilities in the world, to seek and maintain a balance of power at the cost of third parties.

14.12 THE IMPACT OF COLD WAR

Cold War and the UNO:- One of the Cold War battlegrounds was the United Nations, which seemed fated to go the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations. Most of the Cold War disputes which came to include almost every international dispute, were settled outside the UN. Repeated use of the veto in the Security Council especially by the Soviet Union effectively ruled out UN military intervention in Cold War crises. For instance, although the case of fighting in Greece was debated in the UN during 1946 and 49, the issue was settled outside the United Nations when the Greek government backed by the US military aid successfully put down the communist insurrections. The Cold War had another important effect on the UN and its ideals. Because of the formation of military alliances, and the establishment of military bases by the superpowers, the concept of collective security for which the world body UN stood was weakened. In a later lesson on the United Nations we will examine in detail the effects of Cold War on United Nations.

Arms Race:- After the dropping of the Atom bomb over Hiroshima in 1945, the destructive capacity of the new weapon was realised the world over. This created a climate of intense concern to avoid war and to do away with the atom bomb. But because of the Cold War, schemes for removing the nuclear factor from international relations proved abortive. The United States wanted to gain full advantage of the fact that it alone had the atombomb. In fact, it was initially not even prepared to share the secrets of the bomb with its ally, Britain. The result was that the atom bomb became the main psychological weapon to determine the foreign policy. This fact further augmented the hostility and suspicion of the Soviet Russia towards the USA. In 1949, Soviet Union itself acquired its own atom bomb. This in turn intensified the Cold War leading to an nuclear arms race. Each of the Superpower tried to maintain balance if not superiority in its nuclear weapon capacity.

An important result of this nuclear arms race was that the international community was seized with constant insecurity. Even conflicts in remote places appeared to become ultimately

conflicts between Superpowers and therefore had the tendency to contain the seeds of nuclear war. The nuclear bomb, however, had a positive aspect in international relations in the sense that it stabilised the Cold War. For instance, in Europe it is the Russian possession of the atom bomb that made the intense tensions prevailing between the two blocs from escalating into a hot war. But for this, the United States would have implemented the policy of "rolling-back" Communism in the East Europe instead of the policy of "containment". Soviet Union also observed restraint as NATO came into existence equipped with the US nuclear umbrella. Thus the Cold War in Europe got stabilised in early 50's because of the statement in nuclear weapons or balance of terror.

The Superpowers however, continued their arms race - both in conventional weapons and in nuclear weapons. This, not only diverted the vital human and material resources for the development of suicidal weapons, but it also kept alive old suspicions and tensions.

The Cold War conflict had many adverse consequences for the third world countries. The freedom movements in many countries began to be considered unsympathetically by the countries who were not themselves colonial powers, but were aligned to the colonial powers. We have seen that the United States supported France in suppressing the freedom movements in Indo - China. The newly emergent countries found it hard to preserve their newly won sovereignty and promote their national interests, as the Superpowers made systematic efforts to draw these new nations into their spheres of influence through offers and temptations like military alliances, military assistance and economic aid. Prominent third world countries, however, chose to remain independent by adopting the non-alignment policy. In the following lesson we will examine in detail non-alignment as a movement. It is sufficient here to say that the contradictions of Cold War - the division of the world into two mutually exclusive groups - resulted in the rise of counter movements which argued for co-existence of nations. Thus the well known concepts and movements of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment were born. The emergence of the third world and the nonaligned world reduced the intensity of the Cold War and created an atmosphere of peace.

- S. Vijayasekhar Reddy

14.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Briefly examine the main events in Europe leading to the emergence of Eastern and Western blocs.
2. Bring out the meaning of the term 'Cold War' and examine its characteristics.
3. Examine the various factors leading to the decline of Cold War in the mid 50's.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. Write a short note on Truman Doctrine
2. How do the Realists explain the origin of Cold War
3. For what reasons did the Cold War spread to Asian region.

UNIT - 15 : THE EMERGENCE OF THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED WORLD

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15.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit you will be able to:

- the meaning of third world and its characteristics
- the non-aligned world
- the non-aligned movement

15.1 INTRODUCTION

When the Second World War began in 1939, over 70 per cent of the world's inhabitants were still under foreign rule directly or indirectly as victims of imperialist policies of the West. And except in a negative sense of the term, the people in the subjugated colonies of Asia and Africa were not a significant fact in world affairs. The international politics, as in the last two centuries was dominated by an oligarchy of European states which had military and economic power. Even in 1945, when the United Nations was founded on the principles of sovereign equality and self determination of nations, its membership was confined to just about the same countries that had composed the League of Nations. However, this balance began to change soon. Within a of Nations. However, this balance began to change soon. Within a short span of 20 years, almost all the colonies became sovereign independent nation states. During the 1945-60 period, when the world was divided into two mutually exclusive blocs as a result of the Cold War, over 40 countries of Asia and Africa successfully revolted against the Western imperial powers and won independence. A significant number of these newly emerged non-western states soon began to play an important role in international affairs.

In this unit, we will first examine the meaning of the term 'third world' and then go on to examine the factors that led to the emergence of former colonies as sovereign independent states. We will also study the growing solidarity among the countries of the third world and the meaning and content of non-alignment policy.

15.2 THIRD WORLD - MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS

The newly emergent countries were generally categorised as the Third World countries in the mid fifties. The sense that the Third World is an identifiable unit is bolstered by at least two things. One, the package of problems - poverty, over - population, hunger, racial and communal antagonisms etc., that the whole of Third World seems to force; and two, the seeming unity of the Third World countries in the international forums like the UN on certain issues, particularly those having anti-colonial overtones.

The description of the newly emerged countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as Third World is generally attributed to Frantz Fanon, the Algerian writer. Fanon viewed these former colonies struggling for independence and fighting against exploitation by the imperialist powers as constituting a distinct political grouping in the world. Most of these former colonies had refused to align themselves with either of existing power blocs - the Western capitalist bloc and the Eastern socialist bloc into which the world was then divided. These two blocs can be identified as the First and the Second world, Fanon therefore used the term "Third World" to distinguish this newly emerging political grouping from the already existing capitalist and socialist groups of countries.

With the passage of time, the term Third World began to acquire an economic dimension. In 1961 an UN document used a three fold division of the world-the first group consisting of countries with centrally planned economies and the third group consisting of countries with primary goods (agricultural goods and raw materials like cotton, jute and minerals like oil, copper, iron) producing underdeveloped economies. The Third World viewed from this angle, referred to all those which were characterised by under industrialisation, low growth rate, low per capita income and dependence on the First World and Second World economies.

Thus the Third World is not merely a community of countries politically distinct from capitalist democracies or communist democracies. In fact, their economic condition is more important for their identification. They are all highly underdeveloped and suffering from economic and social problems. Some of them have adopted Western democratic institutions and some are communist states. In foreign policies also not all of them follow the same type of foreign policy. But at the same time the third world countries share the common characteristic of economic underdevelopment, mostly caused by they being subject to the imperialism of the Western world for a long time.

15.3.0 THE PROCESS OF DECOLONISATION

One historian has said that 'when the history of the 20th century comes to be written in long perspective, there is little doubt that no single theme will prove to be of greater importance than the revolt against the West'. The break up of the Western empire or the process of decolonisation in Asia, Africa and Latin-America was primarily the result of growing nationalism and the consequent revolt against Western colonialism and imperialist domination.

In many colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, protest against colonial/alien rule had existed right from the moment of occupation. However, anticolonial movements really gathered strength only with the rise of nationalism in the colonies. The Western values and

institutions inevitably penetrated into those colonies, and began to bring about a fundamental change in their socio-economic set up, thus facilitating the rise and development of nationalism. We have already studied in the lesson on the Non-Western World during the inter-war period, that national movements particularly in Asia had gained strength by the end of 30's of this century.

In these circumstances the Second World War began. The European Colonial powers like Britain, France and Netherlands suffered severe defeats at the hands of Japanese, at the beginning of the Second World War. Though ultimately Japan was defeated much of their influence and power after the war. In their place the United States of America and the Soviet Union emerged as the great powers or Super-powers of the world. The Prestige of Western Europe declined. Therefore, they were no longer in a position to govern their colonies and resist the rising tide of nationalism in these colonies.

Further, even before the War, the emergence of Soviet Union and the spread of socialist ideas had already put the imperialists on the defensive. The imperialists could no longer morally justify the empire. Moreover, forces within the imperialist countries, which were friendly with the people struggling for independence, grew powerful. For example the Labour party in England which is influenced by socialism was very sympathetic to the cause of Indian freedom. There were such other parties in Western European countries also. Such parties helped the end of colonialism.

Another very influential factor for the end of colonialism was the establishment of the United Nations. The United Nations was established immediately after the War and the leaders of the Allied powers who took the initiative in the establishment of the United Nations, declared in principle that democracy and freedom will be restored and protected everywhere in the world. In the last lesson, we had already referred to the efforts of the United Nations towards decolonisation. It is sufficient to have to say that the efforts of the UN, considerably strengthened the cause of anticolonial movements throughout the world.

Another interesting development, which ultimately led to the emergence of a loose coalition of Third World countries, was that the freedom movements in various parts of Asia and Africa achieved unity. As a result, the freedom movement in one country supported the freedom movement in other countries. The role of countries which had achieved independence early, was crucial in this regard. For example India, Pakistan, Indonesia and some other Asian countries became independence of other countries. The struggle for the Vietnamese people against French colonisation in the mid 50's was supported by the newly independent Asian countries. Similarly in Africa Ghana became independent immediately after the war. After becoming independent they began to agitate for the independent in 1956 and so also North African countries like Tunisia and Algeria. These countries began to support the independent movements in other parts of Africa.

15.3.1 Decolonisation in Asia

In Asia, one of the first countries to win independence was India, however, it had been partitioned and along with India, another independent state Pakistan came into being. By convening two Asian Relations Conferences in the late 40's and fighting against colonialism in international forums, like the United Nations, India strengthened freedom movements in Asia and Africa, thus hastening the achievement of independence by them. Close on the heels of Indian independence, Burma and Sri Lanka became independent in 1948. Many countries of South East Asia also became free. The Japanese victories in this region during the war had cut

off the links between the colonies of South East Asia and the imperial powers. As a result, Philippines and Burma became independent countries after the war. But the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in Malaya and the French in Indo-China tried to reestablish their rule in their colonies. However, the increased resistance from the people in these areas and the mounting pressures of world opinion, particularly the efforts of Asian countries, helped the decolonisation of Indonesia in 1949 and Malaya in 1957. In Indo-China, the independence of Vietnam, like that of Korea was complicated by the Cold War politics. With the result they had to struggle for longer time before becoming independent in 1954.

In China foreign influence and control in Chinese affairs came to an end with the proclamation of Peoples Republic of China in 1949. In an world shaking event, the communists under Mao Zedong's leadership successfully established a socialist government, after fouting out the reactionary KMT party. Besides the socialist countries of Europe, there were now two mighty powers in the world the Soviet Union and China which were ruled by communists. Imperialism was further weakened in Asia as a result of the Chinese revolution.

15.3.2 The loss of Western influence over West Asia

In West Asia also, the spirit of nationalism was intense. Many of the countries of West Asia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia were independent but in reality they were under the influence of the European powers, like Britain and France. Some countries, like Lebanon and Syria were the colonies of France. Immediately after the Second World War these two countries were given independence. In the case of the bigger Arab countries, the rise of nationalism led to the growth of the feeling of Arab Unity. In Egypt due to his feeling the old monarchy, which was practically under the control of Western powers was overthrown in 1952 and a radical Arab government was established. This event inspired the other people in other countries also. For example, in Iraq the old political regime was overthrown in 1958. In this manner, in the Arab West Asia, a strong movement for securing the real independence of these countries took place. Another very important factor which led to the emergence of anti-western feeling in West Asia was the creation of the state of Israel. This was a Jewish state established by the United Nations, but mostly with the support of Western powers. The Arab states violently opposed the creation of Israel as it meant the creation of a Jewish state in a territory which far more than 1500 years was ruled by the Arabs and was mostly populated by the Arabs. The Arab-Israeli problem will be discussed in a separate chapter, here it is enough to mention that the establishment of Israel led to the intensification of Arab nationalism and the desire for unity among Arab states. This can also be regarded as the part of the decolonisation movement, as it resulted in the gradual loss of the indirect control that Western Europe colonial power, excercised over West Asia till then:

15.3.3 Africa

Nationalist movements developed in Africa at rather a late date, that is after the Second World War but they gathered momentum with amazing speed, so that the period 1955-67 saw the emergence of politically independent nations in most parts of Africa. As in Indo-China the French returned to re-establish their hold over Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. But strong nationalist movements forced the French to concede independence to Tunisia and Moracco in 1956. However, Algeria with quite a good number of French settlers, had to wage an armed struggle to become independent in 1959.

The first country in Black Africa to gain independence was Ghana (formerly Gold Coast.) Here also under the leadership of Nkyumah a nationalist movement against British rule grew in strength and finally a peaceful transfer of power took place in 1956.

Between 1956 and 65 almost all the British Colonies in West and East Africa secured their independence. The French colonies of West Africa also got their independence during this period. Congo, which was a big Belgium colony was granted independence in 196. In this case Belgium with support of France provoked a civil war to retain its control but finally due to the intervention of the United Nations Congo could retain its freedom and territorial integrity.

Except in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bessan) and the South West colony of South Africa, the whole of Africa got liberated by the mid 60s. Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies took another fifteen years to become free. They could get their freedom only after fighting the colonial powers.

15.3.4 Methods of Decolonisation

In the process of decolonisation, the nationalist or freedom movements were both peaceful and violent in nature. We can say that in the case of countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka nationalist movements succeeded in gaining freedom mostly by peaceful methods, though sometimes violent incidents also were in evidence in these places. Of course even when the nationalist movements were peaceful, the colonial powers tried by violent methods to suppress them. In the end however a peaceful transfer of power took place. In contrast the Dutch colony of Indonesia, and the French colonies in Indo-China, could get their independence only after a violent struggle as already mentioned. In Africa also, in many cases the transfer of powers from the colonial powers to the native peoples took place more or less in a peaceful manner. However in cases like Algeria, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Portuguese colonies a violent struggle became inevitable because the colonial powers were either unwilling or were prevented by the minority white population in there areas from giving independence to the native black people.

15.4 THE THIRD WORLD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The emergence of 40 and odd colonies in the 50's and many more in the 60's as sovereign independent nation states had a profound impact on the nature and character of world affairs. Given the numerical strength of these new nations and the nature of their problems (poverty and underdevelopment) and aspirations (for a world order based on equality and dignity) significant changes in the structure of international politics took place. The study of international relations could no longer be confined to the traditional actors in world affairs-the Western states. The problems and aspirations of the Third World soon became the focus of attention of academicians as well as politicians of the world.

We had earlier mentioned that the Third World is not a homogenous group. The Third World encompasses the people of three continents and span a variety of political systems and ideologies from dictatorships to democracies and various brands of socialism and capitalism. There is a substantial diversity even in their degree of development. While some countries like India and Argentina have achieved substantial rates of economic growth, there are other countries where growth is virtually nil as in the countries in the region of subsahran Africa and parts of Latin America. Added to this, there were diversities in their foreign policy stances, with some of them closely aligned to either of the power blocs while others maintained distance from both blocs. Further, the Third World countries had quarrel among themselves. These quarrels relate to territorial, ethnic religious and other interstate disputes, and were mostly legacies of the colonial period. For instance there are the bitter and longstanding disputes between the Islamic countries of the Middle East, between India and Pakistan and between many countries of Africa.

Despite such differences, the Third World countries began to act on the world stage with some coordination so that by the end of the 60s they almost emerged as the third major political grouping in the world. Despite other differences, the Third World countries cooperated because they shared a common past of domination by Western imperialism and had a linked history of struggle for independence. Having been victims of Western imperialism and racialism during the colonial rule, after their independence, they became strong critics of the same. They were united in their determination to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations. Thus, we can say that solidarity among the third world countries was facilitated by the common bond of anticolonialism anti-imperialism and anti-racialism.

The Third World countries cooperated also because they shared some common problems like the problem of nation building, poverty and underdevelopment. Almost every state as it emerged from colonial rule faced the problem of keeping together its people who belonged to different tribes, different religions, speaking different languages. Even today, this is a major problem of the Third World countries. A closely related problem common to all the third world countries is the challenge of development. Most of these countries inherited weak and underdeveloped economies was complicated by inadequate resources (financial, technological and organisational) to tackle the problem. In a way, it is the presence of common challenges of nation building and development that brought the Third World countries together.

Thus, having common problems, and sharing common aspirations, the people of the Third World began to act together on a number of issues related to anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and development.

The growing solidarity among the Third World countries became evident at the Asian Relations Conferences held in Delhi in 1947 and 1949. At these conferences delegates from nearly 30 Asian countries voiced the identity of interests and emphasised the importance of close collaboration between them. They also considered the independence of Indonesia and expressed anti-colonial sentiments. In 1955, the Afro-Asia countries came together at the Bandung conference in Indonesia. At this historic meeting, representatives of 29 countries of Asia and Africa resolved "to promote and consolidate economic, cultural and political cooperation between the nations of Asia and Africa and to pursue a common policy against imperialism and colonialism in all its manifestation". The Bandung Conference was the first large scale meeting of the leaders of Asia and Africa and more than anything else, it was a symbol of inchoate plea for Afro-Asian unity. The growing solidarity and importance of the Afro-Asian countries was reflected in the United Nations where on a number of issues, mainly political - anti-imperialism, and anti-racialisms the threat of war, aggression and intervention; national self determination; foreign military bases, disarmament, peaceful coexistence and world peace - the countries of Asia and Africa had identical views and therefore functioned as a group. The above explains how the Third World or Afro-Asian movement began.

15.5 THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD

Another development that brought the new nations together was the circumstances of the Cold War between the Superpowers. As we have already seen, the period of an intense and hostile confrontation between the two Superpowers and their respective allies. The United States and the Soviet Union often having anti-colonial sentiments had been champions of decolonisation. But with the intensification of the Cold War in the late 40's considerations of the Cold War rivalry began to weigh heavily in the decision making process on both the sides. Each sought to maximise its own political influence and gains and minimise those of the other. As former colonies began to emerge independent, the contending Superpowers made systematic efforts to

draw these new nations into their spheres of influence and economic aid. The Superpowers thus brought pressure on the new nations for alignment with either of them. Some of the countries in Asia did join the military alliances like the SEATO and CENTO and allowed foreign military bases to be set up on their soil. But many other Third World countries considered the extension of military alliances and setting up of foreign military bases in Asia as a threat to their independence and a source of tension. Having gone through a more or less powerful nationalism, these newly emergent nations were imbued with a sense of national pride and destiny. They therefore resented the efforts of the Superpowers to influence their foreign policies and the direction of their political and economic development. These new nations which wanted to protect and assert their newly own sovereignty and independence, adopted the policy of non-alignment.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by Non-alignment.

15.6 THE THIRD WORLD AND THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD

In discussing the Third World movement and the Non-aligned Movement one important point should be remembered. That is, not all the Third World countries could be regarded as agreeing with the non-aligned policy or joining the Non-alignment Movement. It has already been mentioned how some Asian and African countries joined military alliances that grew up during the Cold War. In Asia, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and many South East Asian countries joined the Western nations in forming military alliance to contain communism. Similarly, countries like Communist China, North Korea, North Vietnam, who belong to the Third World were regarded as part of the Communist bloc, so, during the Cold War period some of the Third World countries joined the Cold War blocs. Therefore they did not form part of the non-aligned group. The non-aligned group was that part of the Third World which wanted to remain out of the Cold War and in fact actively opposed Cold War alliance. Of course, in recent years, i.e., from the late 60's most of the Third World countries joined the nonaligned movement also. As the Cold War between the two bloc declined, the Third World and the Non-aligned World (with very few exceptions) gets practically merged together. So the initial, though partial, distinction between the Third World and the Nonaligned World should be borne in mind.

15.7 THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Literally, nonalignment means not aligning with any country. But because this policy arose in the context of Cold war, from the beginning it meant not aligning (i.e., not siding or supporting) with either of the two hostile blocs, the Western or the Communist blocs. Nonalignment is simply an independent policy involving no political or military commitments to another state or group of states limiting one's independence of policy and action. That is specifically and in a negative sense the policy and action. That is specifically and in a negative sense the policy of nonalignment meant the rejection of political and military alliances with any country or group of countries, particularly in the context of Cold War. Positively, the policy meant the taking of an independent stand on foreign policy and not being tied down to any particular line of action. That is, it required the taking of independent decision on international problems as and

when they came up according to the merits of each case, without advanced commitments on world issues. Non-alignment therefore is a policy which emphasised the independence of choice and action in external affairs.

India was the first country to take to nonalignment as a viable instrument of foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister gave expression to this policy even before the country attained independence, when he said in 1946. "We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power blocs or groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disaster on an even vaster scene. With the decolonisation gathering momentum in the 50's and 60's many new nations adopted the policy of non-alignment more or less on the same lines as India. Prominent countries among these are Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Egypt, Burma, Srilanka etc.,... Actually Yugoslavia is not an Afro-Asian country. It is an European country and a communist country also. But as it developed differences of opinion with the communist bloc by the late 40's it chose to follow an independent foreign policy with regard to the Cold War. Jawaharlal Nehru's nonalignment policy appealed to Yugoslavia's leader Marshall Tito and he became one of the early advocates of nonalignment. Indonesia, also adopted this policy by almost at the same time. In the early 50's when Gamal Abdul Nassar became the leader of Egypt he too adopted this policy. In Africa, Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah also made nonalignment the basis of his foreign policy. In addition, there were many other countries like Burma and Srilanka (then called Ceylon) which adopted this policy as the basis of their foreign policy by the 50's.

To many of these new nations of Asia and Africa, the choice of foreign policy was limited to two broad alternatives. On the one hand there was the choice of participating in the Cold War including military alliances, thereby compromising to a considerable extent, their newly won sovereignty and independence. On the other hand there was the policy of nonalignment of keeping out of the bipolar confrontation and thereby preserving and maintaining their identity and autonomy. Having gone through a more or less powerful nationalism, many of the Afro-Asian nations desired to avoid all forms of external domination and pressures that would compromise their hard won independence. Hence they opted for non-alignment.

15.8 THE ATTITUDE OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN BLOCS

In the beginning non-alignment policy was subject to severe criticism by both the West and the East. This was partly due to the failure on their part to understand the meaning of non-alignment. Deeply involved in the Cold War and attempting to divide the world into two mutually exclusive blocs, the Superpowers viewed the international developments in terms of bipolar politics. This is evident from the fact that both the West and the East with all their differences were at one in insisting that there could be only two alternative foreign policies and two alternative roads to development. It was beyond their comprehension that a country could remain aloof of the two camps. The West, dubbed the policy of non-alignment as a product of confused thinking and a "refusal to distinguish between white and black, right and wrong and freedom and slavery". Soviet Union under the leadership of Joseph Stalin was equally critical of the policy of the non-aligned powers. In opinion these newly emerging countries who were mostly led by liberal leaders were in fact under the influence of Western capitalist and imperialist powers. In other words, Stalin thought that there could be nothing like non-alignment.

Notwithstanding the criticism by the two blocs, the positive side of the policy of non-alignment started unfolding in the early Fifties. The leading role played by the non-aligned countries, particularly India during the Korean crisis, in lessening the tensions between the contending powers gained universal appreciation. During the Korean crisis, India carefully steered the

middle course in the United Nations at the risk of displeasing both the sides. India's constructive approach and efforts for strengthening peace during the Geneva settlement on Vietnam in 1954 and during the Suez crisis in 1956 found increasing appreciation. Many nations realized that wisdom lay in protecting international peace and not in supporting either of the antagonistic side in the Cold War. Thus the concept of non-alignment acquired a positive image in the midfifties. Both the Superpowers also began to recognise, if not appreciate the validity of non-alignment as a strategy of the newly independent nations.

15.9 NON-ALIGNMENT AND NEUTRALITY

It is important to distinguish between Non-alignment and Neutrality. Sometimes, these two are confused for each other. Neutrality is a special situation under which a small state agrees usually by a treaty not to take active part in international politics because its doing so may go against the interests of one or other major powers in the area. These major powers would therefore become enemies of the small powers. Under such circumstances, to maintain its own-existence a small power would undertake not to join in any military grouping. All the other powers in the area would also agree to respect the neutrality of the small power that is, agree not to compel it to join them in any military alliance. This situation is called Neutrality. In this case, the state concerned agrees in advance to limit its participation in international politics to a great extent. This can be called compulsory neutrality as once the state agrees to remain neutral in this manner it cannot by itself give up its neutrality. For example, Switzerland, a small country in the middle of Europe, for over three hundred years remained neutral i.e., did not take active part in European or world politics. By doing so, it could escape the risks involved for a small country in active participation in world politics. Another example is the recent example of Austria. As is well know, Austria was defeated in the Second World War. But due to the Cold War the Soviet Union was opposed to the prospect of Austria going the Western bloc against the Soviet Union. The Western bloc, was afraid that Austria may come under the Soviet influence as many other Eastern European countries did. Because of this controversy; for a long time after the war fate of Austria could not be decided. Then in 1955 the Soviet union and the United States agreed that Austria should be given independence as a neutral state. Austria agreed to their proposal. In this manner, Austria could recover its independence but subject to the condition that it would not join in any alliance either Western or Eastern.

Non-alignment is very different from the above type of neutrality. A country following the policy of Non-alignment does not undertake not to take active part in the world politics. On the other hand it wants to be an active participant in international affairs. But what a non aligned country follows is a voluntary policy of not siding with any power bloc in advance. It may even support the policy of one particular bloc if it (the non-aligned country) thinks that a particular power bloc is right in its policy. Therefore, non-alignment is very different from neutrality.

Thus non-alignment is not just a negative policy of keeping away from the power blocs of the Cold War. It has a positive dimension and the non-alignment nations are committed to various objectives and various principles.

Some of the issues to which the non-aligned powers are committed and on which there is a large measure of agreement are development, peace and international cooperation based on equality and justice. These were the things that have for long been denied to large sections of the world population. We have already mentioned that the Third World countries are faced with the enormous tasks of social and economic reconstruction of their countries. The non-aligned countries recognised the fact that if rapid and unhampered development was to be realised, conditions of peace and security must prevail not only within their countries but also in the

external i.e., international environment. To many of these new nations, therefore, peace is not just a fervent hope; it is an emergent necessity (Nehru). The non-aligned countries therefore strove for international peace and security.

The non-aligned countries also worked for international order based on equality and dignity. This is evident from the efforts of the non-aligned countries towards the liberation of subjugated people, opposing the imperialist policies of the big powers and elimination of racial discrimination.

The non-aligned foreign policy also adopted what is called the Panchsheel or the five principles of international conduct. These are also called the five principles of coexistence. These are (i) mutual respect for each others territory and sovereignty (ii) mutual non-aggression (iii) mutual non-interference in each others internal affairs (iv) equality and mutual benefit, and (v) peaceful co-existence. These principles were adopted at the historic Bandung Conference of the Afro-Aria countries in 1955. Though the Bandung Conference was not a conference of non-aligned states only, the adoption of Panchsheel was greatly promoted by the non-aligned members there and subsequently the five principles of coexistence became important part of the policy of non alignment.

Though non-alignment and coexistence are always mentioned together, strictly speaking, they are distinct aspects of a broad policy. The first, i.e. non-alignment stands for the policy of the newly emerging states to keep out of Cold War alliances. The second, i.e. coexistence is a policy which believes that different nations with different socio-economic and political ideologies can and should coexist without fearing and fighting each other. We have seen how the Cold War was the result of the Western capitalist democratic states and Eastern socialist states regarding each other as hostile. In other words they were not prepared to co-exist peacefully. What coexistence, advocated by the non-aligned powers, stands for is that capitalist states and communist states can co-exist. Therefore non-alignment can be said to be a policy adopted by the non-aligned powers for themselves, so that Cold War conflict could be limited. Co-existence is a policy which the non-aligned powers are asking the power blocs to appreciate and follow so that the Cold War could be ended.

15.10 THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

As already mentioned to start with non-alignment was a policy adopted by some important Third World countries. It was the most important aspect of the foreign policies of these countries. Gradually, as the importance of this policy was realised by others, non-alignment became a wider movement. As many countries adopted this policy, a like minded group of nations emerged and thought that it is better to meet periodically to express their combined views on world problems. There were pressing problems like liberating the still existing colonies from colonial rule, fighting against racialism, particularly in Africa, opposing the attempts made by the big powers to interfere or dominate the newly emerging countries and of putting pressure on the Cold War powers not to resort to war like policies. Further, there were other problems like cooperation between the newly emerging countries to achieve economic development. There is also the big issue of getting Third World economic development which involved the cooperation of the scientifically and economically developed countries.

The non-aligned countries by organising the non-alignment movement, wanted to tackle these problems. The Non-aligned Movement took a definite shape with the first conference of the Heads of Governments of the non-aligned states which was held in Belgrade in 1961. Because the Heads of Government took part, this type of a conference is popularly called as Summit

Conference. There afterwards regular periodic non-aligned conferences were held. The second conference was held in Cairo in 1964, the third in 1970 in Lusaka (capital of Zambia, in Southern Africa); the fourth in 1973 in Algiers (capital of Algeria in North Africa), the fifth in 1976 in Colombo (capital of Sri Lanka), the sixth in 1979 in Havana the capital of Cuba, in Latin America and the seventh in 1983 in New Delhi. It can be seen that non-aligned summit meetings were held so far in various parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Whereas only twenty five nations took part at the Belgrade Summit Conference, at the latest summit in New Delhi 99 countries took part as full members. This shows the phenomenal increase in the strength of the non-aligned movement within two decades. This indicates the increase in the number of new nations as a result of decolonisation and also their opting for the policy of non-alignment.

One important change in the international situation during these twenty years should also be noted. During this period the Cold War between the two blocs declined in intensity. This could partly be attributed to the fact that the moral pressure of non-alignment was felt on world politics. But the decline of Cold War had an effect on non-alignment. When the Cold War declined, to some extent the original concerns of non-alignment also changed. For instance, the Cold War military blocs, like CENTO, SEATO were wound up. Hence the concern of non-aligned nations in keeping away from the East-West confrontation became less prominent. Further, among the new members of the Non-aligned Movement some were actually close to the Western powers (examples: some Latin America and Africa countries, and in Asia countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Indonesia) and some others were very close to the Communist countries. As a result the non-aligned group which on the one hand became very large at the same time also became less cohesive. While broadly all the non-aligned countries professed non-alignment some were close to the communist countries some to the capitalist countries and some maintaining considerable distance from both. This trend made some scholars say that the original relevance of non-alignment is no longer there because of the decline in the Cold War i.e. the decline in the East, West confrontation.

But even if the earlier concerns of non-alignment have become less important new and equally important issues now make non-alignment extremely relevant and important. These issues are mostly of economic in nature. For example, the non-aligned world which now consists of almost the whole of the Third World is now fighting for its economic rights as against the developed world. We have mentioned that the non-aligned Third World is still dependent economically on the Western industrialised world. They are still exporting raw-materials (agricultural commodities and minerals) to the Western capitalist countries and are importing their finished industrial manufactured goods. In this relationship the Third World is always at a disadvantage. It does not get high prices for its exports and has to pay very high prices for its imports. Further, the less developed countries want to industrialise themselves rapidly and for this they need scientific and technical help from the developed countries. But these developed countries are not very eager to help the industrialisation of the Third World. Again big firms, the multinational corporations, belonging to the Western capitalist nations who still run large industries in the Third World are in many ways exploiting the Third World to their own advantage. All these factors stand in the way of less developed countries of the Third World from developing rapidly. The Third World countries therefore want more economic aid, more technology and better prices for their exports. They want the international economic relations be made suitable to achieve these wants. The developed countries, particularly of the First World are reluctant to do this. Still the Third World is now engaged in demanding from the First World a change in the international economic system. This demand is called the demand for a New International economic Order. This is also popularly called the North-South issue or the

North-South Dialogue, North, here refers to the industrially developed nations because most of them are situated in the Northern hemisphere of the globe. South stands for the Third World (or the non-aligned world) which is mostly situated in the Southern hemisphere.

Actually, the non-aligned movement is now actively engaged in uniting the countries of the Third World (i) to cooperate among themselves for their economic development and (ii) unite themselves to fight with the developed nations for a New International Economic Order. Because of the efforts of the non-aligned countries a UN Special Conference was held on the issue of NIEO. Though much is yet to be realised the demand for the NIEO is now very prominent. It is important to note that at the Seventh NAM summit in New Delhi many decisions were taken to achieve cooperation among the non-aligned countries and to unite them in their common desire to secure a new international economic order which is necessary for the economic development of the Third World.

Therefore, even if the East-West issues are no longer as important as they were earlier, the North-South issues relating to the economic development of the Third World still make the non-aligned movement a very important movement. Of course, because still in some respects the Quarrel between the Superpowers is going on there is continuing relevance for non-alignment both in the political and economic aspects.

-S. Vijayasekhar Reddy

15.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Briefly examine the various factors that contributed to the process of decolonisation.
2. What is non-alignment policy? For what reasons did the Third World countries adopt this policy?
3. Briefly examine the reasons for the growing solidarity among the Third World countries.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Bring out the meaning of the terms First World, Second World and Third World.
2. How does non-alignment differ from neutrality.
3. Distinguish clearly the Third World and the Non-aligned World.

BLOCK - 5 : THE THIRD WORLD AND ITS PROBLEMS

The units in this Block are:

Unit - 16: West Asia in International Relations

Unit - 17: Rise of Africa

Unit - 18: The Vietnam Problem and its significance

Unit - 19: The threat of Neo Colonialism

BRAOU

UNIT - 16 : WEST ASIA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Contents

- 16.0 Objectives
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- 16.6 Model questions

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to explain

- the Arab-Israeli dispute
- the Lebanon problem
- the Iran-Iraq War

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The region called West Asia is playing a very prominent part in the shaping of international relations of contemporary times. In fact, it constitutes one of the most troublesome sorts in world politics to some extent threatening the peace and security of the world as a whole. Before we proceed to analyse the various factors in West Asia, it is useful to delineate the West Asian region. West Asia, can broadly be identified as that region extending from Turkey in the west to Iran in the east; from the Persian Gulf in the south to the northern borders of Iran, Iraq and Turkey. The region also includes northern parts of Africa like Egypt and even Sudan. Sometimes, Afghanistan which is to the east of Iran is also included under the term West Asia. But Afghanistan is also classified as belonging to the South Asian region. It should be noted that it is not always possible to give precise definitions of major region in the world as border areas always pose a problem. What we call West Asia is also known as the Middle East in the European use of the term. But the name Middle East is relative to Europe and does not, signify an absolute connotation. West Asia on the other hand reveals a more precise location of the region on the globe. Hence it is advisable to use the term West Asia and not the term Middle East.

It is not possible to examine the role of West Asia in international relations by taking into consideration each and every country in the region. It will be adequate if we can identify and discuss the main issues relating to West Asia as they affect international relations. As everyone knows one of the most important problems of international relations relates to the Arab-Israeli dispute which is nearly 40 years old. That dispute still contributes a major problem for world peace and security. Though the problem has certainly undergone important changes during this long period of its existence, the main problems still remain, that being, the non acceptance by the Arab people of the existence of Israel and the constant hostile relations between Israel and the Arab states and Arab peoples. Indeed due to the interconnections between the hostile parties

in the Arab-Israeli dispute and the two super-powers who have been involved in a global cold war for a long time, the Arab-Israeli dispute assumes a greater prominence in world politics.

The other important problem in West Asia relates to what is known as the Lebanon crisis. This problem is closely connected with the Arab-Israel dispute. The war between Iran and Iraq which began in 1980 is another major West Asia problem to be studied in international relations.

16.2 THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE

The entire dispute relates to the establishment of the State of Israel in the area called Palestine. A brief mention of the circumstances under which Israel founded is essential. Palestine long ago belongs to the Jews. But after the Roman conquest and subsequently Arab conquest of Palestine in the early 7th century AD many of the Jews left Palestine for the other parts of the world. Since then Palestine was in the possession of the Arab muslims.

The Jews settled in the various parts of Europe and for about 1400 years have contributed greatly to the European civilisation in arts science and philosophy. However, they were also subject of persecution in Europe and anti-semitism (anti-Jewish feeling) was a constant feature of the fate of the Jews. Along with the development of nationalism in the 19th century, the Jews in Europe also craved for a Jewish State in their traditional home Palestine. This was the beginning of the demand for homeland of the Jews in Palestine. In 19th century, Zionism (orthodox Jewish nationalism) gained ground in Europe. The Jews were very influential people in European politics, inspite of the anti-Semitic feeling and this influence made many European statesmen sympathetic to their demand for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. During the First World War England even agreed to consider the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine which was then under the Turkish Empire. After the First World War, when the Turkish empire was abolished, Palestine was given to Britain as a Mandated Territory. The British due to various reasons did not create a Jewish homeland. The inter-war period saw the notorious persecution of the Jews under Hitler's Nazism and it is well known that nearly six million Jews were killed immediately before and during the Second World War in various parts of Europe when Europe was occupied by Nazi Germany. This incident created tremendous sympathy for Jews all over the world, and after the war, the demand for a Jewish national state became all the more emphatic. This Western powers were now more sympathetic to create such a state in Palestine. However, historically and legally, there was no ground for creating in Palestine a Jewish National State as already for over 1400 years it was mostly inhabited by Arab Muslims. The claims of the Jews of Europe were only based on religious and sentimental grounds which in the modern period have not much of a substance for this creation of independent state.

As the Second World War ended, the Arabs in Palestine were very apprehensive that a Jewish national state may be established in their territory. Clashes between Palestinian Arabs and the Jews in Palestine became regular and the British administration in Palestine could do little to maintain law and order. It should also be pointed that during the Second World War many Jews from Europe emigrated to Palestine and this enabled their numbers to increase. With this the Jews became bold enough to fight not only the Palestine Arabs but also the British administration. The British in 1947 gave notice to the United States that they and that the U.N. should take decision of the future of Palestine. The demand of the Jews for the creation of a Jewish state called Israel (the name of the country in olden times) also increased in vehemence. The future of Palestine went before the newly created United Nations. The United Nations appointed a Committee which recommended two alternatives (i) the partition of Palestine into two States, one a Jewish state and the other an Arab state and (ii) the establishment of a single federal State. After prolonged debates the United Nations decided on the partition of Palestine and the establishment of two States-one Jewish and one Arab.

Even as a Committee appointed by the United Nations was taking steps to establish the two states, the Jews in Palestine declared a state and not only occupied areas that were proposed to be included in the new state, but also the areas that were to be included in the contemplated Arab state. Through military and terrorist methods Israel expanded its territory even before it was formally created by the UN in 1948. In fact the establishment of the Arab state in pursuance of the U.N. portion plan never took place and only the state of Israel came into existence. Thus the state of Israel, as the only Jewish state in the modern world, came into existence in 1948. While it is true that because Israel is created by the United Nations, it has some legal basis to exist. It should also be remembered that many people questioned the legal validity of partitioning a former Mandated territory against the wishes of the majority of the local population. However, the fact is the state of Israel was established.

As already stated, the local Arab population and the neighbouring Arab states who sympathised with their Arab-Muslim brothers in Palestine were dead against the establishment of Israel. Their argument is; why should a region which is predominantly Arab, should now become the home of the Jews coming from other parts of Europe though they might have belonged to this region more than a 1000 years ago but left the region since that time. Arab states were thus irreconcilably opposed to the creation of Israel. But their condition was such that they were disunited and weak. Even than the Arab States, particularly those neighbouring Israel, i.e. Egypt to the immediate west, Jordan to the immediate east, and Syria to the north, attacked Israel in 1948. The tiny state of Israel defeated the combined Arab forces and in the process Israel occupied more territories belonging to the Arab neighbours. This defeat and acquisition of territory further intensified the hostility both the Arab states and Israel. The UN tried to prevent further clashes by stationing a small UN force both in Egypt and Israel. After the 1948 War, some radical changes occurred among the Arab states. The spirit of Arab nationalism, increased in the late 40s and early 50s and educated Arab peoples were seeking Arab unity (Pan-Arabism). They blamed their condition to the monarchical and conservative political regimes in existence in their countries. It is true that most of the Arab countries like Egypt, Iran and Jordan were ruled by corrupt and conservative Kings who were under the protection of Western powers like Britain and France. The radical leaders in those countries wanted to bring out a socio-political revolution ousting the corrupt monarchies and thereby ending the influence of the big western powers. This revolutionary spirit succeeded in the biggest of the Arab states, Egypt. Prominent army leaders, particularly the younger members of the army led the revolt and succeeded in dethroning the Egyptian King in 1952. The prominent leader among these young army-men was Gamal Abdul Nasser. This revolution in Egypt was received enthusiastically among the intellectuals and younger members of the other Arab countries. But still in countries like Jordan and Iraq no immediate changes occurred in the ruling regimes. but the Nassarite revolution did constitute an important landmark in West Asia politics in that a new spirit of Arab unity and a challenge to the conservative and reactionary regimes arose in that part of the world.

