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GYAN VIHAR
UNIVERSITY**
Accredited by NAAC with 'A+' Grade

**Master of Arts
(History)**

**WORLD IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,
PART- 2**

Semester-II

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INDEX

UNIT I

AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II 5

UNIT II

UNITED NATIONS AND THE GLOBAL DISPUTES 35

UNIT III

DECOLONIZATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD 53

UNIT IV

SOVIET UNION DISINTEGRATION AND THE RISE OF UNIPOLAR WORLD 89

UNIT V

NATIONAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE 101

LEARNING OUTCOMES

The students will be able to understand:

UNIT -1

- Understanding the geopolitical landscape and the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as superpowers.
- Recognition of the ideological differences between the capitalist West and the communist East.
- Recognition of the historical and cultural contexts that shaped religious and philosophical developments.

UNIT -2

- Analysis of the Non-Aligned Movement's role as a critic of imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- Recognition of NAM's efforts towards promoting global peace and justice.
- In-depth understanding of the teachings and philosophy of the Bhagavad Gita

UNIT -3

- Mastery of the causes and consequences of the Communist Revolution in China.
- Understanding the impact of China's communist ideology on global politics.
- Understanding the principles and practices of Jainism.

UNIT-4

- Knowledge of the nationalist movements in Latin America, with a focus on figures like Bolivar.
- Recognition of the struggles for independence in the region..
- Engagement with scholarly discussions surrounding the original home and identity of the Aryans.

UNIT-5

- Understanding the nationalist movements in the Arab world, particularly in Egypt.
- Recognition of key Saivite beliefs and practices.
- Recognition of the challenges and experiences faced by women during the partition..

WORLD IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, PART-2 SYLLABUS

UNIT I

AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II

Introduction, The World after World War II, Emergence of Two Power Blocs, Cold War and Its Effects, Emergence of the Third World , The Non-Aligned Movement Growth of NAM, Neo-Colonialism

UNIT II

UNITED NATIONS AND THE GLOBAL DISPUTES

Introduction, UNO and the global disputes, Communist Revolution in China and its impact on world politics

UNIT III

DECOLONIZATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

Introduction, Nationalist Movements and Decolonization in Different Parts of the World, Consolidation and Expansion of European Community: European Union

UNIT IV

SOVIET UNION DISINTEGRATION AND THE RISE OF UNIPOLAR WORLD

Introduction, Cultural Revolution: Civil Rights Movement, Feminism, Disintegration of Soviet Union and the Rise of the Unipolar World, Factors leading to the collapse of Soviet communism and the Soviet Union

UNIT V

NATIONAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Introduction, Political Changes in Eastern Europe 1989-20011, The US ascendancy in the World as the lone superpower, Globalization and its impact

AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Learning Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 The World after World War II
- 1.4 Emergence of Two Power Blocs
- 1.5 Cold War and its Effects
- 1.6 Emergence of the Third World
- 1.7 The Non-Aligned Movement Growth of NAM
- 1.8 Neo-Colonialism
- 1.9 Chapter Summary
- 1.10 Review Questions
- 1.11 Multiple Choice Questions



1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After completing this unit, you'll be able to:

- Learn about the world after world war II
- Understand the emergence of the two power blocs
- Know about the cold war and its effect
- Learn about the emergence of the third world
- Understand about Neo-Colonialism

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The year 1945 marked the end of the worst military conflict in history, which brought unprecedented destruction and loss of life. However, the quarter-century that followed is known as the most remarkable period of economic growth and social progress in Europe. This column, part of a Vox debate on WWII, lays out three factors that made this paradox possible: the strong foundations of economic recovery in Western Europe, vital support for the reconstruction of European trade and cooperation, and Allied support for the revival of the German economy. In contrast, Eastern Europe could barely recover due to the demographic disaster from the war.

The cold war overshadowed another momentous international change that came as a result of the Second World War. Before 1939 much of the non-European world had been divided up among the great empires: the ones based in Western Europe but also those of Japan and the Soviet Union. Japan and Italy lost their empires as a result of defeat. Britain, France, and the Netherlands all saw their imperial possessions disappear in the years immediately after the war

The end of the Cold War marked the victory of the US and the bipolar world order turned into a uni-polar. However, over the last decade, the position of the US as the world's most powerful state has appeared increasingly unstable. The US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, non-traditional security threats, global economic instability, the apparent spread of religious fundamentalism, together with the rise of emerging economic powers (like Japan, Australia, India, China etc.) have made the world look more multi-polar and has led many to predict the **decline of the west and the rise of the rest.**

1.3 THE WORLD AFTER WORLD WAR II

As many as 60 million dead, great cities reduced to rubble, families torn apart. The Second World War caused unprecedented hardship, but it also accelerated change.

At the end of the First World War it had been possible to contemplate going back to business as usual. However, 1945 was different, so different that it has been called Year Zero. The capacity for destruction had been so much greater than in the earlier war that much of Europe and Asia laid in ruins. And this time civilians had been the target as much as the military. The figures are hard to grasp: as many as 60 million dead, 25 million of them Soviet. A new word, genocide, entered the language to deal with the murder of 6 million of Europe's Jews by the Nazis.

During the war, millions more had fled their homes or been forcibly moved to work in Germany or Japan or, in the case of the Soviet Union, because Stalin feared that they might be traitors. Now, in 1945, another new word appeared the DP, or “displaced person”. There were millions of them, some voluntary refugees moving westward in the face of the advancing Red Army, others deported as undesirable minorities. The newly independent Czech state expelled nearly 3 million ethnic Germans in the years after 1945, and Poland a further 1.3 million. Everywhere there were lost or orphaned children, 300,000 alone in Yugoslavia.

Thousands of unwanted babies added to the misery. It is impossible to know how many women in Europe were raped by the Red Army soldiers, who saw them as part of the spoils of war, but in Germany alone some 2 million women had abortions every year between 1945 and 1948. The allies did what they could to feed and house the refugees and to reunite families that had been forcibly torn apart, but the scale of the task and the obstacles were enormous. The majority of ports in Europe and many in Asia had been destroyed or badly damaged; bridges had been blown up; railway locomotives and rolling stock had vanished. Great cities such as Warsaw, Kiev, Tokyo and Berlin were piles of rubble and ash.

In Germany, it has been estimated, 70% of housing had gone and, in the Soviet Union, 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages. Factories and workshops were in ruins, fields, forests and vineyards ripped to pieces. Millions of acres in north China were flooded after the Japanese destroyed the dykes. Many Europeans were surviving on less than 1,000 calories per day; in the Netherlands they were eating tulip bulbs. Apart from the United States and allies such as Canada and Australia, who were largely unscathed by the war’s destruction, the European powers such as Britain and France had precious little to spare. Britain had largely bankrupted itself fighting the war and France had been stripped bare by the Germans. They were struggling to look after their own peoples and deal with reincorporating their military into civilian society. The four horsemen of the apocalypse – pestilence, war, famine and death – so familiar during the Middle Ages appeared again in the modern world.

NEW ‘SUPERPOWERS’

Politically, the impact of the war was also great. The once great powers of Japan and Germany looked as though they would never rise again. In retrospect, of course, it is easy to see that their peoples, highly educated and skilled, possessed the capacity to rebuild their shattered societies. (And it may have been easier to build strong economies from scratch than the partially damaged ones of the victors.) Two powers, so great that the new term “superpower” had to be coined for them, dominated the world in 1945. The United States was both a military power and an economic one; the Soviet Union had only brute force and the intangible attraction of Marxist ideology to keep its own people down and manage its newly acquired empire in the heart of Europe.

The great European empires, which had controlled so much of the world, from Africa to Asia, were on their last legs and soon to disappear in the face of their own weakness and rising nationalist movements. We should not view the war as being responsible for all of



NOTES



this, however; the rise of the US and the Soviet Union and the weakening of the European empires had been happening long before 1939. The war acted as an accelerator.

It also accelerated change in other ways: in science and technology, for example. The world got atomic weapons but it also got atomic power. Under the stimulus of war, governments poured resources into developing new medicines and technologies. Without the war, it would have taken us much longer, if ever, to enjoy the benefits of penicillin, microwaves, and computers – the list goes on. In many countries, social change also speeded up.

The shared suffering and sacrifice of the war years strengthened the belief in most democracies that governments had an obligation to provide basic care for all citizens. When it was elected in the summer of 1945, for example, the Labour government in Britain moved rapidly to establish the welfare state. The rights of women also took a huge step forward as their contribution to the war effort, and their share in the suffering, were recognized. In France and Italy, women finally got the vote.

If class divisions in Europe and Asia did not disappear, the moral authority and prestige of the ruling classes had been severely undermined by their failure to prevent the war or the crimes that they had condoned before and during it. Established political orders – fascist, conservative, even democratic – came under challenge as peoples looked for new ideas and leaders. In Germany and Japan, democracy slowly took root.

In China, people turned increasingly from the corrupt and incompetent nationalists to the communists. While many Europeans, wearied by years of war and privation, gave up on politics altogether and faced the future with glum pessimism, others hoped that, at last, the time had come to build a new and better society. In Western Europe, voters turned to social democratic parties such as the Labour party in Britain. In the east, the new communist regimes that were imposed by the triumphant Soviet Union were at first welcomed by many as the agents of change.

The end of the war inevitably also brought a settling of scores. In many parts people took measures into their own hands. Collaborators were beaten, lynched or shot. Women who had fraternized with German soldiers had their heads shaved or worse. Governments sometimes followed suit, setting up special courts for those who had worked with the enemy and purging such bodies as the civil service and the police.

The Soviets also tried to exact reparations from Germany and Japan; whole factories were dismantled down to the window frames and were carted off to the Soviet Union, where they frequently rotted away. Much of the revenge was to gain advantage in the postwar world. In China and Eastern Europe the communists used the accusation of collaboration with the Japanese or the Nazis to eliminate their political and class enemies.

GERMAN DE-NAZIFICATION

The allies instituted an ambitious programme of de-Nazification in Germany, later quietly abandoned as it became clear that German society would be unworkable if all former Nazis were forbidden to work. In Japan, the head of the occupation, General Douglas MacArthur, broke up the zaibatsu, the big conglomerates that were blamed for supporting the Japanese militarists, and introduced a range of reforms, from a new school curriculum



to a democratic constitution, that were designed to turn Japan into a peaceable democratic nation. In both Germany and Japan, the victors set up special tribunals to try those responsible for crimes against peace, war crimes, and the catalogue of horrors that came increasingly to be known as “crimes against humanity”.

In Tokyo, leading Japanese generals and politicians, and at Nuremberg, senior Nazis (those that had not committed suicide or escaped), stood in the dock before allied judges. Not a few people then and since wondered if the trials were merely victors’ justice, their moral authority undercut by the presence, in Nuremberg, of judges and prosecutors from Stalin’s murderous regime, and by the fact that in Tokyo, the emperor, in whose name the crimes had been committed, was shielded from blame.

The trials, inconclusive though they were, formed part of a larger attempt to root out the militaristic and chauvinistic attitudes that had helped to produce the war, and to build a new world order that would prevent such a catastrophe from ever happening again. Well before the war had ended, the allies had started planning for the peace. Among the western powers, the United States, by 1945 very much the dominant partner in the alliance took the lead.

In his Four Freedoms speech of January 1941, President Roosevelt talked of a new and more just world, with freedom of speech and expression and of religion, and freedom from want and fear. In the Atlantic charter later that year, he and Churchill sketched out a world order based on such liberal principles as collective security, national self-determination, and free trade among nations. A host of other allies, some of them represented by governments in exile, signed on.

The Soviet Union gave a qualified assent, although its leader Stalin had no intention of following what were to him alien principles. Roosevelt intended that the American vision should take solid institutional form. The key organization was the United Nations, designed to be stronger than the League of Nations, which it was replacing, and the economic ones known collectively as the Bretton Woods system, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. This time, Roosevelt was determined, the United States should join. Stalin again gave grudging support.

COMMON HUMANITY

While much of what Roosevelt hoped for did not come about, it was surely a step forward for international relations that such institutions were created and largely accepted and, equally important, that they were underpinned by notions of a common humanity possessing the same universal rights. The idea that there were universal standards to be upheld was present, no matter how imperfectly, in the war crimes trials, and was later reinforced by the establishment of the United Nations itself in 1945, the International Court of Justice in 1946 and Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

It had already become clear at the top-level conferences of Teheran (1943), Yalta (February 1945) and Potsdam (July-August 1945) that there was a gulf in what constituted universal values and goals between the United States and its fellow democracies and the Soviet Union. Stalin was interested above all in security for his regime and for the Soviet Union, and that to him meant taking territory, from Poland and other neighbours, and

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establishing a ring of buffer states around Soviet borders. In the longer run, where the western powers saw a democratic and liberal world, he dreamed of a communist one.

The grand alliance held together uneasily for the first months of the peace, but the strains were evident in their shared occupation of Germany, where increasingly the Soviet zone of occupation was moving in a communist direction and the western zones, under Britain, France and the United States, in a more capitalist and democratic one.

By 1947, two very different German societies were emerging. In addition, the western powers watched with growing consternation and alarm the elimination of non-communist political forces in Eastern Europe and the establishment of Peoples' Republics under the thumb of the Soviet Union. Soviet pressure on its neighbors, from Norway in the north to Turkey and Iran in the south, along with Soviet spy rings and Soviet-inspired sabotage in western countries, further deepened western concerns.

For their part, Soviet leaders looked on western talk of such democratic procedures as free elections in Eastern Europe as Trojan horses designed to undermine their control of their buffer states, and regarded the Marshall plan, which funneled American aid into Europe, as a cover for extending the grip of capitalism. Furthermore, their own Marxist-Leninist analysis of history told them that sooner or later the capitalist powers would turn on the Soviet Union. Within two years of Second World War's end, the cold war was an established fact.

Both sides built military alliances and prepared for the new shooting war that many feared was bound to come. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, giving it parity, at least in that area, with the United States. That the cold war did not in the end turn into a hot one was thanks to that fact. The terrifying new power of atomic weapons was to lead to a standoff suitably known as Mad – Mutually Assured Destruction.

The cold war overshadowed another momentous international change that came as a result of the Second World War. Before 1939 much of the non-European world had been divided up among the great empires: the ones based in Western Europe but also those of Japan and the Soviet Union. Japan and Italy lost their empires as a result of defeat. Britain, France, and the Netherlands all saw their imperial possessions disappear in the years immediately after the war. (The Soviet Union was not to lose its until the end of the cold war.)

EMPIRES CRUMBLE

The former imperial powers no longer had the financial and military capacity to hang on to their vast territories. Nor did their peoples want to pay the price of empire, whether in money or blood. Furthermore, where the empires had once dealt with divided or acquiescent peoples, they now increasingly faced assertive and, in some cases, well-armed nationalist movements. The defeat of European forces all over Asia also contributed to destroying the myth of European power.

The British pulled out of India in 1947, leaving behind two new countries of India and Pakistan. Burma, Sri Lanka and Malaysia followed the road of independence not long after. The Dutch fought a losing war but finally conceded independence to Indonesia, the

former Dutch East Indies, in 1949. France tried to regain its colonies in Indochina but was forced out in 1954 after a humiliating defeat at the hands of Vietnamese forces. The Europeans' African empires crumbled in the 1950s and early 1960s. The United Nations grew from 51 nations in 1945 to 189 by the end of the century.

Because of the cold war, there was no comprehensive peace settlement after the Second World War as there had been in 1919. Instead there were a number of separate agreements or ad hoc decisions. In Europe most of the borders that had been established at the end of the First World War were restored.

The Soviet Union seized back some bits of territory such as Bessarabia, which it had lost to Romania in 1919. The one major exception was Poland, as the joke had it "a country on wheels", which moved some 200 miles to the west, losing some 69,000 sq metres to the Soviet Union and gaining slightly less from Germany in the west. In the east, Japan of course lost the conquests it had made since 1931, but was also obliged to disgorge Korea and Formosa (now Taiwan) and the Pacific islands that it had gained decades earlier. Eventually the United States and Japan concluded a formal peace in 1951. Because of an outstanding dispute over some islands, the Soviet Union and its successor Russia have not yet signed a peace treaty ending the war with Japan.

REMEMBERING THE WAR

We have long since absorbed and dealt with the physical consequences of the Second World War, but it still remains a very powerful set of memories. How societies remember and commemorate the past often says something about how they see themselves – and can be highly contentious. Particularly in divided societies, it is tempting to cling to comforting myths to help bring unity and to paper over deep and painful divisions. In the years immediately after 1945, many societies chose to forget the war or remember it only in certain ways.

Austria portrayed itself as the first victim of Nazism, conveniently ignoring the active support that so many Austrians had given the Nazi regime. In Italy, the fascist past was neglected in favour of the earlier periods of Italian history. For a long time, schools did not teach any history after the First World War. Italians were portrayed in films or books as essentially good-hearted and generally opposed to Mussolini, whose regime was an aberration in an otherwise liberal state.

In France, the Vichy period, after France's defeat by Germany, when there was widespread French collaboration, some of it enthusiastically anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi, was similarly ignored. From de Gaulle onwards, French leaders played up the resistance in such a way as to claim its moral authority but also to imply that it was more broadly based and widespread than it actually was.

West Germany was not able to escape its past so easily; under pressure from the allies and from within, it dealt much more thoroughly with its Nazi past. In West German schools, children learned about the horrors committed by the regime. East Germany, by contrast, took no responsibility, instead blaming the Nazis on capitalism. Indeed, many East Germans grew up believing that their country had fought with the Soviet Union against Hitler's regime. In the east, Japan has been accused of ignoring its aggression in the 1930s



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and its own war crimes in China and elsewhere, but in recent years it has moved to teach more about this dark period in its history.

How should the past be remembered? When should we forget? These are not easy questions. Acknowledging such difficult parts of the past is not always easy and has led to history becoming a political football in a number of countries. In Japan, the conservatives minimize Japanese responsibility for the war and downplay atrocities on nationalist grounds. Japan, they argue, should not apologize for the past when all powers were guilty of aggression.

It has not necessarily been easier among the nations on the winning side. When French and foreign historians first began examining the Vichy period in France critically, they were attacked from both the right and the left for stirring up memories that were best left undisturbed. When the Soviet Union collapsed, there was, for a time, a willingness among Russians to acknowledge that many crimes were committed in Stalin's regime in the course of the war, whether the mass murder of Polish army officers at Katyn or the forcible deportation of innocent Soviet citizens to Siberia.

Today, the conservatives argue that such criticism of the great patriotic war only gives comfort to Russia's foes. Britain and Canada played a major role in the mass bombing campaign of German cities and towns; suggestions that the destruction of Dresden or other targets that may have had little military significance might be war crimes causes' impassioned debate in both countries. That the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki might have been morally wrong or unnecessary causes equal controversy in the United States.

Today, particularly in the countries that were on the winning side, there is a reluctance to disturb our generally positive memories of the war by facing such issues. The Second World War, especially in the light of what came after, seems to be the last morally unambiguous war. The Nazis and their allies were bad and they did evil things. The allies were good and right to fight them.

That is true, but the picture is not quite as black and white as we might like to think. After all, one ally was the Soviet Union, in its own way as guilty of crimes against humanity as Nazi Germany, fascist Italy or Japan. Britain and France may have been fighting for liberty, but they were not prepared to extend it to their empires. And Dresden, or the firebombing of Hamburg, Tokyo and Berlin, the forcible repatriation of Soviet prisoners of war, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, should remind us that bad things can be done in the name of good causes. Let us remember the war, but let us not remember it simplistically but in all its complexity.

1.4 EMERGENCE OF TWO POWER BLOCS

After the Second World War two world power blocs, led by the US and the USSR arose.

CONCEPT OF POWER BLOCS

- The two superpowers (US and USSR) were keen on expanding their spheres of influence in different parts of the world.

- They came out with the alliance system, under which a state was supposed to remain tied to its protective superpower to limit the influence of the other superpower and its allies in the surrounding regions.
- The smaller states got the promise of protection, weapons, and economic aid against their local rivals, mostly regional neighbors with whom they had rivalries.
- The alliance systems led by the two superpowers threatened to divide the entire world into two camps. This division happened first in Europe.
- Most countries of Western Europe sided with the US and those of eastern Europe joined the Soviet camp. That is why these were also called the 'western' and the 'eastern' alliances.

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Map showing the way Europe was divided into rival alliances during the Cold War

Reasons for Establishment of Alliance System

- **Material Reasons:** Superpowers could gain access to vital resources, such as oil and minerals, territory to establish military establishments, economic support, in that many small allies together could help pay for military expenses.
- **Ideological Reasons:** The subscription of allies, to a particular ideology of either communism or capitalism, proved that a particular ideology was superior and hence the superpower was winning.

IMPACTS

- Formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): The western alliance was formalized into an organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established in April 1949.

NOTES



- NATO was an association of twelve states which declared that armed attack on any one of them in Europe or North America would be regarded as an attack on all of them.
- Warsaw Pact: The eastern alliance came to be known as the Warsaw Pact, established in 1955.
- Its principal function was to counter NATO's forces in Europe.
- Europe became the main arena of conflict between the superpowers.
- In East and Southeast Asia and in West Asia (Middle East), the United States built an alliance system called, Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).
- The Soviet Union and communist China responded by having close relations with regional countries such as North Vietnam, North Korea and Iraq.

RESISTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE SYSTEM

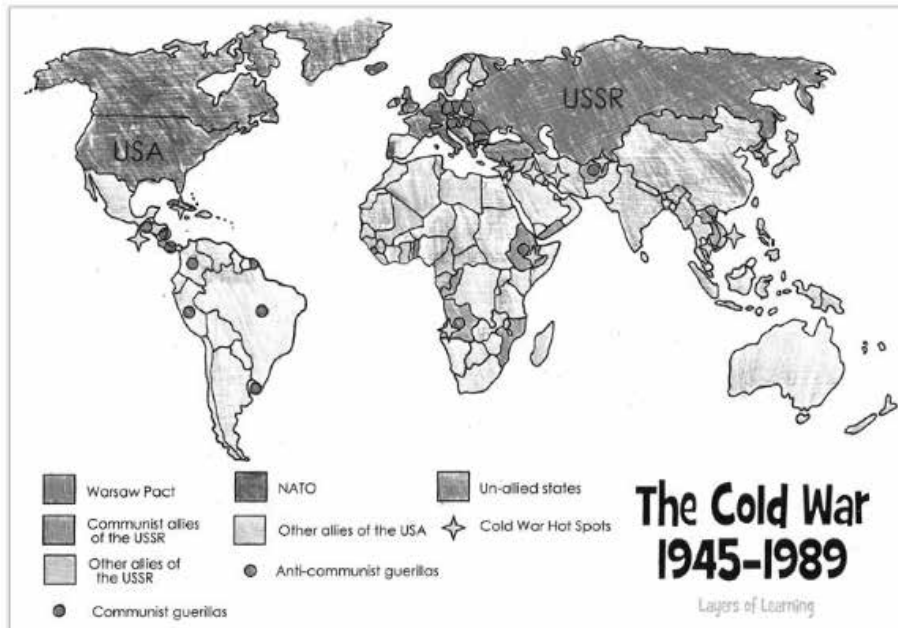
- The Cold War threatened to divide the world into two alliances. Under these circumstances, many of the newly independent countries were worried that they would lose their freedom.
- Communist China quarreled with the USSR towards the late 1950s, and, in 1969, they fought a brief war over a territorial dispute.
- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) also emerged as a new organization which gave the newly independent countries a way of staying out of the alliances.

BENEFITS OF SMALLER STATES FOR SUPERPOWERS

- The smaller states were helpful for the superpowers in gaining access to:
- Vital resources, such as oil and minerals,
- Territory, from where the superpowers could launch their weapons and troops,
- Locations from where they could spy on each other
- Economic support, in that many small allies together could help pay for military expenses.
- They were also important for ideological reasons. The loyalty of allies suggested that the superpowers were winning the war of ideas as well, that liberal democracy and capitalism were better than socialism and communism, or vice versa.

1.5 COLD WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

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WHAT IS COLD WAR?

- The Cold War was a period (1945-1991) of geopolitical tension between the Soviet Union and its satellite states (the Eastern European countries), and the United States with its allies (the Western European countries) after World War II.
- Post World War II, the world got divided into two power blocs dominated by two superpowers viz. the Soviet Union and the US.
- The two superpowers were primarily engaged in an ideological war between the capitalist USA and the communist Soviet Union.
- The term “Cold” is used because there was no large-scale fighting directly between the two sides.

Note:

- The Cold War was between Allied countries (UK, France etc. who were led by the US) and Soviet Union.
- Soviet Union
 - The Soviet Union, officially known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
 - It is the world’s first Communist state that was established in 1922.

REASONS OF COLD WAR

During the World War allied countries (US, UK and France) and Soviet Union fought together against the Axis powers (Nazi Germany, Japan, and Austria). However, this wartime alliance could not work out after World War II, due to multiple factors.

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**POTSDAM CONFERENCE**

- The Potsdam conference was held at Berlin in 1945 among US, UK and Soviet Union to discuss:
 - Immediate administration of defeated Germany.
 - Demarcation of boundary of Poland.
 - Occupation of Austria.
 - Role of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe.
- Soviet Union wanted some portion of Poland (bordering Soviet Union) to be maintained as a buffer zone. However, the USA and UK didn't agree to this demand.
- Also, the USA did not inform the Soviet Union about the exact nature of the atomic bomb, dropped on Japan. This created suspicion in Soviet Union about the intentions of western countries, embittering of the alliance.
- This created suspicion in the Soviet leadership.

TRUMAN'S DOCTRINE

- Truman Doctrine was announced on March 12, 1947, by US President Harry S. Truman. The Truman Doctrine was a US policy to stop the Soviet Union's communist and imperialist endeavors, through various ways like providing economic aid to other countries.
 - For example, US appropriated financial aid to support the economies and militaries of Greece and Turkey.
- Historians believe that the announcement of this doctrine marked the official declaration of the Cold War.

IRON CURTAIN

- Iron Curtain is the political, military, and ideological barrier erected by the Soviet Union after World War II to seal off itself and its dependent eastern and central European allies from open contact with the West and other noncommunist areas.
- On the east side of the Iron Curtain were the countries that were connected to or influenced by the Soviet Union, while on the west side were the countries that were allies of the US, UK or nominally neutral.



IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE COLD WAR

BERLIN BLOCKADE 1948

- As the tension between Soviet Union and Allied countries grew, Soviet Union applied Berlin Blockade in 1948.
 - The Berlin Blockade was an attempt by the Soviet Union to limit the ability of Allied countries to travel to their sectors of Berlin.
- Further, on August 13, 1961, the Communist government of the German Democratic Republic began to build a barbed wire and concrete wall (Berlin Wall) between East and West Berlin.
 - It primarily served the objective of stemming mass emigration from East Berlin to West Berlin.
 - Except under special circumstances, travelers from East and West Berlin were rarely allowed across the border.
- This Berlin Wall served as a symbol of the Cold War (US and Soviet Union), until its fall in 1989.

HISTORY OF THE BERLIN WALL

- Allied countries (US, UK, France) and Soviet Union together defeated Nazi Germany in World War II in 1945, after which Yalta and Potsdam conferences (1945) were held between Soviet Union and Allied countries to decide the fate of Germany's territories.
- At the conference, Germany was to be divided into zones under Russian, American, British and French influence.
- The eastern part of the country went to the Soviet Union, while the western part went to the United States, Great Britain and France.
 - Berlin, as the capital, was to be likewise split. However, Berlin happened to be in the middle of the Russian zone.
- The three Allied zones got merged and became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or West Germany while the former Soviet occupation zone became the German Democratic Republic (GDR) or East Germany.
 - The division of Berlin was the main bone of contention between USSR and Allied countries, as West Berlin became an island within Communist East Germany.



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- Berlin Wall fell on 9/11/1989, marking a symbolic end to the cold war.

THE MARSHALL PLAN VS THE COMINFORM

- **THE MARSHALL PLAN**

- In 1947, American Secretary of State George Marshall, unveiled European Recovery Programme (ERP), which offered economic and financial help wherever it was needed.
- One of the aims of the ERP was to promote the economic recovery of Europe. However, this was an economic extension of the Truman Doctrine.

- **THE COMINFORM**

- The Soviet Union denounced the whole idea of Marshall Plan as 'dollar imperialism.
- Therefore, the Cominform (the Communist Information Bureau) - was launched in 1947, as the Soviet response to the Marshall Plan.
- It was an organization to draw together mainly Eastern Europe countries.

NATO VS. WARSAW PACT

- **NATO (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION)**

- The Berlin blockade showed the West's military unreadiness and frightened them into making definite preparations.
- Therefore, in 1948, mainly the countries of Western Europe signed the Brussels Defense Treaty, promising military collaboration in case of war.
- Later on Brussels Defense Treaty was joined by the USA, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Norway. This led to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949.
- NATO countries agreed to regard an attack on any one of them as an attack on all of them, and placing their defense forces under a joint command.