The rise of radical Arab regimes in Egypt and to an extent in Syria only further strengthened the determination of the Arabs not to tolerate the existence of Israel. But by this time the Western powers like USA Britain and France were extending full support to Israel. In fact, their support to Israel increased precisely because the Arab states like Egypt were opposing the interests of the Western powers in West Asia. One example will be useful. President Nasser of Egypt, nationalised the world famous Suez-Canal, connecting the Indian ocean and the Mediterranean sea, in 1956. This canal was managed till then by an Anglo-French Company and Nasser in assertion of Egypt's rights nationalised the Canal. The English and the French and many other Western powers objected to this nationalisation but they could not really do anything in the matter. Already by that time, relations between Nasser and the Western powers, particularly Britain and France, deteriorated. The Americans first tried to be friendly with Nasser and even

offered him big financial help for economic development. But the Americans linked this offer of aid with a condition that Egypt should become a military ally of the US against the Soviet Union. The US proposed a pact called the Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO) with Egypt as a prominent regional member, on the lines of SEATO. President Nasser of Egypt refused to join this pact pleading that such a policy of trying to oppose the Communist power like Soviet Union through military pacts would be dangerous to world peace. Nasser was committed to the policy of non-alignment as articulated and popularised by Jawaharlal Nehru.

The refusal of Egypt to join the pact proposed by America made the United States assume a hostile attitude towards Nasser. The US went to the extent of withdrawing the offer of economic aid made to Egypt earlier. This, to some extent resulted in President Nasser seeking the Soviet help both in economic and military matters. Thus one finds the curious situation. While the US wanted to contain the growth of Russian influence in important parts of West Asia, that exactly was what resulted when Egypt and Soviet Union came together. One can say that this is the beginning of the Soviet influence in West Asia and it certainly was not due to any conspiratorial or revolutionary methods adopted by the Soviet Union in creating influence for itself in Egypt. This development was more due to the wrong policies pursued by the Western power whose main interest somehow to prevent the Soviet Union gaining influence in some parts of the world.

The above events had partly to do with the flare up of the Arab Israel-dispute at the end of 1956. A small border incident between Egypt and Israel led to revival of hostilities. Taking this as the opportunity, the English and the French bombarded Egypt on the pretext of trying to separate the Arab and Israeli forces from attacking each other. This was sheer nonsense as what the English and the French were doing was to facilitate Israel to occupy Egyptian territory. However world public opinion was vehemently against the Anglo-French action and in the United Nations a very strong resolution was passed against the English and the French demanding their withdrawal. In this, the Soviet Union extended full support to Egypt and even the US was very critical of the Anglo-French policy.

The 1956 Arab Israeli war was thus fomented by the Britain and the French colluding with the Israel. It should be noted that while the UN could successfully compel the British and French forces to withdraw from Egypt, the Israelis who managed during the war to occupy large portions of Egyptian territory on the eastern side of the Suez Canal (called the Sinai Peninsula) were left in possession of that territory. Thus for a second time Israel forcibly occupied Arab territory and refused to give this territory back to its original owners.

It is not only the occupation of territory that further embittered the Arab-Israeli relationship. Even more important was the fact that as new territories were occupied by Israel, the Arab people living in those territories were either driven out by Israel, or most of the people left these territories themselves rather than live under Israeli occupation. In this manner the number of Arab refugees from Palestine and other parts of the neighbouring areas swelled in numbers and those refugees began to constitute a new force as party to reckon with in Arab-Israeli dispute in addition to the existence of Israel.

Israeli justification of its occupation was that it was the Arab states that were responsible for the two wars of 1948 and 1956 and that it cannot but retain the territory it conquered as this additional territory was necessary for its security. Israel also pleaded that it had a right to exist as a sovereign state as it was created by the UN itself and that the Arab refusal even to recognise its existence was a threat to its very security. By now a very peculiar situation has emerged. The Arab states, particularly those neighbouring Israel persisted in not recognising Israel though they really could not do anything, either to defect Israel or at least to compel it to negotiate with

them. Israel, on the other hand, acquiring more territory only made matters worse in that the Arab humiliation and hostility made Arab-Israeli reconciliation even more remote.

The UN strengthened its peace-keeping force between the Arab-Israeli lands to prevent the possibility of border clashes becoming full scale wars between the parties. This state of affairs continued for a decade. But then again in 1967 a major war erupted. By this time the term of the UN peace-keeping force between Egypt and Israel expired and the war started in the Gulf of Agaba. The Arabs were confident of victory as their defence forces were now much stronger in both quantity and quality and there was more unity among the Arab states. However, after a few initial victories the Arab states were badly defeated by Israel on all fronts. To the west, Israel occupied some Egyptian territory and to the north, occupied the area called Golan Heights, belonging to Syria. Once again, the old pattern repeated; Israel annexing Arab territories and this in its turn leading to greater outflow of Arab refugees from those territories. In this war, the role of the super-powers was very important. The US extended armed and financial support to Israel on an increased scale. The Soviet Union which had been the main giver of military aid to Egypt continued to give aid during and after the war. But when in the war, Egypt was facing total defeat, it is the Soviet Union that tried diplomatically to end the war and save Egypt and other Arab states from further defeat and humiliation.

It is the UN that played a crucial part during and after this war. One very significant action of the UN was the passing of the resolution by the Security Council in November, 1967 (Resolution 242) demanding that Israel must vacate territories it occupied during the preceding wars and that pending the vacation of these territories and it should not annex those occupied areas as part of Israel. The UN had never before so unequivocally and unconditionally demanded from Israel such action. But Israel did not accept this resolution. But the point is that with few exceptions this U.N. resolution was supported by an overwhelming majority. This resolution though more than 15 year old and remains unimplemented, still is recognised to be the main basis for any viable settlement of the West Asia problem.

One very important implication of the UN resolution is that on the one hand, it seeks to do full justice to the Arab states in asking for the Israeli restoration of those territories it won. Yet, on the other, it implicitly commits the Arab states (who have supported, voted and demand the implementation of the resolution) to recognise Israel which they had so far refused to do, at least theoretically.

But still the attitude of the Arab states towards Israel remained stubborn. But some subtle change was visible in the Arab state's attitudes about this time because of important changes in the Arab world. Firstly, states like Saudi Arabia became very prominent among the Arab states. Saudi Arabia is also one of the very rich Arab countries because of its oil wealth. Further, countries like Egypt became less radical in their posture. In the Arab world broadly three groups of states emerged. One group consisting of conservative and monarchical states like Saudi Arabia, Oman and other small Gulf states, the second group consisting of very radical or even revolutionary states like Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Libya and a third group consisting of moderate states like Egypt, Jordan and Sudan. When we use the terms conservative, radical and moderate, we use them with reference to the nature of the regimes and their socio-economic policies. The relevance of this distinction to our present discussion of the Arab Israeli dispute is that while almost all the Arab states were opposed to Israel, the existence of considerable disunity among the Arab states because of rivalries among themselves did not enable them to pursue a concerted policy against Israel.

About this time another important development also took place. The Palestinian refugees (that is those who fled from areas occupied by Israel) by now became an important force to reckon with. It should be remembered that first at the very creation of Israel in 1948, and subsequently immediately after 1948, 1956, and 1967 thousands of refugees fled from the Israeli occupied areas. Some left in bitter protest, many were forced to leave because of the Israeli policies. The overall result was the phenomenal increase in the number of Arab refugees. They are generally called as Palestinians because most of them came from the Palestinian region forcibly occupied by Israel. The consequence of this trend was that the Palestinian refugees began to organise themselves to confront Israel. The most important manifestation of such an organisation is what is called the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. This became very prominent as a strong adversary of Israel. More importantly the leaders of the PLO emerged as the main spokesmen of the Arab cause in the Arab Israel dispute. No doubt, the important Arab states like, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq continued to play their part in opposing Israel. But the point is that the PLO and its leaders emerged as a new factor in the Arab Israeli dispute. This led to some very important consequences.

The Palestinian refugees, it should be remembered are spread all over the countries adjacent to Israel but the Palestinian Liberation Organisation itself began to operate mainly from Jordan. The PLO was not in a position to wage a direct war with Israel without the help of the big Arab states like Egypt and Jordan. But these states were not very anxious to get themselves involved in another war with Israel though they professed solidarity with the PLO. Since it was the Palestinians who suffered most because of the creation of Israel and the Israeli policies, the PLO asserted that more than anyone else, it constituted the voice of the Arabs in the Arab - Israeli conflict. As the PLO was not in a position to wage a direct war against Israel it began to make attacks by means of terrorist activities and guerilla tactics. Sabotaging and destroying Israeli property, killing Israeli military and civilian personnel through terrorist acts and in general harassing Israel became the standard activity of the PLO. But as the PLO was resorting to these activities from the territory where they were operating from, like Jordan, the activities of the PLO led to a very serious consequence too. When the PLO undertook a terrorist raid against an Israeli target, the Israelis resorted to retaliate against the country from which the PLO was operating.

In this manner the PLO also became a dangerous burden on those Arab states, particularly Jordan, which gave them refuge. Not only this, the PLO leadership also often tried to topple the governments of their host countries. These situations created great tensions between the PLO and the neighbouring Arab states where they lived. For instance, relations between Jordan and the PLO became so hostile that in 1970 Jordan literally drove the PLO from its soil. Then the PLO moved on to Lebanon where they became a very important segment of the population from the 70s onwards.

After the Arab Israeli war of 1967, as can be understood from the above discussion, the Arab Israeli dispute appears in a different context. Firstly, the extent of the defeat of the Arab states made them less enthusiastic to confront Israel in any rash manner but at the same time, the coming into prominence of states like Saudi Arabia with its oil resources led to a new confidence among Arab states that with their oil resources they could not only become strong militarily, but also use their oil resources to influence, through diplomacy the Western powers (who are dependent on oil from West Asia) to support the Arab cause against Israel. In this context, the fact that the UN passed that important resolution mentioned above came as a positive factor. The Arab states hoped that if Israel could be made to return the occupied Arab territories then that could at least provide the beginning for a diplomatic solution leading to an Arab-Israeli reconciliation.

However, as only to be expected, there was no unanimity among the Arab states either. Radical states like Syria, Iraq and Libya held that there should be no negotiations with Israel under any circumstances. The PLO asserted that it alone represented the Arab interests and that without its consent and involvement, no solution to the problem could be thought of. The most important demand made by the PLO was that there should be a Palestinian state should be established in the territories annexed by Israel over the last 30 years or more. Their demand was that the Palestinian refugees who were forced to leave their home lands should be enabled to return to a newly constituted Palestinian state.

Israel on its part, was totally opposed to any negotiations with the PLO which it regarded as nothing better than a desperate terrorist organisation. Israel was prepared to negotiate with the Arab states, but not with the PLO. One can see here the almost impossible dilemma in the situation. The PLO did become so prominent that the other Arab states and for that matter even many other countries of the world (India, Pakistan and most of the non-aligned nations) recognised that the PLO alone represents the Arabs in the Arab Israeli dispute. But Israel, the other directly involved party, was totally against recognising the PLO even as an entity to negotiate. With this fundamental difference of opinion, the other details of a solution to the problem remain less important.

Israel defied the UN in not implementing the resolution of the UN. It adopted the policy that it was prepared to negotiate with Egypt, Jordan and Syria on the question of the return of territories only on the condition that these countries recognise Israel. But these countries were not willing for that condition as that would have amounted to conceding to Israel what it wanted without satisfying the PLO claims. Here one important thing should be remembered. By the 70s the Arab states like Egypt and Jordan were afraid of directly negotiating with Israel without the involvement of the PLO. Because of all these complications, nothing happened from 1967 to 72 and in 1973 occurred another major war between the Arab states and Israel.

16.3 THE 1973 ARAB ISRAELI WAR

This war commenced in October 1973 is also known as the Yam Kippur war as it occurred during the Yam Kippur religious observance in Israel. This time it is the Arab states Egypt and Syria that took the initiative in starting the war. The Arab states meanwhile increased because of many factors. Egypt and Syria which helped them to acquire more and more sophisticated weapons. The Soviet Union also extended the help in selling and transferring such arms to these Arab states. Israel's reluctance to return the Arab territories conquered earlier in spite of the Security Council Resolution of 1967 made matters worse and led to the Arab states waiting for the opportunity to attack Israel. Of course, Israel also increased its military strength mostly because of American military and financial assistance.

In this war, for the first time the Arabs, particularly Egypt won resounding victories against Israel. In this manner, the reputation of Israel as an invincible power in West Asia and of the Arab states as incompetent weak countries was disproved. The net result of the war was still indecisive. Both the super powers were surprised by the break-up of hostilities and also by the surprise victories of the Arab powers. The superpowers feared that if they do not intervene to stop the war, the war may reach such proportions that they themselves (superpowers) would be dragged into the war against each other. At one level each of the superpowers was committed to militarily support its ally. But at another level, the superpowers were reluctant to get directly involved in a military confrontation as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The 1973 Arab Israeli war was regarded as so tense that the United States government secretly almost prepared itself for a confrontation with the Soviet Union. At the same time, as already stated, both the

superpowers were eager that the war should end soon. The US and the Soviet Union through intense diplomatic negotiations between themselves and with their respective allies in West Asia and through their influence in the UN, managed to bring about a ceasefire between the Arabs and Israelis within a few weeks after the start of the war in 1973. The UN Security Council in October 1973 again reiterated its Resolution of 1967, demanding Israel's implementation of that resolution. The 1973 war is important for the following reasons.

1. It highlighted the role of the super powers in the problem, Firstly because of the support each super power gave to its respective allies in the region, the problem became more dangerous and secondly the super powers were, at the same time anxious not to be dragged into the Arab Israeli war.
2. It is during this war that the Arab states for the first time used what has come to be called the oil weapon in international relations. When the war broke out, the West European nations and America remained pro-Israeli in their attitude, though in different degrees. The Arab states decided to cut off the export of oil to all states that extended military or political support to Israel. This policy had hit the West European states and Japan very hard as they were most dependent on oil from West Asian oil producing states like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAR, Iran, Iraq Libya and Algeria. In this manner, the Arab states tried to use their oil weapon to get political and diplomatic support for the Arab cause. Though all the Western countries have not changed their policy towards the Arab Israeli dispute, there is no doubt important revisions in favour of the Arab-israeli dispute, there is no doubt important revisions in favour of the Arab cause occurred in their attitudes. Any Western power now felt that Israel should be compelled to vacate all the territories that it occupied since the 1948 war and that it should be prepared to agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank territory. Many of the Western states also recognised that the PLO should be treated as the main party with which Israel must be willing to deal with. To some extent, even the US changed its traditional policy of giving all out support to Israel. Since the 1973 war, while the US continued to give substantial financial military aid, it began to press Israel for a political settlement with the Arabs mainly on the basis of the 1967 UN resolution.

Both with a view to end the prolonged and dangerous Arab Israeli conflict and to become friendly with the Arab states, the US resorted to intense diplomacy for a solution to the problem. In the years immediately after the 1973 war, Dr. Henry Kissinger undertook many trips to West Asia to negotiate a settlement. This intense diplomacy was called shuttle-diplomacy as Dr. Kissinger repeatedly went to and from the capitals of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia to negotiate a settlement. As already mentioned the basis of these negotiations was that Israel should return the territories conquered earlier in return for the Arab states recognising the existence of Israel "under secure frontiers". However, nothing tangible resulted from this, though the mood of some of the Arab states and Israel towards each other seemed to have become less antagonistic. When President Carter came to power in the US in 1977, he pursued even more vigorously a reconciliation between Israel and its main adversaries and he was able to influence Egypt most in this regard. Radical Arab states like Syria, and even Jordan, were not prepared to negotiate with Israel under any circumstances as they were suspicious of American motives in the reconciliation efforts and in any case were not prepared for recognising Israel. President Carter succeeded in persuading President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Manechin Begin of Israel to enter into a peace agreement ending their rivalry.

This agreement was signed at Camp David (The American President's holiday residence near Washington DC) in 1978. Hence this agreement is known as the Camp David agreement. Under this Agreement:

1. Israel agreed for phased withdrawal from the Egyptian territories and to return these territories to Egypt.
2. Demilitarised Zones are to be created to keep the Egyptian and Israeli military forces separated for quite sometime so that hostilities would not occur in the future.
3. 'Self-rule' for the muslim Arabs living in the city of Jerusalem and on the West Bank of Jordan is to be guaranteed by Israel. Here it should be mentioned that these areas (Jerusalem and the West Bank) were not originally given to Israel. But Israel occupied these territories after the Arab Israeli wars and began to annex them into the State of Israel which is contrary to international law. The Security Council of United Nations demanded that Israel should not allow settlement of Jewish population in these occupied territories. However, Israel has flouted this demand repeatedly. The Camp David agreement also provided that Israel should under no circumstance create Jewish settlement in the West Bank area and that it must provide for self-rule for the Palestinians living in these areas.

The Camp David agreement is in many respects a substantial achievement for American diplomacy under President Carter. It ended 30 years of enmity between Egypt which is the largest and the most powerful of the Arab states and Israel. Many feel that with Egypt now no longer hostile as before towards Israel another Arab-Israeli war would be improbable because without Egypt the other Arab states would not be in a position to fight a war.

But the Camp David Agreement also had its serious limitation and bad repercussions. Firstly, the other Arab states, particularly those who actively participated in wars against Israel, i.e. Jordan, Syria and Iraq felt, extremely angry that Egypt alone made peace with Israel. In fact, almost the whole of the Arab world was critical of President Sadat's unilateral peace with Israel. Secondly, the Camp David Agreement was criticised as an American attempt to further divide the Arab world and also to reduce the influence of the Soviet Union in the Arab world in the Arab Israeli dispute. It should be remembered that, the Soviet influence was very strong over Egypt till the mid 70s though it decline of Soviet influence in Egypt to increase its own presence there diplomatically.

The immediate consequences of the Camp David Agreement were mixed to some extent, the region certainly became less tense. Israel gave back to Egypt almost all the territories it conquered from Egypt. Egypt recognised Israel for the first time since Israeli's creation in 1948. But its relations with other Arab states suffered greatly. Arab states like Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Libya formed a diplomatic group to isolate and ostracise Egypt. The PLO felt even more let down by Egypt. The Camp David Agreement in effect totally ignored the claims of PLO. Though Egypt was theoretically supporting the PLO as the chief spokesman of the Arabs against Israel, in signing the Camp David Agreement, it did not protect the PLO's claims. Israel and the US were totally opposed to the claims of the PLO as a body representing Arab interest at all. However one important point should be noted. Egypt did not completely neglect the question of the rights of the Palestinian people whose territories Israel occupied. That is why Sadat insisted at the time of Camp David Agreement, that Israel should give self-rule to those territories. In other words, Egypt did demand that Israel should not annex the territories particularly those immediately to the East of Israel and to the West of the river Jordan. This is what is called the West Bank (because the territory is on the west-bank of the river Jordan) and originally belonged to the state of Jordan from whom Israel captured these lands.

The idea now is that these territories which Israel occupied should be formed into a new state called the Palestinian State. But there is no unanimity about this idea. This PLO and other radical

Arab supporters (who theoretically opposed the very existence of Israel) say that the whole of Israel should be now called a Palestinian State in which the Jews of the present day Israel may certainly live. Most other Arab states and the other countries of the world think in terms of a separate Palestinian state (as distinct from Israel whose existence, they feel will have to be accepted) to which the Arab people who fled from 1948 onwards could return and have a homeland. Israel, on its part, considers the proposal as merely providing for some sort of internal administrative autonomy to the people living in the West Bank area within the Israeli state. We thus see that there is no unanimity at all about what is to be done to the Palestinian territories. It was because of this that the Camp David Agreement left this issue vague. It should be recalled that point 3 (in our analysis) mentions that Israel should create a self-governing area. This was done in response to President Sadat's concern for the claims of the Palestinians for a homeland in the territories captured by Israel.

Since the signing of the Camp David Agreement, the differences arising out of the varying understandings of what this meant continued. Israel has not taken any steps towards creating, even an autonomous region for the Palestinians. On the contrary, it has further integrated those territories into the Israeli state, thus violating the letter and spirit of the Camp David Agreement. The US has so far not been able to compel Israel to do something in the matter. The influence of the Jewish people in US politics on the one hand, and other factors that condition US Israeli relations are responsible for this situation in which the US is unable to ask Israel to behave better. Egypt is feeling very much let down. After all it took the risk of inviting the wrath of the other Arab states in entering into the Camp David Agreement. President Sadat, hoped that the risk was worth particularly if Israel absconded about self rule to the Palestinian areas. Sadat hoped that when once this happened the wisdom of his reconciling with Israel would be recognised by them. But Israel defies public opinion and persists in annexing all Palestinian areas with Israel.

It now seems that the spirit of the Camp David Agreement has declined. Israel has not done anything to give even autonomy to the Arabs in the occupied areas of Palestine and in the West Bank. Meanwhile, the Palestine Liberation Organisation is insisting that unless an independent state is established on the West Bank, it would not agree to any settlement. The problem is about the recognition of the PLO itself. Israel does not recognise the PLO and PLO refused to recognise Israel. The United States also is not even willing to talk to PLO on the pretext that the PLO is a terrorist organisation. If the USA can talk to the PLO then probably the PLO could be persuaded to be a little more reasonable over the whole issue. The PLO then may agree to a solution wherein West Bank areas and Jordan could be combined to form an Arab state giving some guarantees to Israeli's security. This solution is now being proposed in many quarters. It is difficult to say whether this solution will be acceptable to all the concerned parties. The United states should do something in the matter of putting pressure on Israel to concede in principle the idea of autonomy or independence for the Palestinians. On the whole the situation is very uncertain and no problem is in sight.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Camp David Agreement ?

16.4 THE LEBANON PROBLEM

Lebanon is a small independent country situated to the extreme north of the Arabian Peninsula bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. It is to the north of Israel and to the west of Syria. It is a country with Muslim and Christian population almost evenly divided. Still it managed to have a stable government under a constitution and it prospered because of trade and commerce. Even without natural resources, it was one of the most prosperous countries in the Middle East. This was the position of Lebanon till 1975.

But since 1975 Lebanon has been experiencing continuous civil war, endemic instability of governments and most of the country is destroyed by frequent fightings, bombings and violence. This unfortunate situation was the result of many causes. But primarily, the cause was the fact that from neighbouring countries like Jordan and Syria the Palestinian Arabs had entered into Lebanon and made it into their strong-hold to attack Israel. Israel in its turn resorted to retaliate the Palestines raids by occupying parts of Lebanon. Syria, in its turn, also occupied parts of Lebanon partly with a view to contain Israeli aggression and partly with a view to strengthen its own influence over Lebanon. This unfortunate development also resulted in the differences between the Christians and the Muslims (i.e. the indigenous population of Lebanon) to come into open resulting in factional fighting and in constant instability of government.

The first major civil war in Lebanon occurred in 1975-76 when the right wing Christians attacked the Muslim-leftist coalition. Soon after this civil war was patched up, raids and counter-raids by the Palestine refugees in Lebanon and the Israeli forces became the order of the day. Many militia groups (bands of armed men and women) emerged in Lebanon as a consequence of the civil war situation and the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation. There are now nearly about 100 such factional militant groups. Christian groups, Muslim groups, pro-Syrian groups, and sometimes even supported the Christian groups. In 1978 Israel invaded southern Lebanon and though it withdrew later because of international pressure, it continued to retain a small strip of southern Lebanon from where pro-Israeli Christian Lebanese military groups started fighting Muslim Palestians. It could now be appreciated how complex the situation is and how Lebanese were dragged into civil war, primarily because of the Arab Israeli conflict and the militant attitude of the Palestine refugees. Direct confrontation between Israeli and Syrian forces was quite frequent during the last decade. In addition to this confrontation factional fightings have been a constant feature in Lebanon. During this 10 years there have been many cease-fires and attempts were made to install a lawful government in Lebanon. Though the Christian-Muslims animosity made compromises very difficult still a government has at last been established in Lebanon. But it is not in a position to really control the factional fighting and much less control the Palestineian-Israeli attacks against each other over Lebanese territory. The Lebanese government is also not in a position to demand Syria to withdraw from the areas it has occupied in Lebanon. In short this is the position in Lebanon Today.

One particular incident is important to be mentioned in the context of the Lebanon situation. This was the direct Israeli occupation of a large part of Lebanon in June 1982. Israel marched into West Beirut (capital of Lebanon) capturing on the way the places where the Palestine rebels had established their strong-holds. This Israeli invasion of Lebanon also resulted in direct war between Israel and Syria. In this war the PLO suffered a shattering military defeat. The PLO was compelled to leave Lebanon and seek refuge in the other parts of West Asia. For a long time Israel refused to withdraw and the United Nations even condemned Israel for its invasion. Israel not only invaded Lebanon and destroyed Palestine strongholds but was also responsible for encouraging the massacre of innocent Palestine refugees dwelling in camps near the city of Beirut, in Sabra and Shatila. This massacre involving the killing of hundreds of women and

children constitutes one of Israel's worst deeds in recent history. Eventually Israel withdrew from parts of Lebanon though it continues to occupy some parts of southern Lebanon.

The PLO withdrew from Lebanon in 1982 but during the last three years Palestine refugees have been returning back to Lebanon. The Lebanese situation continues to be one of constant factional fighting with Israel and Syria still occupying parts of Lebanon. The history of Lebanon during the last 10 years illustrates how a country cannot remain free from tensions in the neighbouring areas. Though Lebanon was a safe place till 1975 while the Arab-Israeli wars and quarrels were going on with intensity, from 1975 it became a victim of the Arab-Israel struggle and the coming into open of the quarrels between the Muslims and the Christians of Lebanon.

16.5 THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Another important development in West Asia is the Iran-Iraq war. This war broke out in 1979 and is still continuing. The peculiarity of this war is that it is a war between two Muslim states. It has weakened the unity of the West Asian Muslim world in its fight against Israel.

The causes of the Iran-Iraq war are many. Firstly there is the historical rivalry between Iran and Iraq. This historical rivalry arises out of many intricate reasons:

1. Iran belongs to the Shia branch of Islam and Iraq is one of the strongholds of the orthodox Islamic branch, the Sunni branch. The Shia-Sunni enmity has been a longstanding one.
2. Iran and Iraq are neighbouring countries having territorial disputes. Though there had been many treaties and agreements between the two countries, feelings on either side have not really been satisfied. One of the major differences is about the borderland adjacent to the river Shattel Arab. Iraq claims the Iranian province immediately to the east of Iraq called Khuzestan and Iran claims some territories now under Iraq the 1979 war broke out on the issue of this territorial dispute.
3. The revolutionary government in Iran, which came into existence after the over-throw of the Shah of Iran in 1978 by the Islamic fundamental revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini was particularly hostile to Iraq and Iraq feared that the revolutionary government in Iran would conspire to overthrow the socialist government of Iraq. This fear also made Iraq start the 1979 war against Iraq.

Though many efforts were made by various mediators to stop the war, the war is still going on. The Arab states tried many times to persuade Iran Iraq to stop the war. The United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement also made efforts to stop the war. But such has been the hostility between the two countries that neither country agreed to compromise. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of men on either side died in the war. Billions of dollars worth of military equipment was lost in the war. The oil production in both the countries decreased with consequential loss of revenue. It should be remembered that both Iran and Iraq are major oil producing countries in the world. It can now be appreciated how much the war is costing the two countries.

In addition to these disastrous consequences of the war to the two countries, there is the fear that the war would spread to other countries. This is because some of the Arab countries, particularly, the Arab countries of the Gulf area, have been extending support to Iraq, and Iran has threatened to attack them. Fortunately Iran has not so far attacked these countries. But the possibility is still present.

Iran is demanding that Iraq should not only pay compensation for the loss of life and property caused by the war but is also demanding that the Government of Iraq led by President Saddam Hussein should be replaced. The neighbouring Arab countries are even prepared to pay the compensation to Iran for war damages but they are not prepared for the replacement of the Saddam Hussein government. This, in short, is the position of the Iran-Iraq war.

The attitude of the superpowers is also worth mentioning. When the war broke out the United States was in a very peculiar situation. Iraq was a friend of the Soviet Union and Iran, after the overthrow of the Shah, became vehemently anti-American. So the United States did not extend support to either of the participants. But strangely enough, there is some evidence that the USA did give some military aid to Iraq. This was possible because, though Iraq had a treaty with the Soviet Union at that time, the relations between the Iraq and Soviet Union were not very friendly. However, after few years the Soviet Union agreed to give some arms aid to Iraq. The Soviet Union's attitude towards Iran was also ambivalent. It could not openly come out against Iran as it was not sure about the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war. The fact that the Soviet Union and Iraq had a special relationship for a long time also made it improbable for the Soviet Union to extend support to Iran simply because Iran was anti-American. Thus, the superpowers have on the whole remained neutral in the war.

The Non-aligned countries are very sorry that two of the important non-aligned countries should be at war with each other for such a long time. Yet the non-alignment movement has not succeeded in persuading either party to come to a compromise. So far the Iran-Iraq war has not spread. But it has every possibility of spreading into Gulf area. One of the major effects of this war is to weaken the Arab world in their fight against Israel.

Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao &
Dr. B. Manikyamba.

16.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Briefly discuss the Palestinian problem with special reference to the role of the USA.
2. Briefly examine the causes for the Lebanon crisis and analyse to what extent it is a product of Arab-Israel conflict?
3. Trace the causes for the Iran-Iraq war since the 1979. What is the attitude of the Superpowers towards this war.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. How would an Arab and a Zionist have argued in 1948 that his people were entitled to the possession of Palestine?
2. Explain the importance of the Yom Kippur War.
3. Write a short note on the Camp David Agreement.

UNIT - 17 : THE RISE OF AFRICA

Contents:

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2.0 Causes for the development of Nationalism in Africa
 - 17.2.1 Spread of the Nationalist Spirit
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 - 17.2.3 Influence of foreign rule
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 - 17.2.5 20th Century Revolutions
 - 17.2.6 Support of the Asian countries
- 17.3 Freedom struggles in Africa
- 17.4 Problems of African States
- 17.5 Problem of African Unity
- 17.6 South Africa - A unique case of continuing colonialism
- 17.7 Model Questions

17.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- the development of Nationalism in Africa
- freedom struggles in Africa
- problems of African Unity

17.1 INTRODUCTION

The rise of Africa is one of the important developments in international politics of the post-Second World War period. Until 19th century, most parts of the African Continent was not known to the rest of the world. Nor was there any interest in knowing. This continent was away from contacts with important world civilizations until the dawn of the 20th century. This is the reason why Africa was often called the 'Dark Continent'.

Towards the end of the Second World War, there were only four independent states in Africa- Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. But after the war, remarkable changes took place in this continent. One such important change was the determination of the Africans to put an end to their traditional tribal life and begin with a new way of life on par with the people of the more civilized countries. There was a quest for equality and continued struggle for the realisation of this objective coupled with a strong feeling of nationalism. This paved the way for the establishment of a number of sovereign independent states in the 50s and 60s.

17.2.0 CAUSES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

The spirit of nationalism that spread widely in Africa in the post-Second World War period is due to several factors. Important among them are:

17.2.1 Spread of the Nationalist Spirit

Spread of nationalism has become a world wide phenomenon in the 20th century. In the years immediately following the Second World War, some important Asian countries like India, Sri Lanka and Burma freed themselves from foreign rule. The freedom struggles of these countries have become a source of great inspiration for the Africans. It should be mentioned here that by the 19th century European countries like Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal completed the process of massive colonisation in Africa. European imperialism reached extreme proportions in this continent and the African experience of imperialism was maximum. This is one of the reasons which explains the rapid development of African nationalism in the second half of the 20th century.

17.2.2 European Nations' Policy of Exploitation

Another reason for the growth of nationalism in Africa is the policy of exploitation adopted in Africa by the colonial powers - Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium. Africans were subjected to mass-scale exploitation both in terms of men and wealth. It should also be noted that the European nations, even before they started colonisation of Africa indulged in slave-trade by which large numbers of Africans used to be taken to the American continent as slaves. In general, the attitude of the colonial powers towards the Africans was merciless and inhuman. The Africans were employed for mean jobs and were subjected to severe discrimination. They had to live like slaves in their own territory. As noted earlier, the Africans were also subjected to economic exploitation by the colonial powers. The colonial powers established full control over the vast wealth of the continent which includes gold, diamonds, copper and oil resources.

17.2.3 Influence of Foreign Rule

A third factor that is responsible for the awakening of the Africans was the foreign rule itself. It should be noted that the duration of colonial rule in different parts of Africa differs. Ethiopia for example was under Italy's control for about 5 years while parts of Angola and Mozambique were under Portuguese colonial rule for over four hundred years. The European rule in the continent indirectly helped the development of new ideas and values among the Africans. The Africans came into touch with the Western type of administration and their ways of life. They realised the usefulness of these institutions and their operational methods. They had also fought in the two world wars on the side of their colonial powers who frequently declared that their objective had been the protection of liberty and equality and the establishment of democratic institutions. Thus their contact with the western ideas and institutions was responsible for the growth of nationalism.

17.2.4 Influence of Western Education

African nationalism was also influenced by the Western education. The Western education enabled the Africans to realise the importance of the democratic concepts like liberty, freedom and self determination. They were also influenced by the ideals of Marxism and other forms of socialism. Inspired by these ideals and concepts, the educated few Africans took over the leadership of the freedom struggles. A sense of strong determination and self respect developed among them. This, definitely is due to the Western education.

17.2.5 20th Century Revolutions:

The 20th century can be described as the age of revolutions. Important among the revolutions that took place in the 20th century are the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the Peaceful

Revolution of 1947 in India and the Communist Revolution of 1949 in China. These revolutions were aimed at overthrowing old systems and establishing new ones. The Africans were greatly inspired by these revolutions and the African 'Jion' woke up. In a short span of two decades (mid-fifties to mid-seventies) a large part of Africa liberated itself from foreign rule.

17.2.6 Support of the Asian Countries

The spread of African nationalism is also due to the support extended by the Asian countries to the liberation struggles of the Africans. In fact, a new concept, the concept of Afro-Asian nationalism developed during the recent decades. The result is that the Asian as well as African countries are strongly opposing all forms of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination. These countries are also giving very great importance to the policy of non-alignment. The Afro-Asian movement and the Non-aligned movement have come close to each other. The opposition of the United Nations to all types of imperialism, colonialism and discrimination also adds strength to the African liberation struggles.

17.3 FREEDOM STRUGGLES IN AFRICA

Before dealing with the freedom struggles, it is necessary to know something about the establishment of colonial rule in Africa. Africa was colonised by the Europeans. Their colonisation can be said to have begun in the 17th century and as noted earlier, the process was almost completed by the end of the 19th century. Among the European powers Britain and France had the largest colonial territories in Africa. Broadly speaking, Eastern Africa and Western Africa came under the control of Britain. It had also colonies in South Central Africa. North West Africa was occupied by France. Central Africa fell under the control of Belgium. Portugal established colonies in some parts of Southern Africa. To give details, Britain governed the territories of Gold Coast (now called Ghana), Nigeria, Gambia, Seirra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia (now called Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and South Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The French territories in Africa included Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Niger, Mauritania, parts of the Congo and Chad. It also controlled some islands. Territories like Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissan were under Portuguese rule. The Congo, Ruanda and Burundi were ruled by Belgium. Italy, Germany and Spain also had some colonies. Sudan and Egypt, though independent in theory were controlled by Britain. South Africa was an independent country, under white rulers, who were only a small minority of the country's population.

The nature of liberation struggles in Africa had not been the same. Some territories adopted peaceful and constitutional means, while struggles in some other places have been extremely violent.

The process of decolonisation in the territories under British control had been peaceful in general. The British rulers in the African colonies permitted freedom of forming association, cultural societies and labour unions. Further the Africans were allowed to participate in the management of local affairs. The British rule in Africa had been relatively liberal, though economic exploitation was very intensive.

Gold Coast was the first British African territory which became independent in 1957 under the name of Ghana. The Convention People's Party, under Kwame Nkrumah's leadership adopted non-violent means which included peaceful agitation, education campaigns, strikes and boycotts to achieve independence.

Egypt, though an African country, plays a key rôle in West Asian politics. This country came under indirect British control in 1882. The Egyptians led by eminent leaders like Zaghuil, General Naguib and Col. Abdur Nasser freed themselves from foreign control by 1952.

Britain declared independence to Sudan in 1956. Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya became independent in 1961, 1962 and 1963 respectively.

It is noted earlier that Britain had colonies in South Central Africa also. Important of these are Northern Rhodesia, southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Declaration of independence to Rhodesia had become a problem mainly because some inhabitants of Rhodesia are Britishers who settled there during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The British residents in Rhodesia, especially in Southern Rhodesia, offered a strong resistance for the declaration of independence. Britain had given a degree of self-government to these three areas in 1953. In 1963 Britain granted independence to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia which are now known as Malawi and Zambia respectively. The problem of Southern Rhodesian independence remained unsolved due to the strong resistance of the white residents there. The white residents of Southern Rhodesia led by Ian Smith, unwilling to the formation of a Government in which the majority native Africans may obtain power took in 1964 the unilateral decision of declaring themselves free from British rule. The fear among the white residents that the British government would establish the majority government of the African nationals was the main reason for this unilateral declaration of independence. It should be noted that such a declaration amounts to treason according to British law. But Britain did not take serious action against the minority government of the whites excepting that it condemned the declaration as unjust and illegal. The British government held consultations with the minority government for compromise but these consultations proved unsuccessful. Under these circumstances, the Africans in Southern Rhodesia resorted to armed struggle from 1964. The struggle continued for a period of 15 years. Important among the leaders of the struggle are Joseph Nkomo, Robert Mugabe and Bishop Muzarewa. Because of this struggle and the pressure of world public opinion, Britain ultimately compelled the white minority rulers to give up their power and independence was granted to Southern Rhodesia. It is now called Zimbabwe.

Coming to the French colonies, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania, Senegal and Ivory Coast became independent by the year 1960. Important among the freedom struggles that took place in the French colonies is the one which took place in Algeria. This should be examined in detail. As in the case of Southern Rhodesians, the Algerians could not secure independence by peaceful means on account of the white residents' opposition in Algeria who settled as agriculturists and business men strongly opposed giving freedom to Algeria. The freedom movement in Algeria was led by the National Liberation Front headed by Ferhat Abbas. The front organised a huge number of guerilla fighters. The French tried to suppress the freedom struggle by violent methods. In this they failed. Finally the French realised the inevitability of freeing Algeria. Algeria obtained its independence in 1962.

The Congo was under the control of Belgium as well as Britain and France had economic interests in this territory. They had been exploiting mineral wealth of Congo. Inspired by a conference in Accra, the capital of Ghana, in 1958, the people in the Congo had led a large scale movement against the Belgium government in Congo. In 1960, the Congo became independent with Kasavubu as the President and Patrice Lumumba as the Prime Minister. However, the French, Belgian and British capitalist forces in Congo, as a measure of protecting their own interests began to create problems to the new government of independent Congo. Instigated by these forces, Katanga, a province in Congo, declared independence under Moise Tshombe. Tshombe was extended military support by Belgium and France and to some extent by Britain. Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of Congo, appealed for American help which did not materialise on account of British, French and Belgium influence over the U.S. On the other hand, the Soviet Union strongly supported Lumumba and was even prepared for extending military help to the Congo. Thus the Congo crisis turned into one of the important events in the

Cold War between the US and USSR. In order to avert a situation of more serious tension, it was decided to solve the problem through the United Nations Organisation. In fact, the UN raised a special military force to prevent the military intervention of Western powers in Congo. It was finally agreed that the problem should be settled by means of negotiations. The United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld who was deputed to conduct the negotiations between the two parties died in an air crash under doubtful circumstances. The province of Katanga was later united into Congo. The Congo crisis had increased differences between the USA and the USSR. The Congo issue offers a very good example of the problems arising out of decolonisation.

The Portuguese rule in its colonies was most repressive. Further Portugal was not prepared to declare its colonies independent easily. The Portuguese government under the fascist dictator Salazar was not willing even to grant self government to its colonies. The United Nations Organisation went to the extent of passing, in 1963, the Decolonisation Resolution to which Portugal did not give any positive response. Such circumstances precipitated the guerilla movements in the Portuguese colonies. The movements spread over a period of 10 years. In 1974, in Portugal itself the Salazar government was overthrown and a socialist government was set up. The new government granted freedom to its colonies, to Angola in 1975, Mozambique in 1975, and Cape Verde Islands in 1976.

The violent nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies have led to some important problems. One such problem is the interference of the United States and the Soviet Union and their extension of support to different rival guerilla groups. This has given rise to the problems of internal insecurity and tension. The interference of the superpowers in the internal struggles of the newly independent states of Africa is a clear indication of their attempts to establish governments which would be favourable to the superpowers. The Angolan situation offers a very good example of the continuation of the cold war between the USA and the USSR.

The only territory that has not so far achieved independence is Namibia in Southern Africa. Originally known as South West Africa-Namibia was a German colony till the end of the First World War. After the war, the League of Nations, entrusted the administration of Namibia, to the South African government under the Mandatory system. In 1945 with the establishment of the United Nations Organisation, the League of Nations ceased to exist and the rights of the South African government to administer Namibia also ended. But South Africa refused to surrender its rights and considers Namibia as part of South Africa. The stand taken by South Africa has been condemned by the United Nations Organisation, the International Court of Justice and many Afro-Asian nations.

The United Nations declared that South West Africa cannot be considered as belonging to South Africa and the International Court of Justice also held that South Africa has no right to hold on to Namibia. Later, in 1964, the UN set up an eleven member council for South West Africa to administer the territory. The UN renamed South West Africa as Namibia and declared that Namibia would become independent in 1968. But South Africa continues to occupy Namibia and even prevented the UN Council for Namibia from visiting Namibia. Here again some of the Western powers obstructed the enforcement of sanctions against South Africa for its violation of UN resolutions.

Meanwhile the struggle for national independence began in Namibia under the leadership of South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the UN itself recognised this organisation to be the representative of the people of Namibia. South Africa not only refuses

to vacate from Namibia but has sent more and more of its troops into Namibia. The Namibian problem is complicated by the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The Cuban troops are in Angola in its turn is supporting the SWAPO revolutionary movement in Namibia, which is just to the south of Angola. The South African government has been saying that unless Cuban troops withdraw from Angola it would not vacate Namibia. In this stand the US supported South Africa as the US feels that the Cuban presence in Angola strengthens the communist influence in Angola and thus in Namibia.

South Africa also attacked Namibia on the plea that this was necessary to protect the security of both Namibia and South Africa.

The UN wanted to conduct elections in Namibia so that it could become independent under a popularly elected government. But so far this could not be done because of South Africa's continued occupation. Of course the UN could use military force and end the South African occupation. But the Western powers are not prepared to allow the UN to do so. Alternatively South Africa could be compelled by UN through the imposition of at least economic sanctions. However, even in this regard the Western powers have been reluctant to impose comprehensive economic sanctions because of their interest in South Africa. This aspect of the problem is dealt with in some detail in the section on South Africa in this chapter.

The freedom struggle in South West Africa is going on. Most of the nations of the World, (the African nations, the other third world nations like India, and the Socialist countries) are actively supporting the freedom struggle. But unless the major Western powers decide to bring pressure on South Africa, through the imposition of economic sanction the independence of Namibia cannot be achieved.

17.4 PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN STATES

The African continent today consists of more than 50 independent states. The problems of newly independent states would be different and more complicated than those of the states that have been enjoying independence for a considerable period. the problems of the African states can be divided into two categories: (i) Internal Problems, and (ii) the Problem of African unity.

Internal Problems: Achieving formal independence will not automatically give new states the capacity to act effectively. The internal problems of African states include territorial, security, economic, linguistic and social problems. They can be detailed below:

African states do not have well defined borders. These borders are artificial which were determined by the former colonial powers. The absence of clearly demarcated borders created and is creating a number of border disputes. The territorial disputes between Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania; between Ghana and Togo; between Ethiopia and Somalia; between Ghana and Nigeria; between Zaire, Congo and the neighbouring states, between Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia are examples of such disputes. It is important to mention that the African states do realise that their boundaries are not clearly settled. But they are unprepared to part with some portions of their states to facilitate convenient demarcation. This attitude is resulting in the border dispute problems to persist and intensify.

There is no racial unity in Africa. In other words, the inhabitants belong to different races or tribes. In some states people belonging to different races are living and one race sometimes lives in different states. This racial diversity coupled with racial differences is posing a problem to internal security. Racial conflicts in states like Congo, Uganda, Chad, Morocco, Ethiopia and Somaliland have led to civil wars.

The Africans belong to different languages. A number of languages like Arabic, French, Portuguese, Spanish, English, Bantu, Kirundi, Sangho, Urdu and Afrikans are spoken in this continent. This linguistic diversity prevents mutual understanding and national integration.

The presence of different religions and practices has also become a problem to be solved by the new states.

Another important internal problem is the one connected with economic matters. The African leaders are intent upon the economic growth of their states. It is to be noted here that political independence needs to be safeguarded and completed by economic independence. The African states, exploited by the colonial rulers are not economically sound. Hence economic growth is one of the important aspects of development in this continent. These states do not have adequate capital, technology and appliances that are necessary for economic growth. Hence they find themselves dependent upon outside help. In fact they had received aid from former colonial powers in the form of financial gifts and loans, the training abroad of professional and technical persons of many kinds and such others. Besides official governmental help, they are also seeking investments by foreign private enterprises. These countries are also seeking investments by foreign private enterprises. These countries are also getting financial help from World Bank. Such circumstances have given way for the establishment of neo-colonialism in this continent.

The African states are also concerned with the social progress. They had to achieve modernisation and educational development.

17.5 PROBLEM OF AFRICAN UNITY

Apart from the problems of national unity i.e., the problem of making the newly independent states survive effectively, the African states have also the problem of uniting themselves into some form of a collective entity. This is usually called the problem of African Unity. One major factor acting against African unity is the main division of Africa into what can be called as Arab Africa and African Africa. Many of the Northern African states are deeply influenced by Arab and Muslim cultures. Their populations have a strong Arab element in them. The states south of Sahara desert and south of the equator are populated almost entirely by black African peoples who are not much influenced by Arab religion and culture. In terms of civilization and modernization the African states which are Arab in orientation are more advanced than the states south of them. This factor, to some degree qualifies the lack of unity among the African states.

It should be mentioned that all the nations in the world existing in different regions want to come closer regionally. This desire for regional unity or regional solidarity rises because countries in an area feel more secured when they could form into regional groups. This would be useful both for economic development and for security in defence matters and other considerations. In the case of the African countries, the urge for African unity has been very conspicuous, because the African states had suffered under colonialism and exploitation, were very weak economically and were also subject to the fear that the former colonial countries may continue to exploit them in one form or another. Further, the desire for unity was also based on the need to protect themselves from the pressures that the great powers of the world, particularly the superpowers may bring in the context of world politics.

But there are problems facing this desire for African unity. After all, Africa is a very big continent consisting of over 30 states and there are bound to be problems in achieving the unification of such a vast continent. As already mentioned, there are racial, tribal religious and

language differences among the states. In addition to this there are disputes among the African states.

Yet unity in the sense of a common identity of feeling based on broad economic and cultural considerations, is a thing that is possible at the minimum level. The need to create broad common understanding in economic matters and also in evolving wide agreement over issues of world politics is also a minimum necessity. More importantly, the very fact that there are various types of quarrels among the African states creates the need for a certain sense of unity or atleast a regional organisation to promote cordial relation among the African states.

As African states began to emerge as independent countries there were many proposals for African unity. These proposals were voiced by many important African leaders who led their countries to freedom from colonial rule. For example, Ghana was the first African state to become independent in post war times under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. As more African states emerged into independence Nkrumah proposed a type of a federal union of the African states. But leaders of some other states differed with this proposal. To them a federal union, which involved the countries giving up their independent status was unacceptable. They proposed a looser type of unification by the formation of regional organisation of African states. This difference of opinion shows the difficulties that the very idea of African unity had to face.

In the sixties there were two types of African states' organisations, one was known as the Casablanca group, which was formed in Casablanca, Morocco. This consisted of some of the former French colonies. This group was critical of the proposal for a federal type of unity as proposed by Nkrumah. The second group was called the Monrovia group because it was formed in the capital city of the country of Liberia. This consisted of about 20 states. Similarly there was another group of African states consisting mostly of the former French colonies. This group was known as the Brazaville group as it was formed in the Congo (Brazaville).

This group formed a looser organisation of African states to promote unity among independent African states. In East Africa also there were attempts in forming associations among the newly independent African states. The formation of so many organisations among African states serves to illustrate the difference of opinion among the African states on the issue of how to attain unity and the best form of organisation to secure that unity.

Finally, in 1963 an organisation called the Organisation of African Unity was established after extensive discussions at a conference held in Addis Abbaba, the capital of Ethiopia. This was a loose type of International organisation confined to the African states. The objectives of this organisation are: fighting for political freedom, economic development and promoting co-operation among the African states. The OAU has three main organs. They are (1) the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments (2) Council of Ministers meets more frequently. This body also deals with problems concerning the African states and meets during emergencies like the wars between African states, demanding freedom for areas of Africa which are still under colonialism, etc. The Secretariat is a permanent body consisting of civil servants who are engaged in implementing the decisions of the other two bodies. The secretariat also undertakes the preparation of various types of schemes and plans for promoting political, economic and cultural co-operation among the African states.

The OAU has been functioning effectively since its establishment. It not only promotes co-operation and through co-operation unity, among the African states. In this regard its record is quite satisfactory. For example, it successfully mediated in the quarrels between Algeria and Morocco; Somalia and Kenya.

The OAU was successful in ending the quarrel between Libya and Chad. Libya invaded Chad exploiting the opportunity of internal fighting in Chad between its Northern and Southern peoples. The OAU pressed Libya to leave Chad and also introduced a small multinational force in Chad to prevent further fights between the Southern and Northern peoples in that country. However, this was only a limited success to the OAU as Libya still continues to control a small portion in Northern Chad.

The OAU was not successful in preventing the quarrel between Morocco and Mauritania over territorial claims. There, in an area called Western Sahara, a revolutionary movement began by the local people against the attempts by both Morocco and Mauritania to control that area. Many members of the OAU recognised the government established by the revolutionary movement but other states have opposed this. Now in Western Sahara this revolutionary government is continuing. The OAU has also failed to reconcile the long standing quarrel between Somalia and Ethiopia. A war is going on between these two countries for more than ten years. The superpowers are involved in this war indirectly with the Soviet Union supporting Ethiopia and the US supporting Somalia. This is an instance of how superpowers get involved in local quarrels and prevent the reconciliation of such quarrels.

But the OAU cannot be judged only on the basis of its failures. It is atleast serving as an all-African organisation to discuss the problems of African states and to help in maintaining unity among them to some extent.

In addition to the OAU there are some subregional organisations. It is not necessary for our purpose to name all of them. Their purpose is to encourage subregional economic co-operation in different ways. In this connection, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is important. This is regional organisation for economic cooperation consisting of nine member states of Southern Africa (excepting South Africa) was established in 1980. A similar regional organisation exists among some of the West African states. This is known as the Economic Community of West African States and was established in 1975 with 16 West African states as members. The previously existing regional organisations (Casablanca group, Monrovia group, etc) have ceased to exist now.

In addition to the above, some of the North African states which could also be considered as Arab states (like Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) are also members of the Organisation of Arab States. However, the most important regional organisation in Africa is the OAU.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What are the early efforts for African Unity.

17.6 SOUTH AFRICA - A UNIQUE CASE OF CONTINUING 'COLONIALISM'

The most important problem that faces Africa now is the problem of South Africa. Though South Africa (the southern most country in the African continent) is one of the earliest to become independent, yet from the point of view of democracy and human freedom this country remains

dominated by the white people, who are refusing to share power with the majority of African people there.

South Africa has a population of nearly 30 million with only 4.6 million whites. The black African constitutes more than 21 million and the remaining being the so called coloured population (mainly of Indian origin). Since its establishment as an independent state, power is held by the white people alone. Not only are the Africans denied voting rights, they have also been subjected to the cruelest type of racial discrimination. Since the end of the II World War a party called the Nationalist Party consisting entirely of white people has come into power and imposed the policy of apartheid or racial discrimination. Literally apartheid means separate development but this policy is intended for the development of white people. Under this policy blacks and coloured people are prohibited from living in the same areas where whites live, are banned from marrying white people and even from socially mixing with white people. The Nationalist Party is the party of the Boer people who are whites and the descendants of the white settlers who came to Southern Africa from Europe (the Netherland and France) about three hundred years ago. They are no doubt entitled to regard themselves as native Africans but the point is that these whites are not entitled to deny equality to the black Africans who after all are the real natives.

The decolonisation of Africa has naturally inspired the native Africans to demand voting rights and other civil liberties. Yet the white minority government has been completely ignoring these demands.

Since the creation of the United Nations, countries like India have raised the problem of the treatment of the native people in South Africa in the U.N. Later many other African states have also joined in taking up the South African issue in the U.N. The UN during the last forty years has demanded that the South African government should give democratic right to the vast majority of native Africans. The white minority government in South Africa even today ignores the resolution of the UN and world public opinion.

As the white minority government remained totally adamant to the demand for democratic rights of the Africans, the black African nationalists have no option but to start an armed struggle for their independence obviously, the awakening of Africa and the rise of independent African states throughout Africa inspires the black African nationalist movement in South Africa. This movement is led by the African National Congress.

The African National Congress was in existence since 1911. It was founded on the lines of the African Indian National Congress which was found by Mahatma Gandhiji was working in South Africa and fighting against racial discrimination there. For many decades the African National Congress had followed the policy of non-violent struggle against the South African government. But the South African government rejected almost all the demands for better treatment to the native Africans. In fact, the South African government resorted to various types of repressive measures against the African nationalists. For example, on the pretext of suppressing communalism (which itself is undemocratic in a democracy) the South African government imprisoned many of the nationalists. As protest against these repressive measures increased since the last two decades, these protests have been ruthlessly suppressed by frequent police firings, mass imprisonments and frequent tortures of nationalist leaders. Many eminent leaders of the ANC have been put in jails for years together, the worst case is that of Nelson Mandela, a highly educated black African leader who tried his best to lead the nationalist agitation against racial discrimination through non-violent means. He has been put in jail and sentenced to imprisonment for over 15 years now. The repression in South Africa is indescribable.

The UN's role towards South Africa should be mentioned. Even from the time of the birth of the UN, that world organisation has been passing resolutions condemning the policy of racial segregation. But South Africa completely ignored these resolutions. As African states became members of the UN, the UN concern for the majority of the black Africans also increased. Many attempts to impose sanctions against South Africa were made in the UN. One such important attempt was made in 1963 when the UN recommended that other countries should not sell weapons to South Africa as South Africa is using these weapons to crush the nationalist movement and increase its military might. While most of the member countries of UN implemented this new resolution some of the Western powers have disregarded this resolution. They are continuing to supply South Africa with arms on the plea that South African defence requires arms supplies from Western countries. But it is very well known that the white minority government in South Africa is using these weapons to entrench itself in power. As South Africa is using these weapons to entrench itself in power. As South Africa continued to defy the UN, the UN passed a resolution in 1977 recommending the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. This means that the countries of the world should stop trading with South Africa. Economic sanctions are one of the methods by which the UN attempts to punish a state that violates the principles of the UN. However, here again many Western countries have ignored the recommendation of the UN. These Western countries have very intense economic contacts with South Africa. They have heavy financial investments in South African banking. Equally important is the fact that the Western nations export their goods to South Africa on a very large scale. Particularly Western weapon manufacturers derive huge profits from sale of arms and weapons to South Africa. This is one of the most important reasons why many Western nations are opposed to imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. There is also the racial factor in the Western nations' reluctance to compel South Africa to give democratic rights to the native Africans. Of course, theoretically the Western nations subscribe to democracy and racial equality, but in practice they seem to sympathise with the fate of the minority white regime of South Africa. They know that if South Africans are given the right to vote along with the whites soon the African will come to power in South Africa and the whites will lose all power.

The Western nations particularly the US, also fears that the Soviet Union will gain influence, if South Africa were to become a state ruled by black majority. The present South African white minority government is providing naval bases to the US. Thus the security reason is an important factor in the US being not very serious in compelling the white minority government of South Africa to change its racialist and oppressive policies.

As already stated theoretically Western nations are opposed to the policies of South Africa. They are agreeable to imposing partial economic sanctions. Their stand is that the white minority government could be persuaded through diplomatic pressure to change its policies. But the imposition of total economic sanctions would be improper.

South Africa is also violating the UN's demand that it must vacate from Namibia and grant it independence. A few years ago South Africa agreed to do so but it now appears that South Africa has no intention of doing so. It is not even permitting the UN Council on Namibia to visit Namibia.

South Africa says that it is relaxing its policy of racial segregation. But this is nothing but deceiving the world. For instance, it has created so called 'homelands' for blacks in areas which are purely black in population and gave them 'independent' status. But in reality these homelands are totally under the control of South Africa and are used as convenient sources for supplying black labour for South African industries. Thus in reality south Africa is doing its best

to deceive the world in its claim of relaxing racial segregation. In fact all its attempts are part of its policy of defying the UN and the world public opinion.

Recently, the Commonwealth of Nations sent a group of eminent persons to persuade the South African government to change its policies. They urged the South African government to lift the ban on the African National Congress and to release its famous leader Nelson Mandela. South Africa demanded that the ANC should give up its violent methods of agitation. The Commonwealth team urged South Africa atleast to release Nelson Mandela immediately. The white regime in South Africa is not even prepared to do so. The Commonwealth countries are now very bitter and angry at the attitude of the white minority government. Thus the South African government seems determined to continue its inhuman and repressive policies.

The African states surrounding South Africa are also being attacked by South Africa. For the last 10 years the neighbouring states like Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, have tried to enter into friendly relations with South Africa with a view to gradually facilitate a change in South African policies. These neighbouring countries (also called the frontline states as they are in the front of South Africa) have a problem. Some of them depend on South Africa economically. Their trade is linked with South Africa. This is one of the reasons why the frontline states cannot afford to become actively hostile towards South Africa. Even though other African states are prepared to oppose South Africa even militarily with a view to help their African brethren in South Africa, the frontline states are not in a position to do so.

Of course many of the African states are supporting the struggle of the ANC with money and arms. The South African government is using this reason for attacking militarily the neighbouring African states, i.e., the frontline states. Thus in addition to brutally suppressing the black nationalist struggle within South Africa, the government is also resorting to military aggression against the neighbouring states.

This is the present position in South Africa. Apart from the immoral nature of the South African white minority government the peace and security of Southern Africa is threatened by the white minority regime. The people of Africa, who suffered a lot for centuries under humiliating colonial rule, regard the South African situation as totally unacceptable. But they alone cannot change the situation. Militarily, South Africa is strong enough not only to crush internal struggle but even to withstand military action by other African states. Unless wide international action is taken against South Africa, the situation cannot be changed. It has been seen how the UN's action are compromised and foiled by the policies of the major Western powers like the USA, Britain and West Germany who are not willing even to impose strict economic sanctions. Meanwhile it is feared that the struggle of the native majority will intensify and the white minority regime will make all attempts to crush the struggle. How to prevent the blood-bath in South Africa is the major problem facing the world.

Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao &
Dr. B. Manikymba.

17.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

- 1) Briefly examine the causes for the development of nationalism in Africa ?
- 2) Examine the major factors that stand in the way of African unity ?

3) Discuss the nature of the South African white minority rule. What efforts have been made in recent times to end its unmoral rule ?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1) What were the problems that Congo faced in its struggle for independence ?

2) Evaluate the role of OAU in achieving African unity ?

3) Identify the common problems faced by the newly emergent African states.

BRAOU

UNIT - 18 : THE VIETNAM PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Contents:

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 A brief historical background
- 18.3 Vietnam - A stage for Cold War
- 18.4 Civil War in Vietnam and the U.S. intervention
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- 18.6 Vietnam since reunification
- 18.7 Conclusion
- 18.8 Model questions.

18.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- historical background of Vietnam Problem
- Cold War in Vietnam and U.S. intervention
- Conditions after reunification of Vietnam

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Vietnam, Officially known today as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is located on the South East Asian peninsula. It is bounded on the north by China, on the west by Laos and Cambodia and on the east and south by the South China Sea. Like many South Asian countries, Vietnam is a land of diversity. While a large number of people are Vietnamese other ethnic groups like Montagnards, Chinese, Chams and Cambodians live in this land. Different languages- Vietnamese, French, Chinese, English, Khemer and many tribal languages are spoken here. Buddhism, Catholicism, Taoism, Animism and Confucianism are the principal religions followed by the people in this country. Most of the people follow Buddhism.

18.2 A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Vietnam had been an independent Kingdom for over one thousand years from about the first century A.D. It was constantly facing Chinese aggression and fighting against being absorbed by China. In the late 19th century it was conquered by the French and came under the control of France. The French did not bring the whole of Vietnam under full French control. North Vietnam was made a French protectorate with the Vietnamese emperor retaining a modicum of authority. South Vietnam was made a French colony. During the second world war, Japan occupied almost the whole of South East Asia and the whole of Vietnam came under Japanese occupation. But Japan allowed the French administrators to continue to govern. During the Japanese occupation of Vietnam, Vietnamese nationalism asserted itself very much both in the northern and southern parts of Vietnam. The nationalists were both radical and moderate. The radical nationalists were under the Vietnamese Communist party with its leader Ho Chi Minh

(meaning one who enlightens). The non-communist nationalist movement was also active during this period. The nationalists, both communist and non-communist were opposed to the Japanese occupation and the French rule in Vietnam. But they could not succeed in driving away the Japanese. At the end of the Second World War Japan surrendered to the American and British forces. The nationalists who vehemently opposed the French rule in Vietnam began to gain ground and especially the communist nationalists could secure enough influence in the northern parts of Vietnam. On September 1945, Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party proclaimed Vietnam, a democratic republic. In December 1946, he called on the Vietnamese people to overthrow the French. Under inevitable circumstances, the French government entered into an agreement concluded on March 6, 1946. France recognised the government of Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam as a 'Free State'. France had also accepted to conduct elections in South Vietnam for the reunification of the northern and southern parts of the country. As a part of the agreement it was decided that the French troops would stay in Vietnam for a period of five years from 1946. But in practice, the French government began to exercise its authority both in the northern and southern parts of the country. This revival of French imperialism even after the Second World War led to the outbreak of a civil war in Vietnam. The French set out to crush the forces of Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh had appealed to the President Truman of United States for help but with no result. The French army began its operations to reconquer Vietnam. The civil war in Vietnam took the simple of guerilla warfare between the very powerful French colonial power and the relatively less powerful Viet Minh (a front of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party) guerillas and the other Vietnamese sympathisers. As already stated, the French colonialism was opposed not only by the communist nationalists but also by the other nationalist parties and groups. But the communist nationalists relatively took more active and important role in the war against the French in Vietnam. In the civil war, the Vietnamese communists received some support from the Chinese communists who, by the late 40s were practically in control of China.

18.3 VIETNAM - A STAGE FOR COLD WAR.

The Civil War in Vietnam got entangled in the Cold War context which dominated world politics immediately after Second World War. The Western powers like the United States and Britain looked at the nationalist struggle against France in Vietnam as an instance of communism asserting itself. Hence they began to lend support to the continuation of French colonialism in Vietnam. Thus, because of the Cold War between the Eastern and Western powers, Vietnamese nationalism was identified by the Western powers with communism. In 1950, the United States announced that it will help France in Indo-China. In fact US economic mission arrived in May 1950 in Saigon. The US in August 1950, had sent an American Military Assistance Advisory group of 35 to Vietnam to assist the French in Vietnam. In December 1950, the United States signed mutual defence assistance agreement with France and associated states of Indo-China which include Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for indirect military aid against Viet Minh.

The Civil War in Vietnam went on with increased intensity till 1953 when in a dramatic and miraculous manner, the French armies were defeated by the communist nationalist guerilla forces in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The victory of the Vietnamese nationalists against the armies of a very powerful country like France shows the strength and support of the nationalist feeling in Vietnam. France was left with no option but to leave its colonies in South East Asia. But the United States advised France to stay on and fight the communists. America was even prepared to enter the war directly in Vietnam to fight communism. But by this time the world public opinion and also the public opinion in France realised that the forces of nationalism in Vietnam should be freed. It should also be mentioned that a socialist government

was in power in France realised that the forces of nationalism in Vietnam should be freed. It should also be mentioned that a socialist government was in power in France at that time and it was ready to face realities and withdraw from South East Asia. Other Western countries like Britain also supported the stand taken by France. The United States, France, Britain and the USSR agreed to convene a conference in Geneva to seek resolution of the war in Vietnam. The conference began in April 1954 and an agreement known as the Geneva agreement was signed in July 1954.

According to this agreement, as a temporary measure, Vietnam was divided along the 17th parallel (i.e. 17th north latitude). Northern part of Vietnam was to become a state with communist regime under Ho Chi Minh (the Democratic Republic of Vietnam). The Southern part was placed under the control of the state of Vietnam. The agreement includes an option for all Vietnamese to select the zone in which they wish to live. It was decided that all the foreign forces except the French troops should be removed from the South. The agreement also stipulated that North Vietnam was to be reunited with South Vietnam in July 1956 and that a general election under the UN supervision was to be held then to determine the future government of Vietnam.

The division of Vietnam into the communist state of North Vietnam and the state of Vietnam continued from 1954-1975. The elections scheduled to be held in 1956 to unify Vietnam did not take place. The South Vietnamese government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem began to receive continuous aid in the form of military advisers and equipment from the United States. On the other hand the North Vietnamese government was aided by the Soviet Union and China. Apart from this during this period, the communists in South Vietnam grew in power. The North Vietnamese government inspired the communists in the South to oppose the South Vietnamese government. Over a period of time, North Vietnamese communist guerillas infiltrated into the South strengthening the anti-governmental forces in South Vietnam. The radical elements in South Vietnam also began to press for economic reforms which the South Vietnamese government was not able to respond adequately.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

For what purpose Geneva Agreement was signed.

18.4 CIVIL WAR IN VIETNAM AND THE US INTERVENTION

All the above mentioned facts resulted in tense situations of civil war. Both the governments of South Vietnam and North Vietnam accrued each other of Aggression. The South Vietnamese government tried to resist the communists in South. But both because of the successive South Vietnamese governments to tackle the economic and social problems in the country and because of the North Vietnamese communist government's support, the communists in South Vietnam gained very great influence in the South. A situation very similar to what prevailed in the whole of Vietnam in the late 40s emerged in south Vietnam by the late 60s. By this the South Vietnamese governments became so unpopular that even the American government that supported them had to compel changes in the government of South Vietnam. The American government's policy was more concerned with fighting communism rather than helping the

establishment of a popularly acceptable regime in South Vietnam. It is because of this American government's policy, South Vietnamese governments became practically military governments led by one general or the other. In 1963 November, a military coup overthrew the South Vietnamese President Diem. Diem and Nhu, head of South Vietnamese National Police and Special Forces were assassinated and a military junta headed by Duong Van Minh took control of Government. In 1964 the military junta was overthrown by general Ngu Yen Khanh who declared himself as premier.

The civil war in South Vietnam escalated to such proportions that the Americans themselves began to fight against the communist guerillas in support of the South Vietnamese army. In the early 60s America had sent to South Vietnam both military advisers and personnel. America tremendously increased its aid to Vietnam in a short period starting from 1960. In December 1960, the US military personnel in South Vietnam numbered only 900. But by December 1962 the figure reached 11,300. By 1965 November the US troops in Vietnam numbered 1,48,300. By 1968 there were more than 7,50,000 American officers and soldiers fighting in Vietnam.

It is clear that the very fact that a communist government was installed in North Vietnam was regarded as an unacceptable reality by the United States. Afraid or obsessed as it was about the prospects of communist expansionism in South East Asia, the Americans started backing South Vietnam. The United States believed that if South East Asia would become communist. They attributed the success of the communist civil war in North Vietnam, and the beginning of the communist movement in South Vietnam to the instigation of communist revolution to other countries in Asia is well known. It is because of this fear that America thought that a cold war situation had arisen in South East Asia also. To contain communist China, the United States and other Western powers established the military alliance called the South East Asiatic Treaty Organisation in 1954. The United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and Philippines signed the Treaty on 8th September 1954 as a result of which the alliance came to be formed. The main emphasis has been on military and anticommunist co-operation. Thus from 1955, the cold war between the Western powers and their local allies came to be formalised.

It is of course fine that the civil war in South Vietnam was actively aided and supported by North Vietnam. This, in one sense, is an instance of outside communist support for internal rebels in South Vietnam. Technically, this is also in violation of international law. But there are other factors that should be taken into consideration in appreciating the Vietnam problem. Firstly, the growth of communist insurrection in South Vietnam had been indigenous though aided by the communist regime of the North. Secondly, since the establishment of South Vietnam, there has been a gradual shift of support for the communist insurrectionists from groups which were supporting the official South Vietnamese government. As military government after military government ruled South Vietnam the extent of the civilian support declined and correspondingly the support for the communist revolution increased. The way in which America extended indiscriminate support to the South Vietnamese government itself exposed the weakness of the American case. Legally it was true that the United States was invited by the South Vietnamese government to send the troops of the United States to fight the communist rebels. But the very fact that the Americans practically were installing the government in South Vietnam proves that American intervention was almost unilateral and that the pretext of being officially invited by the government of Vietnam is only a technical pretext. Thirdly, for the United States, a country thousands of miles away from Vietnam, to get itself involved in the civil war in Vietnam makes the United States case very weak. The United States had misjudged the strength of the antigovernment feeling in South Vietnam and also the growing popularity of the rebels.

In contrast, the role of North Vietnam is different. It was true that the communist government in North Vietnam actively aided the communist rebels in the South. This aid was in the form

not only of weapons but also of men. Through the mountains and forests routes of the borders between North Vietnam and South Vietnam, North Vietnamese men and material infiltrated into South Vietnam in support of the communist guerillas of the South. This was one of the main contributing factor for the ultimate success of the communists in the South. Legally North Vietnam's support for the rebels in the south is highly questionable. Though North Vietnam often denied that its forces were helping the communists in the South, there was no doubt that North Vietnam was actively involved in the civil war in South. The involvement of North Vietnam could not but happen from the practical point of view. The people of North and South Vietnams belong to the same nation and were artificially separated in 1954. Further, since 1954, the South Vietnamese refused to agree for the holding of elections in the whole of Vietnam under the supervision of the United Nations as was stipulated in the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam signed in 1954. Therefore North Vietnam's intervention in South Vietnam could not be equated with the American intervention in South Vietnam.

The civil war took place very intensely for nearly a decade. Guerilla attacks and terrorism began in South Vietnam in 1957. In February 1964 the Viet-Cong Communists killed hundreds of South Vietnamese army personnel. In July 1964 the South Vietnamese naval commandos raided two North Vietnamese islands in the gulf of Tonkiu. In November 1964 the Viet Cong carried out mortar attack on Bien Hoa air base. In December 1964 President Johnson of the United States approved plan for air attacks on North Vietnam and in fact, air attacks were operated. According to official sources the South Vietnamese military killed in action numbered 183, 528. About a million South Vietnamese civilian were either killed or wounded. North Vietnamese military killed in action numbered 924, 048. North Vietnamese civilian casualites from 1965-68 were estimated as 1000 per week. 55, 231 Americans and 5,225 persons of the allied countries (Australia, Korea, New Zealand and Thailand) were killed in the War.

In spite of huge American aid to South Vietnamese government, it could not win the communists. It should be known here that the South Vietnamese army and its leadership were highly demoralised and were highly corrupt. In contrast, the communist guerillas were inspired by a very powerful ideology - a combination of intense nationalism and communism. Even the intensification of American military involvement could not at any time reverse the trend of the communists gaining influence among the civilian population and consolidating their position in many areas in South Vietnam. The American government resorted to even unacceptable methods of warfare. Not only heavy bombing of villages and towns under the control of the communists was done by the United States but also chemical weapons like defoliants to destroy the forests in South Vietnam was resorted to. The United States also bombed the North Vietnam was even Equal and the American Congress itself passed resolution prohibiting the President to bomb a foreign country like Vietnam without express Congressional approval. It was during President Johnson's time (1963-68) that the American involvement became more critical. By this time the American public opinion began to actively oppose America's intervention in Vietnam. In 1965 there were mass demonstrations against the war. In the same year two Americans burnt themselves to death in protest against the war. A large protest march in Washington also took place. In 1967 about 1,00,000 people demonstrated against war in New York and San Fransisco. The American public opinion was very much concerned with the moral issue of Vietnam. The American public opinion was also critical of the government's policy of containing, communism at any cost. It is very important to note that the American government did not set aside the wishes of the public and began to follow a policy of gradual reduction of American strength in Vietnam and accepting for peace talks. In 1970 President Nixon declared the end of Vietnam War as a major goal of the US policy. Nixon also felt that it would be futile to fight a losing battle in Vietnam. He proposed negotiations with the communist revolutionaries and the government of North. These negotiations started in 1969. President Nixon

appointed Lodge as chief of the United States negotiation for the talks to be held at Paris. But even while the negotiations were taking place, President Nixon continued the war. For instance, in May 1970 the United States' planes bombed North Vietnamese supply dumps and other targets. In fact during 1969-71 the Americans resorted to heavy bombing and destruction of the countryside of South Vietnam in a very brutal manner. The American excuse was that as the communists were fighting a guerilla war operating from forest hideouts and getting support from North Vietnam, it was necessary to bomb the countryside indiscriminately. The indiscriminate bombing of South Vietnam by the Americans had done irreparable damage to that country and the world public opinion was very critical of the American policy. The public opinion within the United States was even more critical. An estimated 60,000 to 1,00,000 public demonstrated in Washington DC against war. The realisation of the impossibility of winning the war on the one hand and the intensity of public opinion against the war in the United States and outside compelled the American government to finally come to an agreement with the communists. As a result of the long drawn out Paris negotiations from 1969-1972 an agreement was reached in January 1973. The agreement provided for:

- 1) A ceasefire throughout Vietnam beginning on January 27th, 1973.
- 2) complete withdrawal of all US troops and military advisers and the dismantling of all US military bases in South Vietnam within 60 days.
- 3) negotiations between the Saigon Government and the Viet Cong to settle the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel detained in South Vietnam by both sides.
- 4) creation of an International Control Commission to supervise the ceasefire and help other provisions.
- 5) consultations between the South Vietnamese government and the Viet Cong on general elections.

The important points to be noted about the above agreement are that the United States at last admitted the failure of its policy in Vietnam and agreed to withdraw from Vietnam. North Vietnam agreed not to annex South Vietnam but was satisfied with the establishment of a popular government in the South which was of course dominated by the communists. Thus ended the Vietnam War. In 1975 North Vietnam merged South Vietnam into itself. Thus the unification of the North and South Vietnams was achieved primarily by North Vietnam's policy of annexing South Vietnam rather than through elections under the United Nation's supervision as was originally envisaged. The world, however, took it for granted that the installation of a communist regime in the whole of Vietnam was inevitable. Therefore, the North Vietnamese actions in 1975 was not seriously questioned.

18.5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VIETNAM

The first major significance of Vietnam is that in this country the communist revolution through guerilla warfare met with phenomenal success. The communist revolutionaries were fighting against a superior American army, air force and the navy. The communists got direct support from North Vietnam and indirect support from China and the Soviet Union. Still, their strength in number was very inferior to the combined forces of the South Vietnamese army and the American army. The communist victory signifies the efficacy of guerilla warfare against superior conventional arms. The communist victory, even more importantly was due to the discipline, dedication and the ideological commitment of the Vietnamese revolutionaries. It is

this fact that made the entire world regard the Vietnamese problem as an instance of the heroism of the Vietnamese. The metaphor of the little Vietnamese heroes standing against the giant American army, withstanding untold sufferings and misery came to be accepted as the reality. That is why the word Vietnam now has become a byword for the heroic struggles of a small nation relatively powerless against a superpower like America. In the war, about 5 million people of Vietnam were rendered homeless. The refugee problems created the burdens of human waste, poverty, unemployment, pollution and inefficiency. Vietnam emerged as a result of immeasurable price in human life, social disruption and physical devastation.

Vietnam also signifies the failure of a policy of seeking to contain communism by military intervention. Though belatedly, the United States itself not only recognised this but also gave up its earlier stand that communist countries like China are bent on converting other parts of Asia into communism. There are important reasons for the change in the attitude of the American government. The Sino-Soviet quarrel increased precisely during the Vietnam war (i.e. in the 60s) and this partly convinced the Americans that China, and for that matter even the Soviet Union would not be concentrating on exporting revolutions to other countries. The very brave manner in which the Vietnamese revolutionaries (with the support of the masses led the war), impressed on the Americans the point that the Vietnamese revolution is primarily indigenously inspired and not at the behest of the neighbouring powers like China. The Vietnam war was thus responsible in compelling the Americans to change their former attitude towards the nature of communist expansionism and to realise the dangers in trying to contain nationalist and radical revolutions through military intervention from outside.

The above point can also be illustrated by the fact that a few years after the end of the Vietnam war, the South Asiatic Treaty Organisation was formally wound up. This shows that the uselessness of military alliances to contain communism has been realised at last.

18.6 VIETNAM SINCE REUNIFICATION.

Vietnam, since its reunification in 1975 is engaged in internal reconstruction. It has been greatly destroyed by bombing and the task of reconstruction will take a long time. The unification of Vietnam under the leadership of North Vietnam has created some problems in the region. Some of the South East Asian powers are still fearful of the presence of a unified Vietnam under communist rule. Vietnam has not only a very large army but also an army with very recent experience of fighting a bloody and prolonged war successfully. It is this fact that has created fear in the neighbouring South East Asian states. Some of the states have even formed themselves into a regional economic co-operation organisation called the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Though the purpose of ASEAN is to promote economic co-operation, the need to get themselves closer even politically so that they could resist possible threats from Vietnam is also present. Relations between Vietnam and other South East Asian nations are still tense. Efforts are now being made to improve their relations but no substantial progress is achieved so far. Vietnam itself is showing restraint in its relations with the other nations in the region.

One surprising and very significant development is the hostility between Vietnam and China. Vietnam is a country where communist revolution gradually succeeded in establishing a communist state largely through the help from communist China. But now these two countries are hostile. This new situation arose in the context of Cambodia. In Cambodia, the highly radical Khmer rouge regime of Pol Pot ruled for many years in the 70s. This government had the support of the Chinese. The Khmer rouge government committed many atrocities over its own people in the name of revolutionary peasant oriented communism. Conflicts arose between this

government and the government of Vietnam because Vietnam intervened in Cambodia to dislodge the Pol Pot regime. Even now Vietnamese troops are in occupation of parts of Cambodia. This Vietnamese intervention angered China which in turn invaded Vietnam in 1979. The Chinese forces subsequently withdrew from the extreme northern parts of Vietnam. The relations between China and Vietnam are still very bitter.

The Sino Soviet quarrel has a bearing on Vietnam. Vietnam has been close to the Soviet Union and it has now come even closer to the Soviet Union and is now regarded as a close ally of the Soviet Union in its quarrel with China. These developments have created a balance of power in Asia. While South East Asia is still fearful of Vietnam, Vietnam itself now fears communist China. This acts as a restraining factor in Vietnam's behaviour towards its immediate South East Asian neighbour.

18.7 CONCLUSION

To sum up, the Vietnam war can be regarded as a disastrous experiment in American policy to contain communism through military intervention. It also points out to the mistaken identification of strong forces of nationalism with communism are not being able to distinguish between radical nationalist movements and movements emanating from outside. Vietnam also highlights the point that with strong will and commitment even people with inadequate military power could succeed in revolutionary efforts against a Super Power like the United States. In short, Vietnam exemplifies the twin concepts of the poverty of power and the power of nationalism and ideology.

**Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao &
Dr. B. Manikyamba.**

18.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain how Vietnam's independence was complicated by the Cold War politics.
2. Briefly describe the American involvement in Vietnam. What were its results?
3. What are the significant lessons that can be drawn from the war in Vietnam.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Write a short note on the Geneva agreement of 1954.
2. Vietnam war is a disastrous experiment in American policy to contain communism through military intervention. Comment.
3. Explain the reasons for hostility between China and Vietnam since the 70s.

UNIT - 19 : THE THREAT OF NEO-COLONIALISM - THIRD WORLD AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Contents:

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Neo-Colonialism
- 19.3 Economic Order of the developing countries
- 19.4 New International Economic Order
- 19.5 Conclusion
- 19.6 Model questions

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to explain

- Third World
- Neo-Colonialism
- New International Economic Order

19.1 INTRODUCTION

According to a Dictionary of Politics, Colonialism refers to the policies and methods by which an imperial power maintained and extended its control over other territories or peoples. Colonialism of this type is practically dead. The rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa, most parts of which were under the control of the European colonial powers until recently, the weakening of the colonial powers at the end of the Second World War and, to an extent, the opposition of liberal elements in the colonial countries themselves contributed to the demise of colonialism.

However, while the days of direct physical control of weaker nations are over, the desire to exercise indirect control over them and deny them equal opportunities in world politics and a just share in the wealth of the nations is very much there in some quarters. This indirect control exercised by the former colonial powers and the other industrially developed nations of Europe and north America through economic and developed nations of Europe and north America through economic and diplomatic methods is called as new-colonialism or neocolonialism.