- **WARSAW PACT**

- The Warsaw Pact (1955) was signed between Russia and her satellite states shortly after West Germany was admitted to NATO.
- The Pact was a mutual defense agreement, which the Western countries perceived as a reaction against West Germany's membership of NATO.

SPACE RACE

- Space exploration served as another dramatic arena for Cold War competition.
- In 1957, Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the world's first artificial satellite and the first man-made object to be placed into the Earth's orbit.
- In 1958, the U.S. launched its own satellite called Explorer I.
- However, this space race was won by the US, when it successfully landed, the first man (Neil Armstrong) on the surface of the moon in 1969.



ARMS RACE

- The containment strategy of US provided the rationale for an unprecedented arms buildup in the United States, reciprocated by Soviet Union.
- Development of nuclear weapons took place on a massive scale and the world entered into the age of nuclear age.

THE CUBAN MISSILES CRISIS, 1962

- The Cuba got involved in the Cold War when US broke off its diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961, and Soviet Union increased their economic aid to Cuba.
- In 1961, the USA planned Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, intending to overthrow the head of Cuban state (Fidel Castro), who was backed by the Soviet Union. However, the operation failed.
- Fidel Castro then appealed to the Soviet Union for military help, to which Soviet Union decided to set up a nuclear missile launchers in Cuba aimed at the USA.
- Cuban Missile Crisis brought two superpowers on the brink of a nuclear war. However, the crisis was averted diplomatically.

END OF THE COLD WAR

In 1991, Soviet Union collapsed due to multiple factors which marked the end of the Cold War, as one of the superpowers was weakened.

REASONS OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

- **MILITARY REASONS**
 - The space race and the arms race drained a considerable proportion of Soviet Union's resources for military needs.
- **POLICIES OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV**
 - In order to kick start moribund Soviet economy, Gorbachev instituted the policies of glasnost ("openness") and perestroika ("restructuring").
 - Glasnost was intended for liberalization of the political landscape.
 - Perestroika intended to introduce quasi free market policies in place of government-run industries.
 - It allowed more independent actions from various ministries and introduced many market-like reforms.
 - Rather than sparking a renaissance in Communist thought, these steps opened the floodgates to criticism of the entire Soviet apparatus.
 - The state lost control of both the media and the public sphere, and democratic reform movements gained steam throughout the Soviet Union.
 - Also, there was growing disenchantment in the public due to falling economy, poverty, unemployment, etc. This made the people of the Soviet Union attracted to western ideology and way of life.



- **AFGHANISTAN WAR**

- The Soviet-Afghan (1979–89) was another key factor in the breakup of the Soviet Union, as it drained the economic and military resources of Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War marked the victory of the US and the bipolar world order turned into a uni-polar. However, over the last decade, the position of the US as the world's most powerful state has appeared increasingly unstable. The US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, non-traditional security threats, global economic instability, the apparent spread of religious fundamentalism, together with the rise of emerging economic powers (like Japan, Australia, India, China etc.) have made the world look more multi-polar and has led many to predict the decline of the west and the rise of the rest.

1.6 EMERGENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD

The term 'Third World' does not appear on a map. The years since World War II have seen new nation states. The independence movements led to the emergence of a number of countries as colonies were given their independence by the former colonial powers. These countries shared various features, including common history as had been subjected to European and North American domination, underdevelopment, rapid demographic growth etc., and they were called as the 'Third World'. The term Third World 'referred to the one third of the world that was not aligned with the Cold War superpowers i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union.

The term "Third World" today mostly refers to underdeveloped or better developing countries. The less-developed or least-developed regions (the United Nations designation) stand in contrast to "more-developed regions" which comprise North America, Japan, Europe and Australia-New Zealand. Less-developed regions comprise almost all regions of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and the Pacific Islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. "Least developed countries" for example are Afghanistan, Chad, Ethiopia, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and Zambia.

Third World, not a homogenous group, has different political system and level of economic development. The Third World countries are also called developing countries because they are facing the economic, social and political problems like poverty, starvation, illiteracy and ethnic conflicts. Thus, the Third World is primarily defined by poverty. They have opposed imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, foreign intervention and have supported peaceful coexistence, right of self-determination, disarmament and world peace. Since, they have similar problems and aspirations; they call themselves as nonaligned countries.

The concept emerged during the period of Cold War and used as an expression to describe the efforts of countries seeking a 'Third Way' between Soviet Communism and Western Capitalism. They were described as the group of Non-aligned countries. Third World nations are clustered in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific Rim. Their geographical placement mainly in the southern hemisphere has earned them the name the 'Global south'. However, the differences between developed and developing nations are primarily political and economic rather than geographic.



The term 'Third World' was first employed in 1952 by French demographer Alfred Sauvy in an article entitled, 'Three Worlds, and One Planet'. He argued for the fact that the presence of the third world is in fact overlooked due to the overemphasis on the confrontation of the two super powers which in fact should have been credited with the first world title going by the historical facts. The term was apparently coined by French intellectual in a conscious reminiscence of the legally underprivileged French 'Third Estate' of 1789 which has provided much of the driving force of the French Revolution. It reflected their exclusion and disregard by the super powers in terms of economic privileges by the developed countries.

The expression 'Third World' actually marked important differences between the members of that group in their individual relations with the developed world. By the early 1960s, the term has been used as a synonym for such phrases as 'underdeveloped world', 'developing countries', 'less developed countries', 'former colonies', 'Afro-Asian and Latin American countries', 'the South' (North-South division) and so on. Mark T. Berger suggests the beginning of Third Worldism to the complex milieu of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism in the early 20th century, and indicates the overall consolidation of Third Worldism as grounded in the post-1945 period of national liberation movement.

Throughout this period, the United States has led the great powers in promoting democracy in the newly independent nations. The newly independent countries wanted to have friendly relations with all without joining capitalist or communist blocs.

In this context, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had assimilated the liberal democratic values of the West as well as the automatic industrialization of the Soviet Union. Efforts for forging unity among Asians and Africans started early in 1947. In the decade of 1950, five newly independent countries namely, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia took the initiative to unite the developing countries against colonization.

In Bandung, the first Afro-Asian conference was held by Third-World countries to strengthen their position on 17 April 1955. Caroline Thomas is of the view that Third World states were differentiated by two significant attributes which also served as a meeting point to mobilize. Firstly, based on their position in the global economy, these states perceive themselves as vulnerable to external factors beyond their control, and to decisions and policies predominantly economic – in which they shared no ownership. Secondly, Third World states were home to the majority of the world's poor who endured every day survival risks associated with grave social problems.

Eradication of colonialism after World War-II brought an upheaval in international relations. Morton Kaplan has called the third world a loose bipolar system because it stands between the worlds divided into two blocs, one led by America and other by Soviet Union. The former was variously known as capitalists and later as socialist totalitarian bloc. The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa were anxious to preserve their political independence and did not like to join any of these blocs. They were called the third world.

Third World is a commonly used term to refer to the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America, considered as an entity with

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common characteristics, such as poverty, high birth rates, and economic dependence on the advanced countries. During World War II, Japan drove the European powers out of Asia and seized the Philippines from the Americans, Indonesia from the Dutch and Burma, Singapore, Malaya and other colonies from the British. After Japan surrendered to end World War II in August 1945, local nationalist movements in the Asian colonies demanded independence. Rid of the Japanese, the people of liberated Asian territories had no desire to restore colonial rule. Both the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence over the new nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Most Third World nations are former colonies of industrialized European countries and were dependent on the North for governance and economic assistance. In the mid to late nineteenth century, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. Although Great Britain was the largest colonial power, it was not the only one. At the onset of World War II, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Italy all had colonies, and even the United States had possessions, the largest of which was in the Philippine Islands. During the period of imperialism, the European powers viewed the African and Asian continents as reservoirs of raw materials, manpower and territory.

The colonies were exploited for natural and labor resources. In addition, the introduction of colonial rule drew arbitrary natural boundaries, dividing ethnic and linguistic groups, and laying the foundation for the creation of numerous states lacking geographic, linguistic, ethnic, or political affinity. World War II dealt a serious blow to the colonial powers, depriving them of their former power and prestige. The widespread uprisings of native people in the British Empire gave encouragement to those in other colonies. The effects of World War II and growing demands for independence in Europe's remaining colonies led to significant changes in the world map by 1950.

1.7 THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT GROWTH OF NAM

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. Throughout its history, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has played a fundamental role in the preservation of world peace and security.

While some meetings with a third-world perspective were held before 1955, historians consider that the Bandung Asian-African Conference is the most immediate antecedent to the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. This Conference was held in Bandung on April 18-24, 1955 and gathered 29 Heads of States belonging to the first post-colonial generation of leaders from the two continents with the aim of identifying and assessing world issues at the time and pursuing out joint policies in international relations.

The principles that would govern relations among large and small nations, known as the "Ten Principles of Bandung", were proclaimed at that Conference. Such principles were adopted later as the main goals and objectives of the policy of non-alignment. The



fulfillment of those principles became the essential criterion for Non-Aligned Movement membership; it is what was known as the “quintessence of the Movement” until the early 1990s.

In 1960, in the light of the results achieved in Bandung, the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was given a decisive boost during the Fifteenth Ordinary Session of the United Nations General Assembly, during which 17 new African and Asian countries were admitted. A key role was played in this process by the then Heads of State and Government Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, who later became the founding fathers of the movement and its emblematic leaders.

Six years after Bandung, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was founded on a wider geographical basis at the First Summit Conference of Belgrade, which was held on September 1-6, 1961. The Conference was attended by 25 countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Yemen, Myanmar, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia.

The Founders of NAM have preferred to declare it as a movement but not an organization in order to avoid bureaucratic implications of the latter. The membership criteria formulated during the Preparatory Conference to the Belgrade Summit (Cairo, 1961) show that the Movement was not conceived to play a passive role in international politics but to formulate its own positions in an independent manner so as to reflect the interests of its members.

Thus, the primary objectives of the non-aligned countries focused on the support of self-determination, national independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; opposition to apartheid; non-adherence to multilateral military pacts and the independence of non-aligned countries from great power or block influences and rivalries; the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations; the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination; disarmament; non-interference into the internal affairs of States and peaceful coexistence among all nations; rejection of the use or threat of use of force in international relations; the strengthening of the United Nations; the democratization of international relations; socioeconomic development and the restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation on an equal footing.

Since its inception, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has waged a ceaseless battle to ensure that peoples being oppressed by foreign occupation and domination can exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played a key role in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order that allowed all the peoples of the world to make use of their wealth and natural resources and provided a wide platform for a fundamental change in international economic relations and the economic emancipation of the countries of the South.

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During its nearly 50 years of existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has gathered a growing number of States and liberation movements which, in spite of their ideological, political, economic, social and cultural diversity, have accepted its founding principles and primary objectives and shown their readiness to realize them. Historically, the non-aligned countries have shown their ability to overcome their differences and found a common ground for action that leads to mutual cooperation and the upholding of their shared values.

THE TEN PRINCIPLES OF BANDUNG

- Respect of fundamental human rights and of the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- Recognition of the equality among all races and of the equality among all nations, both large and small.
- Non-intervention or non-interference into the internal affairs of another -country.
- Respect of the right of every nation to defend itself, either individually or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
 - Non-use of collective defense pacts to benefit the specific interests of any of the great powers.
 - Non-use of pressures by any country against other countries.
- Refraining from carrying out or threatening to carry out aggression, or from using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- Peaceful solution of all international conflicts in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Promotion of mutual interests and of cooperation.
- Respect of justice and of international obligations.

EVOLUTION

The creation and strengthening of the socialist block after the defeat of fascism in World War II, the collapse of colonial empires, the emergence of a bipolar world and the formation of two military blocks (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) brought about a new international context that led to the necessity of multilateral coordination fora between the countries of the South.

In this context, the underdeveloped countries, most of them in Asia and Africa, felt the need to join efforts for the common defense of their interests, the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty and the cultural and economic revival or salvation of their peoples, and also to express a strong commitment with peace by declaring themselves as “non-aligned” from either of the two nascent military blocks.

In order to fulfill the aims of debating on and advancing a strategy designed to achieve such objectives, the Bandung Asian-African Conference was held in Indonesia in April 1955. It was attended by 29 Heads of State and Government of the first postcolonial

generation of leaders and its expressed goal was to identify and assess world issues at the time and coordinate policies to deal with them.

Although the Asian and African leaders who gathered in Bandung might have had differing political and ideological views or different approaches toward the societies they aspired to build or rebuild, there was a common project that united them and gave sense to a closer coordination of positions. Their shared program included the political decolonization of Asia and Africa. Moreover, they all agreed that the recently attained political independence was just a means to attain the goal of economic, social and cultural independence.

The Bandung meeting has been considered as the most immediate antecedent of the founding of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which finally came into being six years later on a wider geographical basis when the First Summit Conference was held in Belgrade on September 1-6, 1961. This gathering was attended by the Heads of State and Government of 25 countries and observers from another three nations.

This First Summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was convened by the leaders of India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and Yugoslavia. On April 26, 1961, the Presidents of the Arab Republic of Egypt (Nasser) and Yugoslavia (Tito) addressed the Heads of State and Government of 21 “non-Aligned” countries and suggested that, taking recent world events and the rise of international tensions into account, a Conference should be held to promote an improvement in international relations, a resistance to policies of force and a constructive settlement of conflicts and other issues of concern in the world.

The Movement played an important role in the support of nations which were struggling then for their independence in the Third World and showed great solidarity with the most just aspirations of humanity. It contributed indisputably to the triumph in the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige.

As one Summit after another was held in the 1960s and 1970s, “non alignment”, turned already into the “Movement of Non-Aligned Countries” that included nearly all Asian and African countries, was becoming a forum of coordination to struggle for the respect of the economic and political rights of the developing world. After the attainment of independence, the Conferences expressed a growing concern over economic and social issues as well as over strictly political matters.

Something that attested to that was the launching at the Algiers Conference in 1973 of the concept of a “new international economic order.”

By the end of the 1980s, the Movement was facing the great challenge brought about by the collapse of the socialist block. The end of the clash between the two antagonistic blocks that was the reason for its existence, name and essence was seen by some as the beginning of the end for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries could not spare itself difficulties to act effectively in an adverse international political situation marked by hegemonic positions and unipolarity as well as by internal difficulties and conflicts given the heterogeneity of its membership and, thus, its diverse interests.



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Nevertheless, and in spite of such setbacks, the principles and objectives of non-alignment retain their full validity and force at the present international juncture. The primary condition that led to the emergence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that is, non-alignment from antagonistic blocks, has not lost its validity with the end of the Cold War. The demise of one of the blocks has not done away with the pressing problems of the world. On the contrary, renewed strategic interests bent on domination grow stronger and, even, acquire new and more dangerous dimensions for underdeveloped countries.

During the 14th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana, Cuba in September 2006, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the ideals, principles and purposes upon which the movement was founded and with the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The Heads of States and Governments stated their firm belief that the absence of two conflicting blocs in no way reduces the need to strengthen the movement as a mechanism for the political coordination of developing countries. In this regard they acknowledged that it remains imperative to strengthen and revitalize the movement. To do so, they agreed to strengthen concrete action, unity and solidarity between all its members, based on respect for diversity, factors which are essential for the reaffirmation of the identity and capacity of the movement to influence International relations.

They also stressed the need to promote actively a leading role for the movement in the coordination of efforts among member states in tackling global threats.

Inspired by the principles and purposes which were brought to the Non-Aligned Movement by the Bandung principles and during the First NAM Summit in Belgrade in 1961, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement adopted in their 14th Summit in Havana the following purposes and principles of the movement in the present International juncture:

- **PURPOSES:**

- To promote and reinforce multilateralism and, in this regard, strengthen the central role that the United Nations must play.
- To serve as a forum of political coordination of the developing countries to promote and defend their common interests in the system of international relations
- To promote unity, solidarity and cooperation between developing countries based on shared values and priorities agreed upon by consensus.
- To defend international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles and the purposes of the UN Charter and International Law.
- To encourage relations of friendship and cooperation between all nations based on the principles of International Law, particularly those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
- To promote and encourage sustainable development through international cooperation and, to that end, jointly coordinate the implementation of political

strategies which strengthen and ensure the full participation of all countries, rich and poor, in the international economic relations, under equal conditions and opportunities but with differentiated responsibilities.

- To encourage the respect, enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, on the basis of the principles of universality, objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity, avoiding politicization of human rights issues, thus ensuring that all human rights of individuals and peoples, including the right to development, are promoted and protected in a balanced manner.
- To promote peaceful coexistence between nations, regardless of their political, social or economic systems.
- To condemn all manifestations of unilateralism and attempts to exercise hegemonic domination in international relations.
- To coordinate actions and strategies in order to confront jointly the threats to international peace and security, including the threats of use of force and the acts of aggression, colonialism and foreign occupation, and other breaches of peace caused by any country or group of countries.
- To promote the strengthening and democratization of the UN, giving the General Assembly the role granted to it in accordance with the functions and powers outlined in the Charter and to promote the comprehensive reform of the United Nations Security Council so that it may fulfill the role granted to it by the Charter, in a transparent and equitable manner, as the body primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security.
- To continue pursuing universal and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament, as well as a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control and in this context, to work towards the objective of arriving at an agreement on a phased program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time to eliminate nuclear weapons, to prohibit their development, production, acquisition, testing, stockpiling, transfer, use or threat of use and to provide for their destruction.
- To oppose and condemn the categorization of countries as good or evil based on unilateral and unjustified criteria, and the adoption of a doctrine of pre-emptive attack, including attack by nuclear weapons, which is inconsistent with international law, in particular, the international legally-binding instruments concerning nuclear disarmament and to further condemn and oppose unilateral military actions, or use of force or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Non-Aligned countries.
- To encourage States to conclude agreements freely arrived at, among the States of the regions concerned, to establish new Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in regions where these do not exist, in accordance with the provisions





of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (SSOD.1) and the principles adopted by the 1999 UN Disarmament Commission, including the establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East. The establishment of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones is a positive step and important measure towards strengthening global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

- To promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to facilitate access to nuclear technology, equipment and material for peaceful purposes required by developing countries.
- To promote concrete initiatives of South-South cooperation and strengthen the role of NAM, in coordination with G.77, in the re-launching of North-South cooperation, ensuring the fulfillment of the right to development of our peoples, through the enhancement of international solidarity.
- To respond to the challenges and to take advantage of the opportunities arising from globalization and interdependence with creativity and a sense of identity in order to ensure its benefits to all countries, particularly those most affected by underdevelopment and poverty, with a view to gradually reducing the abysmal gap between the developed and developing countries.
- To enhance the role that civil society, including NGO's, can play at the regional and international levels in order to promote the purposes, principles and objectives of the Movement.
- **PRINCIPLES:**
 - Respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and International Law.
 - Respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States. Recognition of the equality of all races, religions, cultures and all nations, both big and small.
 - Promotion of a dialogue among peoples, civilizations, cultures and religions based on the respect of religions, their symbols and values, the promotion and the consolidation of tolerance and freedom of belief.
 - Respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, including the effective implementation of the right of peoples to peace and development.
 - Respect for the equality of rights of States, including the inalienable right of each State to determine freely its political, social, economic and cultural system, without any kind of interference whatsoever from any other State.
 - Reaffirmation of the validity and relevance of the Movement's principled positions concerning the right to self-determination of peoples under foreign occupation and colonial or alien domination.
 - Non-interference in the internal affairs of States. No State or group of States

has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whatever the motive, in the internal affairs of any other State.

- Rejection of unconstitutional change of Governments. Rejection of attempts at regime change Condemnation of the use of mercenaries in all situations, especially in conflict situations.
- Refraining by all countries from exerting pressure or coercion on other countries, including resorting to aggression or other acts involving the use of direct or indirect force, and the application and/or promotion of any coercive unilateral measure that goes against International Law or is in any way incompatible with it, for the purpose of coercing any other State to subordinate its sovereign rights, or to gain any benefit whatsoever.
- Total rejection of aggression as a dangerous and serious breach of International Law, which entails international responsibility for the aggressor.
- Respect for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
- Condemnation of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and systematic and gross violations of human rights, in accordance with the UN Charter and International Law.
- Rejection of and opposition to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. In this context, terrorism should not be equated with the legitimate struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation.
- Promotion of pacific settlement of disputes and abjuring, under any circumstances, from taking part in coalitions, agreements or any other kind of unilateral coercive initiative in violation of the principles of International Law and the Charter of the United Nations.
- Defense and consolidation of democracy, reaffirming that democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their life.
- Promotion and defense of multilateralism and multilateral organizations as the appropriate frameworks to resolve, through dialogue and cooperation, the problems affecting humankind.
- Support to efforts by countries suffering internal conflicts to achieve peace, justice, equality and development.
- The duty of each State to fully and in good faith comply with the international treaties to which it is a party, as well as to honor the commitments made in the framework of international organizations, and to live in peace with other

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States. v. Peaceful settlement of all international conflicts in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

- Defense and promotion of shared interests, justice and cooperation, regardless of the differences existing in the political, economic and social systems of the States, on the basis of mutual respect and the equality of rights. Solidarity as a fundamental component of relations among nations in all circumstances.
- Respect for the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of countries and peoples.

The movement has succeeded to create a strong front on the International level, representing countries of the third world in the International organizations on top of which the United Nations.

Current Challenges facing the NAM include the necessity of protecting the principles of International law, eliminating weapons of mass destruction, combating terrorism, defending human rights, working toward making the United Nations more effective in meeting the needs of all its member states in order to preserve International Peace, Security and Stability, as well as realizing justice in the international economic system.

On the other hand, the long-standing goals of the Movement remain to be realized. Peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations, to mention just a few, are old goals of the non-aligned countries.

In conclusion, The Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, is called upon to maintain a prominent and leading role in the current International relations in defense of the interests and priorities of its member states and for achievement of peace and security for mankind.

1.8 NEO-COLONIALISM

Neo-colonialism is the term used to define the economic sabotage of underdeveloped countries propagated by developed countries and large multinational corporations. It was first observed by Kwame Nkrumah the former president of Ghana in the 1960s at the time when African countries were getting out of colonization.

Effects of neo colonialism in the world today:

- **Economic exploitation:** It has economically exploited the underdeveloped/ developing nations. Although the factories and other establishments are setup in the developing countries, the profits and other benefits are appropriated by the developed countries. Foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Ex: Minerals and other raw materials are sourced from Africa but profits are accrued by the west.
- **Dependency:** It has made the developing nations dependent on foreign aid by the developed nations. According to Dependency Theory, the developed nations are at the center and the developing nations at the periphery. Those in the periphery are dependent on the centre for their existence. Ex: Some African and Asian countries are dependent on the aid from west.

- **Growing inequality:** Investment under neo-colonialism increases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world rather than decreases it.
- **Environmental effect:** Due to unsustainable business practices, the ecological and environmental resources are being exploited leading to global climate change. Also these colonies have become dumping grounds for industrial and nuclear wastes.
- **Humanitarian crisis:** Often the most vulnerable sections of the society like children and women are employed under unsafe conditions in many colonies. Ex: Sierra Leone.
- **Military bases:** Often the developed nations have their military bases in small nations as a portrayal of their military might, which is against the ideology of freedom and sovereignty. Ex: UK base in Diego Garcia, French military base in Djibouti.

The forty-six-year-old U.S. economic embargo against Cuba, the concerted move of the U.S. to destabilize Venezuela, Syria and Iran and violence against the success of democracy in Palestine and Latin America as a whole, are by and large parts of further neo-colonial offensives against the Third World countries.

However there is a counter view that the investments made by the developed nations has led to economic growth and prosperity of many developing nations. The only possible solution to counter neo colonialism is a humane and fair globalization, a globalization which is beneficial for the marginalized and the poor people of the world too.

For, as Fidel Castro observes, "Globalization is an irreversible process, and what we have to decide to choose is the kind of globalization which will be instrumental for the overall welfare of humanity as such and not the welfare of a few at the expense of the majority of people of the world."

1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Although the war ended in Europe the fighting in Asia still raged on. In September 1944, US troops began to recapture the Philippines and the British troops had begun a push into Burman following the battle of Imphal and Kohima. An Allied invasion of Japan was planned for late 1945, but dogged Japanese resistance led to Allied commanders looking for alternatives. The alternative came in the form of an atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. It was followed by the bombing of August 9th, 1945 on Nagasaki. The casualties that resulted from these two events prompted the Japanese government to surrender on August 14. The war was over.

The wide-scale destruction had caused massive military and civilian casualties on both sides, but none suffered more than the Jewish population of Europe. Out of the 9 million Jews that lived in Europe in 1939, 6 million would perish in concentration camps set up by the Nazis through Germany and occupied Poland. After the war, Allied troops occupied the Western half of Europe while the Soviets occupied eastern Germany. The fragile alliance between the two would evolve into the Cold war.



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The term 'Third World' does not appear on a map. The years since World War II have seen new nation states. The independence movements led to the emergence of a number of countries as colonies were given their independence by the former colonial powers.

Most Third World nations are former colonies of industrialized European countries and were dependent on the North for governance and economic assistance. In the mid to late nineteenth century, the European powers colonized much of Africa and Southeast Asia. Although Great Britain was the largest colonial power, it was not the only one.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States.

The Movement played an important role in the support of nations which were struggling then for their independence in the Third World and showed great solidarity with the most just aspirations of humanity. It contributed indisputably to the triumph in the struggle for national independence and decolonization, thus gaining considerable diplomatic prestige

1.10 REVIEW QUESTIONS

SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Neo-colonialism? What are the effects of Neo-colonialism?
2. What are the ten principles of Bandung?
3. What do you understand by the term 'Cold War'? What was the result of 'Cold War'?
4. What is the Cuban Missiles Crisis, 1962?
5. What is the difference between NATO and Warsaw pact?

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Discuss NAM in detail.
2. What was the concept of power blocs?
3. Explain the reason for 'Cold War' in detail.
4. What do you understand by the term 'Third World'? What role it played after the World War II?
5. When and how the 'Cold War' did came to an end?

1.11 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. What is the full form of NAM?
 - a. Non-Aligned Movement
 - b. Non-Association Movement
 - c. Non-Aligned March
 - d. Nations Aligned March

2. _____ were known as the “quintessence of the Movement”.
 - a. Three objectives of NAM
 - b. Ten Principles of Bandung
 - c. Four Principles
 - d. None of these
3. The term _____ was first employed in 1952 by French demographer Alfred Sauvy
 - a. Four Principles
 - b. Three objectives of NAM
 - c. Ten Principles of Bandung
 - d. Third World
4. What is the full form of GDR?
 - a. German Democratic Republic
 - b. General Democratic Relation
 - c. German Defense Resources
 - d. General Democratic Republic
5. What is the full form of NATO?
 - a. North Asian Treaty Organization
 - b. Non Aligned Treaty Organization
 - c. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - d. None of these
6. The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima was dropped on?
 - a. January 7, 1945
 - b. August 6, 1945
 - c. October 5, 1948
 - d. May 3, 1945
7. Kwame Nkrumah was the president of which country?
 - a. United Kingdom
 - b. Japan
 - c. Ghana
 - d. Germany
8. What is the full form of SEATO?
 - a. Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
 - b. Southeast Aligned Treaty Organization
 - c. Southeast Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - d. None of these
9. The _____ was signed between Russia and her satellite states shortly after West Germany was admitted to NATO.
 - a. SEATO
 - b. CENTO
 - c. Warsaw Pact
 - d. NATO

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**10. What is the full form of the FRG?**

- a. Federal Region of Germany
- b. Federal Republic of Germany
- c. Foreign Republic of Germany
- d. Federal Relation of Germany

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UNITED NATIONS AND THE GLOBAL DISPUTES

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Learning Objective
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 UNO and the global disputes
- 2.4 Communist Revolution in China and its impact on world politics
- 2.5 Chapter Summary
- 2.6 Review Questions
- 2.7 Multiple Choice Questions



2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After completing this unit, you'll be able to:

- Learn about UNO
- Learn about the Communist Revolution in China and its impact
- Know about the National Movements and decolonization

2.2 INTRODUCTION

The United Nations was created in 1945, following the devastation of the Second World War, with one central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN accomplishes this by working to prevent conflict, helping parties in conflict make peace, deploying peacekeepers, and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish. These activities often overlap and should reinforce one another, to be effective.

The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General play major, important, and complementary roles, along with other UN offices and bodies.

The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or an act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. Under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such measures range from economic sanctions to international military action. The Council also establishes UN Peacekeeping Operations and Special Political Missions.

The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN. Through regular meetings, the General Assembly provides a forum for Member States to express their views to the entire membership and find consensus on difficult issues. It makes recommendations in the form of General Assembly resolutions. Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-thirds majority, but other questions are decided by simple majority.

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist countries to navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. Today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate political processes, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support constitutional processes and the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law and extending legitimate state authority.