19.2 NEO-COLONIALISM

The factors which are responsible for the new nations being subjected to neo-colonialist pressures are: 1) Most of the new nations or developing countries are small and weak. Of the 120 developing countries 62 have populations of less than a million and 32 less than 200,000. Most of them do not have broad-based elite participation in foreign policy and security decision making. The small elites that govern most of the developing countries can be coerced, bought off or toppled with comparative ease should the requirements of power politics so demand. Even the large developing countries are poor and militarily weak. They can be threatened by demonstrations of use of force by the great powers. According to the Brookings Institution, a

research organisation in the U.S., between 1945 and 1975, there were 215 occasions of demonstration of use of force without war by the U.S.A., and 195 by the Soviet Union. 2) Almost all the developing countries suffer from internal divisions based on caste, communal, linguistic and tribal lines. Quite a few developing countries also have territorial and other problems with their neighbouring developing countries. These divisions periodically lead to inter-state or intra-state violence which afford opportunities for the great power interventions. Of the 130 instances of major inter-state violence since World War II, nearly 120 have taken place in the developing world. In these, on nearly 2/3rds of the occasions there were either direct or indirect interventions by the great powers. 3) Almost all the developing countries depend upon export of these products, agricultural or mineral. Their economies depend upon export of these products exported by the developing countries, they get are either unremunerative or unstable. While the developing countries, they have a buyers' market i.e., prices are determined by the producers or markets in the developed countries. The industrialised countries want to ensure imports of primary products if necessary by military methods. It is to ensure such imports, particularly oil, that the United States has raised the Rapid Deployment Force. The R.D.F. is dedicated to the task of ensuring the flow of essential raw materials uninterrupted either by inter-state or intra-state violence.

We can conclude from the above discussion that the weakness of the developing countries is responsible for their subjection to neo-colonialist pressures. Political and military power of a state flows from its economic power. Therefore, a strong economic base is essential for a state. All the developing countries lack this. After their liberation from colonial bondage, almost all the countries have launched economic development plans. This is necessary because independence led, to what the famous Western political scientist Harold Lasswell described as, a "revolution of rising expectations" in the developing countries, i.e., people began expecting many things from their national governments. If the governments do not fulfil at least some of their national governments. If the governments do not fulfil at least some of their demands like meeting the basic needs of life, disillusionment would set in. This causes discontentment and leads to revolutions also. Besides that, economic hardships are likely to further increase internal divisions, of which a mention has already been made above, which are likely to provide opportunities for external interventions. Therefore, the developing countries, which are also collectively known as the Third World, have undertaken the difficult task of economic development of their countries. But they find the task tough because the existing international economic order works against their interests. Therefore, at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations' General Assembly in April 1974, the third world countries have demanded the scrapping of the existing international economic order and creating a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

In this context, it will be useful to mention the fact that though politically the system of colonialisation which was a particular feature of the old international system (we can call this the old international political order) practically equal in status to each other and thus a new international political order has come into being. Still this new international political order is functioning within the context of the continued presence the old international economic order. Under the latter, the economies of the newly emerged nations are still being controlled directly or indirectly by the industrialised states, particularly by the Western industrialised states. Now the new nations are asking for the establishment of a new international economic order where in they would not be so dependent on the industrialised nations and where equality in economic relations can be established in international economic relations.

But before we discuss the New International Economic Order, we should know how the existing economic order works against the interests of the developing countries.

19.3 ECONOMIC ORDER OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

While the population of the developing countries constitutes 3/4ths of the world population, they have only 1/4th of income, investment and wealth while 3/4ths is held by the prosperous 1/4th of the world population i.e., developed countries.

As has been mentioned earlier, almost all the third world countries export primary products, agricultural or mineral. The prices they get for their exports have been unstable. For example, by 1982 the real prices of non-oil primary products were some 40% below their 1974 peak and 25% below even their early 1960s levels. Such unstable export earnings would make planned development difficult.

The third world countries are considered uncreditworthy because their repayment capacity is limited in view of their poverty. But they need credits for their economic development. Between 1970-74, the poor nations with 70% of the world population, received less than 4% of the international reserves amounting to \$ 131 billion. This is because the rich nations control the international reserves though the expansion of their own national reserve currencies (US \$ and British £). They also exercise decisive control over the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The voting strength of the third world in these bodies is only 1/3 of the total.

Most of the third world countries do not have any technological base or commercial infrastructure. Therefore, they cannot process or market their primary products efficiently. This is responsible for the huge losses of income suffered by the developing countries. The enormity of the losses can be realised by these figures: the final consumers pay \$ 200 billion, excluding taxes, for the major primary exports, excluding oil, of the developing countries. But the developing countries receive only \$ 30 billion for their products. If only they could exercise control over processing and distribution, they would get an additional \$ 150 billion. This amount is now earned by the developed countries because it is the developed countries that process and market the third world products.

The developing countries want more trade with the developed world to earn more foreign exchange. They, therefore, want free access to the markets of the rich nations. But the rich nations adopt protectionist measures which affect the demand for the third world products. For instance, the rich nations give \$ 20 billion as subsidies to their agriculture which make their agricultural products cheaper in comparison with the third world products. Progressively, they have been increasing tariffs and quota restrictions against the simple consumer goods exported by the developing countries, like textiles and leather goods.

Poverty can be removed only by creating more employment opportunities; this calls for the industrialisation of the third world countries since their agricultural sector is already overcrowded. It has already been mentioned that almost all the developing countries, excluding the oil-exporting countries, are poor. Therefore, their capacity for saving and investment is limited. Most of them even lack any technological base. These reasons prompt them to invite multinational corporations, i.e., giant industrial corporations belonging to the rich nations which operational corporations (MNCs) extract unjust concessions from the poor countries. Mauritania, for example, gets only 15% of the profits that the MNCs make from extracting and exporting iron deposits in the country. And in the case of Liberia, the foreign investors export about 1/4th of the total GNP of the country in terms of their profit remittances.

19.4 NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Ever since the Second World War, when the third world nations began to emerge into independence, they have been asking that opportunity be given to them to develop economically and strengthen their position. To start with they were asking for economic and technical aid from the more advanced nations. This was essentially bilateral in nature, that is, aid was given by one country to another. In this situation, problems arose about the aid-giving country directly or indirectly influencing the aid-receiving country. So this proved to be not a very satisfactory arrangement. Later, the poorer countries were asking for aid from international bodies or from multinational sources. International bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which were established along with the United Nations were giving some aid to the poorer countries. The next stage was when the poorer countries wanted that it is not so much aid as charity that they wanted but that type of aid which would help them to be self-sufficient in the long run. For example, the poorer countries wanted that the rich countries should permit the entry of goods from the poorer countries in more quantities and should pay them better prices. By this they wanted to better their terms of trade, and so avoid unfavourable balance of payments in their international trade. These demands or requests figured mainly in two types of international negotiations: (1) the negotiation over General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) and (2) the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). From the above, it can be seen that there has been a change in the manner in which the poorer countries were asking for economic and technical aid from the richer countries. But finally when the development programmes of the Third World were not very fruitful, a more comprehensive demand emerged for changing the expanding structure of economic relations in the world. This is what is known as the demand for New International Economic Order. As we will see later, the demand for NIEO is not a single demand nor a new demand. In effect, it combined the types of requests and demands already made and, of course, consists of a few more important things.

The very important factor that contributed to the demand for NIEO is the increase in the number of the third world states. As discussed earlier, after the 1960s, and particularly in the early 70s, most of the former colonies became independent i.e. the third world rose in strength. Their membership in the United Nations increased and they became a single major block in the UN. This situation gave more confidence to the third world to make a combined effort to ask for a change in the world economic relationship. That is how the demand for NIEO came into existence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the developing countries ask for the creation of a new international economic order. Although the demand for NIEO was made at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly in April 1, 1974, it was only at the Seventh Special Session in September '75 that the details of the new order were spelt out.

They were: 1) In view of the unremunerative and unstable nature of the prices that the third world gets for its products, the most important demand under the NIEO was the creation of adequate international financing facilities to buy and maintain buffer stocks (stocks to be used when necessary) of the primary products to secure stable, remunerative and equitable prices for these products. The poor countries also asked for substantially improved facilities for compensatory financing of revenue fluctuations. In the subsequent rounds of discussions between the rich and poor nations, it was estimated that an amount of \$ 4 billion would be required to maintain buffer stocks and to help the poor countries in establishing their own processing and marketing facilities. But the rich nations were not prepared to commit themselves to such amounts. At a later stages an agreement was arrived at which scaled down the amount of the fund for buffer stocks etc., to \$ 750 million. The agreement is being given effect to. (2) Reduction or removal of tariff and quota barriers against the entry of the third world products into the markets of the

developed countries. This demand was voiced in other forums Like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Since self-interest comes first in all human activity, the rich nations were not prepared to satisfy fully the poor nations. (3) Concessional financial assistance, i.e., at low rates of interest with longer grace and repayment periods, should be increased substantially and its flow made predictable and continuous. The developed countries should give 0.7% of their Gross National Product as aid to the poor countries; and this target should be reached by 1980. In view of their own problems the rich nations were not in a position to reach this target. Even by 1985 the total aid given by the rich nations to the poor countries comes to 0.35% of their GNP. At the recent UNCTAD, the developed nations, including the socialist bloc, expressed their opposition to any targets being set for aid to the third world. (4) A substantial increase in the capital of the World Bank group and International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the World Bank which lends money to the developing countries, on soft terms. The UNCTAD should consider the need for and possibility of convening a conference to devise ways and means of mitigating the debt burden of the third world. Since bilateral aid is unpredictable and subject to political pressures, the poor nations want greater role for international financial institutions like the World Bank. The rich nations have recently agreed to double the capital of the World Bank from \$ 40 billion to \$ 80 billion. In respect of the resources of the I.D.A., however, there is still uncertainty since the United States, under President Reagan, wants commercial banks to play a greater role in financing the developmental needs of the third world countries. Similarly, on the question of debt relief too, nothing much has happened so far excepting rescheduling of debts in respect of Mexico, Venezuela etc. This is a problem calling for immediate attention since the debt burden is causing concern in the third world. According to A.W. Clausen, the President of the World Bank, the total third world debt amounted to \$ 700 billion in 1983. The total interest payment made by the third world countries in 1982 amounted to \$ 56 billion, double that of 1976. The enormity of the debt burden on third world can be realised from India's case. From this year (1985), our debt-servicing, i.e., payment of instalments of loans and interest on them, would amount to Rs. 2000 crore a year. (5) The role of national reserve currencies, like the U.S. \$ and the British £, in international transactions should be reduced since this gives those countries opportunity to manipulate the international credit system and the fluctuations in their exchange rates are likely to affect the world monetary system. The third world wants Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), the unit of account used by the I.M.F., to become the central reserve asset. (6) The endorsement of the proposed International Fund for Agricultural Development with initial resources of the order of \$ 1 billion. Since most of the third world countries are agricultural countries, their need for funds for agricultural development can not be overemphasised. (7) Since hunger and malnutrition are perennial problems in the third world, they also demanded the acceptance of the principle of a minimum food aid target and fixing of a target of 10 million tons for 1975-76. These then were the important demands of the developing countries under the rubric, the New International Economic Order.

In 1978, an Independent Commission on International Development Issues was constituted under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, a former Chancellor (Prime Minister) of the Federal Republic of Germany. The membership of the Commission was drawn from all the continents. Ten of the 18 members of the Commission were drawn from the third world. India was represented by L.K.Jha. The Commission's report was published in 1980. In 1983, they also issued a supplementary report. Since most of the recommendations of the Commission endorsed the demands of the third world discussed above, it would be repetitious to mention all of them. Therefore, it is proposed to mention only new suggestions made by the commission here.

The Commission suggested: 1) An action programme comprising emergency and long-term measures to assist the poverty belts of Africa and Asia. Measures would include large regional

projects of water and soil management, the provision of health care, afforestation projects etc. An additional financial assistance of at least \$ 4 billion a year for the next two decades, as grants or special concessional terms, was recommended. 2) International, assistance for family planning programmes to contain the population in the third world countries which has attained dangerous proportions. 3) The rights of migrant workers should be protected and their remittances home made more stable. 4) Ocean resources outside the exclusive economic zone (E.E.Z.) of 200 miles should be developed under international rules in the balanced interests of the world community. 5) In view of the danger posed to the world by the arms race, particularly nuclear arms race, and the burden it imposes on national economic, every attempt should be made to arrive at disarmament agreements. 6) The rich nations should commit themselves to a definite timetable for reaching the target of 0.7% of their G.N.P. as aid, and for advancing towards 1% before the year 2000. AD. 7) Introduction of automatic revenue transfers through international levies on some of the transactions like: international trade, arms production or exports, international travel; the global commons, especially sea-bed minerals.

In spite of repeated talks between the North (the developed countries) and the South (the developing countries) the NIEO has not yet been created. The North has its own economic problems. Since the beginning of the energy crisis, i.e., since 1973 when the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) increased the price of oil by about four times, the economies of the North have been passing through a series of crises. Inflation, unemployment, deficit budgets and balance of payments problems have affected the economics of almost all the industrialised countries. They are, therefore, not in a position to meet all the demands of the third world. President Reagan of the United States is also less sympathetic to these demands. He wants that at least some of the third world countries, like India, should borrow increasingly from commercial banks, all of them should allow MNCs to invest in their countries by liberalising system and learn from the experience of the market economies (capitalist). Whether we like Reagan's prescriptions or not, we should not belittle the economic problems of the developed countries. They cannot spare too much money when they have serious economic problems at home.

This is not to say that nothing has been done by the North to help the South. Their contribution to the development of the South is not negligible. For example, for the year 1985-86, the Aid India Consortium, consisting of the World Bank and a number of Western countries and Japan, has pledged over Rs. 4000 crores to India's economic development. Under the Rome Convention (1976) the export earnings of 46 of the poor African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and under the Lome Convention II (1981) those of 61 countries of the same regions have been stabilised and the tariff and quota restrictions on the entry of the primary products of these countries into the EEC (European Economic Community) markets were removed. Under GATT, a number of concessions were given to the third world products. It is unrealistic to expect the developed countries to substantially reduce customs duties because they are one of the important sources of revenue for their governments. Nor is it feasible for the developed countries to remove all quota restrictions on the products of the third world. Some of the third world countries like Taiwan, South Korea and India are well-developed in certain fields. For example, if all the quota restrictions on the textiles exported by these countries are removed, the textile industry in the North may have to wind up business. No government would cause the death of its national industry in order to be helpful to other countries; generosity has limits.

Although as a proportion of the GNP of the industrialised countries, aid to poor countries dropped from 0.5% in 1960 to 0.35 in 1980, within the constraints of their resources, the developed countries have given some aid. And in terms of economic growth, the developing countries have not done badly either. The rate of growth of the economies in the South was 5.9%

in the 1960s while that of the North was 5.1%; and in the 1970s, the South registered a 5.1% growth rate while it was only 3.3% in the North. According to the World Bank's projections for 1983-90 period, the South is likely to grow at the rate of 4.5% while the figure for the North is 2.85%.

Of course, the progress achieved by the South has been neutralised by the enormous growth of population in these countries. We cannot hold the North responsible for this. In matters like this, introspection is called for. We cannot go on asking the North to sacrifice for our sake just because it is rich. There are glaring economic inequalities within the third world countries. In a survey conducted by the World Bank and the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University at the beginning of the 1970s, it was found out that in half of the developing countries the share of the lowest 40% of their population in their G.N.P.s. is only 9%. The rich in the third world are not enthusiastic about making sacrifices for the sake of their poorer countrymen either. Even the champions of aid for the third world like Mrs. Myrdal of Sweden are disillusioned with its leaders. She expressed the view (1983) that the development plans in the third world are elitist-oriented and that the fruits of developments are not percolating to the needy in these countries.

The attitude of the new rich among the developing countries, the OPEC countries, is not much different either. Their steep price increases between 1973-80 period adversely affected the industrial economies which had its impact on the economies of the third world since most of the third world products are exported to the developed countries and most of their imports come from them. The OPEC countries had not offered the developing any concessional price for their oil. The impact of oil-import bills on the economies of the developing countries can be gauged from India's example. While her oil-import bill in 1976-71 was of the order of Rs. 140 crores, it jumped to Rs. 5190 crores in 1981-82; it was not because of any phenomenal increase in oil consumption in India but because of the price rise.

Although lip-service is paid to the concept of South cooperation, most third world countries prefer goods and service from the developed countries and not those of the fairly developed countries among them. Most of the contracts for construction from the OPEC countries have gone to Multinational Corporations. And, according to the IMF figures, a lion's share of surplus Petro-dollars has been invested in the developed countries. Between 1974-80, \$ 328 billion (84.5% of the surplus funds) have been invested in the developed capitalist countries, \$ 8 billion (2.1) in multi-lateral institutions like the World Bank and \$ 52 billion (13.4%) in developing countries.

This being the case, it is wrong for the third world to adopt a holier-than-thou attitude. Nor should the basis of the demands be past colonial exploitations. Not all the countries of the North have been colonial exploitations. Not all the countries of the North have been colonial powers. This "accuse and demand syndrome" to use a noted journalist's (Swaminathan S. Aiyar) expression is confrontationalist. There are glaring economic inequalities between the North and the South and the South is greatly in need of help. But it is only in a spirit of cooperation, give and take and mutual appreciation of each other's problems that such help can be secured.

19.5 CONCLUSION

Thus, the third world is now demanding a better deal in the world economic relationship. Of course, there is a tendency to be very critical about the industrialised developed countries which makes them react sometimes adversely against the demands of third world. Some of the Western industrialised nations have been more positive in helping the third World and further some of them i.e. (Western industrialised countries) have also been not direct exploiters of the third

world in the past. So some scholars feel that the Third World should be a little more patient and careful in the manner in which it is making its demands.

There can be no doubt that inequalities between the poorer nations of the world and the richer nations of the world should be reduced. Such an inequality is not only moral or acceptable but in the long run is detrimental to world peace. Efforts to reduce the poverty of the Third World through international help and cooperation have only been marginally successful. The industrialised nations, mostly because of their reluctance to part with even some of their surplus riches to the third world, are responsible for this state of affairs. It is to be hoped that a new spirit of cooperation and help will prevail and the recommendations made by bodies like the Brandt Commission, mentioned earlier, will be implemented in one way or the other. Then only the social and economic condition of the Third World will improve and thereby contribute most to the peace in the world.

Dr. T. Surender

19.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each

1. Critically examine the nature and structure of the present International Economic Order.
2. Spell out the details of the NIEO.
3. Critically examine the role of the Developed countries in the development of the Third World.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. The weakness of the developing countries is responsible for their subjection to neo-colonialist pressures. Elucidate.
2. State the main recommendations of the Brandt Commission.
3. What are the demands of the Developing countries relating to foreign aid.

BLOCK - 6 : MAIN TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Units in this Block are:

- Unit - 20: Super Powers
 - Unit - 21: Detente - Causes and Consequences
 - Unit - 22: The Role of China
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UNIT - 20 : THE SUPER POWERS

Contents:

- 20.0 Objectives
- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Characteristics of the Super Powers
- 20.3 Role of Super powers
- 20.4 The Super Powers and the United Nations
- 20.5 Model Questions

20.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- the characteristics of super powers
- the role of super powers
- the United Nations and the super powers

20.1 INTRODUCTION

The United States of America and the Soviet Union are called the Superpowers of the contemporary world. The term Superpower was coined by Professor W.T.R.Fox during the closing stages of the Second World War. Professor Fox then identified the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain as the Superpowers. He was trying to distinguish between those countries—the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain which, by the end of the Second World War emerged as very much greater. In other words, while countries like France, Germany, Italy and Japan were also regarded as great powers since the beginning of the 20th century, by the end of the Second World War, these countries declined in importance and the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain emerged as the real great powers. That is why, a new terms, Superpowers came to be used. However, even among the united States, the Soviet Union and Britain, Britain's importance gradually declined. Britain was not as powerful as the Soviet Union and the United States. In the post-second world war, in reality, the United States and the Soviet Union only came to be recognised as the Superpowers and the earlier big powers like Britain, France, Germany and Japan are only moderately great in power influence.

20.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUPERPOWERS

Superior military might is regarded as the chief characteristic of the Superpowers. Judged from this criterion, the United States of America and the USSR are overwhelmingly superior to any of the other so called great powers. A few facts to illustrate this point will be useful. The United States possesses huge armed force with more than 2 million persons engaged in the armed forces. Apart from this, in terms of weapons in all the areas-army, navy and air force, the United States has the most powerful military might in the World. It now spends 258 billion dollars annually for defence purposes alone. This amount is very much more than the total income of many poor countries put together. It is interesting to note that 40 years ago, the United States was spending merely 600 million dollars on defence.

The Soviet Union too has a mighty army employing more than 5 million persons. Thus, the Soviet Union's armed forces in terms of army personnel are more than twice the armed forces of the United States. The Soviet Union also possesses highly sophisticated weapons in all the three branches of the armed forces. It is difficult to have precise figures of the Soviet Union's defence expenditure. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Soviet Union spends about 140 billion dollars annually of defence. In the case of Soviet Union also, there has been a phenomenal increase in defence expenditure since the Second World War.

Apart from their very superior military strength, as illustrated above, the United States and the Soviet Union alone possess vastly superior nuclear weapons and inter-continental ballistic missiles which could travel thousands of miles to deliver the bombs. This strength makes the power of the two Superpowers incomparably superior to the power of any other big power in the world. For example, it is true that Britain, France and China also possess nuclear weapons. But these weapons are few in numbers. More important is that these countries do not possess intercontinental ballistic missiles of the same type and power as possessed by the Superpowers. It is now estimated that there are over 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world. Of these the United States and the Soviet Union alone possess more than 90%. It is also estimated that these two countries are capable of destroying the world many times with their nuclear weapons.

A second characteristic of the Superpowers is their economic and industrial power. In this respect also, the USA and the Soviet Union occupy the highest place in the World. The USA's gross domestic product (the total amount of goods and services produced in a year) in 1983 amounted to 3,256 billion dollars. The Soviet Union's gross domestic product is estimated at 564 billion dollars in 1983. The figures say that in terms of national income, the income of the Soviet Union is far less than that of the United States. But the Soviet Union invests relatively more on defence in terms of defence research and also in direct defence spending.

A third characteristic of the Superpowers is their ability and willingness to influence world politics. The Superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are most active in playing a very influential role in contemporary world politics. Firstly, they are the leaders of the two ideological blocs—the Western capitalist bloc and the Eastern communist bloc. In the unit on Cold War, it has been discussed that the USA and the Soviet Union are the chief actors in shaping the international relations of the contemporary times. A few facts would still be useful here to note. Before the commencement of the Second World War, the USA, though a powerful country, did not enter into a single military alliance with any other country in the world. Now it has military pacts (bilateral and multi-lateral) with more than sixty countries in the world. The Soviet Union also was without military alliances before the Second World War. Now it has signed military pacts with about thirty countries in the world. This shows the extent to which these powers are intensely involved in shaping international relations.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union now regard that their own national interests or securities are not only confined to protecting the interests in the other parts of the world also. This is the reason why the United States and the Soviet Union are regarded as involved in a global competition for their respective survivals.

A fourth characteristic of the Superpower is its capability to assert its leadership and secure following among the other countries. In this regard also, the United States and the Soviet Union fulfill the characteristics of Superpowers. Never before in world politics two countries have been able to lead considerable number of other countries. The history of the Cold War illustrates the point very well.

It is also important to note that these two Superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union are the leaders of the first world and the second world respectively. As already mentioned in a previous chapter, the first World consists of the industrially advanced and developed capitalist countries (the United States, Canada, Western European countries, Japan and Australia). The second world consists of the industrially developed socialist countries (Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries). The third world consists of the less industrially developed poorer countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Which countries are called as Super powers?

20.3 ROLE OF SUPERPOWERS

The United States and the Soviet Union mostly dominated world politics for a considerable period. Still they dominate with some decline indomination. When the cold war was on from 1946, they were the chief antagonists in the cold war. This aspect has been dealt with in detail in the unit on Cold War. Because of the ideological conflict between communism and capitalism and also because these two powers have emerged as the strongest powers after the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union got involved in a very intensive as well as extensive rivalry. They divided the world into two powerful military blocs. They tried to extend their influence in almost all the other parts of the world. In fact the role of the Superpowers was so intense that world politics was then regarded to be governed by the concept of bi-polarity by which is meant that two power centres, opposed to each other governed international relations. Bi-polarity literally means the existence of two poles at two extreme ends. In the present context the two poles are the United States and the Soviet Union. Capitalism and Communism can be understood as the extreme ends. Of late it has been realised that coexistence of Capitalism and Communism is not an impossibility.

Some important changes that took place in international relations in the 60s brought about changes in the role of Superpowers. The bi-polarity, the chief pattern of world politics in 50s began to change in 60s as some other parts of the world emerged into importance. This new pattern that emerged came to be known as multi-polarity. Multi-polarity means that there are more than two power centres in the world that directly or indirectly determine international relations. The new important power centres are i) Western Europe ii) Japan and iii) Communist China. The Western European countries have become strong economically through the formation of the European Economic community. The European Economic Community in Western Europe though remaining a military ally of the United States, became strong enough to assert its autonomy in Western Powers. Thus the emergence of Western Europe as a strong economic force in the world once again increased the importance of Western Europe in world politics. Japan emerged as a very important economic power in recent decades. Compared to its size, the economic growth and wealth of Japan have become so great that some scholars predicted that Japan has already become a Superpower in economic importance. Though Japan is not an important power militarily, its influence in the world has become very great economically. Communist China also emerged as a great power. In addition to its having the

world's largest concentration of population, China has acquired nuclear weapons by the 60s. And now possesses the capability to produce long range missiles too. China is now regarded being close to a Superpower. It should be mentioned that the United States began to improve relations with China since 1971. This fact is both a recognition of China having become an independent power centre and an addition to China's influence and prestige in world politics. In this context it is necessary to note that the relations between China and the Soviet Union continue to be and this hostile situation suits the Western powers to promote China as an important power in the world.

In addition to the above new power centres-Western Europe, Japan and China, other smaller regional states have also become important. For example, India emerged as the dominant power in South Asia. Brazil and Argentina have become important powers in the Latin American area.

Thus the changed pattern in world politics from bi-polarity to multipolarity brought about some change in the role of the Superpowers in influencing world politics. But it would be a mistake to regard that and the economic strength of the Superpowers is so great that they are still able to wield superior influence. The United States in particular is able to manipulate the multipolar world to its advantage. For example all the three new power centres mentioned earlier are subject to the influence of the United States, Western Europe and Japan are its close allies. The United States is establishing very friendly relations even with China. The result is that in a multipolar context, the power and influence of the United States has grown stronger when compared to the power and influence of the Soviet Union.

One important development concerning the Superpowers is that their hegemonic role over their close allies has declined to some extent. This is already mentioned as one of the aspects of detente. This phenomenon is particularly true in the case of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union once had a tight control over the Eastern European bloc because of the ideological authority it used to exercise over the countries of the socialist bloc. Whereas in some of the countries, anti-Soviet feelings arose, the Soviet Union did not hesitate to intervene militarily and to force the concerned countries to remain within the communist bloc. This happened in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union even propounded a theory that it has a right to intervene unilaterally in the affairs of another communist country to keep it within the communist bloc. This theory is known as the Brezhnev doctrine as it was announced by the Soviet leader Brezhnev. However among the communist countries, the feeling that the Soviet Union's authority over them should be restrained was strengthened. In the '70s they pressed for an all European conference to discuss matters relating to security and co-operation in Europe. While the main background to this proposal was to promote co-operation between Eastern Europe and Western Europe, part of this motivation was that the Soviet Union should be committed to respecting the sovereignty and independence of all nations. Finally, such an all European conference took place in 1975 in Helsinki in Finland when all the European states (Eastern and Western European states) and the United States of America participated. This conference, known as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe issued the famous declaration known as the Helsinki declaration under which all the participating states agreed to respect the sovereignty and independence of other states. It has been agreed to respect the territorial integrity of all states, human rights and fundamental freedoms. Non-intervention in other's internal affairs has also been accepted as an important principle. It is felt by many that the Helsinki conference finally ended the old Cold War. This conference is important in that it did add confidence to the eastern European states against future hegemonic intervention by their ideological senior ally, the Soviet Union.

Partly because of the factors mentioned above and partly because of the factors like changes in the attitude of the leaders and public opinion, the two Superpowers, the Soviet Union and the

United States have come to realise that it is very costly and dangerous to continue their mutual tensions and rivalries. Since the late 60s in particular, their military rivalry resulted in their spending billions of dollars on producing new types of nuclear weapons and missiles in order to defend against each other. Each of the Superpowers tried to acquire military superiority (technically called strategic superiority) against the other. This costly military rivalry led to a tremendous arms race. By late 60s the Superpowers realised that it is advisable to negotiate in order to limit their arms race. This desire resulted in their agreeing to arms control. They agreed to limit the number of sophisticated type of intercontinental ballistic missiles and also defences against such missiles. For example, the Superpowers entered into agreements in 1972 limiting deployment anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) on both sides to two sites (A protocol of 1974 reduced this to one site). This agreement, as mentioned earlier is regarded as a major development in stabilizing the arms race. An interim agreement concluded in 1977 limited the number of inter-continental ballistic missiles. In short, the Superpowers have shown a tendency of give and take and relaxation of tensions existing between them. This phase of the relationship between the Superpowers is called detente, the details of which are given in a separate chapter.

It should be noted that there has been a revival of Cold War in recent years. This goes to prove that the conflict between the two Superpowers is not likely to disappear in the near future. Of course there are strong pressures for not allowing the Superpower's conflicts to become as dangerous as they were earlier. America's conflicts eager that the United States should continue the detente with the Soviet Union. The influence of the non-aligned movement on the Superpowers is also considerable and this movement is exerting pressure on both the Superpowers to show accomodation to each other.

The reason why tensions between the Superpowers should not be allowed to grow is that their military capability is so dangerously strong that in the event of war, not only the Superpowers but also the whole of the world could be destroyed in a few hours time. The Superpowers are aware of this fact and hence they are restrained enough in not confronting each other directly. But their confrontation through their smaller allies is still continuing. For instance, in the Arab-Israeli dispute, they supported the rival parties. In the 70s, the Superpowers entered into rivalry in the Indian Ocean area. The non-aligned world is putting pressure on them to reduce their rivalry and also their presence in this area.

It is also important to realise that the smaller nations of the world are also to some extent responsible in keeping up the Superpower rivalry and thus in allowing the Superpowers to determine the shape of world politics. The smaller powers have their own quarrels and in order to secure economic or military support for themselves, they seek the help of the Superpowers and thus provide an opportunity for the Superpowers to influence or intervene in the policies of other nations.

The role of Superpowers in world politics has a bearing on the demand for a New International Economic Order coming from the third world states. This demand is mostly directed against the first world, i.e. against the United states and the other industrialised nations of the West. The third world has still greater economic relationships with the first world and demands that the first world should agree to giving more concessions and aid to the Third World. The economic relations between the third world and the second world are not extensive. It is because of this fact the Soviet Union (the leader of the second world) is not criticised by the third over the issue of the New International Economic Order. Thus, in the perspectives of the leaders of the third world and the non-aligned movement, at least in so far as the world economic problems are concerned, the Soviet Union is regarded as a friendly Superpower where as the United states and its capitalist allies are regarded as obstructionists in the matter of the New International Economic Order.

The above discussion clearly points out the domination of the Superpowers in World politics. In between them, they are eager to secure and maintain a global balance. Even though other power centres have emerged, the Superpowers are capable of having the final say in many international matters. Some scholars even went to the extent of saying that the superpowers are acting like world police men inspite of their own mutual conflict of interests. This theory is called the condominium theory. This implies that the Superpowers are jointly exercising domination or ultimate authority over the entire globe.

20.4 THE SUPERPOWERS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The rise of the Superpowers and their dominant role for the last 40 years is in one sense against the spirit of the United Nations. The United Nations is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all nations and collective security. But the superpower domination violates, in practice, the principle of equality of all states. Further the fact that world politics is now based on the balance of power between the two Superpowers also violates the principle of collective security. Of course even at the time of the founding of the United Nations, it was realised that greater responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security will have to be borne by the great powers. That is why the great powers are given the veto power in the Security Council of the United Nations. It was hoped that the great powers will function through the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. What has happened, however, is the role of the Superpowers made the United Nations less relevant in crucial matters relating to international relations. It has been mentioned earlier now for a long period in the history of the United Nations, its role and prominence got eclipsed on account of the conflict between the Superpowers. In many cases, the Superpowers arrived at crucial solutions to international problems through secret and bilateral negotiations rather than through the use of the United Nations Organisation. This is not necessarily bad as what is needed is that peace should be maintained and conflict be contained through whatever means and agents available. The point however remains that because of the dominating role of the Superpowers international organisations representing all the nations of the world are not able to function prominently. In recent years, as the third world countries joined the world community, they are now pressurising in the United Nations Organisation that the United Nations Organisation should assert its role and that the Superpower hegemony over international relations should be curtailed. But it will take a long time for the nature of the existing world order to undergo a radical change when the community of nations of the world could really have weight in determining the shape of international relations.

**Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao &
Dr. B. Manikyamba.**

20.5 MODEL QUESTIONS : ASSIGNMENTS.

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Examine the role of Superpowers in world politics since the 60's.
2. What is multipolarity. How did it effect the role of each of the Superpower in world politics.
3. To what extent has the hegemoistic role of the Superpowers declined since the 60's.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Why are the USA and the USSR regarded as the Superpowers?
2. Write a short note on the Helisinki Conference.
3. What is the impact of the Superpower conflict on the United Nations.

UNIT - 21 : DETENTE

Contents:

- 21.0 Objectives
- 21.1 Detente - Meaning
- 21.2 A brief background
- 21.3 The thaw
- 21.4 Detente - its manifestations
- 21.5 Conflicting interpretations over detente
- 21.6 Revival of Cold War
- 21.7 Model Questions

21.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- What is Detente
- Detente and its manifestations
- Revival of Cold War

21.1 DETENTE-MEANING

Detente literally means relaxation of strained relations between two states. The Dictionary of Politics says that 'Detente' is a diplomatic term meaning the cessation of strained relations between states and represents an earlier stage in the development of good relations than a rapprochement. In international relations the term detente is generally used to mean the relaxation of Cold War tensions between the two power blocs: Western and Eastern led by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic from the mid-sixties. The term is also used in the context of the development of relations between the United States, and China and also occasionally used to signify the relations between the USSR and China.

21.2 A BRIEF BACKGROUND

As seen in the Unit concerning Superpowers, the USA and the USSR began to compete for world leadership after the end of the Second World War. Infact, the competition has led to serious tensions that threatened world peace. The United States and the Soviet Union have become very important and dominant powers in the world and they began to be referred to as big powers or superpowers. During the war period both the United States and the Soviet Union had shown an attitude of friendship and understanding towards each other. The then United States President Mr Roosevelt reposed considerable confidence in the Soviet Union and sought its help and extended its cooperation in the reconstruction of the European continent. During the conferences held at various places in which the United States and the Soviet Union participated along with other nations, several agreements have been arrived at promising mutual help for the protection of democracy, liberty and self determination. It is with full hope that the Soviet Union would extend its cooperation in the European reconstruction programme, President Roosevelt had conceded to some proposals useful to the Soviet Union in the context of the liberation of Eastern Europe. But the atmosphere of friendship that existed during the war

time did not last long. The Western nations as well as the Soviet Union did not keep up war time promises and there emerged two groups of nations, one headed by the United States of America and the other by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These groups came to be known as the Western (headed by USA) and Eastern (headed by USSR) blocs. Instead of direct confrontation the United States and the Soviet Union began to interfere in local conflicts by extending support to the countries involved in them. If the United States supported one country, the rival country used to be supported by the Soviet Union. This sort of attitude created a situation of tensions which were a threat to world peace and security. This atmosphere, in other words, Cold War first took place in Europe and spread like a fire, in a short span of time, to other areas very serious and intense from 1946 to early 60s. This had led to the establishment of military pacts also. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation established by the United States and the Warsaw pact organised by the Soviet Union are examples of such pacts. The military pacts are dealt with in detail in the chapter on Cold War.

As mentioned above, the Cold War situation was serious till the early 60s. But certain factors have relaxed the situation. In other words, they have led to what is known as 'detente'.

Before dealing with the details of detente it is important to note that broadly two phases of East-West detente could be identified—one between 1955 to the end of the Kennedy era 1963 and the other from the late Sixties to 1979. The first phase, to be more precise can be regarded as a thaw, meaning that the coldness or stiffness of tensions began to melt or relax.

21.3 THE THAW

The first phase of detente, is partly due to the change in the attitude of the Soviet leadership. The Soviet leader Stalin died in 1953. Stalin's successor Khrushchev felt that peaceful co-existence between the two power blocs is possible and that war between the two blocs is not inevitable. For the Soviet leaders like Khrushchev and Bulganin, it is wrong to assume that Communist and Capitalist states cannot live together and that war between countries of different ideologies is inevitable. Further, Khrushchev began to establish friendly relations with the Third World countries. The Soviet Union also realised that in the case of the outbreak of nuclear war, destruction of all the parties involved is inevitable. Khrushchev said that given the nuclear bomb, the only alternative for co-existence is co-destruction.

During the mid 50s relaxation of Cold War was prominently visible. In 1953, the Korean war (which was a high water mark of cold war) ended. This itself was an indication that the two blocs were inclined to restrain themselves from involving in direct confrontation. In 1954, there was agreement over Vietnam (Geneva Agreement) after the colonial power France was defeated by the North Vietnamese Communist nationalists. The agreement relating to Vietnam was finalised at an international conference in Geneva in the summer of 1954. At this conference, Communist China, the Soviet Union, France and the Vietnamese nationalists arrived at agreements under which France withdrew from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and a Communist State of North Vietnam was established. The very fact that after nearly five years of fighting, agreement could be reached over the Vietnam issue was a good indication of the desire of all the concerned powers to stop the war. Though the United States did not take active part in this conference, it ultimately agreed to the compromise agreements.

The agreements over Korea in 1953 and Vietnam in 1954 provided for a better atmosphere for the big powers involved in the Cold War to meet at a summit conference to talk about the major issues which divided them. The summit conference was held in Geneva in 1955. This was the first major summit to be held since the Cold War began. Though no major issue that divided

the two blocs was in anyway solved, still the Geneva Summit Conference resulted in the lessening of tension and some minor agreements for cultural exchanges between the two blocs were signed. It is important to mention that the leaders of the two superpowers agreed to solve their problems through negotiations. The Geneva Conference raised hopes for world peace and for some years following the conference what was called the 'Geneva Spirit' provided optimism in international relations.

In 1956 two major incidents occurred one of which revived the Cold War atmosphere. The first incident was the Suez crisis in October 1956 in which Britain and France conspiring with Israel attacked Egypt. This incident created hostility between the Soviet Union (which supported Egypt) on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. Fortunately, the United States also was critical of Britain and France. The second incident occurred in November 1956 when the Soviet Union intervened in Hungary when the Hungarian people rose in revolt against the communist regime in Hungary, the United States and the Western powers were very critical of the Soviet action and this resulted in the revival of Cold War tensions. In the late 50s also other issues like the American intervention in Lebanon (1958) increased the East-West tensions. In May 1960 another summit meeting was to be held in Paris. But just on the eve of this meeting, an American spy plane was shot down when it was spying over Soviet territory. This incident caused the abandonment of the summit meeting. Fortunately, this was soon followed by the coming into power of the Democratic Party in the United States with the election of John F. Kennedy as the President of the United States.

President Kennedy very much wanted to follow a policy of cordiality with the Soviet Union. He was critical of the earlier American policy of uncompromising hostility towards the Eastern bloc. Kennedy also pursued a policy of friendship with many third world countries like India and was also appreciative of the policy of non-alignment followed by countries like India, Yugoslavia and Turkey. On the whole, President Kennedy's foreign policy resulted in the relaxation of tensions between the two blocs. Two major agreements were signed between the two blocs, thanks to the initiative of Kennedy and the responsive attitude of Khrushchev.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by 'Geneva Spirit'?

21.4 DETENTE-ITS MANIFESTATIONS

As mentioned earlier since the early 60s an atmosphere of detente developed between the two power blocs. An agreement to grant independence to the State of Austria was signed in 1955. Austria could not be given independence after the Second World War because the Soviet Union insisted that Austria should be neutralised, that is, it should not be allowed to join the Western bloc. The Soviet Union insisted on this because Austria's (because it is a country situated between the two blocs) joining in the Western bloc would be dangerous to the security of the Eastern bloc. The United States and the Western powers, on the other hand insisted that independent Austria should be free to join any bloc or alliance it desired. Because of the difference of opinion, Austrian issue became one of the important Cold War issues. It was in

1961 that Kennedy agreed to the Soviet proposal to neutralise Austria. Thus came the Superpower agreement on Austrian neutrality.

The second major agreement was with regard to the ban on nuclear tests. Till 1963 there was no agreement between the two blocs even on the issue of banning the tests of nuclear bombs leaving alone banning of bombs. In the year 1963, the Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed and this was the first important nuclear disarmament measure agreed to between the rival powers. Thus the Kennedy period saw the relaxation of tensions. But it was during the same period that the Cold War tensions reached the peak point in another issue, the Cuban Missiles Crisis. The Soviet Union became a good friend of Cuba by early 60s and the relations between Cuba and the United States were very hostile because the United States regarded Cuba and the United States were very hostile because the United States regarded Cuba and its leader Fidel Castro to be anti-American. The Soviet Union placed some of its nuclear weapons equipped missiles on the Cuban soil and this act was vehemently opposed by the United States. The United States felt that the Soviet missiles on the Cuban soil (Cuba is only a few miles away from the U.S. territory) constituted a direct threat to the United States security and demanded that they should be removed. Consequent upon the Soviet Union's refusal to remove them and Moscow even then refused to yield. It appeared that a war between the United States and the Soviet Union was inevitable. Never since the end of the Second World War, the world witnessed such a dangerous tension as in 1962. However, the Soviet Union finally yielded, removed the missiles and a direct confrontation between the two superpowers thus was avoided.