Peacekeeping operations get their mandates from the UN Security Council; their troops and police are contributed by Member States; and they are managed by the Department of Peace Operations and supported by the Department of Operational Support at UN Headquarters in New York. There are 12 UN peacekeeping operations currently deployed and there have been a total of 71 deployed since 1948. In 2019, the Secretary-

General launched the Action for Peacekeeping Initiative (A4P) to renew mutual political commitment to peacekeeping operations.

United Nations peace building activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict and laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development. The UN peace building architecture comprises the Peace building Commission, the Peace building Fund and the Peace building Support Office. The Peace building Support Office assists and supports the Peace building Commission with strategic advice and policy guidance, administers the Peace building Fund and serves the Secretary-General in coordinating United Nations agencies in their peace building efforts.

2.3 UNO AND THE GLOBAL DISPUTES

United Nations

The UN was formed following the devastating World War II, with the aim of preventing future global-scale conflicts. It was a successor to the ineffective League of Nations. The representatives of 50 governments met in San Francisco on 25 April 1945, to draft what would become the UN Charter. The Charter was adopted on 25 June 1945 and came into effect on 24 October 1945.

United Nations Functions

In accordance with the Charter, the organization's objectives include maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable development, and upholding international law. At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; this number grew to 193 in 2011, representing the vast majority of the world's sovereign states.

United Nations Structure

The UN is structured around five principal organs:

- General Assembly
- United Nations Security Council (UNSC)
- Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
- International Court of Justice
- UN Secretariat.

A sixth principal organ, the Trusteeship Council, suspended operations on 1 November 1994, upon the independence of Palau, the last remaining UN trustee territory.

A brief table about their primary function is given below:

NOTES

**Principal Organs of the United Nations**

NAME OF THE ORGAN	PRIMARY FUNCTION	PRIMARY TASKS OF THE ORGAN
UN General Assembly	Deliberative assembly of all the UN member states	<p>May resolve non-compulsory recommendations to states or suggestions to the Security Council (UNSC);</p> <p>Decides on the admission of new members, following a proposal by the UNSC;</p> <p>Adopts the budget;</p> <p>Elects the non-permanent members of the UNSC; all members of ECOSOC; the UN Secretary-General (following his/her proposal by the UNSC); and the fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Each country has one vote.</p>
UN Secretariat	Administrative organ of the UN	<p>Supports the other UN bodies administratively (for example, in the organization of conferences, the writing of reports and studies the preparation of the budget);</p> <p>Its chairperson – the UN Secretary-General – is elected by the General Assembly for a five-year mandate and is the UN's foremost representative.</p>
International Court of Justice	Universal court of international law	<p>Decides disputes between states that recognize its jurisdiction;</p> <p>Issues legal opinions;</p> <p>Renders judgment by relative majority. Its fifteen judges are elected by the UN General Assembly for nine-year terms.</p>
United Nations Security Council (UNSC)	Arbitrates international security issues	<p>Responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security;</p> <p>May adopt compulsory resolutions;</p> <p>Has fifteen members: five permanent members with veto power and ten elected non-permanent members (term – two years)</p>

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)	For global economic and social affairs	Responsible for cooperation between states concerning economic and social matters; Coordinates cooperation between the numerous specialized agencies of UN; Has 54 members, elected by the General Assembly to serve staggered three-year mandates.
UN Trusteeship Council	For administering trust territory (now disbanded)	Was originally designed to manage former colonial possessions. Has been inactive since 1994, when Palau, the last trust territory, attained independence.

NOTES



UN Reforms/What are the challenges faced by the UN?

The UN has had its fair share of challenges in the years of its existence. Now there is no one single factor to those challenges but rather multi-faceted factors that make the UN's task of fostering world peace a difficult one. Some of the challenges to the UN's efforts for global peace are as follows:

- **Geopolitical aggression and intransigence:** Conflicts are becoming commonplace and gradually being magnified by rival global powers as they lend support to proxy groups to wage war overseas. The UNSC, being dominated by a few nations, is unable to take a neutral stand on issues, thus endangering world peace and security. Apart from issuing declarations, the UN has been unable to stop certain conflicts from taking place.
- **Legacies of military intervention and regime change:** Framed as interventions to counter terror, save civilians or remove rogue regimes, in case after case, military intervention and regime change have failed to bring lasting stability or to defeat fundamentalist groups. This has brought an atmosphere of distrust regarding any intervention done by the UN.
- **Panic over forced displacement:** As desperate people flee war zones, the impact of forced displacement is hitting neighbouring countries hardest and they are trying to manage as best as they can. Meanwhile, Western governments are making hasty deals to support border and security forces in transit countries to close their borders and shut the problem out. But such short-term measures will only further antagonize the nations who are overburdened by the inflow of refugees.
- **Struggling humanitarianism:** Undoubtedly humanitarians have a tough job. The UN and others are making enormous efforts, with inadequate resources, to assist the victims of conflict. But they are not yet good enough at defending humanitarian values, working for prevention during a crisis or empowering those affected by humanitarian crises to take the initiative.

*UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES*



- **Western interventions** in countries like Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. have not brought about lasting peace or stability to those regions. The UN has largely been like a mute spectator to the horrible events (humanitarian crises, woes of migrants who flee these zones) that unfolded in these conflict-ridden zones of the world. Although, it must be acknowledged that many humanitarian efforts such as by the WHO, UNICEF, WFP, etc. have helped these zones immensely at least in their respective domains. However, political resolutions to conflicts are trickier and the UN does face enormous challenges in this regard.
- **UNSC Reforms:** There have been great demands for reforms within the Security Council. The **G4 Nations** comprising India, Germany, Brazil and Japan are championing each other's bid for permanent seats in the Security Council. You can read more on the United Nations Security Council Reforms in the linked article. Not only in the UNSC, world leaders are also demanding a change in the manner in which the UN system functions, calling for more localization, lesser bureaucracy and more decision-making powers to those nations where most of the UN's humanitarian work is concentrated, like the African countries.

Like all challenges, there are solutions to face them as well. Here are a few solutions on how the UN works for conflict resolution and peaceful change in an era of mistrust and division.

- In an era where a consensus, political or otherwise, is hard to arrive at, it will be crucial to use the vision and the mandate of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This consensus was developed through a uniquely consultative process.
- 'Sustaining peace' should also be a moment to reclaim the policy space. **A panic regarding policy is setting in – framing conflicts as 'terror' threats and as a 'migration' crisis is only enlarging the problem.** Prevention and peacemaking tools are the answer to these problems.
- The UN must not settle for an inert and technocratic approach focused only on building the capacity of state institutions, no matter how strong or weak the political pressure. At the heart of the SDGs is a drive for transformative change with more peaceful, just and inclusive societies helping to shape stronger and more inclusive institutions. If sustaining peace merely means reinforcing the very institutions that are at the heart of the problem – such as blood-thirsty military regimes or corrupt bureaucracies – then, such an endeavor is an exercise in futility.
- **Remaining true to an agenda that will transform people's lives requires supporting those who work for peaceful change** – in and out of government, including women and youth. This requires a willingness to step out of national capitals, to talk to a wider range of people, to build up an understanding of conflicts rooted in people's priorities, and to work in solidarity with people to help them.
- These reforms are of utmost importance as the world faces newer challenges in the form of climate change, environmental degradation, population growth, refugee and stateless peoples, etc.

The Second World War proved that the League of Nation was a failure. World leaders realized the need for the creation of an effective organization to prevent another war.



Yalta Conference

At Dumbarton Oaks, a mansion in Georgetown, Washington, representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom met (August 21–October 7, 1944) and formulated proposals for a world organization. The Moscow declaration of 1943 recognized the need for an international organization to replace the League of Nations. Subsequently, at the Yalta Conference held in February 1945, decisions on

the voting system in Security Council and a few other issues were raised. After holding deliberations and negotiations at the San Francisco Conference, held in April, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations was finalized.

On 24 October 1945 the UNO came into existence with 51 members. The main organs of the UN are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN Secretariat. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygve Lie, was elected the first UN Secretary-General. In addition to its main organs UNO has currently 15 specialized agencies. Some of the prominent agencies are International Labour Organization (ILO - Geneva), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO - Rome), International Monetary Fund (IMF - Washington (D.C)), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO - Paris), World Health Organization (WHO - Geneva), and World Bank (Washington (D.C)).



Trygve Lie

Role of UNO in resolving Global disputes

“Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed”. (Preamble to the Constitution of UNO)

UNO Headquarters



UNO Headquarters, Newyork

The birth of UNO coincided with the beginning of the Cold War. During this period the UNO played an important role in preventing wars. But in disputes involving the permanent members of the Security Council the UNO was a mute spectator. UN has an army known as the UN Peace-keeping Force. Member states contribute soldiers to this force. The UN soldiers are referred to as Blue Helmets, because of their light blue helmets.

NOTES 

*UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES*



Problem of Palestine



Arab Refugees

After the Second World War the Jews demanded a homeland in Palestine. Arabs opposed the demand and the matter was referred to the UN. In May 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution of establishing the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to investigate and make recommendations. According to the UNSCOP report, Arabs were in possession of about 85 percent of the land and only about 5.8 percent was owned by Jews. Despite these facts, the recommendation of the UNSCOP was that Palestine should be partitioned into two states, with the majority Arabs surrendering land to the Jews for their new state. Under the proposal, 45 percent of the land would be for the Arab state, compared to 55 percent for the Jewish state. On 14 May 1948 a new state called Israel was formed.

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Recognition to Nationalist China

In 1949, in the context of Mao Tse Tung forming a Communist government in mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek fled to the island of Formosa where he headed the Nationalist government. USSR then proposed that a representative of Communist China should replace the representative of Nationalist China on the Security Council. Since this was not accepted USSR decided to boycott the Security Council and all other UN organs. The People's Republic of China became a permanent member in the Security Council only from 1971.



Chiang Kai-shek with Roosevelt and Churchill

The Korean War (1950-53)



Korean War

Korea, ruled by Japan since 1910, was divided by the 38th parallel into two zones in 1945. The northern zone, with a third of the population and most of the industry, was occupied by the USSR. The southern zone with two-thirds of the population and most of the farming areas, was controlled by the United States. In the elections held under the supervision of UNO, in South Korea Syngman Rhee became president. In North Korea, USSR set up the People's Democratic Republic, a Communist government, headed by Kim Il Sung. Soon after, the Russians and Americans withdrew their forces. The South Korean president openly

proclaimed his ambition to unite the whole country by force. Open warfare began on 25 June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea

The Security Council met immediately. In the absence of the USSR, it passed a resolution calling for an end to the fighting. The members of the UN were asked to help in the matter. Sixteen members contributed forces, and forty-five countries gave aid in some form. The American General MacArthur commanded the United Nations forces. In August 1950, with the USSR returning to the Security Council, the General Assembly at the initiative of US passed the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution. This clearly set the precedent that if the Security Council could not reach an agreement to intervene in a crisis, then the General Assembly should meet in emergency session and recommend the use of armed force if necessary. USSR regarded this resolution as illegal. The fighting ended with the signing of an armistice in July 1953. The war had increased the importance of the General Assembly.

Suez Crisis, 1956



Suez Canal

Suez Canal connects the Red sea with the Mediterranean Sea. It was constructed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman, after obtaining permission from the Egyptian Pasha. Soon the ownership passed on to the British. It was the main link between Asia and Europe. In July 1956, the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which was until then privately owned by the Anglo-French Suez Canal

Corporation. On 29 October, the Israeli army invaded the Sinai Peninsula. The following day, French and British aircrafts bombed Egyptian air bases. On 5 November 1956, British and French troops landed at the Egyptian town of Port Said.

The issue was taken up by the Security Council but Britain and France vetoed the resolution. The General Assembly, at the initiative of the US, which became apprehensive of Soviet invasion, called for an emergency session and condemned the invasion. Israel, Great Britain and France stopped fighting and decided to withdraw their forces from Egypt. The General Assembly voted to create a United Nations Emergency Force, called UNEF. The force would not be a fighting force, but a peace force sent with the consent of both sides. On December 22 the UN evacuated British and French troops and Israeli forces withdrew in March 1957. Nasser emerged a victor and a hero for the cause of pan-Arab and Egyptian nationalism.

Hungarian Crisis, 1956

The Hungarian leader Rakosi, appointed as premier during the regime of Stalin was dismissed in 1953. It resulted in the election of Imre Nagy as premier. But Nagy enjoyed support neither from his government nor from the Russians. Rakosi continued to control



Hungarian Revolution

NOTES



UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES

NOTES



the Communist Party. Writers and intellectuals led the protest, demanding the resignation of Rakosi. Though Rakosi was removed from power in July 1956, the opposition continued. A rebellion organized by a few intellectuals broke out in Budapest on 23 October.

Though it began as a peaceful demonstration it soon developed into a national rising against Soviet Russia and its puppet regime in Hungary. On 26 October the Russians agreed to Nagy becoming premier again. On his assumption of office he started introducing a multiparty system and set up a coalition government. Enraged by the development, Soviet Russia sent its army into Hungary on 4 November and crushed the rebellion.

The Hungarian Uprising occurred simultaneously with the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in the Suez affair. The matter was taken up at the Security Council which decided to demand the immediate withdrawal of Russian forces from Hungary. Russians vetoed the Security Council resolution and so the same resolution was passed by the Assembly. But nothing came out of the resolution. The failure of the United Nations to influence USSR's actions in Hungary showed that if a Great Power was determined to defy the UNO and had the power to do it, the UN was helpless.

Along with the leak of Khrushchev's secret speech, this had a major impact on the international communist movement, with large numbers (especially of writers and intellectuals) resigning from communist parties across the world.

Arab-Israeli War



Arab-Israeli War

As the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state in November 1947, conflict broke out almost immediately between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. On the eve of the British forces' withdrawal (May 15, 1948), Israel declared independence. The war came to an end with the intervention of the UN General Assembly passing a resolution affirming the right of Palestinian refugees

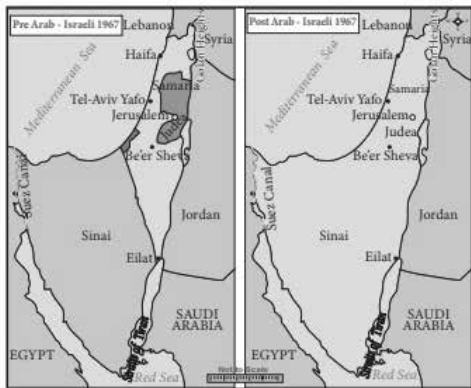
from the 1947-48 war to return to their homes and to receive compensation for their losses.

Israel joined the UN the following year. From the start, when Israel was created, there was little involvement of the UN in making political decisions. UN peacekeepers were stationed on the Israeli-Egyptian border, and the UN Refugee Works Agency (UNRWA) was established to provide help for the refugees until such time as they returned home.

By 1966 the U.S. providing began to Israel with advanced planes and missiles. The Cold War had come to the Middle East, and the UN was out of the scene. Over the next few months, tensions increased between Israel and the surrounding Arab states. In April 1967 there were artillery exchanges between Israel and Syria. The U.S. Sixth Fleet remained off the Syrian coast. Egyptian President Nasser symbolically asked the UN to move its troops and observers, then inside Egyptian territory, to the Israeli border.

The UN told Nasser that he could not ask for UN troop movement. So his choice was to demand the complete withdrawal of the UN troop. On May 23 Egypt closed the Straits of

Tiran to Israeli shipping. In early June Israel attacked Egypt, destroying virtually all of Cairo's air force on the ground.



At the end of the Six Day War Israel occupied the remaining parts of Palestine, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, plus the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai. Two hundred fifty thousand more Palestinians were forced into exile, and a million more remain under Israeli military occupation even now. While referring to the Palestinians only in the context of refugees, rather than reaffirming their national rights, the resolution of the UN unequivocally called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces

from the occupied territories. The resolution was drafted largely by the four powers of the Security Council – the limited reference to Palestinian rights was a reflection of US influence on the proceedings.

For years following the 1967 war, the UN voted repeatedly in favour of an international peace conference, under its own auspices, with all parties to the conflict (including the Palestine Liberation Organization led by Yasser Arafat) to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict once and for all. But the U.S. always vetoed it. In the Cold War context, Moscow and Washington played an increasingly larger role either in escalating or containing tension in the region.

2.4 COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND ITS IMPACT ON WORLD POLITICS

Carving up the melon



In the early 1900s, there was one image that kept popping up in Chinese newspapers and magazines: the melon. No, it wasn't a diet craze. The melon was China. It was a time when foreign influences were exploiting China's weak state more and more. That created an anxiety that China was being "carved up like a melon" by greedy imperialists.

Anxiety about imperialism is understandable. But China has a complicated relationship with imperialism. For much of its history, China was an empire itself. In the nineteenth century, however, it struggled against foreign imperialism. Decades of unequal treaties with Western nations and rising Japanese power meant that China had lost control of key ports, cities, and spheres of influence. The government was also forced to borrow money from foreign banks. Although, in most cases not technically colonies, large regions of China were in reality under foreign control.

NOTES 

UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES

NOTES

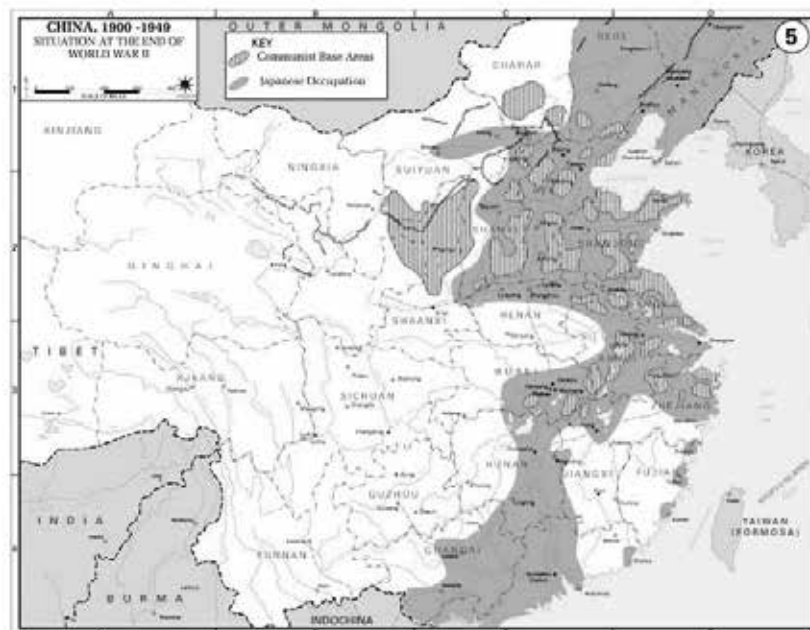


This situation was a large part of the reason why, in 1911, rebels started the Xinhai Revolution, overthrowing China's last imperial dynasty. The actual trigger came when the government gave control of China's railways to foreign companies. The revolt overthrew the six-year-old Emperor Puyi, and in 1912 opposition leaders established a Chinese republic.

Nationalists vs. communists (except during WWII)

After declaring a republican government, the new nationalist party, called the Guomindang (GMD) 11start superscript, 1, end superscript, tried to rebuild the country. Under the leadership of the first president, Sun Zhongshan, they set about modernizing and unifying the country. But they struggled to maintain unity, and in reality warlords ran the different regions of China. In 1921, revolutionaries inspired by socialist anti-imperialist ideas formed the Communist Party of China (CCP).

At first, the Communists allied with the GMD against the warlords, but it didn't last long. By 1927, shortly after Sun Zhongshan's death, things fell apart. The GMD became willing to ally with any warlords or landlords, no matter how they treated the peasants, as long as they agreed to fight the Communists. In the meantime, the Communists encouraged peasants to overthrow their landlords.



Map showing Japanese occupation (red) of eastern China near the end of the war, and Communist bases (striped). Public domain.

Between 1927 and 1937, Communists tried to gain power for themselves, with the nationalists suppressing them. Meanwhile, another danger was looming. While the Chinese had ended their own imperial government, outside empires were still a threat. At the end of the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles had recognized some Japanese claims in China as a reward for Japan fighting alongside the victorious powers. By the 1920s, Japanese armies were pushing into Manchuria in northeast China. After 1937, China was officially at war with Japan. Reunited once again against imperialists, the GMD and CCP fought the Japanese invaders.

Fast forward to the end of WWII, and the Japanese were forced to surrender in China (as elsewhere), but only to the GMD. Their alliance of convenience ended, and for three years, 1946-1949, China was divided in a brutal civil war between the nationalists and the Communists. The Communists were the underdogs for many reasons, including US support for the GMD. Nevertheless; they nevertheless emerged victorious in 1949. The Communist leader, Mao Zedong, declared a new socialist nation: The People's Republic of China (PRC). The nationalists and their leaders—about two million people—retreated to the island of Taiwan and established a rival Chinese nation, the Republic of China (ROC).

NOTES



Rise of the Communist Party of China



Mao Zedong

So, the Communists had their revolution in China, only it took twenty-eight years for them to hold power. But better late than never they had won a great deal of support among the common people, especially peasants, who were glad to escape from the control of wealthy landlords and corrupt warlords. And they were seen as anti-imperialist heroes for their efforts against the Japanese. The PRC, led by Mao Zedong, embarked on the huge task of building a socialist state.

Chairman Mao (as he was known) had a plan to lower rent, redistribute land, energize industry,

And uphold women's rights. But that required him to restructure society completely—an uphill

Battle and a violent one. In the early 1950's, the PRC began its land reform process, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of poor peasants to liberate land from wealthy landlords and redistribute

their resources. The landlords were subject to humiliation and violence. The struggle led to hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of deaths. The process, as Mao admitted, was "not a Dinner party".

Mao Zedong is reported to have said that "women hold up half the sky" and should be treated equally. During the early PRC days, he was true to his word. Marriage and land reforms gave women more rights, and women were encouraged to enter the work force—though there was a temporary reversal when urban women were encouraged to be good socialist housewives.

Following in Soviet footsteps and with Soviet support, the PRC also set out to centralize its industries, using five- year plans to set the pace of development. Focused on heavy industry, this commitment to industrializing continued with the Great Leap Forward. The what? Glad you asked!

The great leap forward

So, you know how on TV, when someone is doing something dangerous—and usually awesome they say: don't try this at home! Well, the Chinese government gave the opposite advice, when it came to making steel. People were encouraged to build furnaces in their

UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES

NOTES



communities to make steel, in order to help China grow its industries. That's because China had been the biggest manufacturing center in the world before about 1750, but now they were way behind other parts of the world in industrial production. To catch up, they figured, why limit factory work to factories?



Steel-Making in 1958

Homemade steel wasn't the best idea ever, but it was part of new initiatives launched during the Great Leap Forward campaign. Mao introduced the campaign in the late 1950s to industrialize the countryside, usually with small-scale factories and workshops. The campaign also called for educational reforms and the use of people's communes, where people lived and worked collectively.

Though stay-at-home steel-making didn't pan out, other things did. Infrastructure, like railroads, bridges, canals, reservoirs, mines, power stations, and irrigation systems, were built and modernized. However, agricultural output was pretty bad. There was a period of bad weather, plus a lot of the grain that people managed to grow was exported to the Soviet

Union to pay for industrial equipment. As a result, China experienced catastrophic famines that killed tens of millions of people.

The Cultural Revolution

Now if you're thinking: another revolution? Didn't China have two already?—don't worry. This wasn't that kind of revolution. It was another one of Mao's initiatives introduced in the mid-1960s: The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Leap Forward hadn't worked, and the economy was slow. Mao thought perhaps capitalism was still the culprit, so he started a social movement to weed it out of Chinese society.

He organized the "Red Guards," a militarized group of mostly teenagers. The goal was to destroy the "Four Olds" of pre-Communist China: Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas. Much of China's cultural heritage was destroyed, as it was—said the campaign—associated with capitalist, feudal, or backwards ways of thinking. That included religion, and this was especially tough on religious minorities. Also, those young people in the Red Guard who suddenly had so much power were an unruly bunch, and central authorities did not really have control of them.

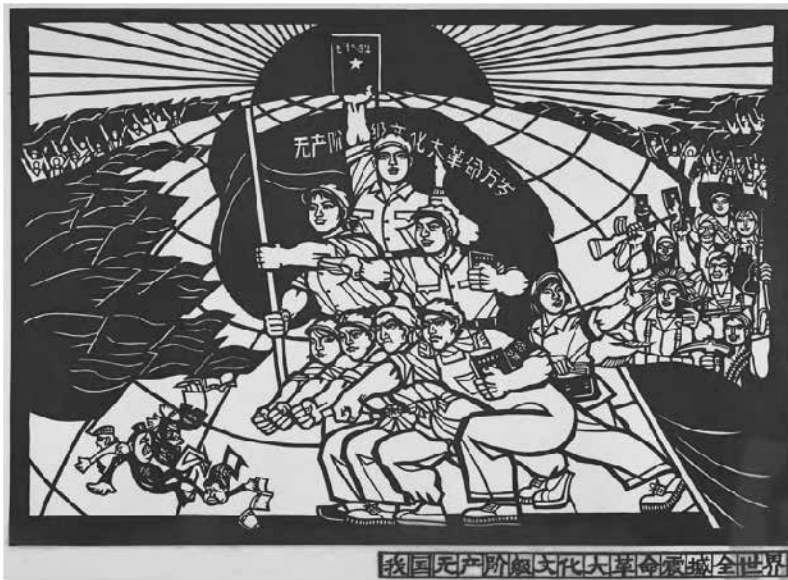
During the Cultural Revolution, Mao and the PRC claimed to have achieved the goal of giving women equal rights, with Mao declaring, "The times have changed; men and women are the same." Women sported short hairstyles, wore army clothing, and worked alongside men. Despite this declaration, women continued to experience discrimination and abuse, but it was harder for them to speak up when Mao's message was that the battle for equality had already been won.

In the end, the Cultural Revolution caused a lot of problems. Schools suffered as students denounced their teachers as “bourgeois intellectuals”—but don’t try that with your teachers. Many industries came to a halt as experts were driven off by the Red Guards. Even the Chinese Communist Party later called the policies “a great catastrophe”, and many leaders believed it was really just Mao’s way of eliminating his rivals within the party.

China and the World

After the Cultural Revolution, however, things began to stabilize. Despite some disastrous policies, between 1949 and Mao’s death in 1976, China’s economy vastly improved. Its residents during this time became on average wealthier, more educated, and healthier. China was also becoming a more powerful regional and global actor once again—just in time for decolonization.

Anti-imperialism had been a huge part of Chinese nationalism for most of the century, and China committed to fighting imperialist powers abroad.



Chinese Cultural Revolution image which says “The proletarian cultural revolution in our country is shaking the whole world.” From the University of Michigan Library, public domain.

But the face of imperialism had changed since WWII, with the United States and the Soviet Union vying for control. And though the PRC was on good terms with the Soviets initially, the relationship had soured, and China was more or less on its own by the 1960s. It joined the Non-Aligned Nations—who were committed to not taking sides in the US - Soviet Union rivalry—and practiced a policy of overall opposition to imperialism and colonialism.

Equipped with nuclear power after 1967, China emerged as the most powerful of these non-aligned nations. With a growing economy and a strong military, it became a powerful world actor. In fact, it was the PRC and not the Soviet Union that was the main socialist backer of Communists in the Korean and Vietnam Wars for a while. As its economy and power grew, China effectively became the third-strongest global power. And for a long

NOTES



UNITED NATIONS
AND THE GLOBAL
DISPUTES



time, it sponsored decolonization in many places. Ultimately, this powerful nation enacted policies that others claimed were Chinese imperialism—like taking over Tibet and trying to culturally change Muslim citizens in the south-west of China. Some might question, therefore, whether late twentieth-century China was becoming an empire once again.

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Despite having many short-comings, UN has played a crucial role making this human society more civil, more peaceful & secure in comparison to time of its origin at 2nd World War. United Nations, being the world's largest democratic body of all nations, its responsibility towards humanity is very high in terms of building democratic society, economic development of people living in acute poverty, & preserving the Earth's Ecosystem in concern with Climate Change.

A communist revolution is a radical movement that replaces the authority of a state with a state in which property, capital, and production are owned by the community. Typically, this is to be accomplished through class struggle involving organizing in trade unions. The goal of an armed communist revolution is to overthrow the capitalist and the government forces and establish a workers' state for the implementation of socialism. Communist revolutions have been characterized by their use of brutal repression combined with mass movements that utilized direct democracy.

The Chinese Communist Revolution was a long event that started in 1921 and continued until 1976. It was full of many events that spanned over two decades and, during this time, the people all had to work together to make the government what they wanted it to be. The Communist Party of China later became one of the largest and most successful political parties in the entire world!

2.6 REVIEW QUESTIONS

SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the 'great leap forward'?
2. Name some of the Global disputes in which UN played a major role.
3. Who were the 'Red Guards'? What was their role in the revolution?
4. Why was 'UN Refugee Works Agency' created?
5. Why was China "carved up like a melon"?