Another important issue which clearly manifested the Cold War situation is the Vietnam issue. Since 1964, there occurred the increasing involvement of the United States in South Vietnam under the Presidentship of Lyndon B. Johnson, who succeeded John F. Kennedy. The Vietnam issue is discussed separately. What is important here to note is that the American involvement in Vietnam created more tension. The Americans accused both China and the Soviet Union as instigating the communists in Vietnam. America's anti-communist policy reached its peak by 1968. Over 750,000 American troops were put into Vietnam to fight the communists.

It is very strange that the very intensity of America's involvement by the late 60s in Vietnam resulted in a change in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. The world public opinion in general and the American public opinion in particular became very critical of America's involvement. As mentioned in the chapter on Vietnam, the Americans held several anti-war demonstrations. It is gratifying that American leadership conceded to the wishes of the public.

In the context of relaxation of Cold War tensions, it is also necessary to mention the attitude of the countries of the two blocs other than the United States and the Soviet Union. The Western countries began to show a favourable trend towards conciliation and moderation with the Eastern bloc countries. The Eastern countries too were prepared to have cordial relations with the Western powers. By the early 70s an atmosphere conducive for comprehensive talks had set in. The negotiations that followed resulted in concluding some important agreements. For example, the United States and the Soviet Union have reached an accord in 1971 to prohibit emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea bed. In the same year both the countries reached agreement to improve direct communication linkages to reduce uncertainty and miscalculations during crisis. Agreements on other matters such as reporting and notification procedures designed to reduce the risk of nuclear war were concluded.

The era of United States - Soviet Union detente was also marked by the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The first phase began in 1969 and concluded in 1972 with two agreements. One was the treaty limiting the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) on both sides to

two sites (A protocol of 1974 reduced this to one site). This agreement can be regarded as a major development in stabilising the arms race. The second agreement was an interim agreement in 1977 which limited the number of inter continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). The second phase of talks that took place after 1972 resulted in President Carter of America and President Breznev of the USSR signing the SALT II Treaty in Vienna in June 1979. It was accepted that further limitations in ICBMs and IBMs should be imposed. Limitations on cruise missiles were also agreed upon. But the SALT II treaty was not accepted by the United States Senate. However, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks reflect a new trend, a trend recognising the spirit of give and take in the negotiations between the USA and the USSR. The talks signify the efforts of these two countries for arms control. They also indicate some confidence the United States and the USSR show towards each other. They constitute a landmark in the progress of detente.

Another important event that took place in the context of detente is the Helisinki conference. This conference called the Conference on Security and Cooperation took place at Helisinki in Finland in 1975. This conference in which certain accords were reached is a historic one because of the fact that all the European States took part in it along with the United States and China. This is an indication that there was very serious and sincere desire to put an end to the Cold War which manifested itself since the Potsdam conference, immediately after the Second World War. Infact according to some observers, immediately after the Second World War. Helisinki in 1975 signifies the formal end of the Cold War era. That all the participants agreed to respect the equality and territorial sovereignty of the others in Europe was an indirect recognition, that the two blocs, particularly the leaders of the two blocs, consented to respect the existing territorial divisions in Europe. Further, the Eastern European powers also felt happy because the Soviet Union signed the Helisinki accord. This implies that the Soviet Union tacitly agreed to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other states in Eastern Europe. It has been mentioned earlier that the countries of Eastern Europe especially Rumania, Poland and Hungary were very concerned in 1968, under which the Soviet Union claimed the right of the socialist countries to intervene in the affairs of the socialist countries if it was felt that the socialist system of government was at stake in the socialist bloc. The Helisinki accord meant that doctrines like the Breznev doctrine are given up. The Helisinki accord also carried a detailed section envisaging closer cultural and social contacts between the Eastern European and the Western European countries. It can also be said that the Helisinki accords put a limitation on the hegemony of the Superpowers atleast in Europe. Thus, in practice, the Eastern European countries and the Western European countries asserted their independent role, atleast in managing the affairs of Europe if not in the whole world.

However, the spirit of the Helisinki accords has not so far been realised. This is partly due to the role of the superpowers. The Soviet Union is not very anxious to radically loosen its control over the Eastern European countries, though it has come to realise that it cannot exercise as much control as it did in the decades immediately after the Second World War. Still the Soviet Union is reluctant to permit a substantial relaxation of its influence and control. The situation in Poland is a good example. In Poland, since 1979 a strong trade union movement called the Solidarity movement under a powerful leader Lech Walesa grew and demanded from the government independent role to the trade unions even against the state. The Polish government, partly under the pressure brought from the Soviet Union suppressed the movement and in order to do so a military government was installed in Poland. The Western powers accused the Soviet Union of interfering in the affairs of Poland and thus of grossly violating the spirit of the Helisinki.

The United States also is reluctant to allow the two parts of Europe to become very friendly as it fears that its own authority over Western European countries would diminish.

The Helisinki conference also encouraged disarmament negotiations between the Eastern and Western European countries so that the existing tensions between the two opposed alliances North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Pact could be reduced. Talks in this matter have been going on for over a decade. These talks, called the Mutual & Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) started in Vienna in 1973, have not so far yielded results. But the two sides have been exchanging information about their respective troop concentrations and movements and many proposals to reduce the military strength of the two alliances and the creation of demilitarised zones between the two are now there. There has been some progress in identifying some common ground and in highlighting the problems of reaching agreement on data on the size of military forces, confidence building and verification procedures and commitments by all participants in the talks to reduce forces together. The talks reached some important areas of agreement between the Western and Eastern powers. Equal common collective ceilings on ground and air forces, phased reduction, exchange of numerical data on military forces, establishment of monitoring forces, establishment of a consultative committee for implementation of agreements and opposition for redeployment of withdrawn forces are some important common points of agreement. The Soviet Union has proposed some very positive proposals recently and there is the likelihood of some agreement. Yet some other issues of recent origin have again contributed to the revival of tensions between the two blocs. The most important factor has been the Euro-Missile crisis. The crisis arose because the Soviet Union during the 70s introduced some intermediate range ballistic missiles in 1979, again partly because of the American missiles on their soil. The Soviet Union says that its own missiles are not new and that the stationing of new types of American Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles led to the revival of tensions in Europe. Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States commenced in 1982 but these talks have not been successful so far. The United States wants that the Soviet union should remove the IRBMs stationed in Eastern Europe as a condition for the United States not locating its new generation of missiles. The Soviet Union on the other hand is agreeable to dismantle some but not all these missiles. The controversy still remains. For the last few years, this controversy about the security of Europe is overtaken by another major superpower conflict over President Reagan's Star Wars proposal, which is called by the name Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). Under this, President Reagan is seeking to build a non-nuclear defence system based in space which could completely protect the West from any nuclear weapons. That is why President Reagan says that SDI holds out hope for total nuclear disarmament. If incoming nuclear weapons of the enemy can be successfully and completely destroyed, from space, then there will be no use of nuclear weapons altogether. But the SDI proposal is very widely criticised. The Soviet Union regards this as totally unacceptable because this would make the American defence stronger and thus would enable the United States to threaten the Soviet Union with its own nuclear weapons. Though, theoretically, President Reagan envisages the elimination of the US nuclear weapons when the SDI is perfected, the Soviet Union does not believe that this would happen. Further the SDI in spirit violates the Outer Space Treaty signed by both the Soviet Union and the United States (along with many other countries) under which countries are banned from stationing sophisticated offensive or defensive devices in space. Many United States scientists also criticised the Star Wars proposal on the ground that a total defensive capability through the use of science and technology is highly improbable. In other words, these US scientists and scholars say that the Star Wars proposal would not only be not very effective but would further lead to even worse arms race between the two Superpowers. Now the Superpowers are engaged in the quarrel relating to the Star Wars proposal. Because of this, other issues like the dispute about the European missiles have receded into the background.

21.5 CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OVER DETENTE

In the preceding pages, the origins of detente and how it contributed to the lessening of tensions between the Superpowers and the Eastern and Western European countries have been noted. It

has also been seen how still tensions exist. One of the most important developments since the signing of the Helisinki accord in 1975 is the difference in the interpretation given to the word detente by the two superpowers.

The United States regards detente as implying that the Soviet Union has committed itself to the principle of peaceful co-existence with the Western powers and that it would not try to harm Western interests in the other parts of the world. According to the Western interpretation, detente means more than relaxation of tensions, which is the literal meaning of the word detente. But to the, Soviet Union, detente means something different. The Soviet Union's interpretation of detente is that detente means peaceful coexistence. But peaceful coexistence does not restrict peaceful competition. According to the communist principles capitalism and communism will be competing actively for power and influence in the world. The communists are convinced that ultimately communism will triumph over capitalism. Therefore, to the Soviet union, agreeing for detente does not in any way prevent the Soviet Union from competing with the capitalist world for power and influence in the world as a whole.

In the above, we see a basic conflict in the very interpretation of detente. This difference in interpretation led to continuing tensions in world politics. For example, from the 70s the Soviet Union actively supported revolutionary armed struggles in Africa, particularly in the case of Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique. As already mentioned in the chapter on Africa, revolutionary nationalist movements occurred against British imperialism in Zimbabwe and against Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique. The Soviet Union and some of her allies, like Cuba actively supported pro-communist nationalist parties or groups as against moderate nationalist groups. The Western powers, particularly the United States accused the Soviet Union of trying to encourage pro-Soviet governments in these parts of Africa and that such encouragement was against the spirit of detente. The Soviet Union, on the contrary argued that detente does no way prevent it from supporting radical political movements and opposing pro-imperialist groups. In other parts of Africa also, the United States and the Soviet Union have been supporting rival countries and conflict of interest between the Superpowers thus manifested to a considerable extent inspite detente.

The support being given by the Superpowers to the rivals in the Arab Israeli dispute is another major example in this context. The United States is extending total support to Israel and the Soviet Union to the radical Arab countries. This position has not changed irrespective of detente. But one important point to be noted here is that even though in West Asia, the Superpowers are continuing to support the rival parties, they are also aware that if the quarrel between the rival parties were to result in a major war, the Superpowers might themselves get dragged into such a war. They do not like this prospect. Therefore, they also try to restrain their respective allies in the West Asia conflict. This shows how in the final analysis the Superpowers cannot forget the implications of detente and the ultimate need to avoid direct confrontation among themselves.

21.6 REVIVAL OF COLD WAR

Some major developments occurred in the late 70s which have greatly disturbed the detente. Some scholars even say that detente is now practically destroyed.

The first development is the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. In December 1979, the Soviet Union sent its armed forces into Afghanistan with a view to maintain a pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. Even before this date Afghanistan was governed by a Communist Party under the leadership of Halivullah Amin but due to differences in the ruling party, Amin was ousted

from power and a new President Babrak Karmal came to power. The Soviet Union claimed that Babrak Karmal sought the Soviet support to save his government from tribal rebels. The situation in Afghanistan then was very critical. Rebel tribesmen were fighting against the radical government and to some extent, these were supported by Pakistan, the neighbouring country.

The Soviet intervention came as a major surprise to the world. This is the first time the Soviet Union sent its troops (nearly one hundred thousand) into a non-aligned country. Although Afghanistan is a close neighbour to the Soviet Union, the latter refrained from intervening in the affairs of Afghanistan from the beginning till 1979. Therefore, there is no wonder that the world was surprised by the Soviet military intervention. The Soviet union says that but for the intervention of foreign governments like Pakistan and indirectly the United States on behalf of the tribal rebels, it would not have sent its troops into Afghanistan. Soviet Union's intervention was not illegal under international law technically. Still it violated the spirit of international law. The United States regarded this intervention as a gross violation of detente. Many scholars held that the Soviet union wanted to acquire permanent control over Afghanistan in order to come closer to the Arabian Sea. Pakistan in particular was severely critical of the Soviet action as the Soviet Union's control over Afghanistan would constitute a direct threat to Pakistan. In addition to this threat, Pakistan had to put up with the flow of refugees from Afghanistan as a consequence of the Soviet action. It is now estimated that over a million refugees are in Pakistan. In the United Nations, the Soviet action was criticised by an overwhelming majority of the members. Resolutions were passed in the United Nations demanding immediate Soviet withdrawal.

The motives for the Soviet interventions are difficult to be identified. Possibly, the Soviet Union wants to acquire permanent influence over Afghanistan. Another point should also be mentioned. By 1979, the United States was trying to increase her presence in the Persian Gulf area. This was because in Iran, the Shah was dethroned by the Islamic revolution and the American influence was eliminated in Iran. Therefore, the United States proposed the constitution of a Rapid Deployment Force consisting of a huge naval force. The United States regarded this as essential to protect its oil and other security interests in the Persian Gulf area. The Soviet Union in its turn was afraid of the increase in the influence of the United States in the Persian Gulf area. Therefore, it is probable that the Soviet Union desired to consolidate its own foreign influence in the area close by. Whatever may be the intention of the Soviet Union, its intervention is criticised all around. This incident has revived cold war tensions.

The other major development adding to the Superpower tensions was the rise of the independent trade union movement in Poland and its repression by the Polish government. The United States and the Western powers considered that the Soviet Union was responsible for the suppression of the trade union movement in Poland. How this has affected the Superpower relations and dampened the relations between the Soviet Union and the Western European countries is already discussed.

The combined effect of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the suppression of the trade union movement in Poland, on the Superpowers' relations is so great that the Western powers boycotted the Olympic games held in Moscow in 1980 as a protest against the Soviet politics.

Yet another development that put detente in jeopardy is the European missile dispute. This aspect of the problem has been discussed earlier.

In addition to the above events, the American Star Wars proposal is also responsible for the renewal of tensions between the Superpowers.

It should be noted that it is not the Soviet Union's policies alone that damaged detente as is claimed by the United States. The Western powers also indulged in acts of aggression in recent years. Britain went to war with Argentina to own Falkland Islands. The British decision to go to war is generally regarded as unwarranted and aggressive. The United States has also been active in pursuing provocative policies in Latin America. For example, it is supporting the rebels who are fighting against the government of Nicaragua on the pretext, that Nicaraguan radical leftist governments trying to destabilise the neighbouring Central American governments. It is generally regarded that the US policy is solely based on opposition to radical governments. Even the American Congress is very critical of the American President's policy of extending monetary and military support to the Nicaraguan rebels.

One positive factor in the present situation is that the other nations of world, especially, the non-aligned nations are now pressing the Superpowers to reduce their tensions. Fortunately, the Western European powers are also now eager that the United States, that is, their senior ally should seek a settlement with the Soviet Union on important outstanding problems of arms control and disarmament. For example, the Western European powers are giving pressure to the United States to continue serious negotiations with the Soviet Union on Strategic Arms Limitations. The implication of this is that the United States should agree to a reasonable compromise on further limiting the number and nature of inter-continental ballistic missiles. The Western European nations are also advising the United States to be reasonable over the issue of the intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) and not to insist that the Soviet Union should withdraw all the IRBMs it had installed since the mid 70s. Since it was the Western European powers that were first agitated over the new IRBMs that the Soviet Union deployed, they now seem to realise that the stationing of the American IRBMs in Western Europe as a retaliatory measure would only complicate the situation and further damage the East-West detente. Thus there seems to be some prospect of agreement between the Super Powers over this issue.

The coming into power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union is also a positive development. He has been proposing many compromise solutions on the issue of strategic arms and the European missiles problem. To some extent, the Soviet policy is now designed to impress upon the Western European powers that the Soviet Union is serious in reestablishing detente.

Other positive signs are also there. In the case of Afghanistan behind-the screen negotiations between the Afghan government, Pakistan and the Soviet Union have been going on under the good offices of the UN Secretary General. A solution to the problem seems quite probable now. The Soviet Union is now agreeable to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan on condition that the foreign intervention against the Afghan government is ended. Pakistan, on its part is agreeable to recognising the Afghan government. The Afghan government is agreeable to creating the necessary conditions for the return of the vast number of refugees that fled after the Soviet intervention. It now seems very hopeful that a settlement can be reached. If this happens it would be a major contribution to detente and through it to world peace itself.

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Dr. B. Manikyamba.

21.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

I Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Define detente and examine its manifestations in the 60s and 70s.
2. Critically examine the basic conflict in the interpretation of detente
3. Briefly examine the causes for the revival of cold war in the late 70s and state its consequences.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Identify the factors that led to a thaw in the cold war in the mid 50s.
2. Discuss the importance of the Helisinki conference.
3. Write a short note on Strategic Defence Initiative.

BRAOU

UNIT - 22 : ROLE OF CHINA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

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22.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- the rise of Peoples Republic of China
- its relations with U.S., Soviet Russia and her immediate neighbours.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

The Sino-Japanese war, that went on since the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, was one theatre of the Second World War and it went on until 1945. Both the nationalists or Kuomintang party lead by Chiang Kai Sheik and the Communists led by Mao Dzedong fought the invader. But the rivalry between the nationalists and the communists was never far below the surface and long before the war ended their alliance had broken down.

By 1945 Japan was defeated in the 2nd World War and thus Japanese occupation of China also ended. This, to some extent enabled Chiang Kai Sheik to concentrate on defeating the communists. But by this time the communists became very strong. At this stage, the United States started giving more aid to Chiang in his war against the communists because the United States feared the coming into power of the communists. During the closing stages of the civil war, the US government advised Chiang to negotiate with the communists. But the negotiations failed because Chiang himself was not really prepared to negotiate. Ultimately the communists after their Long March reached Beijing, the capital of China and established the government of

Peoples' Republic of China on October 1st, 1949. Chiang had no option but to withdraw from the mainland of China and to move to Taiwan (Formosa), an island close to mainland China.

Being a Communist regime that came to power after a prolonged revolution, China adopted a communist form of one party political system in which the communist party played almost the entire role of running the country in all the aspects of people's lives. Being a very large country, China adopted a federal form of government. The constitution was finalised in 1950. A system of legislatures called People's Congress was provided by the constitution.

Now, it would be worthwhile to briefly deal with the developments in communist China before we discuss China's role in world affairs. It can be said that the Chinese internal policies under the leadership of Mao Zedong underwent periodic changes from consolidation and stability to radical reform and adoption of revolutionary measures.

22.2 PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND REFORM

In the period immediately following the establishment of the Communist State, China followed a policy of consolidating the regime providing for reorganisation of administrative machinery to run the state, promulgating and implementing economic and social plans for introducing socialism in the country. Of course, it was difficult to achieve all these in a short period. As the oldest living civilization with thousands of years of traditions, the Chinese society was steeped in conservatism and feudal social values and institutions. Further, as China was subject to indirect imperialist domination of the western powers and to some extent of Japan, it was all the more difficult to implement socialism. Therefore, the communist regime had to force thousands of big land lords to give up their properties. In this process, several thousands were killed also. There was also the problem of converting the educated middle class intellectually into the communist ways of thought and living. In spite of all these problems, the government tried its best to bring organisational changes for quick legislation, improvements in working conditions, land reforms, control of inflation and subordination of the capitalist sector to the state owned sector.

22.3 THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

In the process of the socialist construction of the State, the communist government resorted to various methods of mobilizing the people and the material resources. A policy called the Great Leap Forward was followed in late 50s to achieve development in a short time. The new slogan was that: it is not the techniques but the man that counts. The government, with a view to speed up growth, tried to mobilize the entire population. Large scale efforts were made to promote communal living. Common mess-halls, nurseries, old people's homes and service industries were established to release women from household duties.

The policy of Great Leap Forward was not very successful because without adequate scientific and technological infrastructure, mere attempts at enthusing the people to produce more could not achieve the desired results.

In the late fifties Mao Zedong wanted to relax the internal policies, especially policies relating to the intellectuals. He issued a well known declaration "Let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend". After this declaration, the Chinese intellectuals and even those who were connected with the communist party, expressed their dissatisfaction and criticised the communist regime. Mao and the party, then decided that this could not be allowed further and a policy of strict control over writers and intellectuals was reintroduced.

22.4 THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Chinese communist party's policy did not reach the desired ends by the 60s. Hence Mao and his associates laid broad outlines of their new policy and launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which lasted from 1966 to 1969. This was an attempt to encourage the spontaneous radicalism of the youth and the masses against the entrenched party bureaucracy. Through the Cultural Revolution, Mao wanted to create a new revolutionary upsurge to neutralise the tendency of some of the established leaders of the communist regime to slow down the process of radical change. Under the Cultural Revolution, organisations called the Red Guards consisting of young and militant party recruits came up in various parts of the country and attacked the older party leaders on the ground that the older leaders have become reactionary and counter-revolutionary. The Red Guards also attacked the powers and privileges of the Red Army (the People's Republican Army) which was mainly instrumental in winning the civil war. The Cultural Revolution challenged many of the trends in education, industrial management, agricultural development, general economic development etc. The students left schools demonstrated, travelled around the country and frequently attacked all vestiges of authority in China as well as any sign of bourgeois influence. Workers in factories began to wrest power from managers and administrators. The Revolution was led chiefly by leaders like Mao and Lin Piao.

While the Cultural Revolution did introduce a revolutionary spirit in China, it also resulted in creating chaos in China. Later assessments even by the Chinese communist party itself, confirmed that the radicalisation of the Chinese internal system led to very bad and even disastrous results. Firstly, the administration suffered badly with the removal of experienced and mature leaders from power. Secondly, the economic and industrial development suffered because efficient administration was not available. Thirdly, a number of educational institutions were closed down during the Cultural Revolution and this had the effect of denying future scientific and technical leadership. Further the criticism of the intellectuals and the removal of many of the scientists, technical experts and intellectuals from higher educational institutions to the rural side in the name of new revolutionary spirit, resulted in slowing down of the scientific and technological advancement. Fourthly, at the political level there were disastrous consequences. The Chinese Communist Party emerged hopelessly disunited. Many an important leaders like Lio Shao Chi were removed and disgraced on the ground that they were conservative and reactionary. During the Cultural Revolution, it is said that Mao himself began to lose his influence and a small group of radicals under the leadership of Lin Piao and Mao's wife Chiang Ching emerged. These leaders not only succeeded in influencing Mao to remove many of his old and trusted followers but also conspired against other leaders like Chow En Lai. The result was that the entire structure of the Chinese leadership was demoralised and further led to deep dissensions within the Communist Party. Fifthly, in terms of foreign policy the Cultural Revolution resulted in the isolation of China. With the countries of the West, especially with the United States of America, the relations of China declined further. The US' fear of China being an irresponsible and aggressive power got further confirmed. It was during this period that the Vietnam war increased in intensity and the United States got itself involved in the war in a big way. This aspect of the problem is examined in the units on Cold War and Vietnam. With the Soviet Union also, the relations of China declined further. The relations of China suffered very much with some of the Third World countries. For example, India-Chinese relations which became hostile since 1962, deteriorated during the Cultural Revolution period.

Mao Zedong was gradually persuaded by leaders like Chow En Lai to end the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution, as mentioned earlier came to an end by the end of 60s. By the early 70s, China began to come back to normalcy. Leaders like Lin Piao were also forced

to flee (Lin Piao actually got killed in a plane accident). The end of the Cultural Revolution was also reflected in changes in Chinese foreign policy. During the early 70s China established cordial relations with the United States. However, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union continued to be very hostile. In fact, this is one of the reasons for China cultivating the friendship of the United States.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Cultural Revolution.

22.5 POST CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD

From the early 70s to the late 70s two important internal developments could be identified in China. Internal reconstruction became the first important task of China. The negative effects of the Cultural Revolution on administration and economy were sought to be reversed. China began to concentrate on modernisation of its internal set up. The policy of modernisation emerged as the main theme of the Huo Guo Fings regime for internal development. The four modernisations relate to the modernisation of Agriculture, Industry, Science and Technology and National Defence. The second important change in the 70s was the death of Chow En Lai in January 1976 and Mao Zedong in September 1976. The new leaders Huo Guo-Feng and Deng Xiao-Ping, while being communists of long standing experience and having taken part in the Long March, are known to be moderates in their approach to the implementation of communism and are convinced of the need to follow pragmatic and less doctrinaire policies. The emergence of these two leaders is very significant. They were many times degraded from office and humiliated during the Cultural Revolution period. The fact that they came back into prominence demonstrates that the Chinese people and the communist party are now prepared to accept the leadership of moderate and pragmatic leaders. Thus the influence and importance of strictly ideologically oriented leadership is no longer prominent in China.

The changes that took place in China after Mao's death were also reflected in the introduction of the new constitution. China adopted a new constitution in 1982. The constitution declared the socialist system as the basic system of the Peoples' Republic of China. The constitution also declared that power belongs to the people. The organs exercising state power are the National Peoples' Congresses and the Local Peoples' Congresses. The constitution contains Fundamental Rights like the right to vote, right to stand for elections, freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association, procession and demonstrations etc. Some special features of the constitution are that the Chinese citizens have the right as well as duty to work. They have also the right and duty to receive education. The function of the government has been less centralised and the local level organisations are endowed with more powers. A new spirit, the spirit of restoring democracy assumed a very important place in the new set up. A new criminal procedure code guaranteeing more safeguards to citizens against arbitrary arrests and detentions has come into being. In short a flexible and one can even say a liberal mood had set in the Chinese politics. This mood is also reflected in other fields like literature and education.

Mao's contribution to China is a controversial issue. There can hardly be any dispute about the leading role that Mao played in Chinese politics during 1930s and 1940s when he made his most

original contribution to Marxism-Leninism and its application to the developing world. He moved the focus of the struggle from the cities to the countryside and from the urban workers to the peasantry. Alongside, he developed a new form of revolutionary activity in the guerilla warfare, it is this that enabled his peasant armies to capture the cities. The point at dispute is Maos attempt at revolutionary innovation from the Great Leap Forward of 1958 through the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution and its after effects. Present assessments about Mao are mostly critical.

In the above, the developments in China in the 20th century with particular reference to those after the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic are discussed. In the succeeding pages, China's relations with the outside world will be examined:

22.6.0 CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

The relations between China and the United States constitute an important aspect of international relations in contemporary times. Broadly the development of these relations could be studied under two periods 1) The period from 1949 to 1971, and) From 1971 onwards:

22.6.1 The 1971 Period

For more than twenty years, the relation between these two countries were very hostile. As China became communist, the United States, mostly because of its opposition to communism, regarded the rise of communist China as dangerous to its interests in particular and world politics in general. In fact, since the rise of communist China in 1949, the theater of the cold war got extended to Asia and to some extent the United States was more hostile to communist China than even to the Soviet Union.

As already stated, the quarrel between the capitalist ideology of the Western powers (led by the USA) and the communist ideology was responsible for this. But there is also a special reason why the United States was particularly hostile to China. From the 19th century onwards the United States established close relations with China and regarded China as a special area to cultivate and acquire influence over. The United States to some degree was against political domination or colonialism over other peoples of the type that the European powers practised. But it was not against the idea that the values of western civilization should be introduced through education, culture, and religion, to the other parts of the world. China, in the eyes of the United States was the place to experiment with this. It was partly with this intention that the United States established closer relations with China. American religious missionaries went to China in large numbers and established many educational institutions. Many Chinese students used to go to the United States for education during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Interests relating to trade were also responsible for the United States establishing close relations with China. After all, China is the world's largest country even in the 19th century and the requirements of American capitalism made it necessary for the United States to enter into trade and commercial relations with this country. Similarly, the benefits of acquiring indirect political influence over foreign countries also led to United States' policy of cultivating good relations with China which was a weak country for a long time. Even after the Chinese revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911, United States-China relations were very strong and friendly. Many of the Chinese nationalist leaders like Sun Yet Sen and Ching Kai Shek had very close relations with the United States and were influenced by the United States' political, cultural and religious institutions and values.

But the United States was hostile to the growth of the communist ideology in China and extended full support to Chiang Kai Shek in the thirties and the forties when the communist

movement was spreading there. Though the United States tried to bring about a reconciliation between the communists and Ching Kai Shek during the last stages of the Chinese civil war (ie. immediately after the II World War) these attempts failed.

The above facts explain why with the establishment of the communist regime in 1949 in China, US-China relations became bitter. The United States believed that China would extend its revolutionary creed to the other parts of Asia. When the Korean war broke out in 1950 with communist North Korea invading South Korea, the United States was convinced that this was due to the instigation from communist China. Again when communist insurrections broke out in the other parts of South-East Asia (for example in Malaya, now called Malaysia) the United States again held China responsible. These issues are discussed in the units on Cold War and Vietnam. The point to be noted here is that the United States believed that communist China would be a threat to the peace and stability of Asia. This fact accounted for the spread and growth of cold war in this part of the world.

But the United States from the beginning exaggerated the responsibility of China in the spread of the communist movements in South-East Asia. The role of genuine nationalism in Vietnam was underestimated by the United States. In Korea, in reality, the Chinese did not instigate North Korea which invaded South Korea on its own. In fact, the Soviet Union, more than China, had given some encouragement to the North Koreans. The United States over-estimated the role of China and in so doing even invaded China during the Korean war. It was this fact that compelled China to become more hostile to the United States.

Whatever may be the interpretations about China's role, the ultimate effect is that by the early fifties the relations between China and the US became totally hostile. The United States proceeded to establish anti-communist and anti-Chinese military alliances like the South East Asian Treaty Organisation, the Central Treaty Organisation and the Australia-Newzealand - US Pact in Asia and the Far East. It refused to recognise communist China as a State and with the support of Western powers prevented the admission of China into the United Nations Organisation. The United States continued to recognise only Formosa (a small island nearly the Chinese mainland where the former nationalist government of China sought refuge, as China. The United States also proclaimed that it would not permit China to occupy Formosa. It extended immense military support to Formosa. It stationed large US military forces in South Korea and Japan to contain China.

Throughout the fifties and the sixties China-American relations remained very enmical. As the communist led civil war in Vietnam spread in this period the relations became even more hostile. China did extend support to the communists as they were convinced that if the entire Vietnam became communist, the whole of South East Asia would become communist.

This view of the Americans was called the 'Domino theory' which meant that as in the game of dominoes if one domino falls it will cause the fall of all other dominoes. With this theory in view the Americans, as already discussed in the unit on Vietnam, got themselves fully involved to fight the expansion of communism. But they failed totally.

But in the late 60s, the United States realised that they cannot fight against communism in Vietnam. Other factors also led to the US changing its uncompromising opposition to China. The rise of Sino-Soviet dispute made the Americans realise that they need not fear China as much as they did earlier. Further, China too began to revise its assessment of the United States because of China's dispute with the Soviet Union. The Chinese realised that they can not afford to be permanently hostile to the world's most powerful State, the U.S. In addition to these

reasons, the US public opinion was also responsible for the official American policy undergoing a change with regard to China. The United States felt that improvement of relations with the world's largest country like China would enable them to increase their trade and commerce. These and various other reasons led to the United States, for the first time since 1949, opening up negotiations with China. This occurred with the visit of the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to China in 1971. This aspect of the problem has already been discussed in the Unit on Detente.

22.6.2 From 1971 Onwards

The point is that since 1971 there occurred a radical alteration in the relations between the US and China. The USA stated giving scientific and technological help to China and the recent visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to the United States and American President's visit to China are indications of the great change that took place in their relationships. Ofcourse, still there are some problems existing between China and the US. For example, the United States still regards Formosa (Taiwan) as a separate country. China regards Taiwan as part of communist China. But the United States is extending its military help to safeguard the independence of Formosa. On this there is no agreement yet between the communist China and the US. As already stated Sino-American relations cannot be discussed in isolation. They are related to the relationship between the US and the Soviet Union. Now, if the United States decides to improve its relationship with the Soviet Union, to some extent, the Sino-American relations will also change. But at present, the Sino-American relations are far more cordial than the relationship between the superpowers.

22.7.0 CHINA AND THE SOVIET-UNION

One of the unique features of contemporary international relations is the sudden change in the relations between the two giants of the world the Soviet Union and china. It still surprises scholars and diplomats how these two countries both wedded to the ideology of communism could become so hostile to each other. A brief examination of their relationship is necessary.

Broadly, the relationship between the Soviet Union and China could be divided into the following periods:

1. From 1949 to the late 50s.
2. From the late 50s to the early 80s and
3. From the early 80s to the present.

22.7.1 From 1949 to the late Fifties

In this period the relations between the newly emerged People's Republic of China and the soviet Union were very cordial. As a longstanding senior communist state, the Soviet Union established very close and intimate relations with communist China in 1949. As communist China is the biggest country in the world the Soviet Union naturally desired to befriend China as a close ideological partner and ally. Here one important point should be noted. Before the success of the Communist revolution, there was not much of an understanding between the Soviet leadership and the communist leadership under Mao Dzedong. In fact there were disagreements on many points. The Soviet leaders, especially Stalin, regarded Mao's revolutionary policies with suspicion and thought that Mao was wrong in trying to launch the communist revolution in China almost exclusively with the support of the peasantry of China. Mao on his part refused to be guided by outside communist leaders like Stalin. There were many other points of difference.

However, with Mao and his party successfully leading the civil war, the Soviet Union got reconciled with Mao and began to extend all support to China in its attempt at building socialism in China. The prevalence of the Cold War between the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union and the western States led by the United States was another compelling reason for the Soviet Union and China to come very close to each other. The new communist China in 1949 was regarded as a hostile country by the western powers and hence it had the compelling reason to align itself with the Soviet Union forgetting the differences that existed earlier.

China and the Soviet Union concluded a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1950. The Soviet Union extended economic and technical help to China and during this period most of the external assistance in money and technical knowledge to China was given by the Soviet Union and other Eastern European communist states. So close was the relationship that the Soviet Union helped China in initiating research in nuclear technology also. In fact, if the Chinese were able to build nuclear bomb in 1964, it was because of the initial help of the Soviet Union in extending technical knowledge to China in the 50s.

Ideologically also there were very cordial relations between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Though China did not become an obedient disciple of the Soviet Union, very close relations existed between these two countries. China, for all practical purposes, was regarded as a member of the Soviet bloc.

22.7.2 From the late 50s to the early 80s

This period is marked by the starting of Sino-Soviet dispute and its growth in intensity. The dispute is also called the Sino-Soviet schism (schism means quarrel over ideological and doctrinal matters). These differences arose during the 50s and got increased in the subsequent years when by the 60s the two countries became bitter enemies. For the present purpose, the quarrel could be studied under the following factors:

- a) Ideological Factor: Difference arose between the two countries about the interpretation and implementation of communist ideology, both relating to foreign policy issues and issues about how to build socialism.

The foreign policy issues centred round the relations with the capitalist world. by 1955, the Soviet Union began to change its attitude towards the capitalist world. Nikita Khrushchev, who came to power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin, stated that war between the communist and the capitalist countries is no longer inevitable. Khrushchev regarded that in the atomic age, it is suicidal to believe in the idea of inevitability of war between the communist and the capitalist worlds. Therefore, the Soviet Union started giving emphasis to the policy for co-existence between the two systems. With this policy, the Chinese leaders disagreed openly. Mao believed that the communist world cannot ignore the fundamental differences between itself and the capitalist imperialist powers and that the communist world should continue to express its hostility and prepare itself for confrontation with the western non-communist countries. The reason for Mao adopting this line of thinking was part because China was still feeling the hostility of the United States and because being a country that only recently emerged from a bloody civil war its revolutionary spirit was persistent. Mao accused the Soviet Union of cowardice when Khrushchev advocated the policy of co-existence with the western powers. Mao was also critical of Khrushchev because Khrushchev since 1956 began the policy of destalinisation. Under this policy, the new Soviet leadership exposed what it regarded as the cruel and despotic policies that Stalin pursued for the Soviet Union during 20s, 30s, and 40s when he controlled the Soviet Union. Mao's position was that in exposing

Stalin, the new Soviet leadership was giving up the very theory of communist revolution and thus compromising communism to an intolerable extent.

These differences of opinion did not subside and in 1962 when Khrushchev decided to compromise with the United States over the Cuban missiles crisis Mao vehemently criticised Khrushchev stating that the Soviet Union had betrayed the cause of communism. About the same time occurred the Sino-Indian war (1962) and Khrushchev did not support China. This led to further embitterment in the Sino-Soviet relationship.

Another important cause for rivalry between China and the Soviet Union was their competition for leadership in Asia. The Chinese regarded themselves as a power belonging to the third world and hence they would be the real inspirers of revolution in the Asian countries. On the other hand the Soviet Union, was claiming both the model and the inspiration for revolution and radical reform of the third world. The Sino-Soviet rift, it should be remembered also led to splits within the communist parties of Asia, resulting in the weakening of the communist movement in general in these countries.

Another ideological factor related to the theory and practice of building communism, as already discussed earlier, is that China had followed its own methods of internal economic development. This is done through policies like the Great Leap Forward. The Soviet Union regarded such policies as wrong policies. It wanted that the Chinese should more or less follow policies similar to those that the Soviet Union followed in its industrial and agricultural development. Mao refused to be led by the Soviet advice and experience.

The Cultural Revolution in China was another important ideological cause that intensified the Sino-Soviet quarrel. To the Soviet leadership the Chinese Cultural Revolution was nothing short of irresponsible adventurism. To Mao the Cultural Revolution was necessary to keep up the revolutionary tempo in a communist society.

- b) **Personality Factor:** Personality clashes between the top leaders of the Soviet Union and China were also responsible for the Sino-Soviet quarrel. The discussion on ideological difference itself shows that Mao and Khrushchev had fundamentally different in the interpretation of the future of communism. Mao was particularly critical of Khrushchev's policies. Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist policies especially came for vehement condemnation by Mao. In short, Mao held that Khrushchev was responsible for diluting the radical and revolutionary aspects of communist theory and practice.

The Soviet policy of co-existence with the West almost continued by Khrushchev's successor Leonid Brezhnev. Hence the opposition between Soviet Union and China continued. China regarded the Soviet Union's efforts to pursue detente with the United States as an indication of the Soviet Union's collaborating with the Imperialist powers. The Chinese leaders started calling the Soviet policy as one of social imperialism and the Soviet Union as a Social Imperialist powers. As the detente between the two superpowers progressed in the late 60s and 70s, the Chinese criticised this as not only compromising communism to the interest of the capitalist world but also as the conspiracy of the superpowers to isolate China and even to crush China.

- c) **The Territorial Factor:** There were also disputes arising out of territorial claims between China and Soviet Union. It should be remembered that Russia and China share a very long border and so historically controversies about territories existed. Further, as already stated in earlier units, under the Tzars, Russia also took away part of the Chinese territory. After

the Russian revolution, the communist leaders no doubt gave back to China some of the territories that Russia appropriated from China. But China in all, claims that still Russia is occupying part of the Chinese territory. As long as disputes on other issues did not rise, these territorial quarrels remained unimportant. But when once China and the Soviet Union developed serious conflicts over ideological issues, the territorial issues also became prominent. The Chinese now accuse the Soviet Union of still keeping areas of China which were appropriated by Russia during the Tzarist regime. These disputes relate particularly to the eastern and north eastern borders of China which constitute the western and south western borders of the Soviet Union. Actually, because of these territorial disputes armed conflicts took place between the Soviet Union and Chinese forces in 1969. Thus, the Sino Soviet cold war not only remained a cold war but also became a hot war though for a very short period.

China and Russia also have nationalist rivalry. In spite of the fact that both the countries are subscribing to communist ideology, which theoretically denies the importance of nationalism, yet in practice the Chinese are very broad about their nationalism and so do the Russians feel about their nationalism. Therefore, it can be seen that territorial claims and nationalist rivalries also account for the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The Sino-Soviet dispute showed no sign of decline for nearly two decades, i.e. from the late 50s to the 80s. However, with the changes in leadership in China by the early 80s and also changes in Soviet leadership, there is some improvement in their relations.

There have been many meetings between high-ranking Soviet officials and leaders and Chinese officials and leaders. China has proposed certain conditions for normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union. Some of the important conditions are that the Soviet Union should reduce the military forces stationed on the China border and that the Soviet Union should withdraw from Afghanistan. As yet, no definite agreement has been reached on these issues between the two countries. But the point is that there is some improvement in the contacts between the two countries.

Of course, Sino-Soviet relations are to a large extent determined by the relations between the China and the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the United States on the other. Any substantial improvement in the relations between the two big communist countries will depend upon the existing relationship between China and the U.S. As long as the latter relationship remains strong, so long the Soviet Union would regard China with suspicion. Experts say that it will take a long time before a complete cordiality in the relationship between the China and the Soviet Union can occur. They also wonder whether when once the Soviet Union and China become fast friends, the shape of international relations will not change radically. In that situation, once again tensions between the western world and the communist world may emerge as they did during the late 40s and early 50s. But, on the other hand, there is also the view that the spirit of detente between the communist system and the capitalist system has become a reality, though occasional tensions and rivalries are arising, as examined in the units on the Cold War and Detente. This view holds that even in the future, a full-scale return to the old type of Cold War is improbable.

22.8 CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

China's relations with the third world also underwent some changes. Even from the beginning of its existence, as an under-developed country, communist China identified itself with the other under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As a country committed to the

revolutionary cause and being strongly anti-western, China supported the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements in the third world. It cultivated relations with some of the third world countries.

China's position in the third world is rather peculiar. As a communist country, in one sense it is counted as a second world country, as distinct from the third world countries which are neither purely communist nor purely capitalist democracies. But China evolved its own theory of the Three Worlds. According to this theory, the First World consists of both the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, the Second World consist of the industrially developed countries of Western Europe and Japan and the Third World consist of all other under-developed countries including China. Thus, China regards itself as a third world country. As the quarrel with the Soviet Union increased, China made more efforts to develop closer relations with the third world countries. In the 60s, the Chinese established very cordial relations with some of the African countries particularly Tanzania and gave economic and military support to the freedom movements in Mozambique and other areas. This attempt was partly to neutralise or oppose the Soviet Union gaining influence in these parts of the third world.

China's influence in the third world is now quite considerable. Though as a poor country, the extent to which it could give economic help the other countries in the third world is limited, still as a very big country with considerable military power and political influence and its strong commitment to anti-colonial policies, China is able to maintain its influence in various parts of the Third World.

When China emerged as a communist country in 1949, its relations with the other parts of the world were still marginal. This was partly because the new communist government in China did not have the opportunity to come to know the other parts of the third world intimately. The Chinese were introduced in to the third world by India at the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955. This gave the first major opportunity for China to establish good relations with some of the third world countries. However, those third world countries that were opposed to communism, countries like Pakistan, Iran and the countries of South East Asia were very suspicious of the Chinese communist regime. During the 50s, it can be said that India and other non-aligned countries were very friendly towards China. This situation changed when the territorial disputes between China and India became prominent and war resulted between them in 1962. During the 60s, China was able to increase its influence among the Afro-Asian countries almost as a rival to India. For example this is the period when China and Pakistan became fast friends. Their friendship was very much the result of their common enmity towards India. Even though, Pakistan was a member of the western's sponsored alliances, the SEATO and the CENTO which were aimed against communist countries, still Pakistan and China became closer allies. Actually in 1963, Pakistan surrendered to China some territory which was under its occupation in Kashmir. Throughout the 60s and 70s, China could maintain very good relations with some of the third world countries, though with some others like India, its relations were strained.

The Sino-Soviet rivalry has also an important effect on the two communist countries' policies towards the third world. As already mentioned earlier, though both these countries are in a position to befriend the third world countries, because of their consistent support for anti-colonialism, there is also the fact of their own competition to gain influence. This is an important feature of present day international relations.

22.9 CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS

China's relations with South East Asia are very important. In the beginning, as China came into existence, the South East Asian countries (some of them like, Malasia, Singapore, Vietnam,

Laos and Cambodia were still under western colonialism) were afraid of China because of their fear that China as a revolutionary country would try to encourage communist movements in their own areas. The western powers encouraged some of the South East Asian countries to oppose China and under these circumstances, the western sponsored alliance SEATO was born. China supported the communists in the Vietnam war in the 50s and because of this other South East Asian countries like Thailand and the Philippines were mortally afraid of China. After the creation of North and South Vietnam after the Vietnam war, most of the South East Asian states continued to be hostile towards China and also the Soviet Union. The second major Vietnam war that took place in the 60s confirmed this hostility of South East Asian states towards communist China. There was no doubt that the Chinese were giving substantial help to the communist guerillas in South Vietnam during the 60s confirmed this hostility of South East Asian states towards communist China. In this period most of the South East Asian States with the instigation and support of the United States regarded China as their main enemy and threat. But the situation changed dramatically after some time. The whole of Vietnam came under Communist control by 1972 and there was nothing that the South East Asian nations can do to stop this. Since then, apart from China, communist Vietnam emerged as the main threat to the other South East Asian nations. By the end of 1970s another dramatic turn of the situation occurred. Communist Vietnam and China themselves became enemies to each other. This was because Vietnam remained closer to the Soviet Union than to communist China. Even though communist China actively supported the spread of communism in Vietnam since the end of the Second World war, by the time Vietnam became united under communist rule, serious differences of opinion developed between Vietnam and China. These differences of opinion increased and by 1970 China invaded parts of Vietnam though this war did not continue for very long. Since then relations between China and Vietnam have remained hostile. Thus, it can be seen that due to the Sino-Soviet quarrel, China and Vietnam, which were very close to each other for a very long time became enemies since the end of the 70s. The enmity between China and Vietnam now makes the South East Asian countries no longer fear China to the same extent as they did before. These countries now regard Vietnam as their main threat. There is now the possibility of China improving its relations with the other South East Asian powers. As long as the Sino-Soviet enmity continues so long relations between China and Vietnam are likely to remain very tense and hostile.

22.10 CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

Traditionally, China and Japan had been enemies. This enmity was heightened both before and after the Second World War. Before the Second World War, China was a victim of Japanese imperialism. After 1949 also because of Japan's close relations with the United States of America, China regarded Japan as a stooge of the Americans. For over 20 years China regarded Japan as a hostile power. Further the rise to prominence of Japan as one of the big industrial powers of the world causes anxiety in the Chinese. But, once again, because of the Sino-Soviet quarrel gradually China's attitude towards Japan changed and this change was further encouraged by the US. It has already been mentioned how from 1971 onwards, the United States and China started establishing friendly relations. The United States took this opportunity in persuading China and Japan to sign a peace treaty. Both China and Japan fear the Soviet Union and this common fear, along with the persuasion of the United States made it possible for China and Japan to come to an understanding. Of course, ideologically China and Japan are opposed to each other. But because of the strange international situation, particularly their common fear of the Soviet Union, there is now less hostility between the two countries.

22.11 CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA

In another Unit dealing with Indian foreign policy, Sino-Indian relations have been dealt with. Here, only a brief reference to the relationship is necessary. India wanted to cultivate the friendship of China even though they were not committed to the same economic and political ideologies and in fact, China and India could establish very friendly relationships from 1949 to 1960. But then came the serious difference of opinion over the territorial dispute relating to the long boundary between India and China extending between Kashmir in the west to the North Eastern frontier of India. The result was the Sino-Indian war of 1962. For nearly two decades relations between the two countries were very hostile. The Chinese occupied over 40,000 sq.kms. of Indian territory. India insisted that unless the Chinese withdrew there could not be normalisation of relations. For nearly two decades, there were no trade relations between the two countries and only minimum diplomatic relations were maintained. However, in 1976, India took the initiative in reopening a dialogue with China and the Chinese also were prepared for this dialogue. Since then there was some normalisation of relations. However, no agreement could be reached so far on the main issue that affected Sino-Indian relations-the territorial issue. Periodical negotiations between high ranking Indian officials and Chinese officials are taking place but there is no agreement on the territorial dispute. However, one positive development is that contacts between the China and India have become frequent, trade and commerce between the two countries is once again going on. There have been talks between the high level political leaders of the two countries and the hope is that these contacts and improvements in other aspects of relations will enable the two countries to settle their border problem also.

One important factor should also be mentioned. The relations between India and China are to some extent connected with the Indo-Soviet relations. China regards India's relations with the Soviet Union with some suspicion though officially the Chinese say that they do not mind the special relations between India and the Soviet Union. Still, because of their quarrel with the Soviet Union, they do express mis-conceptions about India's relations with the Soviet Union. On the part of the Soviet Union also there is some apprehension that if the relations between India and China improve India's attitude towards the Soviet Union may change. It is very difficult to say whether the Indo-Soviet friendship is standing in the way of the full normalisation of relations between India and China. Of course the border disputes constitute a major problem standing in the way of India and China becoming good friends. Still the Soviet factor is an important element in the Sino-Indian relations.

**Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao.
& Dr. P. Manikyamba.**

22.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. What are the causes and consequences of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China?
2. Briefly discuss the relations between the United States and China from 1949 to the present.
3. Discuss the factors leading to intense hostility between China and the Soviet Union.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each:

1. What are the distinguishing features of the Communist Revolution of 1949 in China?
2. Give an account of the internal conditions in China in the post Cultural Revolution period.
3. What are the relations between China and the Third World?

BRAOU

BLOCK-7 : CHALLENGE TO WORLD PEACE : PROBLEMS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The units in this Block are:

Unit - 23: The problem of Armaments to World Peace

Unit - 24: World Poverty: Causes and Remedies

BRAOU

UNIT - 23 : THE PROBLEM OF ARMAMENTS

Contents:

- 23.0 Objectives
- 23.1 Introduction
- 23.2 Arms race and Arms Trade
- 23.3 Destructive Power - Dangers
- 23.4 Arms race - Major Causes
- 23.5 Early efforts at disarmament
- 23.6 Arms control measures
- 23.7 Conclusion
- 23.8 Model Questions.

23.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- arms race and Arms trade
- early efforts at disarmament
- arms control measures

23.1 INTRODUCTION

The main problem the world facing is the problem of war. Not only the quarrels between nations have increased, but the armaments and weapons that are now available have increased the dangers of war. Nuclear weapons are available since the end of the Second World War and these weapons make the prospects of war terrible. Never before in history so many new, sophisticated and dangerous weapons came into being, threatening the peace and safety of the world.

In the early units we have discussed how the idea of disarmament gained favour as a method of reducing the incentive for wars, if not to abolish wars altogether. Under the League of Nations some efforts were made to introduce disarmament but these have not been successful. The problem of increase in the armaments after the Second World War is even bigger - both in terms of quantity, quality and cost of the new weapons.

Ever since states came into existence, there have been armed forces and arms. But their burden on the economies was not as huge as it is today, nor was their destructive capability as awesome as now. But by the 19th century their harmful effects of arms race began to be realised. As early as 1816 the then Czar of Russia proposed to Great Britain that there should be a simultaneous reduction of all types of armed forces. Similar formal proposals were made at least on six occasions in the 19th century by one country or the other. The two Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, which made significant contributions towards the development of international law, also adopted resolutions recommending disarmament. The restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles on Germany's armed forces and armaments were considered to be the first step towards general disarmament. Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations called for the

reduction of armed forces to the lowest point consistent with national security. The preamble to the U.N. Charter speaks of saving the succeeding generations from the scourge of war; Articles 11 and 26 of the Charter authorise the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council to prepare plans for disarmament for adoption by member-states. Yet nothing came out of all these pious suggestions, resolutions and commandments.

23.2 ARMS RACE AND ARMS TRADE.

If anything the arms race has reached unprecedented levels after the Second World War. The three major military powers USSR, China, and United States have between them 10 million armed forces; India has more than 12 million. The world defence expenditure for the year 1984-85 was estimated at \$ 800 billion; the countries of the North account for 88% of this expenditure. While over half of the population of the world suffers from poverty, illhealth, illiteracy and malnutrition, precious resources are being wasted on these destructive adventures. Probably for the first time in the history of the mankind, there is hope of vanishing poverty and its attendant evils because of the great strides have not been taken ostensibly for want of funds; enough funds, however, are found for armaments.

Even poor countries are not paragons of virtue in this regard. In 1983, Milton Leitenbert and Nicole Ball prepared an estimate of the military expenditures of 96 Third World countries. According to them, 53 of those countries are spending between 10% to 74% of their budgets on defence. Between 1972-82, the Third World spent \$ 286 billion on arms purchases 61% of these from the United States and its allies and 39% from the Soviet Union and its allies. Between 1950-70 arms exports increased seven folds in the world. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) while the GNP of all the Third World countries increased by 5% a year between 1950-70 arms imports grew by 7% a year during the same period. Sometimes some Third World countries import sophisticated weapons for reasons of prestige even when they cannot operate them. For instance, some of the Soviet weapons imported by Somalia between 1963-66 were allowed to rust in the port. Even if they can operate the weapons, their maintenance costs a lot for the Third World. For instance, in the West, the repair and maintenance of a tank requires 400 man-hours per year; a destroyer requires 4500 man-hours; and each aircraft requires four men full time. Either the weapons have to be maintained that way, which is expensive, or else they are a waste.

Yet the Third World imports weapons and the arms-exporting countries sell them. The arms exporting countries have two motives: 1. They earn foreign exchange which improves their balance of payments position. In 1982, when the United States was going through economic recession, its arms exports brought in a hefty sum of \$ 30 billion, 2. Arms exporters also try to influence the foreign policies of the buying countries. The SIPRI speaks of two risks involved in this connection: i) by developing a kind of control over and identification with the client States, the rival arms exporting countries (mostly superpowers) tend to get indirectly involved in local conflicts, and, ii) step by step this might lead to a direct conflict between the superpowers themselves which would be a catastrophe for the world.

23.3 DISTRUCTIVE POWER-DANGERS

The reason for a direct conflict between the two superpowers becoming a catastrophe for the world in their possession of awesome nuclear weapons. The world had its first taste of destruction that is wrought by nuclear weapons in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. The United States dropped atom bombs on these Japanese cities towards the end of the Second World War. The two cities were completely destroyed. Estimates of death

in these two cities in the nuclear attack vary. According to one estimate, in Hiroshima 118,000 people died in the attack and another 22,000 in the following four months; in Nagasaki 140,000 were killed. Yet these were small nuclear devices in comparison with what the world has today. According to Prof. Philip Morrison, who was on the Manhattan Project (code name for Atomic bomb development programme in the USA between 1941-45), there are 50,000 nuclear weapons today in the arsenals of the nuclear powers. Their total explosive capacity is equal to one million times the capacity of the one which destroyed Hiroshima.

The present stock of nuclear weapons can destroy the world many times over-according to one estimate 50 times over. In an all out or total nuclear war between the two superpowers, according to one estimate, in the first three minutes of the nuclear war itself 750 million people would die. According to Prof. Philip Morrison in the event of such a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, even if not a single bomb falls on India, there is a possibility of half of its population being killed because of the radiation effects of nuclear weapons.

Yet the nuclear powers are building more and more powerful nuclear bombs. Their defence strategists argue that this will act as a deterrent against war. All the nuclear powers have, what in the nuclear jargon called, second strike capability, i.e. they have the ability to survive the first nuclear attack from their adversaries and launch a counter-attack on them. The two superpowers also have what is known as Mutual and Assured Destruction capability (its appropriate acronym being MAD), i.e. each can assuredly destroy the other. Since each knows that the other is capable of destroying it, the strategists argue, neither would go to war with the other. This is what is known as the balance of terror. But since they already have enough to destroy each other and the rest of the world along with them many times over, it makes no sense in continuing this mad race.

But the greatest danger to the world is not so much from a deliberate nuclear war as from an accidental war. Fear might prevent a deliberate nuclear war; but accidents might cause it. It makes no difference whether the war breaks out deliberately or accidentally since in either case the world is likely to be destroyed.

Once Khrushchev, the former head of the Soviet government told Nixon, the former President of the United States, that an errant Soviet missile, i.e. one which goes off the course intended, headings towards Alaska, an American State, had to be destroyed in its flight. Had it reached Alaska before being destroyed, the Americans would have considered it a deliberate Soviet provocation, and a nuclear war might have started. On another occasion, the malfunctioning of the American radar system resulted in a nuclear alert being given by the United States; this error was fortunately detected in time. Miscalculations on the part of either superpower, like the one during the Caribbean missiles crisis in 1962, might also lead to disastrous consequences.

The nuclear establishments of the superpowers are also very vast. For instance, in 1972, 120,000 people had access to the US, nuclear weapons or responsibilities in their release process. Out of these about 36,564 had to be removed from service later on grounds of indiscipline, alcoholism, drug abuse or mental-illness. In moments of psychological stress, even such people might cause an accidental nuclear war. Although there are effective checks on these establishments, no checks are perfect. It is this awareness which led to the establishment of direct telephonic link between the White House and the Kremlin, the Hot Line as it is called, after the Caribbean crisis in 1962.

Even if accidents are ruled out, there is a danger from terrorists to-day. A number of American Universities store finished weapons grade uranium for research purpose. According to retired Admiral Thomas Davies of the United States, within the next decade the amount of plutonium under civilian control in the world will exceed the Super power's military stocks. Experts say that if terrorists can lay their hands on weapons grade plutonium, a crude bombs small enough to fit in a Dodge mini-van can be built Terrorists can thus cause havoc. There is also a possibility of sabotaging nuclear power plants with similar effects.

In spite of the awareness of these dangers, there are no signs of any let up in the nuclear arms race. The United States is going ahead with its plan to station 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles, i.e, carriers of nuclear weapons, in Western Europe on the ground that there is an imbalance between the NATO and Warsaw Pact in respect of Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMS) in Europe. President Reagan says that if the soviet Union removes all its 340 SS20 missiles from its bases in Eastern Europe, he would not deploy his missiles. But thi is unacceptable to the Soviet Union. Moscow wants to have as many SS20 missiles in Eastern Europe as the combined strength of the British and French missiles, i.e, 162, and remove the rest. This is unacceptable to the West. President Reagan has also launched his Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), popularly known as Star Wars programme. This is an attempt to invent a weapon capable of destroying enemy missiles in Space. In due course the Russians would try to acquire a matching weapon.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is Star-War Programme ?

23.4 ARMS RACE-MAJOR CAUSES

The factors which have contributed to this mad race in the Post-war period are: 1. Unprecedented prosperity in the North, particularly in the West European countries and North America. Even in such highly enlightened societies, masses are not ordinarily much bothered about foreign and defence affairs. They assert themselves only in times of economic crisis which affect their day-to-day lives. Since they have been enjoying high levels of prosperity with occasional set backs they let the politicians to continue with their war games. 2. Ideological fanaticism is another reason for the arms race. Although ideologies are mere cloaks for power politics played by politicians, the masses on both sides have been impregnated with a crusading zeal by the propaganda machines of both the blocs, particularly in the 1950s and the 1960s. The result was that most people on both sides were convinced that their rivals were all set to impose their ideology on them by force. This made it easy for the rulers to continue the race particularly in the West where public opinion counts. 3. The emergence of strong military-industrial complexes particularly in the United States and the Soviet Union was the other reason for the arms race. Military-industrial complexes develop vested interests in continuing the race since that would ensure their expansion. In the American context, since almost all munitions industries are in the private sector they have a greater interest in the continuance of the arms race since that ensures their profits. Since statesmen on both sides are civilians, they are likely to be taken in by the expert advice of the military top brass, put in jargon, on the need to have a larger and larger military establishment.

Another very important factor for increasing the desire among countries for arms, resulting in arms-races between different nations is the increasing number of countries producing armaments to sell them to others. The big industrialised countries, the U.S.A., countries of Western Europe and USSR are the major arms-sellers. During the cold war period, they were giving arms to their allies, in many cases free of cost. But now, arms sales are more common. And now there are many countries willing to buy these arms to increase their military strength, for instance the West Asian countries, which have become very rich because of the money they are getting oil, have been the principal arms purchasers. And since West Asia, is a region full of tensions, the flow of arms is contributing to the tensions further. The Iran-Iraq war is a good example of this. Other countries of the Third World also are buyers of arms.

However, the burden imposed by the arms race on both the super powers is now having a telling effect on their economies. The United States has a \$ 200 billion deficit budget and yet it has set apart over \$ 300 billion for defence for the year 1985-86. The Soviet Union with over half the United States GNP is spending as much on defence as the just United States. This cannot go on for ever.

23.5 EARLY EFFORTS AT DISARMAMENT.

It is evident from the above discussion that total disarmament or at least arms control is the need of the hour. Total disarmament may be an impracticable proposition; arms control is a feasible idea. Since the beginning of this century attempts at disarmament were made in vain. Therefore, it would be appropriate at this stage to discuss some of the attempts made and the reasons for their failure.

The first world Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva in 1932 under the aegis of the League of Nations. The conference failed to achieve anything because of the Franco-German rivalry. Germany wanted that in any plan for reducing the armed forces and armaments the principle of equality should be applied. Her argument was that countries of more or less equal size should be allowed equal quantities of armed forces and armaments. In view of her rivalry with France, Germany wanted that either the size of the French military establishment should be brought to German levels or Germany should be allowed to raise its size to the French levels. This was unacceptable to France. She wanted that the principle of national security requirements should be applied in deciding the size. Since her national security requirements were larger, she should have a larger military machine than Germany. So disarmament efforts between the two world wars failed. After the Second World War the issue of disarmament once again became prominent particularly because of the rise of the nuclear weapons. The first atomic bomb was used by America against Japan during the closing stages of the Second World War.

The first major proposal to curtail nuclear weapons was the US proposal made to the UN. This is known as the Baruch plan, because Mr. Benard Baruch, an American industrialist, introduced this as plan. Under this plan, the US proposed that the entire responsibility for research in nuclear power be entrusted to the UN and no single nation be allowed to conduct nuclear research. But the Soviet Union objected to this plan as she feared that the US having already acquired the atomic bomb will have the advantage to use her knowledge and produce nuclear weapons whenever it wished to do so. At that time the Soviet Union did not acquire atomic weapons and if the Baruch Plan was implemented, she would be denied the opportunity to have them. So the very first attempt to put nuclear research under international control did not succeed.

Later the Soviet Union proposed proportionate reduction of conventional armed forces of the Western bloc and Soviet bloc countries. The Western powers did not agree to this. Then the Soviet Union proposed prohibition of nuclear weapons. But the US and her allies rejected this proposal because suitable inspectional arrangements could not be agreed upon.

The West wanted that any reasonable disarmament agreement should be accompanied by provisions for international inspection to see that the agreements are honestly implemented by both sides. The Soviet Union opposed international inspection on the ground that it violates the sovereignty of states. Thus nothing concrete emerged from these series of talks.

Suggestions for disarmament agreements are easy to make but hard to translate into practice. Because there are difficult problems to overcome. One of the problems to be surmounted is the decision on ratios between different countries. Obviously, all countries cannot be treated as equals and asked to have armed forces and armaments of the same size. The second problem is, assuming that a satisfactory solution to the problem of ratios have been worked out, the standard according to which different types and quantities of weapons have to be allotted within this ratio. There are different types of weapons, weapons with longer range, medium range and short range. They cannot all be treated on par with each other. Therefore, decisions have to be taken on issues like how many short range weapons are equal to one medium range weapon or how many medium range weapons are equal to one long range weapon and so on. These problems and, of course, mutual fears and suspicions have come in the way of disarmament agreements.

23.6 ARMS CONTROL MEASURES.

As difficulties arose in the matter of nuclear disarmament, another method of disarmament called Arms Control, came into existence. Disarmament strictly means actually reducing certain type of armaments, like nuclear bombs, missiles that carry the bombs to distance places. But as agreement on such matters was not possible because the superpowers could not agree, attempts were made to curtail the technological developments of armaments. This is called arms control. For example, because it was not possible to agree to stop the production of nuclear missiles and various types of inspection agreements to see that the superpowers do not violate these arms control agreements come into existence.

In view of the deleterious effects of nuclear explosions in atmosphere, on the mankind scientists have been making suggestions for a ban on atmospheric explosions for a long time. Therefore, in the nuclear field some small successes have been achieved. In 1963 the Moscow Test Ban Treaty was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and other countries; this banned atmospheric tests. This was not signed by France, which had conducted its first nuclear test only in 1958 and China which was to conduct its test in October 1964. Both these powers considered the treaty as a conspiracy hatched by the two super powers to prevent them from becoming nuclear powers. India had acceded to the treaty.

In 1968 the same powers also sponsored the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). By this time fear began to be expressed that if more and more countries acquire nuclear weapons, prevention of a nuclear war would become difficult. There are to-day over 20 countries in the world which can go nuclear if they want to. Therefore, the purpose of the treaty was to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by countries which were not nuclear powers then.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was passed by the UN to stop the spread of (proliferation) of nuclear weapons in the world. By 1968, five countries acquired nuclear bombs (USA, USSR, UD, France and China) and world opinion was afraid that some more countries may also

produce the bomb. The NPT mainly wants to stop the spread of bombs to other countries, though it was envisaged that the countries now possessing nuclear weapons would at least reduce their nuclear armaments and did enter into some agreements. But these were limited in scope and still left the super powers with huge quantities of nuclear weapons. On the whole, N.P.T. bars non-nuclear weapons states from acquiring the bomb and puts many restrictions on their freedom even to conduct research in the nuclear field. Therefore, some of the non-nuclear weapons states are very critical of this Treaty as it discriminates, between those that already possess the bomb and those that do not. India, in particular, raised strong objections on the above grounds and has not signed the treaty. India's main objection is that the NPT puts discriminatory limitations on her right to develop nuclear technology even for peaceful purposes. India also wants to keep its option to manufacture a bomb because China already possesses nuclear weapons and Pakistan is also likely to manufacture nuclear weapons.

When India did not sign the NPT, Pakistan also refused to sign the Treaty and the Indian sub-continent may become a region with two big powers of the region acquiring the bombs.

In 1972 May, the United States and the Soviet Union signed Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty I (SALT I). This was an interim nuclear arms limitations treaty which was to last for 5 years. Under this treaty the Anti-Ballistic Missiles defences of both powers were limited and the levels of Ballistic Missiles were frozen. In 1974 they signed another agreement which was to be valid until 1985. Under this treaty a ceiling of 2400 each on Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Sub-marine launched missiles and bombers, and a limit of 1300 missiles each that can be armed with Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs) were imposed. In 1979 SALT II was signed at Vienna. In this treaty, for the first time, the Soviet Union agreed to international inspection by covert means, i.e. through spy satellites, the euphemism used in the treaty being national technical means. However, the treaty has not come into force as the then US President, Carter, refused to submit the treaty for ratification by the Senate, as required under the US constitution, as a protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

The criticism against these treaties is that they impose restrictions on missiles, i.e. carriers and not warheads; that they prevent only quantitative expansion but not qualitative expansion; that they do not reduce conventional weapons; and that they do not reduce huge military budgets. This criticism is valid, but everything cannot be achieved at once. Such small beginnings which build bridges of understanding and trust go a long way in, ultimately, eliminating the nuclear threat.

23.7 CONCLUSION

Before we end the discussion, a reference has to be made to the question raised by Prof. Morgenthau: Do people fight because they have weapons or do they acquire or manufacture weapons because they have scores to settle and grievances to redress? When nations have a feeling of suffering injustice or insult they acquire weapons to settle the scores with their adversaries, real or imaginary. Germany's example proves this. Although severe restrictions were imposed on German armaments under the Versailles Treaty, that country plunged the world into the most destructive war ever fought in the history of mankind so far. Therefore, until International relations are characterised by justice, fairplay, mutual respect and trust, paper agreements would make no difference for the world. This is not to deny the importance of disarmament but to emphasise the need to create the necessary conditions under which such agreements really work.

23.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Briefly examine the factors contributing to the Arms race.
2. 'Suggestions for disarmament agreements are easy to make but hard to translate into practice.' discuss.
3. Critically examine the Non-proliferation Treaty.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What are the motives of the countries exporting arms?
2. Distinguish arms control and disarmament.
3. What are the major consequences of arms race?

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UNIT - 24 : WORLD POVERTY - CAUSES AND REMEDIES

Contents:

- 24.0 Objectives
- 24.1 Introduction
- 24.2 Causes for poverty
- 24.3 Remedies
- 24.4 Summing up
- 24.5 Model Questions

24.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to explain

- what is poverty
- causes of poverty
- remedies for the eradication of poverty

24.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the definitions of poverty is that it is a phenomenon in which a section of the people are unable to get even their basic necessities of life, like food, clothing and shelter. Thus, when a substantial section of a society is deprived of a minimum level of living and continues at a bare subsistence level, that society is said to be plagued with mass poverty. This characteristic is almost common to all the under developed countries i.e., the Third World or the "South".

In this connection, a brief clarification of the terms applied in describing the rich and poor countries of the world will be useful. Usually the term developing countries is applied to all the countries popularly known as the Third World countries. Most of these countries have been the victims of western colonialism and others have been indirectly affected by colonialism. As a consequence, they are poor, mainly agriculture oriented and are finding it difficult to develop economically inspite of serious efforts in this direction. If the Third World countries are the poor countries, the developed industrialised nations of the world together constitute the First World and the Second World. The First World consist of the developed countries of the West (the USA, Canada, all countries of Western Europe). Japan and Australia, though they are not situated in the western part of the world, are also included in this category. The most characteristic of the Second World is that not only it is industrially advanced but the economic systems of those countries are capitalist in nature. In contrast to the capitalist oriented developed countries, there are the industrially developed socialist countries (the USSR and most of the countries of Eastern Europe). These follow the socialist type of economy, also called centrally planned economy. Thus, the difference between the First World and the Second World mainly consist in the nature of the economy they have; the First World being largely capitalist based and the Second World of the socialist category. The Third World as already stated, consists of the poorer and developing nations. Their economies are of a mixed charter. Some of the Third World countries,

adopt the socialist type of economies, some adopt purely the capitalist type and some others like India, a mixed economy wherein both the public sector and the private sector operate.

Nowadays two other terms 'North' and 'South' are also been frequently used. The word 'North' indicates the nations in the Northern parts of the globe (Northern Hemisphere). It so happens that almost all the countries, i.e., the developing countries are mostly situated in the Southern part of the globe. Hence they are called the 'South'. Therefore the debate for the New International Economic Order is also called the North-South dialogue.

There may be cases of poverty, in a relative sense, even among the people of the countries of the North. But that pales into insignificance in comparison with mass poverty in the Third World countries.

The World Development Report of the World Bank for the year 1982 classified the various countries of the world on the basis of GNP (Gross National Product) per capita. According to this classification, the developing countries are divided into: (a) Low income countries with 1981 GNP per person of \$ 400 and below, and (b) Middle income countries with GNP per person between \$ 400 - 4500. The rest are high income countries which are divided into 3 groups- 1) The high income oil exporting countries with a per capita income of \$ 12,630, 2) The Industrial market economies with a per capita income of \$ 10,320 and 3) the non-mark to Socialist, industrial economies with the average per capita GNP of \$ 4,640.

According to the data given in the report for the year 1979, low income countries comprise nearly 53% of the world population, but accounts for only 5% of the total world GNP; the middle income countries with 23% of the world population account for 14% of the GNP; the industrial market industrial countries with 8% of the population account for 15% of the GNP. We can realise the gravity of the situation if a special mention is made of India, which is include in the category of low income countries. She represents 154% of the world population but accounts for a little less than 1% of the world GNP, with a per capita income of \$ 240.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is meant by North-South Dialogue ?

24.2 CAUSES FOR POVERTY

It is evident from the above data that poverty is prevalent in the third world countries, excluding the OPEC, on a large scale. The causes for this phenomenon are:

- 1 Heavy population pressures: while in most countries of the North the rate of growth of population has reached zero levels, i.e., equal number of births and deaths the average rate of growth of population in the Third World is 23%. We can realise the gravity of the problem from India's example. India whose population grew at the rate of 2.5% per annum between 1971-81, adds 15 million to its population which is the total population of Australia. Although food production increased by over 2.5% annually between 1950-75 in all the

developing countries, the demand for food grew by over 3% necessitating huge food imports which touched the figure of nearly 80 million in 1978-79. We can imagine the plight of poor countries when we remember that although India is now self-sufficient in food, between 25-40% of her population suffers from malnutrition. If such rates of increase continue, the quality of human capital in terms of health, education etc., is found to be poor, which impedes economic progress.

2. **Unemployment and underemployment:** If the economy of a country does not grow much faster than population employment opportunities cannot be created. The Third World countries just do not have the necessary capital to invest on the scale required to create jobs and root out poverty. Therefore, standards of life stagnate or go down. This problem is related to population growth.
3. **High inequality:** There are glaring disparities of income and wealth in the Third World countries. In half of the developing countries the lowest 40% of the population have only 9% share in the total income of the population. In India, according to a Reserve Bank Survey conducted in 1971-72, 60% of the rural house-holds have subsistence levels (i.e. barely sufficient to live on) incomes. The value of assets of twenty big industrial houses in India was Rs. 1326 crores and by 1984 it increased to Rs. 11,285 Crores. People working in the organised sectors of the economy in these countries, industries, services, commerce, etc. have the necessary bargaining power and they can bring concessions from the economy of their countries whereas the mass of people in the un-organised sector, agriculture etc., do not have that power. The result is the growth of islands of prosperity amidst mass poverty and, therefore, the inability of their governments to do much for the poor.
4. **Occupational Patterns:** In all the Third World countries there is a high concentration of manpower in agriculture. For instance, in 1981 while only 2% of the working population was employed in the agricultural sector in the US and UK, the corresponding figure for India was 67%. With such heavy concentration, the productivity per unit of labour is bound to be low. Sub-division and fragmentation of land is the bane of agriculture in these countries. For example the average size of land holdings is only 5 acres in India. With such holdings, switching over to modern techniques of agriculture becomes difficult. In almost all these countries agriculture depends upon rains. When the rains fail, crops fail too. Since the share of agriculture is high in the GNP of these countries, bad crops affect the economy adversely. (for example, agriculture contributes 40% to India's GNP). There are inequalities in the ownership of land too. For instance, in 1970-71, 4% total operational holdings in India held 31% of the total land under cultivation. The small land-holders also lack credit and marketing facilities. All these factors contribute to mass poverty in these countries since a vast majority is dependent upon agriculture.
5. **Low rate of capital formation:** According to Prof. Colin Clark in order to maintain the same level of living, a country whose population increases by first 1% annually needs an additional investment of 4% of its GNP per annum. Where the income levels of the people are low, the rate of saving is bound to be low. Therefore, the capital available for investment is low. But without those minimum levels of investment, the already low levels of living are likely to go down even further.
6. **Heavy defence expenditures:** Although the developing countries account for only 17% of the world's total expenditure on defence, in the context of their poverty, this is a huge sum. The total defence expenditure last year (1984-85) amounted to \$ 800 billion. A poor country like India has set apart about Rs. 8,000 crores for defence for the year 1985-86; and Pakistan,

nearly Rs. 4,000 crores. The inability of the developing countries to shed their mutual fears and suspicions and settle their problems peacefully is imposing a heavy burden on their exchequers. On the one hand they suffer from shortages of funds for productive investments, on the other hand unproductive ventures claim huge sums.

7. **Elitist - oriented economic development plans:** While basic human needs of millions remain unattended to, the economic plans of the developing countries concentrate on high technology and heavy industry. This may be necessary to some extent but not to the extent that is being done in most of the Third World Countries. Even where these are justified, their implementation and management is not satisfactory. Most of the public sector industries in the developing countries are running huge losses. Unless they are run efficiently and contribute funds to public exchequers, poverty eradication programmes cannot be undertaken in these countries.
8. **Corruption:** Shortages and low incomes always lead to corruption. Due to massive corruption in the developing countries, the benefits of land reforms, poverty eradication programmes and other social welfare measures do not always reach the needy. There is considerable tax evasion by the affluent sections of the Society in the developing world. This not only deprives the governments of these countries huge tax revenues which could be used for further development but also to the phenomenon called "Parallel economy" under which 'black money' competes with legal resources in the economy. This causes terrible instability in the economy leading to constant inflation in which the poor suffer more.
9. The world economic system also operates to the disadvantage of the poor nations. The prices they get for their exports are unremunerative and unstable and the products of the under developed world face protectionist measures in the markets of the developed countries. This point has been discussed in an earlier unit on the New International Economic Order.

24.3 REMEDIES

International harmony will be the first casualty if over half the world's population is allowed to suffer poverty and privation. While International effort is called for on a large scale for the eradication of poverty, it is basically a problem that has to be faced and solved by the countries of the Third World, like Mahbub UI Huq of Pakistan, suggest that the following steps are essential.

1. Basic human needs like food, clothing and shelter must be met first irrespective of market demands. Therefore, what is essential for the masses to be kept in view and not what is dictated by the market forces. Since most Third World Countries are agrarian economies and since even now between two-thirds to three-quarters of the people in these countries depend upon agriculture, agricultural development, and food self-sufficiency must be given the importance it deserves. Therefore introduction of effective land reforms, provision for irrigation, prevention of soil erosion and of destruction of forests, introduction, modern techniques of cultivation to increase production and adequate credit and marketing facilities for the small and marginal farmers should receive utmost attention. Key industries and essential services should be taken under public ownership and managed efficiently and profitably so as to bring down inequalities and render more service to the poorer sections.
2. The standard and pattern of living styles of the rich nations cannot be emulated by the Third World Countries at this stage of their economic development. In fact, for many of them, at no stage of development such standards and styles may be within their reach. Even those who

can go in for such styles at a later stage, should not fritter away their resources by investing in enterprises which produce articles of conspicuous consumption since millions do not even have basic needs of life. Therefore, the society should not introduce such types of consumption goods which cannot be shared by the vast majority of the population at that particular stage of development. But since almost all the Third world countries are in practice elite-oriented, such a step would be considered distasteful by the rulers and the sections of the public who profit from present growth policies. But until such drastic steps are taken the masses will not have relief. In countries like Yugoslavia this method was adopted. For example, that country introduced a small, standardized refrigerator only in early 1960 when it was considered that the entire society could afford it at that stage of development.

3. The benefits of economic growth do not automatically filter down to the masses except in the modern urban sector. Therefore effective administrative and institutional reforms have to be undertaken to make the rural poor aware of the benefits that are their due and to take such benefits to them. The institutions should be responsive to the needs of the poor and accountable to the general public. With mass illiteracy in these countries this is not that easy to achieve.
4. Therefore, what is called for is mass awakening and enlightenment. Hence a drive to eradicate illiteracy is also of equal importance. Education should not only make the people enlightened but also productive. Otherwise this would lead to a problem that of educated unemployed. Education should be professionalised beyond the secondary level so as to make it productive.
5. Development strategies should be shaped by domestic needs and not either by export or foreign assistance requirements. That is so because a government's duty is to meet the needs of its people first. The dictates of the donor countries may not be in the interests of the people of the recipient country. If production is geared to export requirements and if export avenues are closed by protectionist measures, such investments and production would be a waste.
6. While immediate welfare measures like subsidies on food and other essential items of consumption may be necessary sometimes, excessive welfare measures would prove counter-productive in the long run. The Third World countries being poor, the revenues at the disposal of their governments are meagre. Therefore, sooner or later these measures have to be discontinued for want of funds. This leads to mass frustration and anger, for, it is always difficult for people to give up fruits having enjoyed them for sometime. On the other hand if such policies are continued for long funds for expanding the productive base would not be available. Countries like Tanzania, Sri Lanka and Burma realised this fact. Therefore, the policies of the governments should aim at increasing the productivity of the poor, particularly those of small farmers, landless labours, workers in the informal sector in the urban areas. In other words governments should spend more to create employment opportunities, increase production and make the poor self-reliant than dependent upon state doles which cannot continue for ever.
7. The Third World countries should also aim at self-reliance. They should, therefore, make maximum use of indigenous resources and technology. Import of high technology is expensive. In view of the uncomfortable foreign exchange position of the Third World, the use of indigenous and resources is desirable. Similarly, only technology appropriate to the needs of the country should be adopted rather than going in for high technology. This lessens their dependence on foreign aid. Donors of aid can and will exert political pressure on the recipient countries. There are many such instances for example, the American suspension of aid to India in 1971 during the Bangladesh crisis and the Soviet ending of aid to China in 1960

because of their quarrel with China. Foreign aid is also uncertain; plan targets cannot be based on uncertain foreign aid. Other problems with foreign aid have been discussed under NIEO. The Third World countries should also delink themselves from their past dependent relationship with the developed countries. Many of them are so much dependent upon the reformer colonial masters that any setback in the economies of the rich countries would pose serious problems for the poor countries. According to Mahbub Ul Haq, while the rate of growth in the industrialised countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) declined to 3.4% in 1970-74 from 4.9% in the previous decades, that of the poorest primary producers fell to 1.6% from 4.4%.

8. Therefore, the poor countries should promote collective self-reliance among themselves. This is also discussed in the unit on NIEO. Such collective self-reliance gives them some protection against the temporary setbacks in the economies of the North.

The Third World countries should also promote collective self-reliance. After all, they could first be of help to each other in whatever way they can. Some of the Third World countries (like India, Pakistan, Singapore, South Korea) are better placed in terms of technological and industrial development. Some others are very inadequate in this respect. Again some of the Third World countries (particularly the Middle Eastern countries) are very rich in having very important resources like oil. With this background, it is important that they should cooperate among themselves for mutual benefit. This is also called South-South cooperation.

Regional cooperation is very important. The Third World consists of many well identifiable regions and if the countries belonging to these regions can come together for economic and technological cooperation it will be to their great advantage. Developing countries of Western European Economic Community is a good example. Similarly, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, with Soviet Russia in the lead, formed the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (popularly called COMECON). On the same lines, the Third World countries are now beginning to organise into regional cooperation organisations. In Latin America such organisations already exist and in South East Asia, there is the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). In our own region, i.e. South Asia there is now a big attempt to organise South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) for economic and technological cooperation amongst the countries of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives).