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What was the 'Problem of Palestine'? How did the UN helped in the same?
2. Describe the 'Cultural Revolution' in China in detail.
3. Describe the impact of 'Communist Revolution' in China in detail.
4. Give some detail insights about UNO headquarters.
5. What was the role of UNO in resolving Global Disputes?

2.7 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

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1. **The Chinese Communist Revolution was a long event that started in**
 - a. 1921
 - b. 1917
 - c. 1925
 - d. 1920

2. **_____ a militarized group of mostly teenagers.**
 - a. Yellow batches
 - b. Red Guards
 - c. China council
 - d. None of these

3. **What is the full form of UNRWA?**
 - a. UN Regional Works Agency
 - b. UN Refugee Working Agency
 - c. UN Refugee Works Agency
 - d. UN Recruitment Works Agency

4. **China was compared to a _____ in the Chinese Newspaper during the Communist Revolution.**
 - a. Apple
 - b. Mango
 - c. Melon
 - d. Strawberry

5. **The _____ takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or an act of aggression.**
 - a. General Assembly
 - b. International Court of Justice
 - c. UN Secretariat
 - d. United Nations Security Council

6. **How many principle organ does UN have?**
 - a. 3
 - b. 4
 - c. 6
 - d. 5

7. **UN came into effect from _____.**
 - a. 24th October 1945
 - b. 17th May 1943
 - c. 20th Jan 1938
 - d. 6th April 1948

8. **Which is the Administrative organ of the UN?**
 - a. General Assembly
 - b. International Court of Justice

NOTES



- c. UN Secretariat
 - d. United Nations Security Council
9. **Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas were referred to as _____ during the Cultural Revolution in China.**
- a. Four Gems
 - b. Four Folds
 - c. Four paths
 - d. None of these
10. **What is the full form of ECOSOC?**
- a. Economic and Social Council
 - b. Economic and Social Court
 - c. Economic and Security Council
 - d. None of these

◆◆◆◆

DECOLONIZATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Learning Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Nationalist Movements and Decolonization in Different Parts of the World
- 3.4 Consolidation and Expansion of European Community: European Union
- 3.5 Chapter Summary
- 3.6 Review Questions
- 3.7 Multiple Choice Questions



3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After completing this unit, you'll be able to:

- Learn about Nationalist Movements and Decolonization in different parts of the world
- Understand the Consolidation and Expansion of European Community

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Most people these days are proud to fly their country's flag. At international sporting events, you'll often see all sorts of flags being flown by proud citizens of the participating countries. Perhaps you've even heard the term most people use to describe this form of pride: nationalism.

Well, you may be surprised to learn that, historically speaking, nationalism is a relatively new phenomenon. Indeed, nationalism had its greatest impact on international events in the 20th century, when the fervent nationalism of countries like Germany and Italy led to aggressive foreign policy and global warfare. At the same time, that same type of domestic nationalism led to independence movements in many of Western Europe's colonies in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

3.3 NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND DECOLONIZATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

1. LATIN AMERICA (BOLIVAR) Latin American Revolution

Latin America was colonized by European powers after the discovery of the New World led by Christopher Columbus. Spain, Portugal, France, England, and the Netherlands had each established colonies across Latin America. European elites ruled these colonies which were largely populated by people of mixed ancestry. Towards the end of the 18th century, revolutionary ideas spread across the world birthed by the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. These ideas reached Latin America and led to several Latin American revolutions in different parts of the region. These revolutions or Latin American Wars of Independence had mixed outcomes. Some led to independence while others failed to achieve their objective. However, these Latin American revolutions set the stage for eventual independence from colonial rule for the entire region.

Colonial Latin American society consisted of an elite administration at the top of its hierarchy with governors and top officials from a European power ruling the colony. Below this elite layer were the creoles, people of European descent born in the colonies. Next came the people of mixed European and indigenous or black ancestry, respectively. At the bottom of colonial Latin American society were indigenous people who originally belonged there and slaves, or those who were forcibly brought from Africa. Both the indigenous people and the slaves were made to work in the mines and plantations to enrich their colonial masters.

It was within this rigid and hierarchical society that the first seeds of revolution were sown. Revolutionary ideas reached Latin America from North America and Europe and each section of society saw revolution and independence as a solution

to oppression and powerlessness. The creoles wanted power in their own hands and not in the hands of an elite group from overseas, biracial peoples wanted greater political and economic representation, and the indigenous peoples and slaves wanted an end to their slavery. Different parts of Latin America saw a coalition of these forces come together to fight for revolution and independence from their colonial masters.

Latin American Independence Movements

Beginning in the late 18th century, different parts of Latin America rose in revolution. The American War of Independence had already fired the imagination of many, like Francisco de Miranda of Venezuela. Many in Latin America had already started studying the principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence. However, it was the French Revolution of 1789 which inspired the first armed uprising in Latin America. This took place in Haiti starting in 1791, a great slave revolt that resulted in independence and struck the first blow against slavery. The following areas in Latin America saw revolutions and wars of independence during the late 18th and early 19th centuries:

- Haiti
- Mexico
- Venezuela
- Ecuador
- Argentina
- Paraguay
- Uruguay
- Peru
- Guatemala
- Brazil
- Bolivia

A Revolutionary is born like many wealthy Latin Americans, young Simon Bolivar was sent to Europe to complete his education. In Europe he became a strong admirer of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. One day while speaking with his Italian tutor about freedom and individual rights, he fell on his knees and swore an oath: "I swear before God and by my honor never to allow my hands to be idle or my soul to rest until I have broken the chains that bind us to Spain." Focus Question Who were the key revolutionaries that led the movements for independence in Latin America, and what were their accomplishments?

Liberal ideas were spreading to Latin America with explosive results from Mexico to the tip of South



Simon Bolívar

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*DECOLONIZATION IN
DIFFERENT PARTS OF
THE WORLD*



America, revolutionary movements arose to overthrow the reigning European powers. By 1825, most of Latin America was freed from colonial rule.

Discontent Fans the Fires by the late 1700s

The revolutionary fever that gripped Western Europe had spread to Latin America. There, discontent was rooted in the social, racial, and political system that had emerged during 300 years of Spanish rule. Social and Ethnic Structures Cause Resentment Spanish born peninsular, members of the highest social class, dominated Latin American political and social life. Only they could hold top jobs in government and the Church. Many creoles-the European-descended Latin Americans who owned the haciendas, ranches, and mines-bitterly resented their second-class status. Merchants fretted under mercantilist policies that tied the colonies to Spain. Meanwhile, a growing population of mestizos, people of Native American and European descent, and mulattoes, people of African and European descent, were angry at being denied the status, wealth, and power that were available to whites. Native Americans suffered economic misery under the Spanish, who had conquered the lands of their ancestors. In the Caribbean region and parts of South America, masses of enslaved Africans who worked on plantations longed for freedom.

The Enlightenment Inspires Latin Americans

In the 1700s, educated creoles read the works of Enlightenment thinkers. They watched colonists in North America throw off British rule. Translations of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States circulated among the creole elite. During the French Revolution, young creoles like Simon Bolivar (boh LEE vahr) traveled in Europe and were inspired by the ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." Yet despite their admiration for Enlightenment ideas and revolutions in other lands, most creoles were reluctant to act.

Napoleon Invades Spain

The spark that finally ignited widespread rebellion in Latin America was Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808. Napoleon ousted the Spanish king and placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. In Latin America, leaders saw Spain's weakness as an opportunity to reject foreign domination and demand independence from colonial rule.

Slaves Win Freedom for Haiti

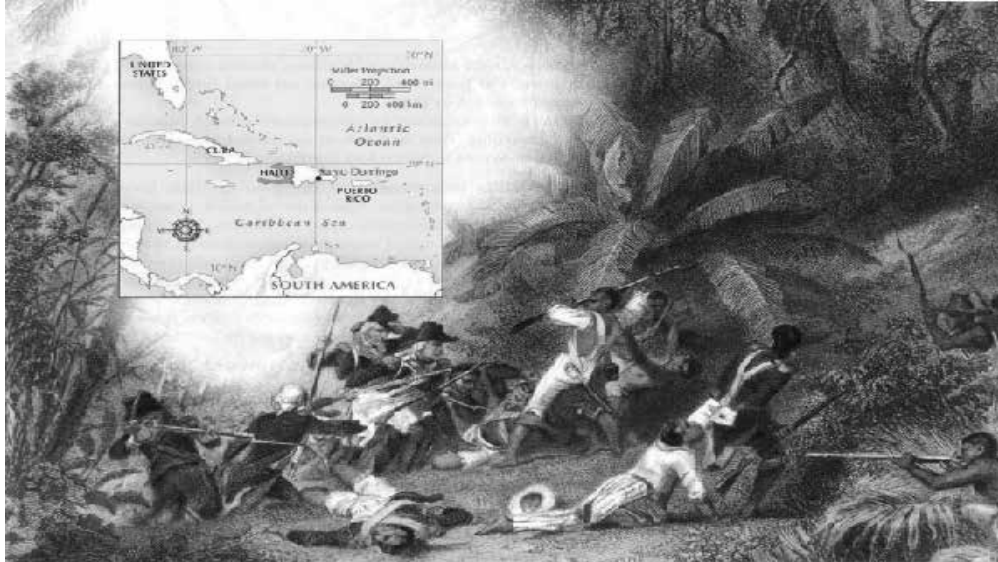
Even before Spanish colonists hoisted the flag of freedom, revolution had erupted in a French-ruled colony on the island of Hispaniola. In Haiti, as the island is now called, French planters owned very profitable sugar plantations worked by nearly a half million enslaved Africans. Sugar plantations were labor-intensive. The slaves were overworked and underfed.

Toussaint L'Ouverture Leads a Slave Revolt

Embittered by suffering and inspired by the talk of liberty and equality, the island's slaves rose up in revolt in 1791. The rebels were fortunate to find an intelligent and skillful leader in Toussaint L'Ouverture, a self-educated former slave. Although untrained, Toussaint was a brilliant general and inspiring commander. Toussaint's army of former slaves faced many enemies. Some mulattoes joined French planters against the rebels. France, Spain, and Britain all sent armies against them. The fighting took more lives than any other revolution in the Americas. But by 1798, the rebels had achieved their goal: slavery was abolished, and Toussaint's forces controlled most of the island.

Haiti Wins Independence

In 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte sent a large army to re-conquer the former colony. Toussaint urged his countrymen to take up arms once again to resist the invaders. In April 1802 the French agreed to a truce, but then they captured Toussaint and carried him in chains to France. He died there in a cold mountain prison a year later. The struggle for freedom continued, however, and late in 1803, with yellow fever destroying their army, the French surrendered. In January 1804, the island declared itself an independent country under the name Haiti. In the following years, rival Haitian leaders fought for power. Finally, in 1820, Haiti became a republic.



Toussaint L'Ouverture and his army of former slaves battle for independence from France and an end to slavery. Although Toussaint achieved his goal of ending slavery, Haiti (see inset) did not become independent until after his death.

Mexico and Central America Revolt

The slave revolt in Haiti frightened creoles in Spanish America. Although they wanted power themselves, most had no desire for economic or social changes that might threaten their way of life. In 1810, however, a creole priest in Mexico, Father Miguel Hidalgo, raised his voice for freedom.

Father Hidalgo Cries Out for Freedom

Father Hidalgo presided over the poor rural parish of Dolores. On September 15, 1810, he rang the church bells summoning the people to prayer. When they gathered, he startled them with an urgent appeal, "My children, will you be free?" Father Hidalgo's speech became known as "el Grito de Dolores"-the cry of Dolores. It called Mexicans to fight for independence. A ragged army of poor mestizos and Native Americans rallied to Father Hidalgo and marched to the outskirts of Mexico City.

At first, some creoles supported the revolt. However, they soon rejected Hidalgo's call for an end to slavery and his plea for reforms to improve conditions for Native Americans. They felt that these policies would cost them power. After some early successes, the rebels faced growing opposition. Less than a year after he issued the "Grito," Hidalgo was captured and executed, and his followers scattered.

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Jose Morelos Continues the Fight

Another priest picked up the banner of revolution. Father Jose Morelos was a mestizo who called for wide-ranging social and political reform. He wanted to improve conditions for the majority of Mexicans, abolish slavery, and give the vote to all men. For four years, Morelos led rebel forces before he, too, was captured and shot in 1815. Spanish forces, backed by conservative creoles, hunted down the surviving guerrillas. They had almost succeeded in ending the rebel movement when events in Spain had unexpected effects.

Mexico Wins Independence

In Spain in 1820, liberals forced the king to issue a constitution. This move alarmed Agustin de Iturbide, a conservative creole in Mexico. He feared that the new Spanish government might impose liberal reforms on the colonies as well. Iturbide had spent years fighting Mexican revolutionaries. Suddenly, in 1821, he reached out to them. Backed by creoles, mestizos, and Native Americans, he overthrew the Spanish viceroy. Mexico was independent at last. Iturbide took the title Emperor Agustin I. Soon, however, liberal Mexicans toppled the would-be monarch and set up the Republic of Mexico.

New Republics Emerge in Central America

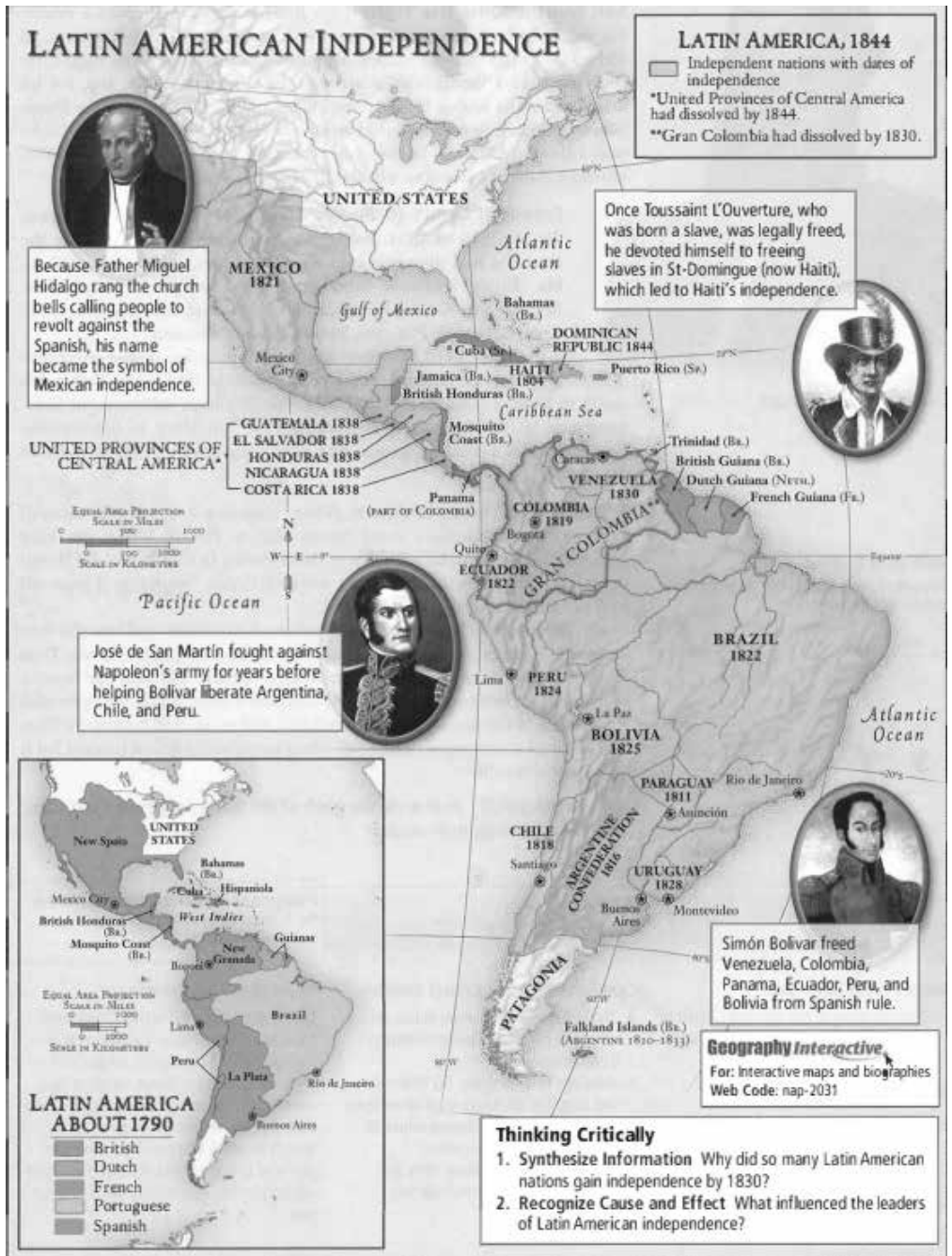
Spanish-ruled lands in Central America declared independence in the early 1820s. Iturbide tried to add these areas to his Mexican empire. After his overthrow, local leaders set up a republic called the United Provinces of Central America. The union soon fragmented into the separate republics of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica.

Revolution Ignites South America

In South America, Native Americans had rebelled against Spanish rule as early as the 1700s, though with limited results. It was not until the 1800s that discontent among the creoles sparked a widespread drive for independence. Bolivar Begins the Fight In the early 1800s, discontent spread across South America. Educated creoles like Simon Bolivar admired the French and American revolutions. They dreamed of winning their own independence from Spain. In 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte occupied Spain, Bolivar and his friends saw the occupation as a signal to act.

In 1810, Bolivar led an uprising that established a republic in his native Venezuela. Bolivar's new republic was quickly toppled by conservative forces, however. For years, civil war raged in Venezuela. The revolutionaries suffered many setbacks. Twice Bolivar was forced into exile on the island of Haiti. Then, Bolivar conceived a daring plan. He would march his army across the Andes and attack the Spanish at Bogota, the capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada (present-day Colombia). First, he cemented an alliance with the hard-riding llafieros, or Venezuelan cowboys. Then, in a grueling campaign, he led an army through swampy lowlands and over the snowcapped Andes.

Finally, in August 1819, he swooped down to take Bogota from the surprised Spanish. Other victories followed. By 1821, Bolivar had succeeded in freeing Caracas, Venezuela. "The Liberator," as he was now called, then moved south into Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. There, he joined forces with another great leader, Jose de San Martin.



San Martín Joins the Fight like Bolívar, San Martín was a creole. He was born in Argentina but went to Europe for military training. In 1816, this gifted general helped Argentina win freedom from Spain. He then joined the independence struggle in other areas. He, too, led an army across the Andes, from Argentina into Chile. He defeated the Spanish in Chile before moving into Peru to strike further blows against colonial rule. San Martín turned his command over to Bolívar in 1822, allowing Bolívar's forces to win the final victories against Spain.

Freedom Leads to Power Struggles

The wars of independence ended by 1824. Bolívar then worked tirelessly to unite the lands he had liberated into a single nation, called Gran Colombia. Bitter rivalries, however, made that dream impossible. Before long, Gran Colombia split

DECOLONIZATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD



into four independent countries: Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Bolivar faced another disappointment as power struggles among rival leaders triggered destructive civil wars. Before his death in 1830, a discouraged Bolivar wrote, "We have achieved our independence at the expense of everything else." Contrary to his dreams, South America's common people had simply changed one set of masters for another.

Brazil Gains Independence

When Napoleon's armies conquered Portugal, the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil. When the king returned to Portugal, he left his son Dom Pedro to rule Brazil. "If Brazil demands independence," the king advised Pedro, "proclaim it yourself and put the crown on your own head." In 1822, Pedro followed his father's advice. A revolution had brought new leaders to Portugal who planned to abolish reforms and demanded that Dom Pedro return. Dom Pedro refused to leave Brazil. Instead, he became emperor of an independent Brazil. He accepted a constitution that provided for freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and an elected legislature. Brazil remained a monarchy until 1889, when social and political turmoil led it to become a republic.

2. ARAB WORLD (EGYPT)

The decolonization process in the Middle-East was relatively smooth transitions save for a few unpleasant incidents. But the aftermath of such a transition left a legacy of violence and instability that lasts to the present day.

The Middle-East in the early 20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, the British, French and the Ottoman Empire had varying degrees of control over the Middle-Eastern nations. There were growing nationalist movements that called for independence from any and all forms of foreign influence in the region in the form of Arab Nationalism.

The Ottoman Empire for its part suppressed these movements with brute force but with clandestine support from other European nations, the nationalists kept gaining momentum.

Upon the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Ottomans joined the Central Powers camp. The Europeans, exploiting the sentiments of Pan-Arabism and the desire for independence among the Arab populace of the Ottoman Empire, made overtures with the promise of independence in return for support against the Turks.

To know the difference between the Central Powers and the Axis Powers, visit the linked article

The Arabs were not the only one to whom the Allies made such lofty promises. They even roped in the Zionist movement – a Jewish nationalist group – to support their war effort. The terms were the same but it would contrast the promises made to the Arabs. One of these, the Balfour Declaration, would have serious repercussions in Middle-Eastern politics for years to come.

Upon the defeat of Ottoman Turkey in World War I, the European powers would begin one of their last ventures in colonialism. The focus would be on the Middle-East this time. The main beneficiaries of the postwar settlement were Britain and France.

The League of Nations gave Britain trusteeship for Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan. France gained Syria and Lebanon. The discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf made these acquisitions all the more valuable to the two colonial powers.

But these acquisitions came with their own set of problems. By now there was a growing clamour against colonialism with the United States and the Soviet Union being the vociferous ones. A Syrian revolt against French rule was harshly put down while in Palestine, the British faced opposition from the Arabs who were hell-bent on forcing the British to keep their promises made prior to the war.

The contents of the Balfour Declaration, when it became public knowledge, made the situation only worse. On top of this the Jewish emigration, following Hitler's achievement of power in 1933, led to virtual guerilla warfare between Arabs and Jews, straining the British military presence in Palestine. It would only be after World War II that the full consequences of these events became apparent.

The Middle-East post World War II

The Middle-East was the most unstable of the post-imperial regions after World War II ended in 1945. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire decades before had led to a wave of Arab nationalism with a burning ambition to create new Arab nation-states.

Syria and Lebanon won full independence from France in 1945 and 1946 respectively. Jordan was granted independence in March 1946. Despite efforts to keep a European military presence in the region, the Middle-East was genuinely independent of European Power by 1956.

The most intractable issue of all was the future of the Palestine mandate, granted to Britain by the League of Nations in 1920. Arab nationalists saw this as Arab land and demanded its independence. But the Jewish demands for a homeland of their own in what they considered the historic land of Israel, put them at odds with the Arabs. Inevitably they clashed with each other and the British during the 1940s.

Reviled by both the sides, the British struggled to maintain order. In July 1946 the King David Hotel in Jerusalem was blown by Jewish extremists with 91 people being killed. This incident turned public opinion in Britain against maintaining the mandate. In 1947 Britain asked the United Nations to resolve the issue, and on November 29, 1947, a UN resolution to divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state was passed. The British would withdraw from Palestine in May 1948.

On May 14 1948, the David Ben-Gurion declared the foundation of the State of Israel and became its first prime minister, with Chaim Weizmann, leader of the world Zionist movement, as Israel's first's president.

Almost immediately the Arab nations would declare war on Israel and would launch the first of three Arab Israel Wars. The third and last major confrontation would be the Yom Kippur War of 1973. Although Israel won the war it saw the necessity to maintain peace with its neighbours. But war with Israel would be the least of the Middle-East's problems. Just like the case of the decolonization of Africa, the process was made complicated with the lumping of hostile tribes in one country and redrawing the borders of these countries as per imperialistic ambitions.

When some of these countries became independent post-1945, sectarian violence plunged some into civil war as is the case of Lebanon. Even Iraq would face the





same condition but only authoritarian dictators like Saddam Hussein would help keep the peace. It was the same condition in Syria as well. However, the recent civil war in Syria has further thrown the delicate balance of the region in further disarray. Only time will tell what course will a decolonised Middle-East will take.

Egypt

France and Britain had equal interest in managing Egypt's future; this sharing of power was called *caise de la dette* (dual control). Their dual partnership of commercial and then eventually political interests started at the turn of the nineteenth century and continued until 1882. 'Urābī Pasha Al-Misrī, an officer in the Egyptian army and a nationalist, resented the presence of Turkish and Circassian officers. He led a revolt against them in 1881 and became a national hero with his slogan, "Misr li'l Misriyīn" (Egypt for Egyptians). The ruler of Egypt, concerned about 'Urābī's increasing popularity, asked for British and French assistance in curbing it. Eager to oblige, Britain and France orchestrated a naval demonstration at Alexandria. Riots followed in the city, which the British then bombarded. 'Urābī led the Egyptian army against the foreigners; he was defeated, which cleared the way for Britain's domination over Egypt.

Egypt, which was acquired by Britain as a protectorate in 1914, formally became an independent state in 1936, though it remained a monarchy until 1953. Arab nationalism and anti-imperialism, which were at times militant, were strong in Egypt as long as British rule, direct and indirect, continued to emanate from Cairo.

Egyptian nationalism was evident throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. Britain declared war against the Ottomans in November 1914 and a month later pronounced Egypt its protectorate. At this point nationalism was a response to local concerns; the masses suffered due to the demands of World War I on Egypt. British occupation, with the declaration of martial law, damaged nationalist expressions of the intellectuals. In 1917 Ahmad Fu'ād became the sultan. In the days following the conclusion of the Great War, three Egyptian politicians led by Sa'd Zaghlūl demanded autonomy for Egypt; they decided to take a delegation (in Arabic, *Wafd*) to England.

The British government took two actions that accelerated the spread of the nationalist movement. First it refused the delegation, and then it arrested Zaghlūl. Egypt erupted in revolt. The representatives in Britain negotiated a calm with the nationalists; Zaghlūl was released and the *Wafd* began to dominate Egyptian politics. It pressured the British to negotiate an "independence," which ended Egypt's protectorate status, but the British government reserved authority in matters of defense, foreign interests, imperial communications, and the Sudan.

Fu'ād became the king of Egypt in 1922, heading a constitutional monarchy. The *Wafd*, the most popular nationalist party led by Zaghlūl, continued its demands for true national independence. In the 1930s King Farouk (who succeeded Fu'ād) was considerably popular, but the *Wafd* rapidly lost its place as the beacon of Egyptian nationalism when its leadership elected to assist the British in the war effort.

At the end of World War II, Egyptian politics were in complete disarray. The wave almost disappeared from the scene; the torch of nationalism passed to the Muslim brotherhood, a militant organization that had mass appeal. Through the 1940s, Cairo witnessed demonstrations that at times were violent. During

the same decade, when Egypt played a crucial role in the formation of the Arab League and when Israel was created, Egypt's nationalism reached new heights. Political instability became the order of the day until 1952, when waves of nationalism changed the course of Egypt's destiny.

On January 26, 1952, anti-British demonstrations that proved pivotal to the Egyptian nationalist movement broke out, leading to extensive damage to symbols of British presence in Cairo, such as hotels, a travel agency, and the airline offices. Seventeen Britons were also killed in what has since been named the Black Saturday riots.

On July 23, 1952, a coup d'état overthrew King Farouk, who was by now widely considered a puppet of the British. Planned by a group of military officers called the Free Officers' Executive Committee, the coup was almost bloodless and Farouk went into exile. The president of the Free Officers' Executive Committee, Gamal Abdul Nasser, became Egypt's new leader. About a year later, Egypt was proclaimed a republic. Nasser quickly introduced social and land reforms, ultimately developing a reform program that came to be called Arab Socialism. Even with Nasser in power, Egypt continued to have ties—albeit uneasy ones—with the British and the Americans.

Egypt became a leader among other Arab nations, and Nasser an Arab hero. Nasser demanded international recognition of Arab dignity and the right of Arab nations to cooperate in building their own futures. However, there were several roadblocks along Egypt's path to decolonization. Western countries were not willing to offer loans without attaching unreasonable terms, leading Nasser to dub such loans "imperialism without soldiers." By 1961, however, Nasser had developed a better relationship with Britain and the United States; both nations established full diplomatic ties with Egypt. A powerful challenge to Egypt's future stability was the unresolved issue of the Occupied Territories of Palestine, also known as the state of Israel.

Another challenge to Nasser's government from within Egypt's borders came from the Islamist lobby known as the Muslim Brotherhood. Nasser and his successor, Anwar Sadat, began a modernization process in Egypt that was met with resistance from Islamic conservatives, many of whom were jailed. Sadat paid with his life in 1981 when he was assassinated by Islamist extremists.

In the last years of the twentieth century there were several difficulties confronting Egypt, particularly economic ones. While oil and cotton continued to be the country's primary exports, most Egyptians—who constituted the fastest growing population in the Arab world—did not benefit from these exports. This led to increasing disaffection among some segments of the population, which turned increasingly to fundamentalist Islamist groups. The country's leader, Hosni Mubarak, attempted to improve Egypt's image in the Arab world—in recent decades Egypt had been perceived by many Arabs as being too close to the United States and Israel—while maintaining cordial relations with Western powers and Israel.