9. The Third World countries which constantly deliver sermons to the North on the need for disarmament should set an example by cutting down drastically their expenditures on arms and diverting those funds for development.
10. However, the need for international aid will continue to be there for a long time to come. The North should concede the demand for dependable aid at concessional terms. Similarly, the Brandt Commission Reports' suggestion for levies on certain international transactions should also be sympathetically considered. These points have also been discussed under NIEO.

24.4 SUMMING UP

Most of the remedies discussed above call for political rather than technocratic decisions. If mass poverty has to be eradicated and if a more self-reliant growth has to be achieved, the Third World has to take these hard decisions.

24.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Analyse the causes for the mass poverty among the Third World.
2. Examine the importance of self-reliance in the development strategy of a Third World country.
3. Examine the need for collective efforts to tackle the problem of world poverty.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. The consumption styles of the rich nations cannot be emulated by the Third World. Comment.
2. Explain the magnitude of the problem of world poverty.
3. How does heavy population pressure and inequality affect development in Third World?

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BLOCK - 8 : INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

The units in this Block are:

- Unit - 25: Factors shaping Indian Foreign Policy
- Unit - 26: Concepts of Non-Alignment and Peaceful Co-existence
- Unit - 27: India and Neighbours
- Unit - 28: Evolution of Indian Foreign Policy

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UNIT - 25 : FACTORS SHAPING INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Contents:

- 25.0 Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 The geographical factor
- 25.3 The Historical factor
- 25.4 The internal economic factor
- 25.5 National interest
- 25.6 Nationalist considerations
- 25.7 Idealist considerations
- 25.8 Ideological considerations
- 25.9 Model questions

25.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to explain the different factors which shaped India's foreign policy.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

International relations encompass two theories. (1) Action theory i.e., foreign policy and (2) Inter-action theory, i.e., world politics. Interdependence makes isolated existence of nations impossible to-day. Nations have to act on the international plane to make their interests secure. It is through foreign policies that nations act with one another. The behaviour of every state, particularly that of major states, affects the behaviour of other states in some form or the other, either favourably or adversely. Therefore, every state has to react to the policy of other states to minimise the adverse effect and maximise the favourable effect. This interaction between states is the subject matter of world politics.

In the words of George Modelski, foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policy, however, need not always be an attempt at changing the behaviour of other states; when that behaviour is favourable, the policy aims at persuading the states to continue it.

Writers on foreign policy argue that history, geography, domestic setting, i.e., the structure and functioning of the society, external setting, i.e. world politics, national interests, economic and political, as perceived by the powers that be, and personality factors influence the foreign policy of a country. This is not to say that all these factors equally influence all foreign policies. In some countries some of these factors may not have any impact on foreign policies; in some others, some factors may have predominant influence and others, less.

We shall consider how some of these factors influenced the shaping of Indian Foreign Policy.

25.2 THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR

Geography is always an important factor. The geographical situation of a country influences the country's history in many ways. It is well known that if the country is vast and populous, it has many advantages. If it is surrounded by natural frontiers like big rivers and high mountain ranges, they give the country another type of advantage. Normally it would be difficult for outsiders to invade such a country. This is usually called the geo-political advantage. India, because of its physical features, was subject to lesser invasions. In ancient and medieval times this country was attacked only from the extreme north-western side. But nowadays big rivers and high mountains are not such an important considerations for the security of a country, because airplanes and missiles can overcome these natural obstacles very easily.

The geographical location of India is such that it links West Asia and South East Asia. Culturally also India reflects partly the cultures of West Asia and South Asia. This makes it important that India should develop close relations with countries in these areas. The fact that West Asia is the homeland of Muslim culture and India has a substantial Muslim population also makes it necessary for India to cultivate closer relations with the Muslim states. India's cultural influence has been very strong in South East Asia and therefore developing cordial relations with this area of the world is also very necessary. Thus, in this way both geographical location and cultural reasons shape some aspects of Indian foreign policy.

A large country creates the problem of military defence. Further, it also creates the urgent need for keeping the country united and strong. The tasks of keeping the country united and strong can be achieved not only by following appropriate internal policies but by taking necessary steps to win friends among the neighbours. We know that in Indian history internal disunity led to foreign invasions. In our own times the division between Hindus and Muslims led to the creation of Pakistan. Therefore the requirements of maintaining unity constitutes one of the very important arms of policy both internal and external. Specific defence requirements also condition foreign policy. For example, India has a very long coast line and therefore it needs to defend itself from possible attack from the navies of other powers. This, in its turn, creates the problem of dealing with the superpowers, who have large navies present in the Indian Ocean area.

Geographically, India is surrounded by another very big country, China, and this fact greatly influences the development of Indian foreign policy. To start with, India very much wanted to be very friendly with China. But due to various reasons, to be discussed in a later unit, China became hostile towards India and we still have the problem of how to establish a reasonable relationship with that country. Our relationship with Pakistan is also shaped by the geographical factor of Pakistan, being a neighbour (for twenty five years, Pakistan was our neighbour both on the western and eastern sides). But for other reasons, mostly arising, out of the partition of India, India's relations with Pakistan remained very hostile. It can be said that India's relations with both China and Pakistan largely shape our foreign policy.

25.3 THE HISTORICAL FACTOR

The historical factor is closely related to the geographical factor which we examined earlier. Past Indian history has created certain conditions which even today shape our relations with others. The need to keep closer contacts with neighbours has already been mentioned. Similarly, the need to bear in mind the lessons that our history taught us, particularly with regard to keeping India united, has also been mentioned. And the influence of recent history, (i.e.) the establishment of Pakistan after the partition of India has also been referred to. It should be remembered

that historical reasons influence foreign policy in various ways. While the general need to secure good relations with neighbour is always present, there is equally the necessity of being aware of the presence of hostile neighbours against whom we cannot but be very careful about. This fact results in the compulsion of seeking friendships outside.

India's history also makes her aware of her importance in the world. In world civilization, India played a very significant role. Her cultural contributions to world history (religion, philosophy, arts etc.) have been substantial. Indian culture flowed beyond India's boundaries. During her struggle for freedom against British colonialism India naturally emphasised on her cultural greatness. After Independence also, the assertion of this national pride made her very keen to play a prominent role in world affairs. Thus apart from her big size, her past history and culture influences her role in world politics.

India's freedom struggle, in particular, constitutes another major factor influencing her foreign policy. We fought against Western Colonialism and imperialism and we were one of the first in Asia to do so successfully. Further, we achieved Independence, partly through the use of unique weapon of non-violence and Satyagraha under the leadership of eminent leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and many others. Almost the whole world recognised the unique and great character of India's struggle for freedom. So the message of anti-imperialism, anti-racialism (opposition to the domination of one race of people over another) became the main features of Indian foreign policy. India's commitment to peace and non-violence continued to influence her views on world politics. As is well known, since Independence, India very strongly opposed the rise of military blocs and the talk of war.

The historical tradition of pacifism has been strong in Indian history, as reflected from the rise of Buddhism and Jainism which in themselves were partly the outflows of certain aspects of Hindu thought. This aspect was in recent times brought out by people like Mahatma Gandhi to shape our contemporary thinking also.

4 THE INTERNAL ECONOMIC FACTOR

Internal economic situation is one of the most important factors that shape the foreign policy of any country. To some extent this aspect of the problem is already considered when we were discussing the influence of geographical and historical factors. Considerations like the maintenance of Indian unity, for instance is a very important internal consideration and this requires a strong nation. And building a strong nation further requires many other things. For instance, India, being a proper environment in which these religions, languages and cultures can flourish is not allowed to interfere in shaping the identity of the nation is a must and secularism in internal policy needs certain foreign policy requirements. The cultivation of the Muslim states in the world is a good example of how foreign policy of a nation is determined by its secular goal. India's relations with the West-Asian countries in particular, is the result of this consideration.

Economic development is naturally the most important internal goal of the country. This goal requires that India should concentrate on its economic and social development and not waste its material and human resource on non-developmental expenditures. This is the reason why India always pleaded that she would not join any power bloc because that would be diverting our attention from internal economic development to unnecessary involvement in quarrels between the power blocs of the world. Thus, we can see that the policy of non-alignment is itself the result of our concentration on internal economic development.

Another reason for internal conditions shaping foreign policy is internally India wanted to evolve a democratic, secular and socialist political system. From the beginning Indian government persuaded the Communist Party of India to join constitutional system and give it a fair trial. Under those circumstances, it was necessary that in foreign policy India should not align itself with the capitalist bloc. In this manner, non-alignment in foreign policy has been further necessitated by internal requirements of promoting a broad based political system in which various political ideologies could co-exist and compete for the support of the people in the country. One of the very important aspects of India's policy is co-existence along with the non-alignment. Coexistence is existing together of various socio economic ideologies both in individual countries as well as in the world as a whole. It is on the theme of co-existence that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pleaded with the power blocs not to engage themselves in military confrontation but to get accustomed to co-exist with each other. Pleading for co-existence in the world of the rival political systems would first require co-existence of such systems within ones own country. This was the goal of the Indian leaders. One can therefore see the connection between the internal goals of the Indian political system and its foreign policy choices.

25.5 NATIONAL INTEREST

Another significant aspect of foreign policy is that the primary purpose of foreign policy is to promote the national interest. Infact national interest is supposed to be the fundamental purpose and foreign policy is an instrument to achieve this purpose. It is very difficult to define what is national interest. Of course, promoting the territorial integrity of the nation is obviously a part of the national interest. But the concept of national interest can even be stretched to argue for an aggressive foreign policy. There will be conflict between such a definition of national interest and pursuit of ideal values like peace and non-violence. The problem therefore arised how to combine the pursuit of national interest with commitment to values of peace in foreign policy. The answer seems to be that there is what is called benevolent self-interest of a nation. It is in the national interest of a country to promote peace in the world and follow a policy of accommodation and good neighbourliness with the other powers. Indeed it is this concept of national interest that has come to be accepted in international relations. Indian foreign policy is no exception to this. We have already seen how internal factors lie behind the promotion of national interest to shape our foreign policy. Thus, already the serving of national interest forms part of our foreign policy. However, in some places it is criticised that in the name of peace and good neighbourliness India has neglected her defence requirements and that was why China could commit aggression against India. There is some truth in this criticism though the role of idealism in foreign policy cannot entirely be forgotten.

The one predominant influence on the shaping of India's foreign policy was the personality factor that of the late Prime Minister Nehru. Therefore, it is appropriate here to make a reference, in some detail, to his views, as expressed in his speeches and works, to understand our foreign policy. Objection may be raised on the ground that the personality of the late Prime Minister, who died in 1964, cannot be considered as a factor shaping India's foreign policy. To the extent that the policy of non-alignment formulated by him is still considered valid and followed by India, his influence cannot be gainsaid. Besides, he was a product of his country's culture; and he eloquently represented his nation's ideals and aspirations. He had not made his whims the basis of India's foreign policy; her ideals, aspirations and her national interests, as interpreted by him, became the basis of our foreign policy.

By the time India became independent in August 1947 the Cold War divisions were already visible. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech was nearly one and a half years old; and shortly after India's independence, the Soviet delegate to the meeting in Poland where the Cominform was

founded, Zhdanov, was to unfold his two-camp concept. Nehru's response to these developments was non-alignment.

In fact, even before the attainment of full independence, Nehru unfolded his policy of non-alignment. Speaking on radio on September 7, 1946, after the formation of the interim government, he said that India would take full part in international conferences as a free nation with her own foreign policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation; she would keep away, as far as possible, from power politics of groups which had led to wars in the past and, in future, would lead to wars on a much greater scale.

A reading of some of Nehru's important speeches and works shows that nationalist, index and ideological considerations helped evolve his concept of non-alignment.

25.6 NATIONALIST CONSIDERATIONS

As a leader of a large country with a long history, it was not unnatural for Nehru to be proud of his country. His strong nationalist emotions are discernible in some of his speeches and writings.

In septet 1939 he wrote (*The Unity of India*) that if India had been free she might have even succeeded in preventing the war. A free India, with her vast resources, could be of great service to the world and humanity. India would always make a difference to the world; fate had marked her for big things. In a speech in the Lok Sabha on May 15, 1954, he described China as the third great power and added that if nothing went wrong-war and the like-the obvious fourth country in the world would be India. A passing reference may be made here to the view of Morgenthau, a well-known writer on international relations, that India is a potential great power.

Because of such hopes Nehru did not like the idea of India playing second fiddle by becoming a part of an alliance with a great power. In a speech in the Lok Sabha on February 25, 1955, he said that in an alliance between unequals, only the big powers count and the small become just their dependents.

To further his country's interests, Nehru kept sufficient elbow-room in implementing his foreign policy. In a speech in the Constituent Assembly on March 8, 1948, he conceded that sometimes India might be forced to side with this power or that power. He could quite conceive of her siding even with an imperialist power; in a certain set of circumstances that might be the lesser of the two evils. Realities of power convinced him that it was not always possible to take a forth right stand on all issues.

25.7 IDEALIST CONSIDERATIONS

Peace is essential for survival in atomic age since a nuclear war poses a danger of total destruction of mankind. India, and also other developing countries, require peace for making economic progress since a major war disrupts the flow of international trade and aid.

No wonder, therefore, Nehru was opposed to the old concepts of international relations on which he blamed many wars. Balance of power was, for him, "mobilised antagonisms" whose "impotence" to rid the world of war stood "proven". Since the birth of nation states, he thought, nations relied for survival on this concept and all these years they had been engaged in wars with brief intervals during the greater part of which war clouds gathered on the horizon. Therefore the efforts of the American and Soviet blocs to balance each other did not appeal to him because of the consequences he feared.

Nehru believed that the communist monolith would mellow with the passage of time because history shows that a proselytising creed is gradually toned down and eventually learns to co-exist peacefully. He told president Eisenhower of the United States in December 1956 that because the natural attitude of the Soviet Union was a suspicious one and because they felt themselves "looked down upon" by the West, the West might make conciliatory moves on a unilateral basis and thereafter examine Soviet reactions.

Because of this belief, Nehru wanted both the super-powers to avoid threatening postures and miscalculations which could result in a major war. He thought that by joining one bloc or the other the new nations would only increase the areas of tensions; they could contribute their mite towards peace by being non-aligned. He also thought that by being non-aligned he would retain freedom to take independent stand on issues unhampered by alliance restraints.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Mehra

25.8 IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The communist revolution in Russia in 1917 and the millennium it promised caught the imagination of the younger leaders of the Congress like Nehru. We in India also have an Indian version of welfare state, which is the heart of scientific socialism or Communism, saw its advocacy of violence and totalitarianism, in the concept of Rama Rajya which was dear to Gandhiji. In the Directive Principles of State Policy, a number of socialistic principles have been incorporated into the Indian constitution. Thus India does not have the same distaste and fear of communism that the West has.

Nehru, therefore, could not accept the view that the Soviet Union should be treated as some sort of an outcaste in the international system because it is a communist state. During India's struggle for independence, Nehru's dislike for a familiar imperialist Britain turned him into an admirer of an unfamiliar Soviet Union. However, his was an emotional liking for communist goals and not for its methods and system. He wrote in his autobiography that his was not a doctrinal adherence since his acquaintance being limited at that time to its broad features. These attracted him as also the tremendous changes taking place in Russia. But, he wrote, communists often irritated him by their dictatorial ways, their aggressive and rather vulgar methods, their habit of denouncing everybody who did not agree with them. This dichotomous attitude to communism was to remain a part of his mental make up all through his life.

Nehru doubted if, in big power rivalry, ideologies came into the picture at all although there was a great deal of talk about them. Nor could India accept, in spite of many institutional similarities with the west, that the West was all light and truth, and the Soviet Union all darkness and falsehood. In an article written for Foreign Affairs, an American journal, in 1963, Nehru wrote that non-alignment implied, basically, a conviction that good and evil or mixed up in this world, that nations cannot be divided into sheep and goats to be condemned or approved accordingly; and that if India were to join one military group rather than the other it was liable to increase and not diminish the risk of a major clash between them.

He had a practical reason too for trying to be friendly with the Soviet Union. He thought that USSR could not be ignored by India because it was her powerful neighbour; she could be friendly to India and cooperate with her or be a thorn in her side. In either case, India had to know her and understand her and shape her policy accordingly. He was not unmindful of geopolitical realities. Nehru also thought that Russian power was necessary to control western powers. He felt that if the Soviet Union succumbed to western pressure, it would be enormously more difficult for colonial people to struggle out of their betters. His was not a total rejection of the concept of balance of power.

That India adopted the policy of non-alignment, inspite of idealism being hedged in by a robust sense of realism as the above discussion makes it evident, out of conviction and not merely as an expediency is borne out by the fact that for a long time the Indian policy was not to the linking of both the superpowers. It was not until the death of Stalin in March 1953 that the Soviet Union was prepared to take favourable notice of India's policy. The indifference of Stalin to India can be gauged from the fact that India's first ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mrs Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, was not received by him even once during her tenure of over a year. Yet because of our conviction that non-alignment is the right policy, we persevered.

- Dr. T. Surender

25.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. Briefly discuss the major determinants of India's Foreign Policy.
2. Examine the nationalist and idealist considerations of Indian First Prime Minister, that shaped Indian Foreign Policy.
3. Discuss the role of Internal factors in shaping Indian Foreign Policy

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each

1. How does India's geographical location affect its Foreign Policy?
2. What are the Historical factors that shape India's Foreign Policy.
3. Examine the attitude of Pandit Nehru towards cold war and military alliances.

UNIT - 26 : CONCEPTS OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Contents:

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Neutrality and Non-alignment
- 26.3 Principles of non-alignment
- 26.4 Growth of non-alignment
- 26.5 Co-existence
- 26.6 Model Questions.

26.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain

- difference between Neutrality and Non-alignment
- principles of Non-alignment
- growth of Non-alignment movement

26.1 INTRODUCTION

The dictionary meaning of the word 'concept' is "a thing conceived, a general notion, plan". In this unit, we will discuss the notions or ideas that from the content of Non-alignment and co-existence which are heard so much in world politics to-day.

Just as the process of decolonisation had begun and the nations long subjected to domination were emerging as sovereign states the former allies in the Second World War had fallen apart; this led to the Cold War. The new nations had to take a stand on the Cold War issues. And most of them decided against aligning themselves with either of the two powers in the Cold War. From the point of view of the leaders of these nations, of Egypt, who became the founders of the non-aligned movement, concerns of the leaders of the two blocs and those of the new nations were different. The two blocs, they thought, were struggling for power, for domination. Whereas the new nations were yet to find their feet. They were interested in a world characterised by mutual cooperation and not conflict. Being desperately poor, the new nations wanted to work for the development of their economies which required peace. Therefore, they felt that by joining this bloc or that they would only enlarge the areas of tension in the world. Hence, these leaders opted for Non-alignment.

Until the beginnings of the 1960s, the Western scholars used to call the non-aligned nations as neutrals. The non-aligned leaders, particularly Nehru, did not like the expression. Therefore, it is appropriate to sort out the nomenclatural difficulties here. Non-alignment is neither isolationism nor neutrality. The latter two are negative expressions lacking a positive content. An isolationist power, as the United States was until the end of World War II, would not involve itself in international developments even when such involvement is called for in the interests of justice or morality. Thus the United States never used to involve itself in international disputes unless its interests were affected by them.

26.2 NEUTRALITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT

The word 'neutrality' is inappropriate to describe the foreign policy of non-alignment because 'neutrality' is used in different ways. Firstly, in general International Law 'neutrality' refers to the status of those countries which are not involved in a war between any two countries or more than two countries. In International Law countries who are engaged in war are called belligerents and those not involved in the war are called neutrals. These neutral countries enjoy certain rights and obligations with regard to the other countries who are engaged in that particular war. Therefore, this concept of neutrality is a very technical one which is relevant only to particular war situations.

Another meaning of the word 'neutrality' is that certain states undertake by treaty to remain neutral in international politics. In such a treaty other states also become parties and they undertake to respect the neutrality of the concerned state. This type of neutrality is useful to small countries surrounded by big rival powers. In order not to be drawn or dragged into the conflicts of the surrounding powers, the smaller states prefer to remain neutral and declare so in the form of a treaty and their desire is further guaranteed by other powers. This is a way in which small states intend to remain out of international conflicts. Switzerland is a good example of this. Similarly, in recent times, the smaller European state of Austria chose to sign a treaty of neutrality. Austria is situated in South Eastern Europe on the borders of the Western and Eastern European states, which were involved in the Cold War. So after the Second World War there was considerable controversy as to under what conditions Austria would be permitted to remain an independent state. The Eastern European States under the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Western bloc finally agreed to the independence and Austria herself agreed to remain neutral in international politics. It is on this promise that in 1963, the formal occupation of Austria after the Second World War ended. Thus Austria became an independent and neutral state. Other important nations agreed to respect and guarantee its neutrality. This type of neutrality is a firm legal obligation which the concerned state cannot give up according to its own wishes. In this sense, it could be called as 'compulsory neutrality' in foreign policy.

Another type of neutrality is where some states may choose to remain neutral in the context of the political quarrels and misunderstandings between their neighbours. Sweden is a good example of this. But legally Sweden has not signed any treaty but only choose to remain broadly neutral and not join either of the military blocs. i.e., NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

Non-alignment is yet another type of neutrality. In this case, the non-aligned states do want to take active part in world politics. But what they say is that they will not join any power bloc but decide upon their foreign policy according to the merits of each case. Because of the different uses of the term 'neutrality', it is felt that the word non-alignment should be used to describe the foreign policy of the states like India and not use the word neutrality. Some people also use the word dynamic neutrality or positive neutrality to describe non-alignment.

Non-alignment is positive in content. Although the policy advocates aloofness from Cold War alliances, it does not preach disinterestedness in international developments. The non-aligned claim that they take active interest in international developments on the side of justice, morality and other good causes. It is precisely for being able to take a righteous and forthright stand on issues that they would like to be free from alliance restraints. They do not shut their eyes to what is happening but want to see that right things happen. In an earlier chapter Nehru's address to the House of Representatives in 1949 has been quoted wherein he said that where freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, India (that, in theory, applies to all non-aligned) cannot and should not be neutral.

At the same time, it can be said that the principles of non-alignment have not been very coherently incorporated in any single document. However, the Declaration issued at the end of the first Non-aligned Summit in 1961 can be regarded as the first expression of the common beliefs and basic aspirations of the nations that attended the summit. The introductory part of the Declaration spoke of the need for the transition from the old and the existing order based on domination dependence to a new order based on cooperation between nations, founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity. The preamble also drew attention to the acute emergencies threatening world peace and the possibility of a world conflagration due to big power rivalry. It demanded the eradication of colonialism in all its manifestations and pleaded for peaceful co-existence in the world.

26.3 PRINCIPLES OF NON-ALIGNMENT

We can glean from this and many other documents of the non-aligned summit meetings the principles that constitute the root of non-alignment. Jagat S. Mehta, former Foreign Secretary, summarised the principles of non-alignment on the occasion of the Seventh Non-aligned Summit at New Delhi in March, 1983. They are:

1. Recognition of the right of national self-determination for all peoples, plurality in the international system and democratic equality among nations.

This is a call for total decolonisation in all its manifestations. Colonialism is based on force and inequality. That is against morality and international laws. Having been colonies for hundreds of years, it was natural for the non-aligned states to ask for the speedy completion of the decolonisation process. Even at the First Non-aligned Summit the expression 'colonialism in all its manifestations' (i.e. all neo-colonialist methods of control), was used. Even the West was wedded to the concept of national self-determination, in principle, since the days of the First World War. One of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, issued during the course of World War I, spoke of the application of the principle to all nations. The non-aligned also served notice on the West that the days of management of world affairs by small and powerful groups of states are over. The plurality of the international system and the equality of all nations should be recognised. This implies that all nations should be recognised as equal which international laws do, and that the affairs of the world should be managed through a consensus rather than dictates issued by great powers.

2. Devotion to human rights, social justice and particularly the eradication of racialism from state policies.

Having been denied human rights by the colonial powers, the non-aligned states insist on respect being shown to human rights all over the world. This is also one of the objectives of the United Nations. They also stand for social justice not only at the national level but also at the international level. Having tasted the bitter fruit of racial discrimination for centuries, the non-aligned world is touchy about racialism. That is the reason why they are so strongly opposed to South Africa's apartheid or racial segregation policy.

The fact, however, is that in many of the non-aligned states human rights are not very much hardly respected. Some of them are not free from racial prejudice either. The treatment meted out to Asian settlers in African countries smacks of black racialism.

3. The choice of social and political systems within a country must be allowed to evolve from domestic roots. Therefore, the non-aligned states are opposed to all forms of intervention.

Institutions, like plants, grow in certain environment. What is valid in the West need not be valid in Africa or Asia. Therefore, the people of all countries should be free to evolve socio-political institutions in accordance with the needs of the people concerned. There are no perfect institutions and hence the attempt on the part of some states to sell their institutions or impose them on others is unacceptable to the non-aligned states. Such attempts create tensions and disturb international peace. Hence opposition to all forms of intervention on whatever the pretext-invasion, infiltration or subversion.

4. Avoidance of all military alliances, particularly those made in the context of the Cold War.

Since the non-aligned believe in a cooperative world and not a competitive world, they reject the old concept of the balance of power which divides the world into rival blocs, each seeking security at the expense of others. In the nuclear age, division of the world into rival blocs is dangerous. Therefore, one of the cardinal principles of non-alignment is opposition to the Cold War alliances like NATO, Warsaw Pact, SEATO and CENTO. A non-aligned state should not join any of these pacts or offer bases to any of the contending groups.

However, their opposition was limited to alliances made in the context of the Cold War. Bilateral alliances for reason of internal security are not frowned upon. For example, Malaysia had an alliance with Britain and British forces were stationed in that country until the beginning of the 1970s when the British Labour government decided to close down its bases east of the Suez canal for reasons of economy. The Malaysians needed this support to contain communist guerilla activity in that country. Such alliances are exempted.

Some of the non-aligned states are close to the Western bloc and some others are close to the Soviet bloc. Some of them have even bilateral treaties. For example, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are very friendly with the western bloc and there are some treaties also between the United States on the one hand and these countries on the other. Similarly, Cuba, Iraq, Afghanistan, Vietnam are examples of countries which are non-aligned but having bilateral treaty relations with the Soviet Union. Therefore, non-alignment nowadays does not bar the non-aligned states from having bilateral treaty relations with either of the superpowers. The only major requirement of the non-alignment is that, non-aligned countries should not be parties to the big multilateral military treaties which are promoted by either of the superpowers in the context of the Cold War between the two blocs.

5. Peaceful resolution of disputes.

Since violence breeds greater violence and since resort to violence is dangerous in this era, the non-aligned states champion the cause of pacific settlement of disputes. Pacific means of settlement like negotiation, mediation, arbitration were commended by the first Hague Convention (1899). These were incorporated into the Covenant of the League of Nations as well as the U.N. Charter, which added judicial settlement too. The non-aligned states put their faith in peaceful methods of settlement of dispute.

26.4 GROWTH OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The non-alignment movement grew steadily in the 60s and 70s. Up to the early 60s it had only about 30 members. As more countries emerged out of colonialism in Asia, Africa and South America, the membership of the non-alignment movement increased tremendously and now it has over 100 members. The growth of this movement also coincided with the relaxation of the Cold War between the Eastern and western blocs and the rise of detente. Because the Cold War

conflicts got reduced, correspondingly the impact of the Cold War issues (that made the non-aligned countries to remain away from the power blocs) also decreased. Because of this reason we find that some members of the non-aligned movement are close to one bloc and some others close to another bloc. This point has been mentioned earlier also. This trend made some people to say that the relevance of non-alignment has itself decreased.

To some extent this is true but still the relevance of non-alignment continues. Firstly, the non-aligned world is now more concerned with the demand for the new international economic order by which it is anxious to create better conditions for their economic development by changing the old international economic order. Secondly, sometimes the conflict between the two blocs manifests again and it makes non-alignment as relevant as it was during the Cold War period. Now on issues like the superpower presence in the Indian Ocean area and the recent revival of Cold War between the two superpowers, the non-alignment is projecting an independent stand.

The growth of the Non-aligned Movement can be illustrated from the manner in which the countries following non-alignment policy have organised the movement. Since 1961, periodical meetings of the Heads of Governments of the Non-aligned states are held. These are called the Non-aligned Summit meetings. So far seven summits took place; the first in Belgrade in 1961, the second in Cairo in 1964, the third in Algiers in 67, the fourth in Lusaka capital of Zambia in 1970, the fifth in Colombo in 1976, the sixth in Havana in 1979 and the seventh in New Delhi (1983). Seventh is held in 1986 in Zimbabwe. At these summits important issues of the world are discussed by the Non-aligned Movement (NAM). These issues usually include those relating to the major problems of the world, third world problems in particular and issues concerning cooperation among the third world. In the 60's, the Non-aligned Movement was more concerned with political issues like demanding the ending of colonialism. But in subsequent years, as the colonial issues became less important the Non-aligned movement started concentrating on economic issues. Particularly since the 70s, NAM began to demand a New International Economic Order which would facilitate the economic development of the third world (the Non-aligned world and the Third World are practically the same). NAM has also been active in making efforts to promote cooperation among the third world countries.

Apart from the summit meetings frequent meetings of the foreign ministers of the Non-aligned countries are held. The Non-aligned Movement established the Non-aligned Coordinating Bureau which meets frequently to discuss and evolve a common non-aligned policy towards the various problems of the world.

We can thus observe how the Non-aligned Movement has become a big and identifiable movement in world politics. From being a loose movement it grew into a organised movement to promote the views and interests of the non-aligned world and serve the cause of world development and peace.

Of course, because of the growth in the members of non-alignment movement, the non-alignment suffers from some problems. There are conflicts and even wars, between the non-aligned powers, like the Iran and Iraq war and some conflicts in Africa. The non-alignment movement attempts to solve these. But these attempts are not always successful. Further, there are ideological conflicts among the non-alignment. It has been noted how some of the members of the Non-alignment movement are closer to the Soviet Union and some to the United States. This results in misunderstandings among the non-aligned powers themselves. But still, such problems are inevitable in a movement with so many members. But it cannot be denied that these problems and differences among the non-aligned do not make the movement irrelevant. There are many common issues, both political and economic, on which the non-alignment have a common view point and take a common stand.

26.5 CO-EXISTENCE

The concept of co-existence is very important one. It is usually mentioned along with non-alignment. But non-alignment and co-existence are two different concepts though they are related to each other. We have seen that non-alignment means, not aligning with either of the two power-blocs existing in the world since the Second World War. Co-existence means the idea that different types of political and economic systems can and should co-exist. This idea to a great extent is based on the beliefs that the ideological quarrel between the communist political systems and the capitalist political systems (which is at the root of the Cold War) is dangerous and unnecessary. After all in the World countries professing different types of religions and social systems did co-exist with each other. In the same way it should be possible for communist and capitalist democracies to co-exist. Statesman like Jawaharlal Nehru, repeatedly made this argument directly to persuade the leaders of the Western and Eastern blocs not to exaggerate their ideological differences but to accept each other and find ways and means of remaining together. It was on this assumption of the possibility of co-existence that Nehru pleaded that the newly emerging nations should remain out of the power blocs so that tensions are not increased. So, non-alignment is a way of shaping the foreign policy which was prescribed for the newly emerging nations, and co-existence is the idea that was canvassed to the leaders of the two blocs to avoid the continuation of the cold war. We can now see how these are related. First the newly emerging nations are recommended non-alignment so that the cold war is not further aggravated. Second, appeal to the participants in the cold war, is made on the idea of co-existence by which they could ultimately lesson their tensions and manage to co-exist with each other.

The idea of co-existence was popularised by the father of Soviet Russia, Lenin. His point was that the Communist states will certainly co-exist with the Capitalist states while at the same time competing with them for ultimate victory of socialism throughout the world. This could be called the Soviet concept of co-existence. But this concept still contains the idea that ultimately socialism will win and that the socialist states will continue to make their efforts to defeat capitalism, though not necessarily by war. The concept of co-existence preached by people like Nehru is slightly different. They are arguing that in the long run both capitalism and communism can live in peace and that each should not try to defeat the other either by war or by indirect methods of imposition of either the communist way of life or the non-communist way of life.

Co-existence also means that within individual countries there can be co-existence preached by people like Nehru is slightly different. They are arguing that in the long run both capitalism and communism can live in peace and that each should not try to defeat the other either by war or by indirect methods of imposition of either the communist way of life of the non-communist way of life.

Co-existence also means that within individual countries there can be co-existence of different socio-economic patterns. For example, many countries have been implementing what is called the mixed economy Under this, socialist planning and the expansion of the public sector is resorted to while at the same time allowing private economic enterprises to exist in the country. Generally speaking, co-existence means the existence of different types of groups, ideologies and schools of thought within a society. Broadly speaking, democracy itself is based on the idea of co-existence.

But when we speak of co-existence in international relations we mean the idea that countries with different political and social systems can co-exist. This idea became very relevant because of the cold war.

26.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Briefly discuss the basic principles of non-alignment.
2. What are the various meanings attached to the term neutrality?
3. What are the major internal problems confronting the Non-aligned Movement?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Bring out the meaning and importance of the concept of co-existence.
2. State the relationship between the concepts of non-alignment and co-existence.
3. Explain the relevance of non-alignment in the present day world.

BRAOU

UNIT - 27 : INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH NEW NEIGHBOURS

Contents:

- 27.0 Objectives
- 27.1 Introduction
- 27.2 Sino-Indian relations
- 27.3 Indo-Pakistan relations
- 27.4 The East Pakistani Crisis
- 27.5 Indo-Bangladesh relations
- 27.6 Indo-Nepalese relations
- 27.7 Indo-Sri Lankan relations
- 27.8 Conclusion
- 27.9 Model Questions

27.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to explain.

- India's relations with China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

Like all foreign policies, our foreign policy is also affected by the foreign policies and reactions of others, particularly great powers and neighbours. In this unit we will discuss our relations with China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

27.2 SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

India was the second non-communist country to have recognised the communist government of China when that country passed under communist control in October 1949. The United States, which kept China out of the United Nations until the end of 1971 and refused to deal with her, was unhappy with our decision. Since geographical realities cannot be wished away and since we decided to follow a policy of non-alignment, we wanted to develop friendly relations with her.

India has a 200 mile long border with China which is delimited but not demarcated. When Sino-Indian relations deteriorated in the late 1950s, China said it was neither delimited nor demarcated since the Simla Convention of 1914 was not ratified by the Chinese government. It is this border problem which vitiated Sino-Indian relations. We will, therefore, try to understand the problem.

Around the time Britain was bringing India under her control, China was also expanding. Thus the Chinese first entered Tibet in 1718 to drive away the Dzungar Mongols who invaded that country and restore the Dalai Lama, the spiritual-cum-temporal ruler of the country. In 1720 the Chinese built a garrison in Luasa. Every attempt made by the Chinese to assert their control over

Tibet was resisted by the Tibetans. China was, therefore, satisfied with nominal control. In the wake of the Chinese revolution in 1911, the Tibetans drove out the Chinese from Tibet in 1912 and declared their independence in 1913. China did not recognise the independence. Similarly, it was only in 1765 that China occupied Sinkiang. But for these two occupations, India and China would not have common borders.

The fear of threat from Russian empire to her Indian empire made Britain encourage Chinese influence in Tibet. China was no match to British power. So the British recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, which Lord Curzon described as a constitutional fiction, a political affectation, maintained because of its convenience to both parties. This is borne out by the fact that the British Indian government sent an expedition into Tibet in 1904 under Col. Younghusband's command; this resulted in a convention being signed in September 1904 under which marts were established and garrisons stationed at Yatung and Gyantse.

When the British Indian government decided to delimit the border between Tibet and India in the eastern sector, China was also invited to the Simla conference in 1914, along with Tibet. The Simla convention recognised the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), present day Arunachal Pradesh, as a part of India. The line that delimited the border in this sector has been called the McMahon Line, after the British representative at the Simla Conference. By this time China ceased to have even nominal control over Tibet, having been driven out of Tibet in 1912. China, however, refused to ratify the contention.

Aksai Chin, in the western sector, is a part of Ladakh, a region in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Ladakh originally belonged to Tibet. Maharajah Gulab Singh of Kashmir defeated the Tibetans in 1842 and annexed Ladakh to Kashmir. This was confirmed by a treaty between Tibet and Kashmir. British India asked China to send a representative to delimit the border in this sector. The Chinese reply dated January 13, 1847, stated that the border was sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it would be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement. British India was not unduly concerned about the borders with Tibet because Chinese control over Tibet was fictitious and Tibet was no threat to India; therefore, no further steps were taken on the issue. So that is the history of the India's northern borders in the eastern and western sectors.

Having consolidated their position in China, the communist rulers began talking of liberating Tibet in 1950. Nehru wrote to China saying that while India would recognise Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, she wished that Tibetan autonomy be maintained. China did not relent. Her forces entered Tibet in October 1950; India's protest brought forth rude replies from China. In a prophetic letter he wrote to Nehru on November 7, 1950, Sardar Patel observed it looked as though we have a potential enemy in China.

India was very keen on establishing cordial relations with China precisely because China is a big neighbour which had by then just won a great revolution and became a communist country. According to conventional opinion both the facts - that China is a big neighbour and that China is a communist country while India is not - require that India should be cautious in dealing with China. Pandit Nehru and other Indian leaders very much desired that good neighbourly relations should be established on the basis of peaceful co-existence. There is no doubt that this desire was inspired by idealism on the part of the Indian leaders. They wanted to cultivate the friendship of China deliberately and thus avoid possible misunderstandings that may arise because of the political and ideological factors.

There was nothing that India could do at that stage preoccupied as she was with post-partition problems. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet was complete, Nehru began appeasing China

with vigour. For the success of his non-alignment policy, a positive response from the communist bloc was necessary; Stalinist Russia hardly ever responded to Nehru's overtures; he tried to break the ice by cultivating Chinese friendship. On April 29, 1954, the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet was signed. Under this India gave up the right to station garrisons at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet, as also the right to maintain and telegraphic installations, both secured after Colonel Younghusband's expedition to Tibet in 1904. The Panch sheel of the much publicised and short-lived glory was a part of this agreement.

Then began a period of euphoria. The talk of 2,000 year old Sino-Indian friendship and the slogan of Hindi-Chini bhai bhai (Indians and Chinese are brothers) were the recurring themes of the period. During this apparently friendly phase Nehru paid a visit to China and the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai visited India four times between June 1954 and January 1957.

But this phase did not last long. China began publishing maps showing 90,000 square kilometres of Indian territory in the eastern sector, 2,000 square kilometres in the central and 35,000 square kilometres in the western sector as part of her territory. Every time India raised the issue, she was told that they were old maps and would be rectified in due course.

The inevitable national rivalries between large countries striving for influence began making their appearance to complicate Sino-Indian relations. Communist China had greater reason to dislike India's prominence in international forums in the 1950s because of her total exclusion therefrom, under the United States pressure. Added to that was the border problem; and a potentially explosive situation existed in Sino-Indian relations all along.

In September, 1957, China announced the construction of Sinkiang - Tibet highway across Aksai-Chin which is a part of Ladakh. It was not until this announcement that the Indian government knew anything about the road. Such was the care taken of our border then. An Indian patrol sent in August 1958 to the area was detained by China and released in October, 1958. From this time onwards tensions increased; so did exchange of protest and counter-protests.

A letter Chou En-lai sent in January 1959 exposed Nehru's wishful thinking on India-China relations. In that letter Chou En-lai asserted that India-China border was never delimited; that Aksai-Chin was a part of Sinkiang province of China; that there was a border dispute between India and China; and that China had not raised the border dispute before because the conditions were not yet ripe for its settlement.

In the same letter Chou En-lai impliedly said that although McMahon Line was illegal, China was prepared to recognise it in return for the Indian acceptance of Chinese claims to Aksai Chin in the west. China desperately needs the Sinkiang-Tibet highway to control these two provinces. Hence her insistence on having Aksai-Chin; Nehru was not prepared to accept.

From this time onwards, border incidents increased in frequency. In the meantime, the Tibetans revolted against Chinese control of their country in the March 1959 resulting in the flight of the Dalailama and thousands of Tibetans to India where they were given asylum. This caused concern to China. The first shooting on the India-China border occurred on August 26, 1959, when China opened fire on an Indian post, Longju, killing one border policeman and injuring another. Between August November, 1960, the army was made responsible for the protection of the Indian border, until then guarded by the police. And the increasing tensions led to a war between India China in October-November 1962, in which India suffered a disastrous defeat.

Nehru's China policy was based on illusions. He should have heeded Sardar Patel's advice, given in the letter cited above, to keep China in view in our defence calculations, strengthen our military machine and improve infrastructural facilities in the border areas. There were no roads in the area and no mountain divisions to face the Chinese might. If he was not prepared to divert resources to military purposes, he should have seized the opportunity provided by Chou's offer to recognise the McMahon Line in exchange for Aksai Chin and arrived at a political settlement. He did neither but adopted tough postures. Such postures unsupported by a strong military machine would lead to a disaster, which they did.