NOTES





Decolonisation of the Middle-East

Name	Date of Independence	Colonising Power
Iraq	October 3, 1932	Great Britain
Lebanon	Independence declared on November 22, 1943. Full Independence granted in 1946	France
Syria	November 30, 1943. Full Independence granted in 1945	France
Israel	May 14, 1948	Great Britain
Cyprus	August 16, 1960	Great Britain
Kuwait	June 19, 1961	Great Britain
Oman	1962	Great Britain
Yemen	November 30, 1967	Great Britain
Qatar	September 3, 1971	Great Britain
Bahrain	August 15, 1971	Great Britain
United Arab Emirates	December 2, 1971	Great Britain

The various peoples and nations of the Middle East have all experienced different decolonization and independence processes. While Islam is a common factor that binds together these peoples and nations, there are many regional cultural differences as well. Each of these nations follows different paths toward development, modernization, social change, and economic growth. The issue of Occupied Palestine remains a contentious and unresolved matter that has made lasting peace in the region impossible.

Arab nations are bound together by the politics of Arab identity, but this can be a nebulous connection at times. For their part, Iran and Turkey have national identities that are remarkably different from those of Arab nations. As far as relations between the Middle East and the rest of the world are concerned, the countries and peoples of the region see themselves as part of a larger whole, yet wish to remain independent and to develop at their own pace and in their own way.

3. SOUTH-EAST ASIA (VIETNAM)

Vietnam gained formal independence in 1945, before India, but it took another three decades of fighting before the Republic of Vietnam was formed. The knitting together of a modern Vietnamese nation that brought the different communities together was in part the result of colonization but, as importantly, it was shaped by the struggle against colonial domination. If you see the historical experience of Indo-China in relation to that of India, you will discover important differences in the way colonial empires functioned and the anti-imperial movement developed. By looking at such differences and similarities you can understand the variety of ways in which nationalism has developed and shaped the contemporary world.



Map of Indo-China

Emerging from the Shadow of China

Indo-China comprises the modern countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established in what is now northern and central Vietnam, its rulers continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture. Vietnam was also linked to what has been called the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. Other networks of trade connected it to the hinterlands where non-Vietnamese people such as the Khmer Cambodians lived.

Colonial Domination and Resistance

The colonization of Vietnam by the French brought the people of the country into conflict with the colonizers in all areas of life. The most visible form of French control was military and economic domination but the French also built a system that tried to reshape the culture of the Vietnamese. Nationalism in Vietnam emerged through the efforts of different sections of society to fight against the French and all they represented.

French troops landed in Vietnam in 1858 and by the mid-1880s they had established a firm grip over the northern region. After the Franco-Chinese war the French assumed control of Tonkin and Annam and, in 1887, French Indo-China was formed. In the following decades the French sought to consolidate their position, and people in Vietnam began reflecting on the nature of the loss that Vietnam was suffering. Nationalist resistance developed out of this reflection.



The Mekong river, engraving by the French Exploratory Force, in which Garnier participated.

Why the French thought Colonies Necessary

Colonies were considered essential to supply natural resources and other essential goods. Like other Western nations, France also thought it was the mission of the 'advanced' European countries to bring the benefits of civilization to backward peoples. The French began by building canals and draining lands in the Mekong delta to increase cultivation. The vast system of irrigation works – canals and earthworks – built mainly with forced labour, increased rice production and allowed the export of rice to the international market. The area under rice cultivation went up from 274,000 hectares in 1873 to 1.1 million hectares in 1900 and 2.2 million in 1930.

Vietnam exported two-thirds of its rice production and by 1931 had become the third largest exporter of rice in the world. This was followed by infrastructure projects to help transport goods for trade, move military garrisons and control the entire region. Construction of a trans-Indo-China rail network that would link the northern and southern parts of Vietnam and China was begun. This final link with Yunan in China was completed by 1910. The second line was also built, linking Vietnam to Siam (as Thailand was then called), via the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh. By the 1920s, to ensure higher levels of profit for their businesses, French business interests were pressurizing the government in Vietnam to develop the infrastructure further.

Should Colonies be developed?

Everyone agreed that colonies had to serve the interests of the mother country. But the question was – how? Some like Paul Bernard, an influential writer and policy-maker, strongly believed that the economy of the colonies needed to be developed. He argued that the purpose of acquiring colonies was to make profits. If the economy was developed and the standard of living of the people improved, they would buy more goods.

The market would consequently expand, leading to better profits for French business. Bernard suggested that there were several barriers to economic growth

in Vietnam: high population levels, low agricultural productivity and extensive indebtedness amongst the peasants. To reduce rural poverty and increase agricultural productivity it was necessary to carry out land reforms as the Japanese had done in the 1890s. However, this could not ensure sufficient employment. As the experience of Japan showed, industrialization would be essential to create more jobs.

The colonial economy in Vietnam was, however, primarily based on rice cultivation and rubber plantations owned by the French and small Vietnamese elite. Rail and port facilities were set up to service this sector. Indentured Vietnamese labour was widely used in the rubber plantations. The French, contrary to what Bernard would have liked, did little to industrialize the economy. In the rural areas landlordism spread and the standard of living declined.



A French weapons merchant, Jean Dupuis, in Vietnam in the late nineteenth century.

The Dilemma of Colonial Education

French colonization was not based only on economic exploitation. It was also driven by the idea of a 'civilizing mission'. Like the British in India, the French claimed that they were bringing modern civilization to the Vietnamese. They took for granted that Europe had developed the most advanced civilization. So it became the duty of the Europeans to introduce these modern ideas to the colony even if this meant destroying local cultures, religions and traditions, because these were seen as outdated and prevented modern development. Education was seen as one way to civilize the 'native'.

But in order to educate them, the French had to resolve a dilemma. How far were the Vietnamese to be educated? The French needed an educated local labour force but they feared that education might create problems. Once educated, the Vietnamese may begin to question colonial domination. Moreover, French citizens living in Vietnam (called colons) began fearing that they might lose their jobs – as

NOTES





teachers, shopkeepers, policemen – to the educated Vietnamese. So they opposed policies that would give the Vietnamese full access to French education.

Talking Modern

The French were faced with yet another problem in the sphere of education: the elites in Vietnam were powerfully influenced by Chinese culture. To consolidate their power, the French had to counter this Chinese influence. So they systematically dismantled the traditional educational system and established French schools for the Vietnamese. But this was not easy. Chinese, the language used by the elites so far, had to be replaced. But what was to take its place? Was the language to be Vietnamese or French?

There were two broad opinions on this question. Some policymakers emphasized the need to use the French language as the medium of instruction. By learning the language, they felt, the Vietnamese would be introduced to the culture and civilization of France. This would help create an 'Asiatic France solidly tied to European France'. The educated people in Vietnam would respect French sentiments and ideals, see the superiority of French culture, and work for the French. Others were opposed to French being the only medium of instruction.

They suggested that Vietnamese be taught in lower classes and French in the higher classes. The few who learnt French and acquired French culture were to be rewarded with French citizenship. However, only the Vietnamese elite – comprising a small fraction of the population – could enroll in the schools, and only a few among those admitted ultimately passed the school-leaving examination. This was largely because of a deliberate policy of failing students, particularly in the final year, so that they could not qualify for the better-paid jobs.

Usually, as many as two-thirds of the students failed. In 1925, in a population of 17 million, there were less than 400 who passed the examination. School textbooks glorified the French and justified colonial rule. The Vietnamese were represented as primitive and backward, capable of manual labour but not of intellectual reflection; they could work in the fields but not rule themselves; they were 'skilled copyists' but not creative. School children were told that only French rule could ensure peace in Vietnam: 'Since the establishment of French rule the Vietnamese peasant no longer lives in constant terror of pirates ... Calm is complete, and the peasant can work with a good heart.'

Resistance in Schools

Teachers and students did not blindly follow the curriculum. Sometimes there was open opposition, at other times there was silent resistance. As the numbers of Vietnamese teachers increased in the lower classes, it became difficult to control what was actually taught. While teaching, Vietnamese teachers quietly modified the text and criticized what was stated. In 1926 a major protest erupted in the Saigon Native Girls School. A Vietnamese girl sitting in one of the front seats was asked to move to the back of the class and allow a local French student to occupy the front bench.

She refused. The principal, also a colon (French people in the colonies), expelled her. When angry students protested, they too were expelled, leading to a further spread of open protests. Seeing the situation getting out of control, the government forced the school to take the students back. The principal reluctantly agreed but warned the students, 'I will crush all Vietnamese under my feet. Ah! You wish

my deportation. Know well that I will leave only after I am assured Vietnamese no longer inhabit Cochinchina.' Elsewhere, students fought against the colonial government's efforts to prevent the Vietnamese from qualifying for white-collar jobs.

They were inspired by patriotic feelings and the conviction that it was the duty of the educated to fight for the benefit of society. This brought them into conflict with the French as well as the traditional elite, since both saw their positions threatened. By the 1920s, students were forming various political parties, such as the Party of Young Annam, and publishing nationalist journals such as the Annamese Student. Schools thus became an important place for political and cultural battles. The French sought to strengthen their rule in Vietnam through the control of education.

They tried to change the values, norms and perceptions of the people, to make them believe in the superiority of French civilization and the inferiority of the Vietnamese. Vietnamese intellectuals, on the other hand, feared that Vietnam was losing not just control over its territory but its very identity: its own culture and customs were being devalued and the people were developing a master-slave mentality. The battle against French colonial education became part of the larger battle against colonialism and for independence.

Education was not the only sphere of everyday life in which such political battles against colonialism were fought. In many other institutions we can see the variety of small ways in which the colonized expressed their anger against the colonizers.

Plague Strikes Hanoi

Take the case of health and hygiene. When the French set about creating a modern Vietnam, they decided to rebuild Hanoi. The latest ideas about architecture and modern engineering skills were employed to build a new and 'modern' city. In 1903, the modern part of Hanoi was struck by bubonic plague. In many colonial countries, measures to control the spread of disease created serious social conflicts. But in Hanoi events took a peculiarly interesting turn. The French part of Hanoi was built as a beautiful and clean city with wide avenues and a well-laid-out sewer system, while the 'native quarter' was not provided with any modern facilities.

The refuse from the old city drained straight out into the river or, during heavy rains or floods, overflowed into the streets. Thus what was installed to create a hygienic environment in the French city became the cause of the plague. The large sewers in the modern part of the city, a symbol of modernity, were an ideal and protected breeding ground for rats. The sewers also served as a great transport system, allowing the rats to move around the city without any problem. And rats began to enter the well-cared-for homes of the French through the sewage pipes. What was to be done?

The Rat Hunt

To stem this invasion, a rat hunt was started in 1902. The French hired Vietnamese workers and paid them for each rat they caught. Rats began to be caught in thousands: on 30 May, for instance, 20,000 were caught but still there seemed to be no end. For the Vietnamese the rat hunt seemed to provide an early lesson in the success of collective bargaining. Those who did the dirty work of entering sewers found that if they came together they could negotiate a higher bounty. They also discovered innovative ways to profit from this situation.





The bounty was paid when a tail was given as proof that a rat had been killed. So the rat-catchers took to just clipping the tails and releasing the rats, so that the process could be repeated, over and over again. Some people, in fact, began raising rats to earn a bounty. Defeated by the resistance of the weak, the French were forced to scrap the bounty programme. None of this prevented the bubonic plague, which swept through the area in 1903 and in subsequent years. In a way, the rat menace marks the limits of French power and the contradictions in their 'civilizing mission'. And the actions of the rat-catchers tell us of the numerous small ways in which colonialism was fought in everyday life.

The Communist Movement and Vietnamese Nationalism

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

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

The New Republic of Vietnam

The new republic faced a number of challenges. The French tried to regain control by using the emperor, Bao Dai, as their puppet. Faced with the French offensive, the Vietminh were forced to retreat to the hills. After eight years of fighting, the French were defeated in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. The Supreme French Commander of the French armies, General Henry Navarre had declared confidently in 1953 that they would soon be victorious. But on 7 May 1954, the Vietminh annihilated and captured more than 16,000 soldiers of the French Expeditionary Corps.

The entire commanding staff, including a general, 16 colonels and 1,749 officers, was taken prisoner. In the peace negotiations in Geneva that followed the French defeat, the Vietnamese were persuaded to accept the division of the country. North and south were split: Ho Chi Minh and the communists took power in the north while Bao Dai's regime was put in power in the south. This division set in motion a series of events that turned Vietnam into a battlefield bringing death and destruction to its people as well as the environment.

The Bao Dai regime was soon overthrown by a coup led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem built a repressive and authoritarian government. Anyone who opposed him was called a communist and was jailed and killed. Diem retained Ordinance 10, a French law that permitted Christianity but outlawed Buddhism. His dictatorial rule came to be opposed by a broad opposition united under the banner of the National Liberation Front (NLF). With the help of the Ho Chi Minh government

in the north, the NLF fought for the unification of the country. The US watched this alliance with fear. Worried about communists gaining power, it decided to intervene decisively, sending in troops and arms.

The Entry of the US into the War

US entry into the war marked a new phase that proved costly to the Vietnamese as well as to the Americans. From 1965 to 1972, over 3,403,100 US services personnel served in Vietnam (7,484 were women). Even though the US had advanced technology and good medical supplies, casualties were high. About 47,244 died in battle and 303,704 were wounded. (Of those wounded, 23,014 were listed by the Veterans Administration to be 100 per cent disabled.) This phase of struggle with the US was brutal. Thousands of US troops arrived equipped with heavy weapons and tanks and backed by the most powerful bombers of the time – B52s. The wide spread attacks and use of chemical weapons – Napalm, Agent Orange, and phosphorous bombs – destroyed many villages and decimated jungles.



American soldiers searching rice fields for Vietcongs.

Civilians died in large numbers. The effect of the war was felt within the US as well. Many were critical of the government for getting involved in a war that they saw as indefensible. When the youth were drafted for the war, the anger spread. Compulsory service in the armed forces, however, could be waived for university graduates. This meant that many of those sent to fight did not belong to the privileged elite but were minorities and children of working-class families. The US media and films played a major role in both supporting as well as criticising the war. Hollywood made films in support of the war, such as John Wayne's *Green Berets* (1968). This has been cited by many as an example of an unthinking propaganda film that was responsible for motivating many young men to die in the war. Other films were more critical as they tried to understand the reasons for this war. Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) reflected the moral confusion that the war had caused in the US. The war grew out of a fear among US policy-planners that the victory of the Ho Chi Minh government would start a domino effect – communist governments would be established in other countries in the area. They underestimated the power of nationalism to move people to action, inspire them to sacrifice their home and family, live under horrific conditions, and

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fight for independence. They underestimated the power of a small country to fight the most technologically advanced country in the world.



In December 1972 Hanoi was bombed

The Ho Chi Minh Trail

The story of the Ho Chi Minh trail is one way of understanding the nature of the war that the Vietnamese fought against the US. It symbolizes how the Vietnamese used their limited resources to great advantage. The trail, an immense network of footpaths and roads, was used to transport men and materials from the north to the south. The trail was improved from the late 1950s, and from 1967 about 20,000 North Vietnamese troops came south each month on this trail. The trail had support bases and hospitals along the way.

In some parts supplies were transported in trucks, but mostly they were carried by porters, who were mainly women. These porters carried about 25 kilos on their backs, or about 70 kilos on their bicycles. Most of the trail was outside Vietnam in neighbouring Laos and Cambodia with branch lines extending into South Vietnam. The US regularly bombed this trail trying to disrupt supplies, but efforts to destroy this important supply line by intensive bombing failed because they were rebuilt very quickly



The Ho Chi Minh trail.

Notice how the trail moved through Laos and Cambodia.



On the Ho Chi Minh trail

Women as Warriors



With a gun in one hand.

In the 1960s, photographs in magazines and journals showed women as brave fighters. There were pictures of women militia shooting down planes. They were portrayed as young, brave and dedicated. Stories were written to show how happy they felt when they joined the army and could carry a rifle. Some stories spoke of their incredible bravery in single-handedly killing the enemy – Nguyen Thi Xuan, for instance, was reputed to have shot down a jet with just twenty bullets. Women were represented not only as warriors but also as workers: they were shown with a rifle in one hand and a hammer in the other. Whether young or old, women began to be depicted as selflessly working and fighting to save the country.

As casualties in the war increased in the 1960s, women were urged to join the struggle in larger numbers. Many women responded and joined the resistance movement. They helped in nursing the wounded, constructing underground rooms and tunnels and fighting the enemy. Along the Ho Chi Minh trail young volunteers kept open 2,195 km of strategic roads and guarded 2,500 key points. They built six airstrips, neutralized tens of thousands of bombs, transported tens of thousands of kilograms of cargo, weapons and food and shot down fifteen planes. Between 1965 and 1975, of the 17,000 youth who worked on the trail,



70 to 80 per cent were women. One military historian argues that there were 1.5 million women in the regular army, the militia, the local forces and professional teams.

Women in Times of Peace

By the 1970s, as peace talks began to get under way and the end of the war seemed near, women were no longer represented as warriors. Now the image of women as workers begins to predominate. They are shown working in agricultural cooperatives, factories and production units, rather than as fighters.



Vietnamese women doctors nursing the wounded.

The End of the War

The prolongation of the war created strong reactions even within the US. It was clear that the US had failed to achieve its objectives: the Vietnamese resistance had not been crushed; the support of the Vietnamese people for US action had not been won. In the meantime, thousands of young US soldiers had lost their lives, and countless Vietnamese civilians had been killed. This was a war that has been called the first television war. Battle scenes were shown on the daily news programmes. Many became disillusioned with what the US was doing and writers such as Mary McCarthy, and actors like Jane Fonda even visited North Vietnam and praised their heroic defense of the country.

The scholar Noam Chomsky called the war 'the greatest threat to peace, to national self-determination, and to international cooperation'. The widespread questioning of government policy strengthened moves to negotiate an end to the war. A peace settlement was signed in Paris in January 1974. This ended conflict with the US but fighting between the Saigon regime and the NLF continued. The NLF occupied the presidential palace in Saigon on 30 April 1975 and unified Vietnam.



Vietcong soldiers pose triumphantly atop a tank after Saigon is liberated.

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4. AFRICA - APARTHEID TO DEMOCRACY

The Colonization of Africa: During the 19th-20th centuries, the African continent was colonized mainly by European powers like Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and Russia.

What led to European Colonization in Asia and Africa?

Following the occupation of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks (1453), empires of Western Europe (Spain and Portugal) was forced to find alternate sea routes to the East (China and India).

These empires were later supplanted by the industrial powers – Britain and France. Germany and Italy also entered the scene towards the end of the nineteenth century.

They stumbled upon the Americas (Columbus, 1492) and realized the huge potential of controlling colonies through which they can source merchandise for trade cheaply. This led to establishing trade routes with countries of Western Africa, India, Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) etc. Since they controlled the high seas, they were able to influence the trading policies of these countries. This gave them the incentive to interfere in the domestic politics of these countries.

Phases of Colonization:

It is broadly divided into two phases – Mercantile and Industrial phases.

Mercantile Phase:

This is called as Mercantilism because the major motto of colonial powers was to establish supremacy in **trading relationships**. They sought to source merchandise cheaply and sell it at a premium in European markets. They controlled high seas and used this as a means for '**Gunboat diplomacy**' and later establishing extensive empires in the Americas, East Indies (present-day Indonesia) etc. The technological superiority of Colonialists wasn't as much as in the later industrial phase. So they were able to subjugate **only relatively primitive peoples**.

*DECOLONIZATION IN
DIFFERENT PARTS OF
THE WORLD*

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Countries with well-established state systems and cultures were able to repel colonialists. (For example, in India, Mughal emperor Aurangzeb defeated British East India Company in Child's War, 1686. China wasn't attacked till the Opium Wars of the nineteenth century). Goods from the east were still in great demand across Europe. So they worked under the trading systems laid by the strong states of India and China.

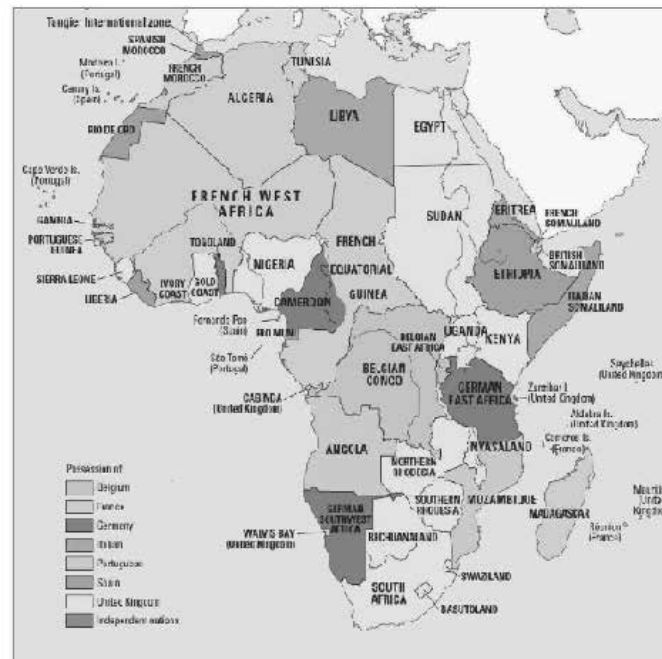
Industrial Phase:

This coincided with the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and the United States of America. The relative technological supremacy and decadence in the Eastern states meant that Europe could interfere in the internal affairs of these states. European states used gunboat diplomacy (Opium Wars in China) as well as vile political machinations (Bengal in India, leading to the Battle of Plassey, 1757) to secure their aims. Apart from trade, they sought to secure vast markets for the new industrial goods produced through the Industrial revolution in these countries.

Political influence gained in these countries were used to destroy traditional industries and promoted cheap, mass-produced European goods. E.g.: Destruction of the famed textile industry of Bengal by the British to promote cheap cotton from the textile mills of England. Colonies were used to source cheap raw materials and value-added manufactured goods were dumped in the colonies under the banner of "Free trade". The colonial powers controlled foreign, monetary and trade policies. This meant an advantage to the industrialists at home. This led to the famous drain of wealth from the colonies.

Colonialism reached its logical conclusion with the rise of new industrial powers in Europe – Germany and Italy. This led to a competition for accruing larger and larger empires that meant more power and prestige to these countries. This was most pronounced in the tragic event of **Scramble for Africa**.

Scramble for Africa:



Africa in 1912

What happened?

This happened during the period of New Imperialism (1881-1914). Increasing rivalry between European powers – Britain, France, Germany etc – meant that they needed more and more markets and sources for cheap raw material. Technological progress – mapping of inland Africa in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, advances in treating deadly diseases like malaria etc – meant that the European powers could finally move inland from the well established coastal colonies.

But this would require costly wars against the native population. So they reached a political settlement where they divided the territory of Africa within themselves with no regard for the wishes of the indigenous people of these lands! The settlement was reached in the Berlin conference of 1884. In 1870, less than 10% of African territory was under European control. By 1914, it had increased to almost 90%! This is known as the scramble of Africa.

Decolonization of Africa

It was the cultural, economic and political process through which colonies broke free from the colonial empires and integrated themselves to the new 'world order'.

Cultural:

Colonial empires were generally founded on principles of Racism and 'right to rule' over 'inferior races'. These narratives had to be challenged. An image of benevolent and modernizing influence was used as a pretext for colonial exploitation. However, this was later broken. (E.g.: Indian National Congress popularized the theory of drain of wealth to demolish the claim of the civilizing influence of British Raj) The self-confidence of people had to be boosted. Exercises of cultural integration and the creation of national identities and a shared past were emphasized. E.g. Ancient Greek (Hellenistic) culture was emphasized in the Greek War of Independence, 1829 against the Ottoman Empire. In India, achievements of our ancient civilization were popularized. Most states were successful in this regard, though deep-rooted tribal differences and prejudices led to problems in Africa.

Political:

Newly freed states had to be allowed to follow an independent foreign policy. They had to raise resources and build stable institutions (E.g.: An Army subject to strict civilian control). Representative and democratic institutions needed to be built. This needed an enlightened citizenry and an empowered leadership.

Economic:

The old European powers sought to exert influence in newly independent states through biased trade policies. This came to be known as Neo-Colonialism. Most of the investment in these countries came from the erstwhile colonizers. So they were able to control new governments through lobbying and other informal (often corrupt) means. Colonial powers were technologically advanced. So they used it as leverage in directing foreign investment and hence controlling the new states. They sought to guard their technological supremacy through tight Intellectual property regimes.





What forced European powers to abandon their empires?



- **Nationalist movements:** Through the effects of westernization and opening up, colonies acquired enlightened leadership and many developed strong nationalist movements. Most colonies were extensive **police states**. Massive unrest made them simply unviable.
- **Second World War:** It weakened most European powers and they couldn't keep up with the maintenance of their empires. The most powerful among victorious powers – The USA and the USSR took a firm anti-colonial stance. This further weakened the Europeans.
- **Pan-Africanism:** A feeling of brotherhood was growing within the indigenous people of Africa. This meant a pooling of resources and **external support** in the struggle for independence. As more and more countries attained freedom, the entire process was hastened.
- **Outside Pressures:** The USA and USSR actively pressurized colonial powers. E.g.: President Truman of the US pressurized British government to make India independent. Newly formed United Nations and other powerful international associations like the Non-Alignment Movement built up firm international opinions against colonialism.

Challenges to Africa:

Africa faced many unique challenges which made Decolonization a very difficult process. These were common to most of the new states in Africa.

- **Tribal differences:** Many countries were brought together by the sheer military forces of the colonizers. Lack of a common cultural past and tribal belligerence meant that they slaughtered each other inside these artificial boundaries imposed upon them. This led to worst genocides in Nigeria, Congo (Zaire), Burundi and Rwanda.
- **Cold war rivalry:** Since most of them were resource-rich, the two major blocs didn't want more states slipping into the orbit of its rival power. This led to prolonged civil wars. E.g.: Angola, Uganda, Burundi etc.
- **Economic underdevelopment:** Colonizers used them as sources of raw materials. So lack of industries and primitive agriculture made them susceptible to Neo-Colonialism. Also, most of their economies were entirely dependent upon the export of one or two commodities. When international prices fell, they plunged into political instability and civil wars. E.g.: Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Burundi etc.
- **Political and Social problems:** Most colonial powers refused education to Africans. This led to the deficiency in enlightened leadership and a general faith in democratic means. This meant that most countries plunged into corruption and civil war soon after independence.
- **Economic and Natural Disasters:** Devastating famines of the 1980s and ongoing famines due to climate change are spelling disaster to these countries. These events end up ruining economies and destabilizing governments. Through the 90s, the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic also posed a grave threat to these countries. During the last two decades, climate change-induced disasters are seen to affect third world countries, especially those in Africa.
- **Ethnic conflict:** In some countries with an influential white settler population, Decolonization was a more complex affair. They offered firm resistance because they were privileged under the old system. Eg: Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the erstwhile Apartheid regime of South Africa. Sometimes, as in Zimbabwe, forced taking away of estates from the white minority led to an overall fall in productivity and caused economic crises.
- **Religious Extremism:** This is a fairly recent phenomenon in which Islamist ideologies taking over Muslim populations of these countries. E.g.: Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-Shabab in Somalia.

Aftermath of Decolonization:

Due to these challenges and specific conditions in different countries, Decolonization turned out different results for these countries.

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General trends:

- Army coups were common in countries with weak leadership and limited mass base in democratic processes. E.g.: Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Congo etc.
- Complete export dependency on one or two commodities leading to instability at times of falling prices. E.g.: Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Burundi etc.
- Extreme poverty was the characteristic of most states due to lesser human development and corruption.
- Rampant corruption – most states fell into the hands of a corrupted elite that exploited social fissures to enrich itself. Recently we saw popular movements against Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Jacob Zuma of South Africa succeeding in removing them.
- Great power rivalry has affected many states like Angola badly. At the same time, these powers failed to interfere in places where their interests were not involved. E.g.: Failure to stop the Rwandan genocide of 1994. These points to the need for a pan-African movement to ensure democracy and rule of law.
- Resource-rich countries falling prey to Neo-colonialism and sectarian violence. E.g.: Sierra Leone is locked in a perpetual civil war over its gold, diamond and iron ore deposits. China is accused of adopting Neo-colonial policies to exert influence over resource-rich Western Africa. The recent effort by India and Japan to build an Asia-Africa Growth corridor is seen as an effort to counter this.
- Many North African countries saw widespread protests at the time of ‘Arab Spring’ of 2011. E.g.: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. But due to lukewarm responses from the outside world, many of them either fell under the influence of Islamist ideologies or was quelled through extreme violence. This was an opportunity lost in bringing democratic governance to entire northern Africa.

Role of India:

After Indian independence, India supported Decolonization strongly in International fora through the leadership of Non-Alignment movement. India actively mobilized international opinion in favour of Decolonization. In Indonesia and Africa, it was vocal in support. It also sent troops to solve the Congo Crisis of the 1960s. Besides, India contributes actively to the UN peacekeeping forces that operate in different parts of Africa.

Decolonization was a force of good that helped liberate billions of people across the globe from exploitation under an oppressive foreign rule. As a cultural process, it is continuing to date. It ended up with the majority of the world achieving self-determination and self-rule. Though the hegemonic nations still exert large influence through international trade, investment and technology control, these countries are free to script their own destiny. Majority of the so-called “Third world” is still mired in extreme poverty.

The way forward is through human development, the spread of education and building of institutions through regional (Pan-African, Pan-South Asian

collaboration etc) cooperation. Work of UN agencies is commendable in this regard. UN General Assembly has emerged as a potent forum where world opinion is mobilized in favour of third world countries. Its powers and influence have to be enhanced. The democratization of international order will help the third world more in getting its grievances addressed and in building a more equitable world.

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3.4 CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY: EUROPEAN UNION

In pursuance of its policy of containment of communism, as we have seen, the USA came out with the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan to support the war-torn European countries to reconstruct their economy. An organization, OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation) was formed in April 1948 to oversee the disbursement of Marshall Aid under the auspices of the European Recovery Programme (ERP). The OEEC disbursed aid to its sixteen member countries. The US wanted the OEEC to remove tariff barriers between themselves so that it was easier for American companies to do business. OEEC obliged and followed free trade in 1949 for obtaining further financial aid. With the US aid, by 1950, the western European countries had returned to their pre-war production levels. The success made them to move forward and OEEC transformed itself into the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) in 1961, adding the USA and Canada to the original membership of West European countries. Japan joined in 1964.



OEEC Charter

Today there are thirty-seven member countries in OECD from all around the world. Most of them are developed countries. They are all committed to the concept of free market economy and democracy. It has its headquarters in Paris.

Towards European Union

Council of Europe

One of the momentous decisions taken in the post-World War II era was to integrate the states of Western Europe. In May 1949 ten countries met in London and signed to form a Council of Europe. The Council of Europe with headquarters at Strasbourg was established with a committee of foreign ministers of member countries and a Consultative Assembly, drawn from the parliaments of foreign countries.



European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)



Schuman



Konrad

Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister, realized that reconciliation between France and Germany was good for both and for reconstruction of post-War Europe. He presented a plan known as Schuman Plan on 9 May 1950. Accordingly, he proposed that the joint output of coal and steel in the two countries be placed within the framework of a strong, supranational structure, the High Authority. This plan for sectoral economic integration created mutual interests and automatically linked the two countries. West Germany's Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, welcomed the plan to come close to the Western world.



ECSC members

On 18 April 1951 France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg signed a treaty at Paris to establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). All duties and restrictions on trade in coal, iron and steel between the six were removed. ECSC was the first step towards European Integration. Britain refused to join ECSC since it would mean handing over control of their industries to an outside authority.

Steel production rose by almost 50 per cent during the first five years of ECSC. The success made them to include the production of all goods. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium wanted gradual removal of all customs duties and quotas so that there would be free competition and a common market. Six countries belonging to ECSC signed the treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC) or the European Common Market, with headquarters at Brussels. Britain did not join the EEC.

European Economic Community (EEC)



EEC in Session

The EEC facilitated the elimination of barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and labour. It also prohibited public policies or private agreements that restricted market competition. A Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and a common external trade policy were evolved. In 1960, Britain organized a rival organ known as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) with Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal as members. But EFTA was weak since there were no common economic policies and no authority to intervene in the internal affairs of states.

In 1961 Britain decided to join EEC but the French President Charles de Gaulle opposed the entry because the economy of Britain was weak. After his resignation, British Prime Minister Edward Heath, with his skilful diplomacy, made way for Britain's entry. Britain was finally admitted on 1 January 1973 along with Ireland and Denmark.

Single European Act (SEA)

The Single European Act that came into force on July 1, 1987 expanded the EEC's scope further. It called for more intensive coordination of foreign policy among member countries. According to the SEA, each member was given multiple votes, depending on the country's population. Approval of legislation required roughly two-thirds of the votes of all members. The new procedure increased the power of European Parliament, which had been functioning since 1952. Specifically, legislative proposals that were rejected by the Parliament could be adopted by the Council of Ministers by a unanimous vote.

European Union (EU)



European Union Flag - Euro Currency

NOTES



NOTES



In December 1991 the members of EC came together and signed the Treaty of Maastricht by which the European Union was established in 1993 with a single market. With the establishment of European Union, the members worked on other areas such as foreign policy and internal security. This treaty paved the way for the creation of a single European currency – the euro. In 2017, Britain voted to exit the EU (British Exit known as “Brexit”). Today the European Union has 28 member states, and functions from its headquarters at Brussels, Belgium.

End of Cold War

The US and the Soviet Union had created a bi-polar international structure. Initially the Soviet military capabilities were weak. But by 1969 USSR had equalled US in terms of nuclear capability. The threat of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) created fear in both powers. Moreover, the nuclear race was expensive and cost them heavily. The earmarking of larger portions of their budgets for defense caused a resource crunch. Strong disarmament movements in Europe also put pressure on the ruling governments. This pushed the superpowers to the negotiating table.

The period from the late 1960s to the late 1970s is known as period of détente (temporary stoppage of hostility). The period witnessed increased trade and cooperation between the US and the Soviet Union. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT 1972 & 1979) and later the Strategic Arms Reduction (START, 1991) treaties heralded an era of coexistence and cooperation.



Gorbachev with Ronald Reagan in American Summit

With the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as the President of USSR in March 1985, there were phenomenal political and social changes in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev committed himself to reforms. In February 1986 he spoke in the Communist Party Congress, explaining the need for political and economic restructuring, or perestroika, and called for a new era of transparency and openness, or glasnost. By Perestroika Gorbachev loosened centralized control of many institutions, allowing businesses, farmers and manufacturers to decide for them which products to make, how much to produce, and what to charge for them.

Glasnost was instituted as a part of an effort by Gorbachev to democratize the governing structure of Soviet Union. Fundamental changes occurred in the political structure of

the Soviet Union: reduction of the power of the Communist Party, and multicandidate elections for assembly membership. Glasnost also permitted criticism of government officials and allowed the media freer dissemination of news and people free expression of their opinions. With glasnost, Soviet citizens no longer had to worry about arrest and exile for articulating negative opinions against the State. These ideas created a revolutionary wave of liberalism in Soviet Union. At the same time, it eventually led to the disintegration of Soviet Union.



Boris Yeltsin

Jimmy Carter

1989 was a watershed year in the Cold War era. Free elections were conducted in Poland. The Polish Solidarity movement won the election, routing the Communists. In July Gorbachev, speaking at the Council of Europe, remarked that he rejected the Brezhnev Doctrine: "Any interference in domestic affairs and any attempts to restrict the sovereignty of states, both friends and allies or any others, are inadmissible." In November 1989, one of the most famous symbols of the Cold War, the Berlin Wall came down. In late November 1989 West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, without consulting any allies, suddenly announced a ten-point programme calling for free elections in East Germany and the eventual "German reunification".

By the end of the 1989 a popular uprising took place in Eastern Europe and most of the leaders were ousted except in Bulgaria. Slowly Eastern Europe severed its affiliation with communism. This was taken as a clue by many Soviet Republics and by mid-1990 many of them declared themselves as independent states. On December 8, 1991, the Soviet Union disintegrated. On 25th December Gorbachev resigned, Boris Yeltsin became the President of the Russian Republic. With the disintegration of USSR the Cold War came to an end.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The decolonization process in the Middle-East was relatively smooth transitions save for a few unpleasant incidents. But the aftermath of such a transition left a legacy of violence and instability that lasts to the present day. The League of Nations gave Britain trusteeship for Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan. France gained Syria and Lebanon. The discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf made these acquisitions all the more valuable to the two colonial powers.

When some of these countries became independent post-1945, sectarian violence plunged some into civil war as is the case of Lebanon. Even Iraq would face the same condition but



NOTES



only authoritarian dictators like Saddam Hussein would help keep the peace. It was the same condition in Syria as well.

France and Britain had equal interest in managing Egypt's future; this sharing of power was called *caise de la dette* (dual control). Their dual partnership of commercial and then eventually political interests started at the turn of the nineteenth century and continued until 1882.

Egypt, which was acquired by Britain as a protectorate in 1914, formally became an independent state in 1936, though it remained a monarchy until 1953. Arab nationalism and anti-imperialism, which were at times militant, were strong in Egypt as long as British rule, direct and indirect, continued to emanate from Cairo. The British government took two actions that accelerated the spread of the nationalist movement. At the end of World War II, Egyptian politics were in complete disarray. The wave almost disappeared from the scene; the torch of nationalism passed to the Muslim brotherhood, a militant organization that had mass appeal.

Vietnam gained formal independence in 1945, before India, but it took another three decades of fighting before the Republic of Vietnam was formed. The knitting together of a modern Vietnamese nation that brought the different communities together was in part the result of colonization but, as importantly, it was shaped by the struggle against colonial domination.

Colonies were considered essential to supply natural resources and other essential goods. Like other Western nations, France also thought it was the mission of the 'advanced' European countries to bring the benefits of civilization to backward peoples. The French began by building canals and draining lands in the Mekong delta to increase cultivation.

The market would consequently expand, leading to better profits for French business. Bernard suggested that there were several barriers to economic growth in Vietnam: high population levels, low agricultural productivity and extensive indebtedness amongst the peasants. The Great Depression of the 1930s had a profound impact on Vietnam. The prices of rubber and rice fell, leading to rising rural debts, unemployment and rural uprisings, such as in the provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh.

US entry into the war marked a new phase that proved costly to the Vietnamese as well as to the Americans. From 1965 to 1972, over 3,403,100 US services personnel served in Vietnam (7,484 were women). Even though the US had advanced technology and good medical supplies, casualties were high. About 47,244 died in battle and 303,704 were wounded. The story of the Ho Chi Minh trail is one way of understanding the nature of the war that the Vietnamese fought against the US.

It symbolizes how the Vietnamese used their limited resources to great advantage

Following the occupation of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks (1453), empires of Western Europe (Spain and Portugal) was forced to find alternate sea routes to the East (China and India).

These empires were later supplanted by the industrial powers – Britain and France. Germany and Italy also entered the scene towards the end of the nineteenth century.

3.6 REVIEW QUESTIONS

NOTES



SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Explain Brazil gains Independence?
2. What do you understand by Single European Act?
3. Why the French thought Colonies Necessary?
4. What forced European powers to abandon their empires?
5. How did Haiti Won Independence?

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. How the 'Cold War' come to an end?
2. Explain the aftermaths of decolonization on Africa.
3. What led to European Colonization in Asia and Africa?
4. Explain the challenges faced by Africa in detail.
5. What was the picture of the Middle-East post World War II?

3.7 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. What is the full form of EFTA?
 - a. European Free Trade Association
 - b. European Free Trade Agency
 - c. European Fast Trade Association
 - d. European Free Tour Association
2. What is the full form of ECSC?
 - a. European Coal and Steel Commission
 - b. European Coal and Steel Community
 - c. European Charcoal and Steel Community
 - d. None of these
3. _____ voted to exit the EU.
 - a. Germany
 - b. Spain
 - c. Italy
 - d. Britain
4. Which country was affected with plague?
 - a. Haiti
 - b. Germany
 - c. Hanoi
 - d. Brazil
5. The story of the _____ is one way of understanding the nature of the war that the Vietnamese fought against the US.
 - a. Women warriors
 - b. Ho Chi Minh trail

NOTES



- c. Rat Hunt
 - d. Talking Modern
6. **Bao Dai was an emperor of _____.**
- a. Vietnam
 - b. Japan
 - c. Nepal
 - d. Spain
7. **What is the full form of SALT?**
- a. Strategic Arms Loyalty Talks
 - b. Strategic African Limitation Talks
 - c. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
 - d. Strategic Arms Limitation Technologies
8. **What is the currency of Europe?**
- a. Won
 - b. Euro
 - c. Rupees
 - d. Dollar
9. **Hanoi was stuck by?**
- a. Dengue
 - b. Malaria
 - c. Bubonic plague
 - d. Chicken pox
10. **The _____ gave Britain trusteeship for Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan**
- a. United Nations
 - b. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - c. Human Rights Watch
 - d. League of Nations

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SOVIET UNION DISINTEGRATION AND THE RISE OF UNIPOLAR WORLD

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Learning Objective
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Cultural Revolution: Civil Rights Movement
- 4.4 Feminism
- 4.5 Disintegration of Soviet Union and the Rise of the Unipolar World
- 4.6 Factors leading to the collapse of Soviet communism and the Soviet Union
- 4.7 Chapter Summary
- 4.8 Review Questions
- 4.9 Multiple Choice Questions



4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After completing this unit, you'll be able to:

- Know about the reactions to the rise of Nationalism in Russia
- Learn about feminism
- Understand the disintegration of Soviet Union and the Rise of the Unipolar World
- Learn about the factors leading to the collapse of Soviet Union

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was created after the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917, which ended the Russian empire. The USSR was a loose confederation of 15 republics and Russia was the leader. It was a strong segment with great control over politics of entire world from 1922 to 1991 when it was disintegrated into smaller units, mainly due to Mikhael Gorbvachev's economic and political reforms- Perestroika and Glasnost respectively. This led to the end of the cold war between the two superpowers USA and USSR.

It was marked by events like the fall of the Berlin Wall and power shift from Soviet center to the republics. The breakdown of USSR made USA the sole global power, ending the bipolarity in the world order.

4.3 CULTURAL REVOLUTION: CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The Birth of the Civil Rights Movement in Russia

Some Reactions to the Rise of Nationalism

In general, it is not easy for a new publication to survive in the former Soviet Union without receiving substantial subsidies. Dozens of new newspapers have gone bankrupt due to the high price of paper, bureaucratic bottlenecks and other problems. Yet nationalist newspapers do not seem to have experienced serious problems. They continue to grow. The Russian Society of Cooperation with Com- patriots abroad, for instance, produces 100,000 copies of their weekly newspaper, *Russkii Vestnik*. This newspaper is circulated by subscription and is also sold in the street. The magazine, *Molodaya Gvardia*, which can be purchased by subscription, only, has a circulation of 300,000. State authorities have done virtually nothing to stop the spread of these and other mass-circulation publications, partly because it is extremely difficult for them to control production and circulation. In the first place, the true nature of nationalist publications is often concealed when it is registered with the City Council's Committee on Publications.

Descriptions submitted with applications can be so vague that officials find it difficult to detect the publication's real nationalist objectives. Moreover, once the publication receives a permit, there is no follow-up to insure that its contents correspond to the original description. True, the St. Petersburg City Council has created a Committee for the Defense of Freedom of the Press and the Mass Media which, among other things, is intended to control the spread of nationalist newspapers. But this committee has no staff, no money, and no clear mandate.



Second, even though there is a law which criminalizes activities that incite ethnic conflict, it has not been enforced. Many agents of official control are inactive because the communication links between the military and security organs have been broken? Third, even the District Attorney was to shut down some newspapers, they could easily reappear under different names. This strategy is already being used by some organizations. For instance, an openly anti-Semitic newspaper, *Moskovski Traktir*, is simply a reincarnation of an earlier publication, *Russkoe Voskresenie*, which was in turn the reincarnation of *Voskresenie*.

The Russian National Liberation Movement is behind all three. While Russian state authorities are unable to control anti-Semitic organizations and the hate literature they produce, a number of people have raised their voices in opposition to the rise of nationalist forces, their growing popularity and the fact that they act with impunity. Whereas just a few months ago the mass media were silent about the threat such nationalist organizations pose, now some journalists sound alarmed. For instance, Prodkopalov, a *Komsomolskaya Pravda* correspondent, attended a meeting of the National Socialist Union (a fascist organization) and warned his readers that “no one took Hitler seriously” either.

In his view, what makes the National Socialist Union particularly dangerous is that its three commercial enterprises offer it a substantial material base enabling it to hire loyal staff and pay them a salary as much as twice that earned by the average worker.⁵ The activities of the Russian Liberation Movement (ROD) have drawn the attention of several. The objectives of this movement are:

- To replace the present government by an exclusively Russian government
- To close the borders
- To grant citizenship to ethnic Russians only
- Create an exclusively Russian militia, security force and mobile military force.

The latter could intervene quickly in case Russian minorities are attacked in other sovereign states of the former Soviet Union. The Republic of Russia they envision would include only Russian territories and exclude those which presently constitute non-Russian republics of the Russian Federation. The use of the swastika as their symbol clearly identifies them as Nazis. In his article on ROD, Murashko warns of the danger of being under the totalitarian rule of an “ambitious nationalist” force.’

Tkachenko, the rise of such movements is an indication of the “revival of animal Basilashvili, a Deputy of the Russian Parliament, wrote an open letter to the St. Petersburg District Attorney which was published in *Smena*. He drew attention to the dramatic increase in the activities of “national-patriotic movements” in St. Petersburg which, among other things, claim that it is sinful to socialize with Jews, who “desire Russian blood.” Basilashvili cited the law which prohibits activities provoking ethnic violence and asked the District Attorney to explain his failure to take measures against the organization.

A number of journalists also ridicule the anti-semitic press. M. Petrov, for instance, analyzes a number of nationalist newspapers, such as *Russkie Vedomosti*, *Russkoe Delo*, *Russkii Vestnik*, *Nasha Rossia*, and *Otechestvo*. *Russkie Vedomosti*, for instance, is ultra-

NOTES



nationalist newspaper published near Moscow. Its editorials include such titles as “The protocols of Zion” and “The Jewish question and its final solution.” Other newspapers discussed in Petrov’s piece publish similar articles. In the popular magazine, Ogonyok, Mark Deich, Radio Liberty’s Moscow correspondent, attacked a number of anti-Semitic newspapers and journals, such as Russkoe Voskresenie, Molodaya Gvardia, Russkoe Delo, Pamyat and Volya Rossii.

Russkoe Delo regularly accuses all Jews of being organized in a Mafia and of being “enemies of the people.” It also mentions that it is not accidental that the February Revolution coincided with the Jewish holiday of Purim and the October Revolution with the birthday of the Jewish leader Trotsky. In Volya Rossii, one Soloukhin openly called for the destruction of all Jews. “The history of the 20th century has clearly pointed out how easily the power of a few mad people over the minds of their fellow-citizens can turn a normal country into a schizophrenic state.

.Unfortunately, our present leaders fail to understand such simple facts while searching for ‘good democratic elements’ in Pamyat. The editors of Ogonyok appealed to the state to take measures against “the plague which poses a threat to unfortunate Russia... we suppress it today we won’t give a new Hitler a chance to emerge.” The voices that have been raised against the spread of nationalism and its mass media are still very few. Until and unless these voices grow louder and force state authorities to respond, anti-semitism and nationalism will offer false solutions to large masses of people who have become disenchanted with their present political leaders.

4.4 FEMINISM

What is Feminism?

Feminism is a strong word that speaks about the rights of women. It is a strong movement enforced to protect women around the world against harassment which has been happening for ages. The feminism essay educates children about the rights of women, and every person should be treated with respect irrespective of gender. It is important for children to know about these values in their childhood as these values will be carried throughout their life.

Features of Feminism

Feminism speaks about the various aspects of rights involved and their protection in the society. It does not deal specifically with the female gender. Feminism is present in various forms, such as:

- **Liberal Feminism:** It deals with women’s freedom and individuality. The main cause for this feminism is women’s rights. The famous liberal feminists who strived for these rights are Abigail Adams and Mary Wollstonecraft.
- **Radical Feminism:** This feminism mainly focuses on the legal rights of women. It is considered that legal liberties are only given to men, and women are always kept away from it.
- **Marxist and Social Feminism:** This speaks about the social rights for women which have been barred because of the capitalist rights that are only for men.

- **Cultural Feminism:** It tries to eradicate radical feminism and allow the acceptance of women in every area.
- **Eco Feminism:** Oppression of patriarchal society in terms of cultural practices are focused on this feminism.

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Negative Side of Feminism

Although feminism has given a beautiful opportunity to many women worldwide, it has created a negative power to some who use it for suppressing others. Feminism has been exploited by many people for their personal uses.

In a scenario, a lady from a rich background has used feminism in the wrong way. She trapped the guy for her personal needs, and when he found out about it, she tried to blackmail him about her women rights and how she could exploit him both personally and professionally. Luckily, he made a secret video footage of the entire event and got saved. These incidents create a misconception about feminism and its real meaning.

Feminism speaks about the equal rights and liberty of both the genders and protection of every human. These rights should be properly used to maintain harmony in the society.

The Women's Day demonstration is often upheld as the main (and even sole) example of women's involvement in the Revolution. Yet, as studies, such as Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar's book *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917*, have shown, women activists and workers played a crucial role throughout 1917. In the months leading up to the October Revolution, for example, working class women and Bolshevik activists staged a number of strikes and demonstrations to protest the continuation of the war and poor working conditions.

During the October Revolution, women soldiers helped to defend the Winter Palace against the Bolsheviks. Women's battalions had been established earlier in 1917 on the authorization of Alexander Kerensky, leader of the Provisional Government, to fight in World War I and to shame men into joining the army. The first, and most famous, of these battalions, the 'Woman's Battalion of Death', was established and led by Maria Bochkareva, an uneducated peasant woman from Siberia.

The engagement of women in combat roles continued on both sides during the Russian civil wars. However, while up to 80,000 women are estimated to have served with the Red Forces, the majority served in support roles as doctors, nurses, telephones and clerks.

Nevertheless, some women did fight for the Red Army in combat roles and even held command positions. One such example is Rozaliia Samoilovna Zemliachka, a senior military commissar on the Southern Front and Northern Front who was nicknamed 'Bloody Rosa' by the British opposition.

As well as participating in combat, a small but significant number of Bolshevik women were appointed as political workers, whose task was to instruct Red Army soldiers on politics. While women also fought in the White Armies, their numbers were considerably smaller and the Whites did not actively recruit women for combat roles.

*SOVIET UNION
DISINTEGRATION
AND THE RISE OF
UNIPOLAR WORLD*



4.5 DISINTEGRATION OF SOVIET UNION AND THE RISE OF THE UNIPOLAR WORLD

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a loose confederation of 15 republics with Russia as the leader. USSR was a strong bloc with great control over global politics from 1922 to 1991, when it was disintegrated into smaller units. In this post let's analyze the reasons and impact of the disintegration of the USSR.

History of USSR

The Russian Revolution of 1917 ended the Russian empire. This was followed by Russian Civil War which finally resulted in the formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) had a total of 15 republics before its disintegration in 1991. Russia was one of the republics. Listing below the member republics in the country:

1. Armenia
2. Azerbaijan
3. Belarus
4. Estonia
5. Georgia
6. Kazakhstan
7. Kyrgyzstan
8. Latvia
9. Lithuania
10. Moldova
11. Russia
12. Tajikistan
13. Turkmenistan
14. Ukraine
15. Uzbekistan



1. Armenia 2. Azerbaijan 3. Belarus 4. Estonia 5. Georgia 6. Kazakhstan 7. Kyrgyzstan 8. Latvia 9. Lithuania
10. Moldova 11. Russia 12. Tajikistan 13. Turkmenistan 14. Ukraine 15. Uzbekistan



The Socialist Bloc or Second World

- USSR ≠ Socialist Bloc.
- Not to be confused with USSR; these are east European countries, which showed allegiance to USSR and socialist/communist principles.
- USSR was the leader of the socialist bloc. (So Socialist bloc is the super set and USSR is the subset, to make it simple)
- Most of these countries were under Fascist rule during Second World War, when USSR liberated them, they came under USSR control.
- Warsaw pact was the military alliance which kept the socialist group together. (Remember – NATO, the military alliance for capitalist countries)

Problems with USSR

- Bureaucratic and authoritarian system.
- Lack of democracy.
- Lack of freedom of speech.
- One party system (communist) – unaccountable to the people.
- Dominance of Russia; neglect of the interests of other republics.
- High expenditure on defense, low on infrastructure and technology.

Disintegration of the USSR: Major Events

- Crisis in the Socialist bloc: People in many east European countries started protest against their own governments and USSR. Without the right intervention from USSR at the right time, communist governments in the second world collapsed one after the other.
- The fall of Berlin Wall: Germany was divided after the Second World War – among the socialist USSR and the capitalist western regimes. The fall of Berlin led to a series of events including the disintegration of the USSR.
- Economic and political reforms in USSR: Gorbachev identified the economic and political problems of USSR, and started a series of reforms, with the intention to revive economy. This was a deviation from the communist policies, and was more closely associated with the market economy. Many communist leaders in USSR opposed reforms initiated by Gorbachev. They encouraged a coup in 1991.

Coup: The coup of 1991

- Opposition against the coup: Boris Yeltsin who won popular election in Russian Republic, protested against the coup and central control of USSR. Freedom for republics became the slogan. Boris Yeltsin and the pluralist movement advocated democratization and rapid economic reforms while the hard-line Communist elite wanted to thwart Gorbachev's reform agenda.
- Power shift from Soviet center to republics: Republics like Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus emerged powerful. They declared that the Soviet Union was disbanded.



PS: The decision to split USSR into independent republics was not a joint one. Central Asian countries wanted to remain inside USSR. But decision was taken against their choice.

Consequences of the disintegration of the USSR

- The fall of second world.
- The period marked the end of many communist regimes in response to mass protests.
- End of cold war: End of arms race, end of ideological confrontations.
- Change in power equations: Unipolar world, capitalist ideology, IMF, World Bank etc.
- Emergence of new countries and new alliance. E.g. Baltic countries aligned with NATO.

The collapse of the second world of the Soviet Union and the socialist systems in Eastern Europe had profound consequences for world politics. Let us note here three broad kinds of enduring changes that resulted from it. Each of these had a number of effects that we cannot list here. First of all, it meant the end of Cold War confrontations. The ideological dispute over whether the socialist system would beat the capitalist system was not an issue any more. Since this dispute had engaged the military of the two blocs, had triggered a massive arms race and accumulation of nuclear weapons, and had led to the existence of military blocs, the end of the confrontation demanded an end to this arms race and a possible new peace.

Second, power relations in world politics changed and, therefore, the relative influence of ideas and institutions also changed. The end of the Cold War left open only two possibilities: either the remaining superpower would dominate and create a unipolar system, or different countries or groups of countries could become important players in the international system, thereby bringing in a multi-polar system where no one power could dominate. As it turned out, the US became the sole superpower. Backed by the power and prestige of the US, the capitalist economy was now the dominant economic system internationally. Institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund became powerful advisors to all these countries since they gave them loans for their transitions to capitalism. Politically, the notion of liberal democracy emerged as the best way to organize political life.

Third, the end of the Soviet bloc meant the emergence of many new countries. All these countries had their own independent aspirations and choices. Some of them, especially the Baltic and east European states, wanted to join the European Union and become part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Central Asian countries wanted to take advantage of their geographical location and continue their close ties with Russia and also to establish ties with the West, the US, China and others. Thus, the international system saw many new players emerge, each with its own identity, interests, and economic and political difficulties. It is to these issues that we now turn.

4.6 FACTORS LEADING TO THE COLLAPSE OF SOVIET COMMUNISM AND THE SOVIET UNION

NOTES



We have seen the highlights of the dramatic events: the disintegration of the USSR, the collapse of the second world and thus the end of cold war. But why did Soviet Union disintegrate? Once the second most powerful country in the world -The Soviet Union, failed to keep it together the units. Was it the ambition of republics inside which led to the disintegration of Soviet Union?

- **Economic Weakness**

The weakness of the economy was the major cause of dissatisfaction among the people in USSR. There was severe shortage of consumer items. The reason for economics weakness was the following.

- Huge military spending.
- Maintenance of satellite states in Easter Europe.
- Maintenance of the Central Asian Republics within the USSR.

- **Political Un-accountability**

The communist party regime (single party rule) for around 70 years turned authoritarian. There was widespread corruption, nepotism and lack of transparency. Gorbachev's decision to allow elections with a multi-party system and create a presidency for the Soviet Union began a slow process of democratization that eventually destabilized Communist control and contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

- **Gorbachev's reforms**

Once people started to enjoy freedom under Micheal Gorbachev's reforms, they demanded more. The demand grew into a big force which turned difficult to control. The people wanted to catch up with the west quickly.

- **Rise of nationalism**

Rise of nationalism among countries like Russia, Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Ukraine, Georgia etc is the most important and immediate cause of disintegration of the USSR. The national feeling was strong among the more prosperous areas in USSR and not in Central Asian republics. Ordinary people

*SOVIET UNION
DISINTEGRATION
AND THE RISE OF
UNIPOLAR WORLD*



among prosperous republics didn't like to pay big price to uplift the backward Central Asian republics.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a loose confederation of 15 republics with Russia as the leader. USSR was a strong bloc with great control over global politics from 1922 to 1991, when it was disintegrated into smaller units. In this post let's analyze the reasons and impact of the disintegration of the USSR.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 ended the Russian empire. This was followed by Russian Civil War which finally resulted in the formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922. The collapse of the second world of the Soviet Union and the socialist systems in Eastern Europe had profound consequences for world politics. Let us note here three broad kinds of enduring changes that resulted from it. Each of these had a number of effects that we cannot list here. First of all, it meant the end of Cold War confrontations.