There-after, China tried to aggravate our troubles by training and equipping the Naga and Mizo rebels, by supporting the Naxalites in West Bengal, by giving us an ultimatum during the Indo-Pak war of 1965 and by every conceivable method. However, neither friendship nor enmity is permanent in international relations. At some stage in the early 1970s the Chinese must have realised that their hostility to India was driving her closer and closer into the Russian arms. Since they felt threatened more by the Soviet Union than India, they began changing their attitude towards us, probably to wean us away from the Soviet Union.

They sent us feelers to improve relations with us. Since it was India which recalled her ambassador from China during the India-China war, they said that if we sent back our ambassador first they would also post their ambassador in New Delhi. Thus in 1976, India and China exchanged ambassadors. Then there was a series of exchanges of delegations economic and cultural. The officials of the countries also held talks on the border issue. Although the problem is difficult, a political solution through a compromise is the only way out of this impasse.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the importance of McMahon line.

27.3 INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Indo-Pakistan relations were complicated partly by psychological factors and partly by tangible factors, territorial and river water disputes. The pre-partition days' aspiration of the Muslim League, which spearheaded the movement for the creation of a separate homeland for Muslims, and which became the ruling party of Pakistan after its formation, for parity with the Congress Party got itself transformed into Pakistani desire for parity with India.

Pakistan which suffers from what Western political scientists call, a crisis of identity, continued to whip up emotions against India was natural, the more so because Gandhiji and the Congress were opposed to the partition of the country until the last moment. Some Pakistani leaders seem to entertain the view that the Congress accepted partition as a stop-gap arrangement, more to get the 'British out and assume power than as a final settlement. India's intervention in the East Pakistani crisis, when the crisis seriously impinged on her interests, and the emergence of that region as an independent state, Bangladesh, seemed to have confirmed their fear.

But more than these psychological fears, the factors that affected Indo-Pak relations are territorial, i.e., Pakistani claim to Kashmir on the ground that it is a Muslim majority area. It is, therefore, appropriate to give the background to the dispute here.

During the British colonial days India was under two administrative systems: 1) British India, i.e., that part of India which was directly under the control of British governors and, ii) native states, small and big, which were governed by hundreds of native Rajahs, Maharajahs and Nawabs, who recognised British suzerainty over them in return for which the British Indian government guaranteed their internal autonomy in varying degrees, under the treaties entered into between them and British India, under what was known as the subsidiary system. Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament partitioned British Indian provinces on the basis of their religious composition, Muslim majority areas in the West and the East becoming Pakistan. The Act declared that with India's independence the treaties between the native rulers and the British government would lapse and, therefore, the rulers would be free to decide the fate of their territories, i.e., either to join India, or Pakistan or remain independent.

Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, who was India's Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Home and States integration, declared that all the native states falling within the post-partition India's territorial limits should join the Indian Union. He refused to recognise their right to independent existence on the ground that they never were sovereign. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, on the other hand was an enthusiastic supporter of the right of native rulers to decide the fate of their territories. This was an attempt to prevent the consolidation of India's unity, for, one third of India was under the control of native rulers. If most of them had decided to remain independent, there would have been a number of independent States within India's geographical limits. The Sardar deftly handled the issue and secured the accession of all States to India, barring three-Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. The Nawab of Junagadh, which is Gujarat, declared that he was acceding to Pakistan; this led to popular revolt which resulted in his flight to Pakistan; this led to popular revolt which resulted in his flight to Pakistan. Thus Junagadh's problem was solved.

Kashmir and Hyderabad were big states. Both the rulers entertained hopes of remaining independent. Undivided Kashmir had an area of 84,471 square miles and according to 1941 census, a population of 4,002,000 of whom 77% were Muslims; the Maharajah was a Hindu. Hyderabad, slightly larger than Kashmir, had 90% Hind population but a Muslim ruler, Mir Osman Ali Khan. When all attempt at persuasion failed and when the majority community was being subjected to repression, the Government of India took police action and merged Hyderabad with the Union.

Maharajah Hari Singh of Kashmir wanted one year time to decide the fate of the State. Both India and Pakistan had signed stand-still Agreements with the Maharajah. But Pakistan subjected him to pressure by an economic blockade, to merge his State with herself; this was bound to be inconvenient since in those days all of Kashmir's communications ran through the territories that became Pakistan. Closely on the heels of his pressure followed the Pakistani tribal invasion on October 22, 1947. The Maharajah's small army could not defend the State; he appealed to New Delhi for help. On October 24, 1947, New Delhi told him that the Indian army would be sent in only if he decided the future of his State. On October 26, 1947, the Maharajah signed the Instrument of Accession and acceded to India.

The government of India declared that as soon as law and order had been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders the question of the State's accession would be settled by a reference to the people.

India then sent her army to clear Kashmir of invaders. In December 1947, New Delhi took the issue to the United Nations. A cease fire was arranged by the United Nations on January 1, 1949; this left about one-third of Kashmir under Pakistan occupation.

The Security Council passed a resolution on April 21, 1948, mentioning plebiscite as the means of settlement of the dispute contingent upon the withdrawal of all the tribesmen and Pakistani nationals who had entered the state required for the purpose of fighting. On the other hand India was required under the resolution to reduce her forces progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order.

By this time the Cold War was on. The United States and other Western Powers did not like our non-aligned policy. Either as an act of pressure on India to change her policy or in the hope of eventually making Pakistan a part of the Western alliance system, the West adopted a consistently Pro-Pakistani attitude on Kashmir. Pakistan had not fulfilled its obligations under the U.N. resolution of 1948 but constantly harped on the theme of a plebiscite.

Indian Kashmir elected a Constituent Assembly which met on October 31, 1951. Pakistan challenged, in the Security Council in 1952, the right of the Constituent Assembly to decide the fate of the State. The United States and Britain supported her.

Pakistan first entered into a bilateral alliance with the United States and later joined the Western-sponsored military alliance SEATO in 1954 and Baghdad Pact (later known as CENTO) in 1955. It was quite evident that for Pakistan India was the target and not the communist powers against which they were formed. In fact, Chou En-lai revealed in a press conference in Pakistan in 1963 that the government of Pakistan had told China that her membership of these pacts had nothing to do with China. Nehru objected to the import of the Cold War into the Sub-continent but to no avail as the United States was interested in having bases in Pakistan. Once American bases were established in Gilgit and Peshawar, close to Soviet Central Asia, the Soviet Union which was until then indifferent to the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan began supporting India. Pakistan began receiving modern weapons from the United States free of cost under the bilateral alliance with the latter. India had to buy matching weapons to keep the balance; thus started a mini arms race in the Subcontinent.

In April 1956, Nehru offered to make the cease-fire line international border and settle the dispute on the basis of the status quo. In November 1956, the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir adopted a constitution which declared the State an integral part of India. Pakistan rejected Nehru's offer and insisted on plebiscite. India said she would not hold any plebiscite. Once India-China relations deteriorated in the late 1950s, Pakistan began going closer to China. On March 3, 1963, Pakistan signed a treaty with China which delimited the border between Pakistani-occupied Kashmir and Sinkiang, under which 2,500 Square miles of territory was surrendered to China.

Pakistan made yet another attempt to seize Kashmir by force in August-September 1965 and failed. By this time, the Soviet Union, which was supporting India's case since the mid 1950s changed her policy and adopted a neutral stance on Kashmir. Moscow's intention was to wean Pakistan away from China for which this price had to be paid. Moscow also hosted the Tashkent conference between the Pakistani President, Ayub Khan, and the Indian Prime Minister, Shastri, after the war.

27.4 THE EAST PAKISTANI CRISIS

The first ever general elections since the birth of Pakistan were held on December 7, 1970. Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party won in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujib Ur Rahman's Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan in the National Assembly; that was also an absolute majority in the house. Mujib had won on a manifesto which would have turned Pakistan into a loose federal state with more autonomy for the States. Since power was the monopoly of West Pakistan, and particularly Punjab, since the partition, the prospects of Mujib becoming the head of the government was not to the liking of the army, which was also predominantly Punjabi. Bhutto also threatened to boycott the National Assembly unless Mujib came to terms with him. And so the National Assembly scheduled to meet on March 3, 1971, was indefinitely postponed. This triggered off a violent reaction in East Pakistan; and on March 25, 1971, the military crackdown began.

Nearly 10 million refugees fled to India from East Pakistan 70% of them were Hindus. There was danger of their harrowing experiences causing communal tension in India. The cost of the maintenance was a great burden on India; special taxes were imposed for the purpose. Upto February, 1972, India spent Rs. 3,600 million on the refugees.

While India no doubt sympathised with the fate of the East Pakistani people and as even more concerned with the flow of refugees of East Pakistan into West Bengal, still it waited patiently. It was aware that it could not interfere in East Pakistan as international law did not formally permit other countries interfering with the affairs of a country even in the context of a civil war. However, Pakistan suspected India's intentions. The US was reluctant to put pressure on Pakistan to arrive at a political solution to the problem in East Pakistan. Not only this, the United States also sought Pakistan's help to improve relations with China. It should be remembered that within months of the breakout of the civil war in East Pakistan, the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger went to China. In the context of the East Pakistan situation it almost appeared that Pakistan would be getting the help of both US and China if any major war were to take place between India and Pakistan. India's fear was that Pakistan may deliberately provoke a war and seek the support of USA and China. It is difficult to say whether USA and China promised in advance such help to Pakistan but India did entertain fear that Pakistan was creating a very difficult situation for India. It is in this context that India signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in August 1971. The implications of this Treaty did not in a direct manner ensure Soviet support to India in the event of an Indo-Pak war. But it had given India a psychological and political advantage by securing for India some moral and diplomatic support.

The Pakistani repression of its East Pakistan people continue throughout 1971. Ultimately, the war between Pakistan and India became inevitable, because by the end of 1971 the situation became very tense and Pakistan itself launched a surprise attack against India.

Although the Indian intervention was a decisive factor in the birth of Bangladesh, India cannot be held responsible for the disintegration of Pakistan. It was Pakistan's inability to cement national unity and the feeling of alienation among the Bengalees of East Pakistan that were responsible for the event. External powers cannot create dissensions in a country; they take advantage of them. In this case India took advantage of the crisis when it ceased to be an internal crisis and imposed unacceptable burden on India.

Once Pakistan reconciled itself to the emergence of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan signed the Simla Agreement in July 1972 under which both agreed to settle their disputes, including

Kashmir, bilaterally and not to raise them in international forums. Pakistan, however, continues to raise the Kashmir issue in international conferences now and then.

However, Indo-Pak relations were not always a saga of conflict. There have been instances of disputes being settled through negotiation. The Indus Waters Agreement was signed by India and Pakistan on September 19, 1960. Under the agreement the three tributaries of the river Sindhu, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej were allocated to India; Pakistan would have Sindhu, and Jhelum and Chenab. But since Pakistan was getting water from the rivers allocated to India since the pre-partition days, India committed herself to continue to supply water for a transitional period of the succeeding 10 years; which could be extended by three years on Pakistan was expected to make alternate arrangements from her own rivers which required the building of an irrigation complex at a cost of \$ 900 million: this amount was arranged by the World Bank and a group of countries.

Similarly, Pakistan claimed that the Indo-Pakistani border in the Rann of Kutch area was not delimited and laid claim to 9,065 Square Kilometres. This was rejected by India. However both agreed to refer the issue to arbitration. The tribunal awarded 9,065 Square Kilometers to Pakistan. These instances prove that it is not impossible to settle the issues between India and Pakistan peacefully if a spirit of give-and-take is adopted. Pakistani acceptance of Nehru's 1956 offer to settle the Kashmir problem on the basis of status quo, which is just and realistic, would pave the way for a new era in their relations.

Since 1972, particularly after the Simla Agreement, relations between India and Pakistan have been less tense. But still many problems exist. On the one hand, the Pakistani President Zia ul Haq proclaims that he wants very friendly relations with India. He even offered a No-War Pact. But India is not fully convinced about the sincerity of these proclamations. On its part, India offered to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and not a No-War Pact. Negotiations are still going on these two proposals. Meanwhile, the Punjab problem in India raised some difficulties for Indo-Pak relations. There is some evidence that Pakistan has been giving support to the Sikh-Khalistani terrorists, though Pakistan has denied this allegation. This problem has introduced some tension in the relations between these two big countries of the Indian sub-continent.

27.5 INDO-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

Lord Palmerston's dictum that Britain has neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies but only permanent interests is a general norm in international affairs. Indo-Bangladesh relations bear testimony to this argument. Bangladesh practically owes its independence to India. In spite of being a poor country herself, India bore the heavy cost of Bangladesh's liberation struggle. Therefore, the relations between the two countries should have been very cordial. But for almost a decade now these relations were characterised by periodic tensions.

During the brief period when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was at the helm of affairs, i.e., until August 1975, Indo-Bangla relations were friendly. In 1972 India and Bangladesh had also signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation. There has been political instability in Bangladesh after the assassination of Mujibur Rahman in August 1975. There were a number of military coups in Bangladesh. No leader was able to consolidate his position in the country and find a solution to the economic problems of the overpopulated country. Therefore, the traditional policy of statecraft: directing the attention of the people to external powers.

The two problems that create tensions in Indo-Bangla relations are the Farakka Barrage issue and the illegal immigration of Bangladeshis into the neighbouring Indian states, particularly Assam.

Calcutta is a river port that is at the tail-end of the river Ganga. Huge quantities of silt gets collected in the port every year. Unless it is flushed periodically, the port becomes unnavigable. Therefore India constructed a barrage at Farakka to store the water of Ganga for flushing purposes. Bangladesh (and before her emergence as an independent state, Pakistan) argues that the barrage reduces the flow of Ganga's water into Bangladesh, particularly during the lean season, thus affecting her economy. A number of rounds of talks held in the last 14 years could not resolve the issue. Since Brahmaputra, Ganga and a host of other small rivers flow through Bangladesh, floods are a problem during the rainy season every year. If only they are a bit more efficient in water management, they need not have to let the barrage issue spoil Indo Bangladesh relations.

There has been a phenomenal increase in the Bengali speaking Muslim population in Assam in the last three decades. The Assamese naturally fear that they might become a minority in their own state, which they have already become in a few districts of the State. A five year old agitation in Assam crippled the State. The agitation leaders want that the aliens in Assam should be detected on the basis of the 1951 census report. The government of India agreed to do so on the 1971 census basis. The Assamese want that these foreign nationals should be sent back home. The government of Bangladesh says that there are no Bangladeshi nationals in Assam and therefore there is no question of accepting any people deported from India. The Government of India also decided to erect a fence all along the Indo-Bangla border to prevent such illegal immigrants. This hurts Bangla national psyche. No country likes to accept that its nationals are fleeing to other countries for reasons of poverty, even if it is true. Therefore, the Bangla government is opposed to the fencing of the border. Since the Bangla Rifles came in the way of the work, it has been temporarily suspended.

27.6 INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

Nepal is the only Hindu country in the world since her constitution declares her a Hindu monarchy. It is also a landlocked country being totally dependent upon India for its international trade, which is conducted through the Indian ports, mostly Calcutta.

In 1950 India and Nepal signed a treaty under which both were required to consult each other whenever there was a threat to the security of either party.

Until 1951 the kings of Nepal were prisoners in their palace while the actual power was exercised by the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers since 1846. In 1950 the then king, Tribhuvan, and his family sought political asylum in the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu to flee from the Rana autocracy. They were flown to New Delhi. The pressure applied by the government of India led to the fall of the then Rana, Mohan Shamsher and power reverted to the king who introduced democracy in the country in 1951. Tribhuvan was succeeded by king Mahendra in 1955 who conducted elections in 1959 which were won by the Nepali Congress. Its leader, B.P. Koirala, formed the government. On grounds of mutual bickerings and corruption, King Mahendra dismissed the popular ministry in 1960. The then Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, criticised the action which the king considered an interference in the internal affairs of Nepal. Since then Indo-Nepalese relations developed strains.

Since the king banned all political parties and arrested all the ministers of the Koirala ministry and other political leaders who were in the country others who were abroad, in India and elsewhere, stayed on in India for fear of being arrested if they went home. In 1962, the king introduced a new constitution which is based on the concept of partyless panchayat democracy. The Nepali political leaders demanded democratic system based on free functioning of political

parties. Some of the Nepali leaders who stayed on in India after the King's coup began organising raids into Nepal across the Indian border and indulging in other agitational activities from their Indian base. The Nepali government thought that the government of India was encouraging these activities since it was not apprehending them. India's legal difficulties were not appreciated by Nepal. India and Nepal have open borders, i.e., the nationals of the two countries can travel across the borders without visa restrictions. Obviously, therefore, the Nepali Congress leaders could not have been arrested without any charges, and since they were not indulging in any illegal activities on the Indian soil, the Indian government could not take any action against them. The referendum held in Nepal on this issue removed this irritant from Indo-Nepalese relations. In the 1980 referendum, the Nepal voters preferred the present system by a small margin. Once Sino-Indian relations developed strains, Nepal improved her relations with China, may be as a countervailing force against India. Nepal signed an agreement with China in 1980 for the construction of the Kathmandu-Kodari road linking Tibet with Nepal, which was considered threat to her security by India.

India and Nepal had a common trade and transit agreement regulating both Indo-Nepalese trade as well as providing transit facilities for Nepalese trade with other countries. Nepal wanted separate trade and transit treaties, which the government of India was not willing to sign for a long time. Since this was becoming an unnecessary issue in Indo-Nepalese relations, the Janata government agreed to have two separate treaties, which were signed in 1978, thus removing an irritant. But Nepal began demanding that landlocked countries should have transit rights under international laws and not under bilateral treaties, which amount to concessions given by the neighbours of the landlocked states. This proposal made by the then Nepalese foreign minister in 1974 was opposed by India.

In 1975 Nepal also proposed that she be declared a Zone of Peace by her neighbours, China and India. China endorsed this proposal. This proposal involves declaration by her neighbours that they would respect her territorial integrity and sovereignty; that they would not interfere in her internal affairs and so on. The Indian government feels that under the Indo-Nepali treaty of 1950 and under the Panchsheel India is committed to these principles and, therefore, the zone of peace concept is unnecessary. Nepal seems to feel that the 1950 treaty gives some special status to India and, therefore, she wants to equate China with India by asking these two countries to declare her a zone of peace. India is lukewarm to this proposal. India's intervention in the crisis in former East Pakistan and her absorption of Sikkim in 1975 seemed to have created fear in Nepal. Since, anyway the so-called special status enjoyed by India in Nepal is unreal, we would not lose much by endorsing the proposal.

27.7 INDO-SRI LANKAN RELATIONS

Indo-Sri Lankan relations have been vitiated by the Tamil factor. There are two groups of Tamils in Sri Lanka: Sri Lankan Tamils and Tamils of Indian origin. The Sri Lankan Tamils emigrated to the country hundreds of years ago and founded Tamil kingdoms in the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. They were independent kingdoms until the British united them with the rest of Sri Lanka when that country passed under British colonial control. In these regions, known as provinces, the Tamils constitute 80% of the population. The second group of Tamils, known as the Tamils of Indian origin, are descendants of the people taken there from India to work in the British plantations towards the end of the 19th century.

After Sri Lanka's independence in 1948, although the Tamils of Indian origin were born and brought up there the new government declared that they would not be given citizenship of the country. For a long time India opposed this policy. But in 1964 an agreement was signed

between the then prime ministers of India and Sri Lanka, Shastri and Mrs. Bandaranaike, under which India agreed to take back a large number of the Tamils of Indian origin. For a long time after this agreement, Indo-Sri Lankan relations were cordial.

But the relations suffered a setback since July 1983. This time it is the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils which complicated Indo-Sri Lankan relations. The Sri Lankan Tamils too feel discriminated against in the national life of that country. For a long time the Tamil party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has been demanding the creation of Tamil State by uniting the northern and eastern Tamil majority provinces within Sri Lanka. In other words, the party's demand is for changing the present Sri Lankan unitary constitution into a federal system. This is unacceptable to the Sinhalese. The failure of the moderate Tamil leaders to achieve anything led to frustration among the Tamil youths and they took to violent methods. A number of Tamil guerilla groups sprang up indulging in violent acts against the Sinhalese security forces. The killing of some Sinhale soldiers in July 1983 led to large-scale communal rioting in which over 2000 Tamils were killed. Thereafter, Tamil guerilla attacks and terrible reprisals against Tamil civilians by the undisciplined Sinhalese army have become a regular feature.

The people of the state of Tamilnadu, because of their affinities with the Sri Lankan Tamils, are upset and have been demanding action by the Central government. Thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils have been given shelter in Tamilnadu; the leaders of all major guerilla groups are also functioning from Madras. This created apprehension in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese feel that India is training and equipping the Tamil guerilla. The Sri Lankan government tried in vain for help from the United States, Britain and Pakistan; at least the first two seemed to have advised the Sri Lankan government to seek a political solution.

The Tamil minority problem has created tensions between India and Sri Lanka. Legally it is a purely internal problem for Sri Lanka. But India cannot be indifferent to the fate of the Tamil minorities because they are of Indian origin. So India has proceeded very cautiously. It assured Sri Lanka that the problem concerned Sri Lanka whose territorial integrity can not be questioned. At the same time, India told Sri Lanka that the demand of Tamilians for autonomy should be granted. Sri Lanka government also agreed with this and through the mediation of India many proposals were made to meet the demands for autonomy for the Tamil speaking parts of Sri Lanka. But it appears that the Sri Lanka has not given much of importance to solve the problem at the political level but was pursuing a policy of putting down through military action the Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking rebels. This situation has caused distress in India. Misunderstandings between India and Sri Lanka have surfaced prominently. Sri Lanka accused India of supporting the Tamil rebels and India is accusing Sri Lanka of not making even minimum concessions to the demands of the Tamil-speaking people for autonomy within the constitutional framework. It is to be hoped that a peaceful solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka would be reached before long.

27.8 CONCLUSION

The above analysis of India's relations with its neighbours reveals the presence of tensions. India is the biggest country in this region and its relations with its immediate neighbours have not been very cordial. Now efforts are being made to promote cooperation among the South Asian countries. Since 1981 the movement for South Asia (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) have now formed a formal association to promote economic and technical cooperation. It is hoped that through the promotion of such cooperation, at least in the long run the misunderstanding over political issues would subside and South Asia

as a whole would become a very peaceful region in which the member states of the area would cooperate fully with each other in their economic and social development and live peacefully.

- Dr. T. Surender.

27.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in About 30 lines each.

1. Trace the events leading to the Indo-China conflict in 1962.
2. Briefly examine the psychological and territorial factors that strain Indo-Pak relations.
3. Briefly describe the Indo-Nepalese relations.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Identify the main reasons for the strained relations between India and Bangladesh.
2. Explain the concept of Zone of peace proposed by Nepal. What is India's reaction?
3. Explain the nature of Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. How does it affect Indo-Sri Lanka relations?

BRAOU

UNIT - 28 : CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Contents:

- 28.0 Objectives
- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Indo- U.S. Relations
- 28.3 India Soviet Relations
- 28.4 India and Non-Alignment
- 28.5 India and her neighbours
- 28.6 Model Questions

28.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson you will be able to explain

- India's relations with United States of America, Soviet Union and her neighbours.

28.1 INTRODUCTION

Some western critics of India's foreign policy allege that her policy is pro-Soviet and anti-American. Even in India there are people who share the view. The fact that the Janata government spoke of genuine non-alignment implying that until then our policy was not genuinely non-aligned. Another criticism is that Indian policy failed to resolve disputes with neighbours through peaceful methods one of the cardinal principles of non-alignment. Therefore, we will make a critical assessment of India's policy in this unit.

It is proper at this stage to clear up some misunderstanding about non-alignment. The policy of non alignment is not the same as the policy of neutrality. As we have discussed elsewhere, neutrality is a negative policy in the sense that neutrals would like to keep themselves away from all entanglements: rightness or wrongness, and justice or in-justice do not matter for them. The non-aligned powers on the other hand do not like to shut their eyes to what is happening, but want to see that right things happen. Therefore, if in India's assessment, the Soviet stand on an issue is right and hence she agrees with Moscow, her policy does not become a pro-Soviet policy. Nor does non-alignment involve a unilateral sacrifice of national interests by one country. Hence, if India sometimes took a less than righteous stand on international issues to safeguard her interests, India cannot be charged with bias in favour of this or that state. After all states want to promote their national interests, no foreign policy is based on fidelity to righteousness always

28.2 INDO -US RELATIONS

With these observations in view, we will examine our foreign policy. The view that because India and the United States are democracies and since they have no disputes, territorial or other, their relations should have been cordial and that it was India's Soviet bias that came in the way of this cordiality does not stand scrutiny. Democracies need not always agree; in fact, tolerance and dissent are part of democracy. The United States was, for a long time unsympathetic towards

India's policy of non-alignment. In our view, non-alignment is the right policy for us; the United States, until 1960s, considered our policy opportunistic. Washington constantly delivered sermons to us on the righteousness of its cause in the cold war and, therefore, wanted India's aligning herself with the US. We were not impressed. In the name of democracy and human rights, the United States joined hands with repressive military dictatorship or absolute monarchies in many countries of the world.

We adopted a socialistic pattern of society as our goal. The United States would attempt to teach us on the virtues of private enterprise. Since one of the principles of non-alignment is that socio-political systems should be allowed to evolve from domestic roots of the countries, we considered the U.S. policy as an unwarranted interference in our internal affairs. We persisted with expanding public sector. However, we have not destroyed private enterprise; enough incentives have been given to private investors; both Indian as well foreign. Therefore in economic matters, the U.S. was not always willing to help us in our economic development, especially in developing public sector of the economy.

Some of Washington's policies directly impinged on our interests. Its support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and its arming of Pakistan seriously affected our interests. As a secular State, the United States should have opposed Pakistani claim to Kashmir on religious grounds. But in pursuit of power politics, which necessitated the acquisition of military bases in Pakistan, Washington ignored one of its constitutional principles, secularism. While they gave supersonic aircraft and submarines to Pakistan, they were not willing to even sell them to us. Since an arms race was forced on us and since we could not be indifferent to Pakistani acquisition of modern weapons, we had to turn to Soviet Union, which not only sold them to us, but in some cases, also gave us the necessary technology to manufacture them in India - like the MIG 21 aircraft.

The United States even went back on contracts which is against the spirit of international law. It was to supply enriched uranium to our Tarapore Atomic Power Project for 30 years, but backed out recently since India refused to accept safeguards against its use for other purposes since these new safeguards were not included in the original contract but sought to be imposed on India in pursuit of a U.S. Congressional legislation in support of nuclear non-proliferation. The United States is also unhappy with us because we refused to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty since we consider it discriminatory. But it is not adopting any such tough postures vis-a-vis Pakistan, whose nuclear weapons programme is reported to be in an advanced stage.

If the United States were true to the spirit of its Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln's heritage, it should have unhesitatingly supported the non aligned countries' demand for immediate decolonisation in 1960s and expulsion of South Africa from the U.N. and economic sanctions against her to force that country to give up the apartheid policy. For reasons of protecting the Western economic and security interests the United States is not in a mood to take a forthright stand against these twin evils. Washington needed Portuguese bases therefore it supported the Portuguese colonialism in Africa, before that country (Portugal) ceased to be a colonial-power in 1974 after a military coup. In 1955, John F. Dulles, the then U.S. Secretary of State, upheld this Portuguese claims to Goa in a joint statement he signed with the Portuguese foreign minister, just at that time the Soviet leaders, Khrushchev and Bulgarian, who were on a visit to India, supported India's claim to Goa. When India finally used her army to liberate Goa in 1961, the United States introduced a resolution in the Security Council asking India to withdraw from Goa. Since South Africa is strategically located and since Western investments in that country get good dividends, the U.S. is not prepared to take any strong action against South Africa. Thus the U.S. extended her support to both colonialism and racialism in Africa.

India considered the war in Vietnam between 1965-75 as a war of national liberation; the United States considered it as a part of its policy of containment of communism. Since we asked the Americans along with many other countries in the world, to withdraw from Vietnam, Washington was angry with us. At a time when there was a severe famine in Bihar during the years 66-68, the then President, Johnson, delayed food shipments to India to press India to moderate its criticism of the American Vietnam policy. But the U.S. did finally give India aid in food.

So, if there were periodic tensions in Indo-American relations, they were attributable to either genuine differences on policy matters or principles or to the clash of American global interests with India's regional interests and not because of any pro-Soviet twist in our policy.

28.3 INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS

During the Stalin period, the Soviet Union's attention was concentrated on Europe, and therefore, ignored the new nations; but after Stalin's death the new Soviet leaders began taking interest in the new nations. It was easy for the Soviet Union to give unstinted support on colonial and racial issues since it would lose nothing by doing so. It earned credit for its forthright stand on these issues.

Since the Soviet Union believes in Socialism, our Socialist goal was not a contentious issue in Indo-Soviet relations, as it was in Indo-American relations. Moscow gave substantial support to our attempts at industrialisation in the public sector. Even in this field we first approached the West for help. Only when the Western countries refused to help us in setting up a steel mill in public sector in 1955 did we request the Soviet Union for its help. When the Soviets decided to set up a mill in Bhilai, did some Western countries like Britain also helped us in setting up another big steel plant.

Agreement or disagreement between two countries depends upon identify or clash of interest. Indo-Soviet interests coincided in respect of Pakistan. The bases that country offered to the United States close to soviet Central Asia was considered a threat to its security by Moscow; We considered American supply of weapons to Pakistan a threat to us. Therefore, the Soviet Union began supporting India's case on Kashmir. At a later stage Indo-Soviet interests also coincided in regard to China. Once Sino-Soviet interests also coincided in regard to China. Once Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated by 1963, the Soviet Union, probably began considering India a partial counter balance to China in South Asia and, therefore, began giving us greater support in the field of arms and ammunition, and even for general economic development.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August 1971 is considered as a military alliance by some critics of India's policy. But it is not a military alliance. Article 4 of the Treaty specifically recognises India's policy of non-alignment and affirms that this policy constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and in the lessening of tensions in the world.

However, Article 9 says that "in the event of either party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries". Although the article does not specifically mention military measures to remove the threat posed to either party, critics could say that in the event of a military threat only military measures could be appropriate and effective. India maintains that this is not a military clause. In fact, participating in the discussion on the treaty in Parliament, Mrs. Gandhi, the then

Prime Minister of India, volunteered to sign similar treaties with Western powers if they were ready. No Western power came forward to do so. Yet, the very fact that India chose to enter into such a treaty means that India feels more close to the Soviet Union than to the other superpower, the U.S.

True, we have not been forthright in the condemnation of some Soviet policies which have been bad. For example, over the issue of aid, we are vocal in our criticism of the West for its unwillingness to set a target date for increasing their aid to 0.7% of their G.N.P. But the Soviet Union is not enthusiastic about this target either. It seeks shelter under the pretext that the West which subjected the non-aligned countries to exploitation for centuries has a moral duty to help them and, therefore, the Western countries should do so. Not all Western countries were colonial powers and they can use the same argument to avoid any commitment. Yet our criticism of the Soviet Union is either muted or there is no criticism at all.

When the Soviet Union militarily intervened in Hungary in 1956 to suppress the liberalisation process in that small communist country under the leadership of Imre Nagy, we hesitated in criticising that action. Similarly, in 1968, when the Soviet Union and its allies militarily intervened in the internal affairs of another small communist country, Czechoslovakia because that country adopted the path of liberalisation under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek, our criticism was mild. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the killing of its President in December 1979 also resulted in India adopting a timid policy of calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country while the only foreign forces there were the Soviet forces. This cannot be considered as a policy of yielding to Soviet influence, but in view of the United States support to Pakistan on an issue of vital interest to us, we had to depend upon Soviet diplomatic support safeguarding our interests. International relations on a quid pro quo (give and take) basis. The Soviet Union would support us only if we do not hurt their vital interests. So India had to adopt the policy it did in respect of those developments to safeguard her interests. Nations do not sacrifice tangible national interests for the sake of concepts, however moral and noble.

This does not mean that we supported the Soviet Union on all issues. Sometimes we refrained from supporting or even opposed the Soviet Union on certain issues vital for its interests. The Soviet Union's interest in keeping the two German States as separate entities and getting recognition for East Germany was known right from the 1950s. Yet until 1961 India used to express her sympathy with the German national aspiration for unification. Even an offer of Rs. 100 crore aid to India made by East Germany in the mid 1960s was not accepted by her on the ground that she did not recognise that country. It was only in 1972 that we established diplomatic relations with East Germany; by that time even West Germany had recognised that country. Khrushchev's plan for turning West Berlin into a demilitarised free city in 1958 was not supported by India. Similarly, Khrushchev's proposal for abolishing the office of the Secretary-General of the U.N. because of his ire with Dag Hammarskjold the then U.N. Secretary-General, substituting it with a troika, that is, a collective executive of three Secretaries-General, selecting one each from the Western and Soviet blocs and non-aligned group, was also opposed by India on the ground that it would paralyse the U.N. executive.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

What is the nature of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship ?

28.4 INDIA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

No assessment of India's foreign policy can be complete without an assessment of its contribution to non-alignment. India has been the pioneer in articulating the idea of Non-alignment when the world was beset with the Cold War. This policy has been so attractive that almost the entire Third World chose to join the non-alignment movement. This provided a sort of a socialising institution to the newly liberated countries. They found the non-aligned movement as a support for their independence and territorial integrity and also as great diplomatic cushion for their dealings in international relations. The non-alignment movement can be compared to a mini United Nations in itself. The membership is drawn from all parts of the world. India's contribution in shaping the movement has been substantial. Though in the beginning India was not very enthusiastic about the non-aligned movement becoming institutionalised, yet it adjusted to the changes and has persuaded the non-aligned to a reasonable course of action as international relations changed. For instance, as the Cold War subsided during the 60s and 70s, India was one of the countries to persuade the non-aligned movement to concentrate on economic issues. It is true that the subtle changes in India's non-alignment, particularly the change in India's getting closer to the Soviet Union, is criticised in some quarters. But it should not be forgotten that in the non-alignment circles because of India's constant advice a very restraint and moderate stand is being adopted by the movement as a whole. When Cuba and some other pro-Soviet members of the non-aligned movement wanted to adopt the policy that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the 'natural allies of the non-aligned movement', India persuaded them not to insist on the resolution, as the very principle of non-alignment would be compromised if the socialist bloc were to be specifically characterised as the natural ally of non-alignment.

At the New Delhi Summit (1983) of the non-alignment movement, the very first summit held in India, India played a very constructive role in trying to reconcile the conflicts within the movement on various political issues. The New Delhi Summit strongly emphasised on the economic issues of the Third World and in various ways promoted the cause of the New International Economic Order. The Summit passed many resolutions demanding that the developed world adopt a more constructive attitude to help the economic and technological development of the Third World. Equally important was the Summit's stress on promoting South - South cooperation i.e. cooperation among the members of the Third World.

A big movement like the non-aligned movement cannot be as homogeneous and unanimous as non alignment was, say 20 years ago. It is to the credit of leading countries like India to have kept the non-aligned movement united and in giving it a sense of purpose and direction.

28.5 INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

India's relations with China are good example of India's efforts to resume a good relationship with a big power which has not played fair with India. Though China is still in occupation of thousands of square miles of Indian territory, India has been trying for the last two years to improve the relations. The issue of India's recovery of her territory is not allowed to come in the way of improving relations in other areas. It is to the credit of India that at least the old bitterness in Sino-Indian relations has now disappeared.

In its relations with its neighbours Indian foreign policy has not so far been successful. It is seen how relations with Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have been strained, though in different degrees. It is arguable, India could have taken a more moderate stand. But it should be remembered that a big country will always to be suspected by its neighbours and India has to

put up with the suspicion and caution with which her neighbours treat her. Given this fact, India has been trying to create cordial relations with its neighbours. Eventhough it can be argued that India could have been more forthcoming in creating a friendly relationship with Pakistan to be more positive in its reaction to Pakistani No War proposal. The Punjab problem has created new suspicions in the minds of India on the genuineness of the Pakistani intentions. Still, India should make every effort at peaceful settlement of disputes with Pakistan in particular. On the whole India has not allowed Punjab crisis to stand in the way of Indo-Pakistani relations. During the last few years, the diplomatic contacts between India and Pakistan have increased.

The most important positive development, as already been mentioned, is the movement for regional cooperation. It is to credit of all the countries in the region that inspite of their differences over political issues, the South Asian Regional Cooperation movement has been progressing very satisfactorily.

- Dr. T. Surender.

28.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in About 30 lines each.**
1. Give an account of Indian policy of Non-alignment.
 2. Indian foreign policy is not pro- Soviet policy. Discuss.
 3. Critically examine Indo- U.S. relations.
- II. Answer the following in About 10 lines each.**
1. Briefly examine Indo-Soviet interests in Pakistan issue.
 2. Give a brief account of Indo-Soviet Treaty.
 3. Briefly examine India's contribution to Non-alignment.

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UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMME

POLITICAL SCIENCE

SYLLABUS

Syllabus for Third Year Degree Course

Course IV : International Relations

Block - I : INTRODUCTION

Unit - 1 : The World at the time of the 1st World War

Unit - 2 : Treaty of Versailles

Unit - 3 : The League of Nations - Origins and significance

Block - II : THE WORLD AFTER THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

Unit - 4 : Major Power's Foreign Policies

Unit - 5 : Foreign Policies of New States

Unit - 6 : Germany and Soviet Russia

Unit - 7 : The Shape of the Non-European World

Block - III : THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DECLINE OF THE SYSTEMS

Unit - 8 : Economic Depression

Unit - 9 : The Rise of Fascism and Nazism

Unit - 10 : The League of Nations at Work: Prominent Instances of failure

Unit - 11 : The Response of Major Powers to the League's failure

Unit - 12 : The causes of the Second World War

Block - IV : SHAPING OF THE POST-WAR WORLD (1945-60)

Unit - 13 : The U.N.O. - Charter and the main Organs

Unit - 14 : Cold War in Europe and Asia - rise and decline

Unit - 15 : The Rise of the Third World and the Non-Aligned World.

Block - V : THE THIRD WORLD AND ITS PROBLEMS

Unit - 16 : West Asia in International Relations

Unit - 17 : Rise of Africa

Unit - 18 : The Vietnam Problem and its significance

Unit - 19 : The Threat of Neo-Colonialism - Third World & The New International Economic Order

Block - VI : MAIN TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (1960-80)

Unit - 20 : Super Powers

Unit - 21 : Detente - Causes and Consequences

Unit - 22 : The Role of China

**Block - VII : CHALLENGE TO WORLD PEACE; PROBLEM OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS.**

Unit - 23 : The Problem of Armaments to World Peace

Unit - 24 : World Poverty: Causes and Remedies

Block-VIII: INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Unit - 25 : Factors Shaping Indian Foreign Policy

Unit - 26 : Concepts of Non-Alignment and Peaceful Co-existence

Unit - 27 : India and Neighbours

Unit - 28 : Critical Assessment of Indian Foreign Policy

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE - IV: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ASSIGNMENT - 1

NOTE:

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluators.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour time.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Bring out the significance of Balkan conflicts.
2. Briefly examine the main provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
3. Examine the foreign policy of U S A during the inter war period.

PART - B

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Briefly examine the causes for the development of nationalism in Africa.
2. Neo-Colonialism
3. SALT - II

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE - IV: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ASSIGNMENT - 2

NOTE:

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluators.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour time.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Briefly examine the causes for the revival of cold war in the late 70's.
2. Discuss the factors leading to the intense hostility between China and the Soviet Union.
3. Explain the magnitude of the problem of the world poverty.

PART - B

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.

1. Briefly describe the Indo-Nepalese relations.
2. Write a short note on Truman Doctrine.
3. Functions of the Security Council.

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE - IV: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ASSIGNMENT - 3

NOTE:

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible, try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluators.
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour time.
-

PART - A

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. How far was Hitler responsible for the Second World War?
2. Examine the reasons for the division of Europe into armed camps before the great war.
3. Briefly examine the factors contributing to the Arms race.

PART - B

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.

1. Balance of Terror
2. Discuss the importance of Geneva agreement of 1954
3. Shuttle Diplomacy.

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B.A. III Year (3 YDC) Examination

Model Question Paper

POLITICAL SCIENCE - Paper - IV

International Relations

Time: 3 Hours]

[Max. Marks: 100

[Min. Marks. 35

Section-A

4X15=60

Note: Answer any four of the following questions in about 30 lines each. Each question carries 15 marks.

1. Describe the foreign policies of the new states of Europe after the First World War.
2. Examine the impact of the great economic depression on European politics.
3. Explain the functioning of the United Nations.
4. Examine the impact of the Arab - Israeli conflict on World politics.
5. What are the causes and consequences of detente?
6. Explain the reasons for the arms race.

(Turn Over)

7. What is non - alignment ? Briefly mention its features.

8. Outline the problems of India with her neighbours.

Section - B

5X8=40

Note: Answer any five of the following questions in about 15 lines each.

Each question carries 8 marks.

9. Locarno treaty.
10. Russo - German non - aggression pact.
11. Anti - Semitism.
12. The Policy of Containment.
13. Mandatory territories.
14. Neo Colonialism.
15. The Taiwan issue.
16. Anti - racialism.
17. The Palestine liberation organisation.
18. North - South dialogue.

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