The Central Asian countries wanted to take advantage of their geographical location and continue their close ties with Russia and also to establish ties with the West, the US, China and others. Thus, the international system saw many new players emerge, each with its own identity, interests, and economic and political difficulties. It is to these issues that we now turn.

4.8 REVIEW QUESTIONS

SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What were the consequences of disintegration of Soviet Union?
2. What do you understand by feminism?
3. What do you understand by the Second World?
4. Name the republics in U.S.S.R. before its disintegration in 1991.
5. Briefly discuss the negative side of feminism.

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Explain the factors that led to the collapse of Soviet Union in detail.
2. Describe the features of feminism in detail.
3. What were the reactions of people in regards to the Birth of the Civil Rights Movement in Russia?
4. Explain the fall of Berlin Wall in detail.
5. Discuss the problems with U.S.S.R.

4.9 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. What is the full form of NATO?
 - a. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - b. North Asian Treaty Organization
 - c. North Austrian Treaty Organ
 - d. None of these

2. **U.S.S.R. had a total of ____ republics before its disintegration in 1991.**
 - a. 11
 - b. 15
 - c. 20
 - d. 17
3. **What is the full form of U.S.S.R.?**
 - a. Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
 - b. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 - c. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 - d. None of these
4. **Which one of the following countries listed below is not a part of U.S.S.R.?**
 - a. Belarus
 - b. Georgia
 - c. Australia
 - d. Latvia
5. **What is the full form of IMF?**
 - a. International Monetary Fund
 - b. Integral Monetary Fund
 - c. International Money Factor
 - d. None of these
6. **_____ is a strong word that speaks about the rights of women.**
 - a. Womanhood
 - b. Feminism
 - c. Entrepreneurship
 - d. None of these
7. **What is the full form of ROD?**
 - a. Russian Liberation March
 - b. Russian Liberation Movement
 - c. Republic Liberation Movement
 - d. None of these
8. **Northern Front who was nicknamed _____ by the British opposition.**
 - a. Reddish light
 - b. Bloody Rosa
 - c. Rose blood
 - d. None of these
9. **_____ tries to eradicate radical feminism and allow the acceptance of women in every area.**
 - a. Cultural Feminism
 - b. Eco Feminism
 - c. Liberal Feminism
 - d. Radical Feminism

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10. _____ Feminism mainly focuses on the legal rights of women.

- a. Cultural
- b. Eco
- c. Liberal
- d. Radical

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NATIONAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 Learning Objective
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Political Changes in Eastern Europe 1989-2001
- 5.4 The US Ascendancy in the World as the Lone Superpower
- 5.5 Globalization and its Impact
- 5.6 Chapter Summary
- 5.7 Review Questions
- 5.8 Multiple Choice Questions



5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After completing this unit, you'll be able to:

- Know about the political changes in Eastern Europe
- Learn about Globalization and its impact

5.2 INTRODUCTION

There are essentially three paradigms in the study of international relations that can be used to predict the future of peace and stability in Europe. The first could be called the 'realist view.' After two world wars, the bipolar order of the Cold War spelled peace and stability in Europe. The decline of Soviet power and its withdrawal from Eastern Europe restores the European multi-polarity of the 19th Century. As a result, we are to expect all kinds of conflicts, instabilities, nationalist and ethnic rivalries. In other words, the New Europe will be a far more dangerous place than the Cold War order, which contained all these grievances. The second vision, the liberal view, posits the opposite of the first.

According to liberal theory, democracies do not go to war against each other, but cooperate and solve their disputes in a peaceful way. Today, the Central Eastern European countries are in transition toward liberal democracies and market economies; the Soviet Union is democratizing, too. Conclusion: the New Europe spells eternal peace and there is no need to worry. A third vision, the institutionalism view, takes a somewhat intermediate position. It recognizes that there will be a lot of problems and conflicts in the New Europe. The transition to prosperous market economies in Eastern Europe will take time; ethnic rivalries that had been frozen under the Cold War structure are now exploding.

These problems need not erupt into violent conflicts, however, but can be dealt with through international institutions. Fortunately, these institutions do not have to be created from scratch in Europe; they already exist. There is the European Community (EC), which deals with the integration of the European economies. There is NATO, which will continue to work as a hedge against the eventuality of a renewed Soviet threat. Finally, there is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the "Helsinki Process," a multilateral institution encompassing all European states, the two superpowers, and Canada.

The Revolutions of 1989 formed part of a revolutionary wave in the late 1980s and early 1990s that resulted in the end of communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond. The period is often also called the Fall of Communism, and sometimes the Fall of Nations or the Autumn of Nations, a play on the term Spring of Nations that is sometimes used to describe the Revolutions of 1848. It also led to the eventual breakup of the Soviet Union—the world's largest communist state—and the abandonment of communist regimes in many parts of the world, some of which were violently overthrown. The events drastically altered the world's balance of power, marking the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the Post-Cold War era.

The earliest recorded protests were started in Kazakhstan, then part of the Soviet Union, in 1986 with the student demonstrations, the last chapter of these revolutions is considered to be in 1993 when Cambodia enacted a new Constitution in which communism was



abandoned. The main region of these revolutions was in Eastern Europe, starting in Poland with the Polish workers' mass strike movement in 1988, and the revolutionary trend continued in Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. On 4 June 1989, the trade union Solidarity won an overwhelming victory in a partially free election in Poland, leading to the peaceful fall of Communism in that country. Also in June 1989, Hungary began dismantling its section of the physical Iron Curtain, while the opening of a border gate between Austria and Hungary in August 1989 set in motion a peaceful chain reaction, in which the Eastern Bloc had disintegrated.

This led to mass demonstrations in the cities such as Leipzig and subsequently to the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, which served as the symbolic gateway to the German reunification in 1990. One feature common to most of these developments was the extensive use of campaigns of civil resistance, demonstrating popular opposition to the continuation of one-party rule and contributing to the pressure for change. Romania was the only country where citizens and opposition forces used violence to overthrow its Communist regime. The Cold War is considered to have "officially" ended on 3 December 1989 during the Malta Summit between the Soviet and American leaders.

The Soviet Union itself became a multi-party semi-presidential republic from March 1990 and held its first presidential election, marking a drastic change as part of its reform program. The Union dissolved by December 1991, resulting in eleven new countries which had declared their independence from the Soviet Union in the course of the year, while the Baltic states regained their independence in September 1991. The rest of the Soviet Union, which constituted the bulk of the area, continued with the establishment of the Russian Federation. Albania and Yugoslavia abandoned communism between 1990 and 1992, and by the end Yugoslavia had split into five new countries. Czechoslovakia dissolved three years after the end of Communist rule, splitting peacefully into the Czech Republic and Slovakia on 1 January 1993.

The impact of these events was felt in many third world socialist states throughout the world. Concurrently with events in Poland, protests in Tiananmen Square (April–June 1989) failed to stimulate major political changes in Mainland China, but influential images of courageous defiance during that protest helped to precipitate events in other parts of the globe. Three Asian countries, namely Afghanistan, Cambodia and Mongolia, had successfully abandoned Communism by 1992–1993, either through reform or conflict. Additionally, eight countries in Africa or its environ had also abandoned it, namely Ethiopia, Angola, Benin, Congo-Brazzaville, Mozambique, Somalia, as well as South Yemen (unified with North Yemen).

The political reforms varied, but in only four countries were Communist parties able to retain a monopoly on power, namely China, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam. However, these countries would later make economic reforms in the coming years to adopt some forms of market economy under market socialism. North Korea would switch from communism and Marxism–Leninism to Juche in 2009. The European political landscape changed drastically, with several former Eastern Bloc countries joining NATO and the European Union, resulting in stronger economic and social integration with Western Europe and North America.

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Many communist and socialist organizations in the West turned their guiding principles over to social democracy and democratic socialism. In contrast, and somewhat later, in South America, a Pink tide began in Venezuela in 1999 and shaped politics in the other parts of the continent through the early 2000s. Meanwhile, in certain countries the aftermath of these revolutions resulted in conflict and wars, including various post-Soviet conflicts that remain frozen to this day as well as large-scale wars, most notably the Yugoslav Wars which led to Europe's first genocide since the Second World War in 1995.

5.3 POLITICAL CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE 1989-2001

NATIONAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Poland

A wave of strikes hit Poland from 21 April then this continued in May 1988. A second wave began on 15 August, when a strike broke out at the July Manifesto coal mine in Jastrzębie-Zdrój, with the workers demanding the re-legalization of the Solidarity trade union. Over the next few days, sixteen other mines went on strike followed by a number of shipyards, including on 22 August the Gdansk Shipyard, famous as the epicentre of the 1980 industrial unrest that spawned Solidarity. On 31 August 1988 Lech Wałęsa, the leader of Solidarity, was invited to Warsaw by the Communist authorities, who had finally agreed to talks.

On 18 January 1989 at a stormy session of the Tenth Plenary Session of the ruling United Workers' Party, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the First Secretary, managed to get party backing for formal negotiations with Solidarity leading to its future legalization, although this was achieved only by threatening the resignation of the entire party leadership if thwarted. On 6 February 1989 formal Round Table discussions began in the Hall of Columns in Warsaw. On 4 April 1989 the historic Round Table Agreement was signed legalizing Solidarity and setting up partly free parliamentary elections to be held on 4 June 1989 (incidentally, the day following the midnight crackdown on Chinese protesters in Tiananmen Square).

A political earthquake followed as the victory of Solidarity surpassed all predictions. Solidarity candidates captured all the seats they were allowed to compete for in the Sejm, while in the Senate they captured 99 out of the 100 available seats (with the one remaining seat taken by an independent candidate). At the same time, many prominent Communist candidates failed to gain even the minimum number of votes required to capture the seats that were reserved for them.

On 15 August 1989, the Communists' two longtime coalition partners, the United People's Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD), broke their alliance with the PZPR and announced their support for Solidarity. The last Communist Prime Minister of Poland, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, said he would resign to allow a non-Communist to form an administration. As Solidarity was the only other political grouping that could possibly form a government, it was virtually assured that a Solidarity member would become prime minister. On 19 August 1989, in a stunning watershed moment, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an anti-communist editor, Solidarity supporter, and devout Catholic, was nominated as



Prime Minister of Poland and the Soviet Union voiced no protest. Five days later, on 24 August 1989, Poland's Parliament ended more than 40 years of one-party rule by making Mazowiecki the country's first non-Communist Prime Minister since the early postwar years.

In a tense Parliament, Mazowiecki received 378 votes, with 4 against and 41 abstentions. On 13 September 1989, a new non-Communist government was approved by parliament, the first of its kind in the Eastern Bloc. On 17 November 1989 the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, Polish founder of the Cheka and symbol of Communist oppression, was torn down in Bank Square, Warsaw. On 29 December 1989 the Sejm amended the constitution to change the official name of the country from the People's Republic of Poland to the Republic of Poland. The communist Polish United Workers' Party dissolved itself on 29 January 1990 and transformed itself into the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

In 1990, Jaruzelski resigned as Poland's president and was succeeded by Wałęsa, who won the 1990 presidential elections held in two rounds on 25 November and 9 December. Wałęsa's inauguration as president on 21 December 1990 is considered by many as the formal end of the Communist People's Republic of Poland and the start of the modern Republic of Poland. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved on 1 July 1991. On 27 October 1991 the first entirely free Polish parliamentary elections since 1945 took place. This completed Poland's transition from Communist Party rule to a Western-style liberal democratic political system. The last Russian troops left Poland on 18 September 1993.

Hungary

Following Poland's lead, Hungary was next to switch to a non-Communist government. Although Hungary had achieved some lasting economic reforms and limited political liberalization during the 1980s, major reforms only occurred following the replacement of János Kádár as General Secretary of the Communist Party on 23 May 1988 with Károly Grósz. On 24 November 1988 Miklós Németh was appointed Prime Minister. On 12 January 1989, the Parliament adopted a "democracy package", which included trade union pluralism; freedom of association, assembly, and the press; a new electoral law; and a radical revision of the constitution, among other provisions.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutions_of_1989 - cite_note-37 On 29 January 1989, contradicting the official view of history held for more than 30 years, a member of the ruling Politburo, Imre Pozsgay, declared that Hungary's 1956 rebellion was a popular uprising rather than a foreign-instigated attempt at counterrevolution.



Magyars demonstrate at state TV headquarters, 15 March 1989

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Mass demonstrations on 15 March, the National Day, persuaded the regime to begin negotiations with the emergent non-Communist political forces. Round Table talks began on 22 April and continued until the Round Table agreement was signed on 18 September. The talks involved the Communists (MSzMP) and the newly emerging independent political forces Fidesz, the Alliance of Free Democrats (SzDSz), the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Hungarian People's Party, the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, and the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers. At a later stage the Democratic Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) were invited. At these talks a number of Hungary's future political leaders emerged, including László Sólyom, József Antall, György Szabád, Péter Tölgyessy and Viktor Orbán.

On 2 May 1989, the first visible cracks in the Iron Curtain appeared when Hungary began dismantling its 240-kilometre (150 mi) long border fence with Austria. This increasingly destabilized East Germany and Czechoslovakia over the summer and autumn, as thousands of their citizens illegally crossed over to the West through the Hungarian-Austrian border. On 1 June 1989 the Communist Party admitted that former Prime Minister Imre Nagy, hanged for treason for his role in the 1956 Hungarian uprising, was executed illegally after a show trial. On 16 June 1989 Nagy was given a solemn funeral on Budapest's largest square in front of crowds of at least 100,000, followed by a hero's burial.

The initially inconspicuous opening of a border gate of the Iron Curtain between Austria and Hungary in August 1989 then triggered a chain reaction, at the end of which the GDR no longer existed and the Eastern Bloc had disintegrated. It was the largest escape movement from East Germany since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961. The idea of opening the border came from Otto von Habsburg and was brought up by him to Miklós Németh, who promoted the idea. The local organization in Sopron took over the Hungarian Democratic Forum; the other contacts were made via Habsburg and Imre Pozsgay. Extensive advertising for the planned picnic was made by posters and flyers among the GDR holidaymakers in Hungary. The Austrian branch of the Paneuropean Union, which was then headed by Karl von Habsburg, distributed thousands of brochures inviting them to a picnic near the border at Sopron.

After the pan-European picnic, Erich Honecker dictated the Daily Mirror of 19 August 1989: "Habsburg distributed leaflets far into Poland, on which the East German holidaymakers were invited to a picnic. When they came to the picnic, they were given gifts, food and Deutsche Mark, and then they were persuaded to come to the West." But with the mass exodus at the Pan-European Picnic, the subsequent hesitant behavior of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany and the non-intervention of the Soviet Union broke the dams. Now tens of thousands of the media-informed East Germans made their way to Hungary, which was no longer ready to keep its borders completely closed or to oblige its border troops to use force of arms. In particular, the leadership of the GDR in East Berlin no longer dared to completely block the borders of their own country.

The Round Table agreement of 18 September encompassed six draft laws that covered an overhaul of the Constitution, establishment of a Constitutional Court, the functioning and



management of political parties, multiparty elections for National Assembly deputies, the penal code and the law on penal procedures (the last two changes represented an additional separation of the Party from the state apparatus). The electoral system was a compromise: about half of the deputies would be elected proportionally and half by the majoritarian system. A weak presidency was also agreed upon, but no consensus was attained on who should elect the president (parliament or the people) and when this election should occur (before or after parliamentary elections).

On 7 October 1989, the Communist Party at its last congress re-established itself as the Hungarian Socialist Party. In a historic session from 16 to 20 October, the parliament adopted legislation providing for a multi-party parliamentary election and a direct presidential election, which took place on 24 March 1990. The legislation transformed Hungary from a People's Republic into the Republic of Hungary, guaranteed human and civil rights, and created an institutional structure that ensured separation of powers among the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of government. On 23 October 1989, on the 33rd anniversary of the 1956 Revolution, the Communist regime in Hungary was formally abolished. The Soviet military occupation of Hungary, which had persisted since World War II, ended on 19 June 1991.

East Germany

On 2 May 1989, Hungary started dismantling its barbed-wire border with Austria. The border was still heavily guarded, but it was a political sign. The Pan-European Picnic in August 1989 finally started a movement that could not be stopped by the rulers in the Eastern Bloc. It was the largest escape movement from East Germany since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961. The patrons of the picnic, Otto von Habsburg and the Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay saw the planned event as an opportunity to test the reaction of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Eastern Bloc countries to a large opening of the border including flight. After the pan-European picnic, Erich Honecker dictated the Daily Mirror of 19 August 1989: "Habsburg distributed leaflets far into Poland, on which the East German holidaymakers were invited to a picnic.

When they came to the picnic, they were given gifts, food, and Deutsche Mark, and then they were persuaded to come to the West." But with the mass exodus at the Pan-European Picnic, the subsequent hesitant behavior of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany and the non-intervention of the Soviet Union broke the dams. Now tens of thousands of the media-informed East Germans made their way to Hungary, which was no longer ready to keep its borders completely closed or to oblige its border troops to use force of arms.

By the end of September 1989, more than 30,000 East Germans had escaped to the West before the GDR denied travel to Hungary, leaving Czechoslovakia as the only neighboring state to which East Germans could escape. Thousands of East Germans tried to reach the West by occupying the West German diplomatic facilities in other Central and Eastern European capitals, notably the Prague Embassy and the Hungarian Embassy, where thousands camped in the muddy garden from August to November waiting for German political reform. The GDR closed the border to Czechoslovakia on 3 October, thereby isolating itself from all its neighbors. Having been shut off from their last chance for escape,

NOTES



an increasing number of East Germans participated in the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig on 4, 11, and 18 September, each attracting 1,200 to 1,500 demonstrators. Many were arrested and beaten, but the people refused to be intimidated. On 25 September, the protests attracted 8,000 demonstrators.

After the fifth successive Monday demonstration in Leipzig on 2 October attracted 10,000 protesters, Socialist Unity Party (SED) leader Erich Honecker issued a shoot and kill order to the military. Communists prepared a huge police, militia, Stasi, and work-combat troop presence, and there were rumors a Tiananmen Square-style massacre was being planned for the following Monday's demonstration on 9 October.

On 6 and 7 October, Mikhail Gorbachev visited East Germany to mark the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, and urged the East German leadership to accept reform. A famous quote of his is rendered in German as "Wer zu spät kommt, den bestraft das Leben" ("The one who comes too late is punished by life."). However, Honecker remained opposed to internal reform, with his regime even going so far as forbidding the circulation of Soviet publications that it viewed as subversive.

In spite of rumors that the Communists were planning a massacre on 9 October, 70,000 citizens demonstrated in Leipzig that Monday and the authorities on the ground refused to open fire. The following Monday, 16 October 120,000 people demonstrated on the streets of Leipzig. Erich Honecker had hoped that the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR by the Warsaw Pact would restore the communist government and suppress the civilian protests. By 1989 the Soviet government deemed it impractical for the Soviet Union to continue asserting its control over the Eastern Bloc, so it took a neutral stance regarding the events happening in East Germany.

Soviet troops stationed in Eastern Europe were under strict instructions from the Soviet leadership not to intervene in the political affairs of the Eastern Bloc nations and remained in their barracks. Faced with ongoing civil unrest, the SED deposed Honecker on 18 October and replaced him with the number-two-man in the regime, Egon Krenz. However, the demonstrations kept growing, and on Monday, 23 October, the Leipzig protesters numbered 300,000 and remained as large the following week.



Berlin Wall at the Brandenburg Gate, 10th November 1989



The border to Czechoslovakia was opened again on 1 November, and the Czechoslovak authorities soon let all East Germans travel directly to West Germany without further bureaucratic ado, thus lifting their part of the Iron Curtain on 3 November. On 4 November the authorities decided to authorize a demonstration in Berlin and were faced with the Alexanderplatz demonstration, where half a million citizens converged on the capital demanding freedom in the biggest protest the GDR ever witnessed. Unable to stem the ensuing flow of refugees to the West through Czechoslovakia, the East German authorities eventually caved in to public pressure by allowing East German citizens to enter West Berlin and West Germany directly, via existing border points, on 9 November 1989, without having properly briefed the border guards.

Triggered by the erratic words of regime spokesman Günter Schabowski in a TV press conference, stating that the planned changes were in effect “immediately, without delay,” hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of the opportunity. The guards were quickly overwhelmed by the growing crowds of people demanding to be let out into West Berlin. After receiving no feedback from their superiors, the guards, unwilling to use force, relented and opened the gates to West Berlin. Soon new crossing points were forced open in the Berlin Wall by the people, and sections of the wall were literally torn down. The guards were unaware of what was happening and stood by as the East Germans took to the wall with hammers and chisels.



Berlin Wall, October 1990, saying "Thank You, Gorbi"

On 7 November, the entire Ministerrat der DDR (State Council of East Germany), including its chairman Willi Stoph, resigned. A new government was formed under a considerably more liberal Communist, Hans Modrow. On 1 December, the Volkskammer removed the SED's leading role from the constitution of the GDR. On 3 December Krenz resigned as leader of the SED; he resigned as head of state three days later. On 7 December, Round Table talks opened between the SED and other political parties. On 16 December 1989, the SED was dissolved and refounded as the SED-PDS, abandoning Marxism–Leninism and becoming a mainstream democratic socialist party.

On 15 January 1990, the Stasi's headquarters was stormed by protesters. Modrow became the de facto leader of East Germany until free elections were held on 18 March 1990—the first since November 1932. The SED, renamed the Party of Democratic Socialism, was heavily defeated. Lothar de Maizière of the East German Christian Democratic Union became Prime Minister on 4 April 1990 on a platform of speedy reunification with

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the West. The two Germanies were reunified into one nation on 3 October 1990 (for the first time after more 45 years since Potsdam Agreement on 1 August 1945).

The Kremlin's willingness to abandon such a strategically vital ally marked a dramatic change by the Soviet superpower and a fundamental paradigm shift in international relations, which until 1989 had been dominated by the East–West divide running through Berlin itself. The last Russian troops left the territory of the former GDR, now part of a reunited Federal Republic of Germany, on 1 September 1994.

Czechoslovakia

The “Velvet Revolution” was a non-violent transition of power in Czechoslovakia from the Communist government to a parliamentary republic. On 17 November 1989, riot police suppressed a peaceful student demonstration in Prague, a day after a similar demonstration passed without incident in Bratislava. Although controversy continues over whether anyone died that night, that event sparked a series of popular demonstrations from 19 November to late December. By 20 November the number of peaceful protesters assembled in Prague had swelled from 200,000 the previous day to an estimated half-million. Five days later, the Letná Square protest held 800,000 people. On 24 November, the entire Communist Party leadership, including general secretary Miloš Jakeš, resigned. A two-hour general strike, involving all citizens of Czechoslovakia, was successfully held on 27 November.

With the collapse of other Communist governments, and increasing street protests, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia announced on 28 November 1989 that it would relinquish power and dismantle the single-party state. Barbed wire and other obstructions were removed from the border with West Germany and Austria in early December. On 10 December, President Gustáv Husák appointed the first largely non-Communist government in Czechoslovakia since 1948 and resigned. Alexander Dubček was elected speaker of the federal parliament on 28 December and Václav Havel the President of Czechoslovakia on 29 December 1989. In June 1990 Czechoslovakia held its first democratic elections since 1946. On 27 June 1991 the last Soviet troops were withdrawn from Czechoslovakia.

Bulgaria

In October and November 1989, demonstrations on ecological issues were staged in Sofia, where demands for political reform were also voiced. The demonstrations were suppressed, but on 10 November 1989 (the day after the Berlin Wall was breached) Bulgaria's long-serving leader Todor Zhivkov was ousted by his Politburo. He was succeeded by a considerably more liberal Communist, former foreign minister Petar Mladenov. Moscow apparently approved the leadership change, as Zhivkov had been opposed to Gorbachev's policies. The new regime immediately repealed restrictions on free speech and assembly, which led to the first mass demonstration on 17 November, as well as the formation of anti-communist movements.

Nine of them united as the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) on 7 December. The UDF was not satisfied with Zhivkov's ouster, and demanded additional democratic reforms, most importantly the removal of the constitutionally mandated leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mladenov announced on 11 December 1989 that the Communist Party would abandon its monopoly on power, and that multiparty elections would be held the following year. In February 1990, the Bulgarian legislature deleted the portion of the constitution about the “leading role” of the Communist Party. Eventually, it was decided that a round table on the Polish model would be held in 1990 and elections held by June 1990. The round table took place from 3 January to 14 May 1990, at which an agreement was reached on the transition to democracy. The Communist Party abandoned Marxism–Leninism on 3 April 1990 and renamed itself as the Bulgarian Socialist Party. In June 1990 the first free elections since 1931 were held, won by the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Romania

Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák’s resignation on 10 December 1989 amounted to the fall of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, leaving Ceauşescu’s Romania as the only remaining hard-line Communist regime in the Warsaw Pact. After having suppressed the Braşov Rebellion in 1987, Nicolae Ceauşescu was re-elected for another five years as leader of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) in November 1989, signalling that he intended to ride out the anti-communist uprisings sweeping the rest of Europe. As Ceauşescu prepared to go on a state visit to Iran, his Securitate ordered the arrest and exile of a local Hungarian Calvinist minister, László Tőkés, on 16 December, for sermons offending the regime. Tőkés was seized, but only after serious rioting erupted. Timişoara was the first city to react on 16 December and civil unrest continued for five days.



Armed civilians during
the Romanian Revolution.

The revolution was the only violent overthrow of a Communist state in the Warsaw Pact. Returning from Iran, Ceauşescu ordered a mass rally in his support outside Communist Party headquarters in Bucharest on 21 December. However, to his shock, the crowd booed and jeered him as he spoke. Years of repressed dissatisfaction boiled to the surface throughout the Romanian populace and even among elements in Ceauşescu’s own government, and the demonstrations spread throughout the country.

At first, the security forces obeyed Ceauşescu’s orders to shoot protesters. However, on the morning of 22 December, the Romanian military suddenly changed sides. This came

NOTES



after it was announced that defense minister Vasile Milea had committed suicide after being unmasked as a traitor. Believing Milea had actually been murdered, the rank-and-file soldiers went over virtually en masse to the revolution. Army tanks began moving towards the Central Committee building with crowds swarming alongside them. The rioters forced open the doors of the Central Committee building in an attempt to capture Ceaușescu and his wife, Elena, coming within a few meters of the couple. However, they managed to escape via a helicopter waiting for them on the roof of the building.

Although elation followed the flight of the Ceaușescus, uncertainty surrounded their fate. On Christmas Day, Romanian television showed the Ceaușescus facing a hasty trial, and then being executed by firing squad. An interim National Salvation Front Council led by Ion Iliescu took over and announced elections for April 1990, the first free elections held in Romania since 1937. These were, however, postponed until 20 May 1990.

The Romanian Revolution was the bloodiest of the revolutions of 1989: over 1,000 people died, one hundred of which were children, the youngest only one month old. Unlike its kindred parties in the Warsaw Pact, the PCR simply melted away; no present-day Romanian party claiming to be its successor has ever been elected to the legislature since the change of system. However, former PCR members have played significant roles in post-1989 Romanian politics; every Romanian President until the election of Klaus Iohannis in 2014 was a former Communist Party member.

The years following the disposal of Ceaușescu were not free of conflict, and a series of “Mineriads” organized by dissatisfied Jiu Valley miners occurred. The June 1990 Mineriad turned deadly after university students, the “Golaniads”, held a month’s long protest against the participation of ex-PCR and Securitate members in the 1990 Romanian general election. President Ion Iliescu branded the protesters “hooligans” and called the miners to “defend Romanian democracy”. Over 10,000 miners were transported to Bucharest and in the ensuing clashes, seven protesters died and hundreds more were injured, although media estimates on the casualty figures were much higher.

Yugoslavia

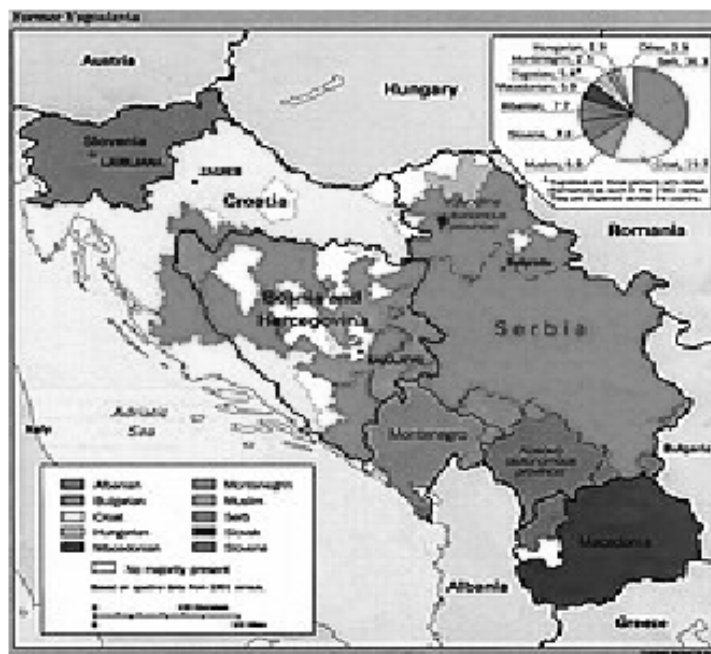
The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was not a part of the Warsaw Pact but pursued its own version of Communism under Josip Broz Tito. It was a multi-ethnic state which Tito was able to maintain through a Yugoslav patriotic doctrine of “Brotherhood and unity”. Tensions between ethnicities began to escalate, however, with the Croatian Spring of 1970–71, a movement for greater Croatian autonomy, which was suppressed. Constitutional changes were instituted in 1974, and the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution devolved some federal powers to the constituent republics and provinces. After Tito’s death in 1980 ethnic tensions grew, first in Albanian-majority SAP Kosovo with the 1981 protests in Kosovo.

Parallel to the same process, Slovenia initiated a policy of gradual liberalization in 1984, somewhat similar to the Soviet Perestroika. This provoked tensions between the League of Communists of Slovenia and the central Yugoslav Party and federal army. In 1984 the decade long ban to build the Saint Sava Cathedral in Belgrade was lifted, the backdown of the communist elite and a popular gathering of 100,000 believers on 12 May 1985 to celebrate

liturgy inside the walls of the ruins marked the return of religion in postwar Yugoslavia. By the late 1980s, many civil society groups were pushing towards democratization, while widening the space for cultural plurality.

In 1987 and 1988, a series of clashes between the emerging civil society and the Communist regime culminated with the so-called Slovene Spring, a mass movement for democratic reforms. The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights was established as the platform of all major non-Communist political movements. By early 1989, several anti-communist political parties were already openly functioning, challenging the hegemony of the Slovenian Communists. Soon, the Slovenian Communists, pressured by their own civil society, came into conflict with the Serbian Communist leadership.

In January 1990, an extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was called in order to settle the disputes among its constituent parties. Faced with being completely outnumbered, the Slovenian and Croatian Communists walked out of the Congress on 23 January 1990, thus effectively bringing to an end to Yugoslavia's communist party. Both parties of the two western republics negotiated free multi-party elections with their own opposition movements



Ethnic groups in Yugoslavia in 1991

On 8 April 1990, the democratic and anti-Yugoslav DEMOS coalition won the elections in Slovenia, while on 22 April 1990 the Croatian elections resulted in a landslide victory for the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) led by Franjo Tuđman. The results were much more balanced in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Macedonia in November 1990, while the parliamentary and presidential elections of December 1990 in Serbia and Montenegro consolidated the power of Milošević and his supporters. Free elections on the level of the federation were never carried out.

NOTES 

*NATIONAL POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS IN
EASTERN EUROPE*

NOTES



The Slovenian and Croatian leaderships started preparing plans for secession from the federation, while a part of the Serbs of Croatia started the so-called Log Revolution, an insurrection organized by Serbia that would lead to the creation of the breakaway region of SAO Krajina. In the Slovenian independence referendum on 23 December 1990, 88.5% of residents voted for independence. In the Croatian independence referendum on 19 May 1991, 93.24% voted for independence.

The escalating ethnic and national tensions were exacerbated by the drive for independence and led to the following Yugoslav wars:

- War in Slovenia (1991)
- Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995)
- Bosnian War (1992–1995)
- Kosovo War (1998–1999), including the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

In addition, the insurgency in the Prešovo Valley (1999–2001) and the insurgency in the Republic of Macedonia (2001) are also often discussed in the same context.

EASTERN EUROPE BREAKS AWAY

By 1989, the Soviet alliance system was on the brink of collapse, and, deprived of Soviet military support, the communist leaders of the Warsaw Pact states were losing power. Grassroots organizations, such as Poland's Solidarity movement, rapidly gained ground with strong popular bases.

The Pan-European Picnic in August 1989 in Hungary finally started a peaceful movement that the rulers in the Eastern Bloc could not stop. It was the largest movement of refugees from East Germany since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961 and ultimately brought about the fall of the Iron Curtain. The patrons of the picnic, Otto von Habsburg and the Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, saw the planned event as an opportunity to test Mikhail Gorbachev's reaction. The Austrian branch of the Paneuropean Union, which was then headed by Karl von Habsburg, distributed thousands of brochures inviting the GDR holidaymakers in Hungary to a picnic near the border at Sopron.

But with the mass exodus at the Pan-European Picnic the subsequent hesitant behavior of the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany and the non-interference of the Soviet Union broke the dams. Now tens of thousands of media-informed East Germans made their way to Hungary, which was no longer willing to keep its borders completely closed or to oblige its border troops to use armed force. On the one hand, this caused disagreement among the Eastern European states and, on the other hand, it was clear to the Eastern European population that the governments no longer had absolute power.

In 1989, the communist governments in Poland and Hungary became the first to negotiate the organization of competitive elections. In Czechoslovakia and East Germany, mass protests unseated entrenched communist leaders. The communist regimes in Bulgaria and Romania also crumbled, in the latter case as the result of a violent uprising. Attitudes had changed enough that US Secretary of State James Baker suggested that the American government would not be opposed to Soviet intervention in Romania, on behalf of the opposition, to prevent bloodshed.

The tidal wave of change culminated with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, which symbolized the collapse of European communist governments and graphically ended the Iron Curtain divide of Europe. The 1989 revolutionary wave swept across Central and Eastern Europe and peacefully overthrew all of the Soviet-style Marxist-Leninist states: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria; Romania was the only Eastern-bloc country to topple its communist regime violently and execute its head of state.

5.4 THE US ASCENDANCY IN THE WORLD AS THE LONE SUPERPOWER

The period after the end of the Second World War saw the emergence of the United States as the pre-eminent military and economic power in the world. Every part of the world came under the purview of US interests. The US also viewed herself as a great “moral force” in the world. Many Americans liked to think that the period in which they were living could quite legitimately be described as the “American Century”.



With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US became the only superpower in the world.

Economic Supremacy:

The Second World War had done no damage to the US economy. In fact, the problems created by the Great Depression had been overcome during the war. The post-war period was one of unprecedented economic prosperity. From 1940 to 1987, the GNP rose from about \$ 100 billion to about \$ 5,200 billion while the population rose from about 132 million to about 240 million. The affluence of the American people was reflected in the growth of what is usually described as “consumer culture” or “consumerism”.

There was an unprecedented growth in the production and consumption of a huge variety of consumption goods. The motor car became a symbol of this consumer culture. Every technological innovation, minor or major, made the existing product obsolete and worthless. The US was able to sustain this “consumerism” because of her own vast natural resources as well as the control she exercised over a variety of natural resources of many other parts of the world.

The growth of economy was, as in the earlier periods, accompanied by the growing centralization of the economy. Most of the economy was controlled by a relatively small



NOTES



number of companies and corporations. There was tremendous increase in the growth of industries connected with armaments and a huge amount of government funds were spent for procuring defense equipment which benefited a few big corporations.

The growing “interfusion” of the military and the industry in peace time alarmed many Americans and Eisenhower, the US President, while laying down office in January 1961, warned the country against “the acquisition of unwarrantable influence ... by the military-industrial complex”.

In the US, the relationship between political leaders and higher levels of government bureaucracy and the military establishment, and the corporations and big financial institutions has been closer than in most other democratic countries with capitalist economies.

Very often, the government, when faced with a deficit, resorted to cuts on expenditure in medical care and other social welfare programmes, rather than increase taxes on the corporations. During recent years, there has been a decline in the economic supremacy of the United States. From 1948 to 1952, the US had provided about \$ 12 billion to the countries of Western Europe under the European Recovery Plan, popularly known as the Marshall Plan after the name of the then US Secretary of State.

This plan had helped the European economies to recover to their pre-war levels within a very short period. In the following years, the economies of West European countries developed at a very fast rate. Japan also emerged as a major economic power in the world and Japanese goods began to compete with US goods not only in the world market but also in the US domestic market.

The decline in US pre-eminence would be clear from the data on industrial production. In 1950, the US share of world industrial production was more than 60 per cent; in 1980, it was about 45 per cent. Western Europe and Japan have become the major economic rivals to the United States.

The US faith in her world supremacy had been first shaken when in 1957 the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik, its first satellite in space. This was followed three years later by the first Soviet manned flight in space.

These ‘shocks’ led to vigorous efforts in areas in which the US thought she had been surpassed by the Soviet Union. Vast resources were made available to the space research programme. The US made a great achievement when two US astronauts landed and walked on the surface of the moon in 1969.

Anti-Communist Hysteria:

The Cold War had a vitiating influence on life in the US for many years. There emerged in the US a “paranoiac obsession” with “godless communism”. The anti-communist and anti-radical hysteria led to branding every opinion which did not conform to the US view of the Cold War as ‘un-American’ and subversive.

During the presidency of Truman (1945—52), the loyalty of government officials was investigated and thousands of people were thrown out of jobs. Thousands of school,

college and university teachers were dismissed from their jobs for teaching what were considered “un-American” ideas.

Many film writers and producers were jailed and many blacklisted and debarred from employment in Hollywood for refusing to disclose their past communist connections. The anti-radical hysteria continued for some years during the presidency of Eisenhower who was elected president twice, in 1952 and 1956.

In 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed on charges of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, in spite of protests and appeals from all over the world. J. Robert Oppenheimer, popularly known as the father of the atom bomb (he had been the head of the US Atomic Bomb project), was denied security clearance.

He had opposed the Hydrogen Bomb project and was accused of having concealed his past connections with communists. The leader of this crusade against communism within the United States was Senator Joseph McCarthy.

From 1950 to 1954, he is described as having “terrorized American public life” by branding many innocent people as traitors and leveling accusations even against the State Department and the military of harboring “traitors”. He himself was disgraced in 1954 and there was a gradual decline in the hysteria even though most victims of the hysteria were not rehabilitated.

Foreign Interventions:

The ‘containment’ of communism remained the objective of US foreign policy for most of the period after the Second World War. The US policy in Latin America continued more or less as before and the US either sent her troops or actively aided rebels to overthrow regimes in many Latin American countries which she suspected of being leftists and, therefore, anti-American.

John F. Kennedy, who was elected US President in 1960, inaugurated a period of new dynamism in US domestic policy. However, it was during his presidency that the US began to get directly involved in the war in Vietnam, the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs took place and the confrontation on Soviet missiles in Cuba occurred.

A major peace initiative was taken in 1963 when the US President Kennedy and the Soviet Union Premier Khrushchev signed a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in the outer space and underwater. President Kennedy was assassinated on 22 November 1963.

The man who was believed to be his lone assassin was killed soon after while in police custody and millions of people saw this act of killing on their television screens as it took place. Later, doubts were raised about the view upheld by a judicial commission that there was only one person behind the killing of President Kennedy.

The war in Vietnam ended in the ignominious defeat of the US. The war had begun to escalate during the period when Lyndon Johnson was the US President (1963-69). It was further escalated during the presidency of Richard Nixon (1969-74).



NOTES



Cambodia was bombed and the government of Cambodia was overthrown, and a pro-US government under a military general was installed there. The US had also extended the war to Laos, the third country of Indo- China.

President Nixon started the process of normalizing relations with China and China was admitted to the United Nations in 1971. In 1972, Nixon went to China. The SALT talks referred to earlier were started with the Soviet Union. In 1973, the US agreed to end the war in Vietnam and to withdraw her troops.

However, the war continued for another two years and ended when the North Vietnamese troops and the troops of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam entered Saigon, the capital of the pro-US regime in South Vietnam, in April 1975, soon after the last US planes and helicopters had left the city.

The war in Vietnam came to an end after Nixon had resigned as president after a major scandal popularly known as the Watergate scandal. He had been re-elected president in 1972 but was soon after accused of serious charges of corruption, and of authorizing planting of spying devices and stealing of files from the office of the Democratic Party. Although he claimed that he was not a crook, he was faced with the prospect of impeachment and resigned.

The US support to many unpopular regimes sometimes created problems for the US and led to acts which were illegal under US law. The US had long supported and sustained the regimes of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Jean-Claude Duvalier, commonly referred to as Papa Doc, in Haiti.

But these regimes became so unpopular that the US had to support the overthrow of these dictators. In the case of Iran, the US first took an adventurous step which ended in a fiasco and later US officials had dealings with Iran which according to her own laws were illegal.

In 1979, the Shah of Iran who was one of the most important supporters of the US in Asia fled the country following a revolution in Iran. The government of Iran asked the US to hand over the Shah, who had come to the US for treatment.

The Iranian government wanted to put the Shah on trial. On the refusal of the US, the Iranians held many Americans as hostages. In April 1980, Jimmy Carter who had become president in 1977 sent US commandos to rescue the hostages.

The commando action ended in disaster. The hostages were finally released in early 1981 when the US returned the Iranian assets in US banks which had been frozen by the US government earlier. In the 1980s, during the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981-88), a major scandal broke out. High US officials had entered into illegal deals to support the rebels against the government of Nicaragua. These officials were believed to have entered into the illegal deals with the approval of the president.

In 1989, when George Bush was the president (1989-92), US troops were sent to Panama. General Noriega who ruled Panama was overthrown and brought to the US to stand trial on charges of drug trafficking. In 1991, supported by the troops of some other countries, the US went to war against Iraq following the occupation of Kuwait by the latter.



The war which was authorized by the United Nations led to the ending of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Through the US-led troops were victorious, Iraq was not occupied. However, the war had serious consequences for the people of Iraq.

Many restrictions were imposed on Iraq, including restrictions on the sale of oil, which was the only export commodity available there. In 2003, Iraq was again invaded, this time on the pretext of developing weapons of mass destruction, by the US and its allies, and has since been under US occupation.

Poverty:

An issue which succeeding administrations in the US have had to contend with is the persistence of poverty. In the most prosperous country of the world, about 15 per cent of the population (over 30 million people) was officially classified as poor in the 1980s.

The incidence of poverty in different 'racial' groups reflected the continuing 'racial' inequality in US society. In the 1980s, about 33 per cent of African Americans, about 20 per cent Hispanics (or Spanish-speaking inhabitants and immigrants from Mexico, Puerto Rico, etc.) and 12 per cent Whites in the US were poor. Homelessness in urban areas has been another major issue.

Civil Rights Movement:

The issue which rocked the US for over a quarter century after the end of the war and continues to be a major issue is of racial equality. We have discussed the oppression of the African American people and their movement for equality in the period before the Second World War.

A powerful civil rights movement arose in the 1950s which, during the following two decades, achieved significant success. The major objectives of this movement were the ending of segregation and discrimination against the African American people, the exercise of the right to vote by them and the ending of their poverty. Even the US armed forces had been following the policy of segregation. This was ended during the presidency of Truman.

In the southern states of the US, schools, colleges and universities, buses and trains, cafes, hotels, theatres and other public places, were all segregated. Black people were not allowed to even register as voters. In 1896, the Supreme Court had legalized segregation and had put forward the doctrine of "separate but equal". In 1954, the US Supreme Court rejected that doctrine and said: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal' has no place.

Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". This led to efforts by African American children to gain admission to schools which were all-White. These efforts were sought to be put down by force by governors of some states. In 1957, 17 Black children were selected for admission to a school in the town of Little Rock in Arkansas.

The governor of the state posted guards outside the school to prevent them from entering the school. The federal government was then forced to send 1000 paratroopers to Little Rock to prevent the governor and the state guards from violating the law.

NOTES



These paratroopers stayed there for the entire duration of the school year. A similar development took place in 1962 when an African American student was admitted to the University of Mississippi. The most powerful leader of the civil rights movement was Martin Luther King. Deeply influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, he launched a movement of non-violent protest against the segregation of African Americans.

The protest began in Montgomery in the state of Alabama where the African American people started a boycott of buses. The bus companies had to yield and ended segregation in buses. The movement extended to other areas and took new forms.

In restaurants, for example, 'sit-ins' was started. People would go to the segregated restaurants and ask to be served and on being refused, would continue to sit there. Students played a very significant role in this movement. Groups of them, both African Americans and Whites, went on what came to be called "freedom rides" to non-violently protest against racial segregation and discrimination.

A powerful movement was also launched for the registration of African Americans as voters. The participants in these movements suffered tremendous hardships and even physical injuries at the hands of police and white hoodlums. There were many killings. The famous song "We shall overcome" was the theme song of these freedom riders.

In 1963, a huge mass rally was organized near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC. It was at this rally that Martin Luther King made his stirring "I have a dream" speech. In the following years, much legislation on civil rights was passed which helped in establishing civil rights as legal rights.

However, the legal rights by themselves were not very effective and the civil rights movement increasingly became a radical movement. Many civil rights leaders also became actively involved in the anti-war movement. A militant

Black movement called Black Power also began to gain ground. In 1968, Martin Luther King was assassinated. The assassination sparked off race riots in many cities of the US. Martin Luther King was posthumously awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding. Similar movements have also arisen among the American Indians who number about 2 million and the Hispanics whose population is about 22 million.

Anti-War Movement:

New radical groups began to emerge in the US in the 1960s, mainly among the youth and the intellectuals. A major factor behind their rise was the Vietnam War which had created a powerful anti-war movement. There were anti-war demonstrations in universities. Thousands of students refused to be drafted into the army. Many fled to Canada and other countries.

There were many incidents of violence in university campuses and in many places the police resorted to the use of brute force in suppressing these demonstrations. In one university, the Kent State University, four students were killed by the police. The new radical groups, later, increasingly concerned themselves with various global issues such as peace, disarmament and environmental protection.

5.5 GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT

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What is globalization?

By definition, globalization is the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale. In simple terms, globalization is the catch-all term for the process by which items and people move across borders. From goods and services to money and technology, globalization promotes and speeds up how we move and exchange things across the world.

What is the history of globalization?

From ancient trade routes to the formation of international organizations, the exchange of ideas and trade has, in one way or another, existed as long as us. There is some debate about what stage in history we should call the beginning of globalization. Some believe that globalization has been around since human migratory routes were formed (as early as the 1st century BC). Certainly, humans have been trading goods forever, but when it comes to moving goods across borders, the creation of the Silk Road is widely acknowledged to be one of the earliest large-scale examples of globalization.

The Silk Road was a trade route between China and Europe which saw Chinese goods being sold in Europe for the first time. From spices to silk, early global trade routes thrived over land and sea into the 14th century, but it was at the end of the 15th century when global trade truly took off in the Age of Discovery. During this time, European explorers linked the East and West and discovered the Americas, and now common-place foods like potatoes, tomatoes, coffee, and chocolate became available in Europe.

Whilst these early examples certainly introduced the world to global trade, it is the Industrial Revolution that historians truly regard as the beginning of globalization as we know it today. **The Industrial Revolution and Globalization** Steamships and trains made the trading of goods faster, and technological advancements meant during the Industrial Revolution, Britain were making textile, iron and manufactured goods that were in-demand all over the world. After the World Wars, many countries wanted to remove long standing trade barriers and encourage free trade, as well as set up global organizations.

What are the different types of globalization?

Despite the common understanding of globalization as a solely economic or financial concept, globalization relates to our lives in a wide variety of ways. Ideas and traditions from around the world are traded as cultural globalization, and we fly from country to country freely due to geographical globalization.

Examples of Globalization

Globalization is more than just the global exchange of money, technology and goods. Below are some examples of different types of globalization.

- **Economic globalization**

The ongoing development of processes, seizing of opportunities, and solving of the challenges of economic activity around the world. Examples include the spread of capitalism, an increase in market trading and exports, and the forming of global economic policies.

*NATIONAL POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS IN
EASTERN EUROPE*



- **Cultural globalization**
The sharing and trading of cultural beliefs, traditions, and ideas. Examples of this include the rise of K-Pop (Korean pop music).
- **Digital globalization**
The sharing of data and information on digital platforms that speeds up and improves how we connect to people around the world. Examples include big tech platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.
- **Financial globalization**
The rise in global financial systems and the exchanging of money globally. Examples include the global stock market, which relies on the economy as a whole and where a decline in one market has a knock-on effect on others.
- **Geographic globalization**
The ever-changing organization of different regions and countries around the world. Examples include the sharing of visas between certain countries which enable people to work, live, and travel easily in countries other than their own.
- **Political globalization**
The development and influence of international organizations which decide on actions and laws at an international level. Examples of such organizations include the European Union, the UN, and even the World Health Organization.
- **Ecological globalization**
Refers to the growing movement towards seeing the Earth (and its upkeep) as a single entity of which we must all be responsible. Examples include the COP26 summit which saw countries from around the world come together to tackle climate change as one global team.

WHY IS GLOBALIZATION IMPORTANT?

As we've covered, globalization is inevitable in our increasingly connected world. If we want to make the most of global resources by sharing wealth, ideas, and knowledge, then globalization is key.

Globalization allows us to trade freely and work together as one planet. Whether it's large corporations boosting local economies overseas by investing in resources and products or countries agreeing to work together against climate change in the Paris Agreement, globalization enables us to work together for the greater good.

THE BENEFITS OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization has far-ranging benefits in many industries and areas. Some of these benefits include:

- **Economic and financial benefits**
The most visible benefits of globalization are arguably economic and financial. Simply put, globalization has lifted many countries out of poverty by sharply increasing trade, economic, and financial exchanges. In turn, this has led to strong global economic growth and contributed to the acceleration of the industrial development that has given us the advanced technologies and commodities we now can't imagine living without.



Similarly, the simplification of global financial regulations has made it easier for the world's key financial players to exchange capital. This has led to a healthy, global financial market with international contracts and exchanges at a consistently high level.

- **Cultural benefits**

Aside from economics and finance, globalization has seen the movement of people across borders increase exponentially. We now think nothing of flying across the world for business or pleasure. Be it migration, expatriation, or travelling, the intermingling of people from across our planet has undoubtedly led to hugely important exchanges of culture. This international tourism can help local economies, improve job prospects for individuals, and create all kinds of opportunities to explore the world.

As well as new customs, clothing, beliefs, and perspectives, with new people comes new tastes. Foods like coffee, avocados, and bananas are now consumed all over the world, despite being native to tropical temperatures. Additionally, cultural exchange in the forms of books, television, and film has been accelerated with the technological advancements of the 21st century. The internet is connecting us in a way we've never seen before. In 2021, someone in the US can load the latest episode of an Icelandic television programme minutes after it airs, without having to leave their home.

THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Whilst the benefits of globalization are plain to see, with great power, comes great responsibility. Globalization is complex, and its influence on our world isn't always positive.

WHY IS GLOBALIZATION BAD?

While the economic impact of globalization can be seen as a benefit for all, many argue that it operates in the interests of the world's richest countries. Income inequality, trade that benefits parties disproportionately, and the unequal distribution of wealth, are just a few of the criticisms against some of the country's leading the way in globalization.

- **Environmental challenges of globalization**

The aforementioned opening up of the world by air and sea, whilst enabling us to gain new perspectives and explore new cultures, has had an undoubtedly negative impact on our planet. The emissions created by travel have contributed to global warming, an increase in greenhouse gases, and high levels of air pollution.

While globalization has accelerated industrial production, the consequences on the environment are plain to see. Deforestation and the depletion of natural resources has had huge consequences for global ecosystems and biodiversity. The production of single-use materials like plastic has also contributed to problems with waste disposal and increased pollution around the world.

Globalizations also leads to a redistribution of jobs and commerce. For example, the UK was once a steel producing powerhouse. This fueled the national economy, providing jobs for thousands of people. Globalization has led to UK manufacturers shutting down, as they are unable to compete with the low priced steel provided by China. This leads to job losses in the UK and raises questions over the regulations and low wages being offered to workers in China.



As well as the sustainable and economic challenges, many argue that cultural globalization will lead to the forming of a homogenous 'super-culture'. Without unique cultural attributes that define nations, could some valuable parts of global culture be lost forever?

- **The anti-globalization movement**

The term 'anti-globalization' is a new term referring to those who believe globalization causes more damage than good. Those who are part of the anti-globalization movement believe globalization is enabling rich companies and nations to exploit their workers, people, and the environment.

Anti-globalization activists hold protests against everything from third-world debt and capitalism to child labour, believing that the nature of globalization helps the world become less accountable for its actions.

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

According to liberal theory, democracies do not go to war against each other, but cooperate and solve their disputes in a peaceful way. It recognizes that there will be a lot of problems and conflicts in the New Europe. The transition to prosperous market economies in Eastern Europe will take time; ethnic rivalries that had been frozen under the Cold War structure are now exploding. The Revolutions of 1989 formed part of a revolutionary wave in the late 1980s and early 1990s that resulted in the end of communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond.

The period is often also called the Fall of Communism, and sometimes the Fall of Nations or the Autumn of Nations, a play on the term Spring of Nations that is sometimes used to describe the Revolutions of 1848. It also led to the eventual breakup of the Soviet Union—the world's largest communist state—and the abandonment of communist regimes in many parts of the world, some of which were violently overthrown.

The earliest recorded protests were started in Kazakhstan, then part of the Soviet Union, in 1986 with the student demonstrations, the last chapter of these revolutions is considered to be in 1993 when Cambodia enacted a new Constitution in which communism was abandoned. This led to mass demonstrations in the cities such as Leipzig and subsequently to the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, which served as the symbolic gateway to the German reunification in 1990. The Soviet Union itself became a multi-party semi-presidential republic from March 1990 and held its first presidential election, marking a drastic change as part of its reform program. The impact of these events was felt in many third world socialist states throughout the world.

Concurrently with events in Poland, protests in Tiananmen Square (April–June 1989) failed to stimulate major political changes in Mainland China, but influential images of courageous defiance during that protest helped to precipitate events in other parts of the globe. Three Asian

Many communist and socialist organizations in the West turned their guiding principles over to social democracy and democratic socialism. In contrast, and somewhat later, in South America, a Pink tide began in Venezuela in 1999 and shaped politics in the other parts of the continent through the early 2000s.

5.7 REVIEW QUESTIONS

NOTES



SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Explain the Velvet Revolution.
2. Why is Globalization important?
3. Describe the National Political Movement in Hungary?
4. Explain the benefits of Globalization in brief.
5. What do you understand by Anti-Communist Hysteria?

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Globalization? What are the different types of globalization?
2. Explain the Civil Rights Movement of the US in detail.
3. Why is globalization bad?
4. Describe the National Political Movement in East Germany in detail.
5. What are the negative impacts of Globalization?

5.8 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. _____ is the process by which businesses develop international influence or start operating on an international scale.
 - a. Globalization
 - b. Organization
 - c. Communism
 - d. None of these
2. What is the full form of UDF?
 - a. Union of Democratic Forces
 - b. Union of Defense Forces
 - c. United Democratic Force
 - d. None of these
3. The “Velvet Revolution” was a non-violent transition of power in which country?
 - a. Poland
 - b. Germany
 - c. Romania
 - d. Czechoslovakia
4. What is the full form of EC?
 - a. European Constituency
 - b. European Community
 - c. European Colony
 - d. None of these
5. The last Russian troops left Poland on 18 September 1993.
 - a. 24 November 1989

*NATIONAL POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS IN
EASTERN EUROPE*



- b. 13 March 1991
 - c. 18 September 1993
 - d. 6 September 1993
6. _____ refers to the growing movement towards seeing the Earth as a single entity of which we must all be responsible.
- a. Financial Globalization
 - b. Ecological Globalization
 - c. Geographic Globalization
 - d. Political Globalization
7. The sharing and trading of cultural beliefs, traditions, and ideas refers to _____.
- a. Financial Globalization
 - b. Ecological Globalization
 - c. Cultural Globalization
 - d. Geographic Globalization
8. What is the full form of CSCE?
- a. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
 - b. Conference on Socialism and Cooperation in Europe
 - c. Conference on Security and Co-ordination in Europe
 - d. None of these
9. The ever-changing organization of different regions and countries around the world refers to _____.
- a. Financial Globalization
 - b. Ecological Globalization
 - c. Geographic Globalization
 - d. Geographical Globalization
10. The Silk Road was a trade route between China and _____.
- a. The US
 - b. Europe
 - c. London
 - d. None of these

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ANSWER KEY

UNIT I

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	a.	6	b.
2	b.	7	c.
3	d.	8	a.
4	a.	9	c.
5	c.	10	b.

UNIT II

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	a.	6	d.
2	b.	7	a.
3	c.	8	c.
4	c.	9	b.
5	d.	10	a.

UNIT III

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	a.	6	a.
2	b.	7	c.
3	d.	8	b.
4	c.	9	c.
5	b.	10	d.

UNIT IV

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	a.	6	b.
2	b.	7	b.
3	b.	8	b.
4	c.	9	a.
5	a.	10	d.

UNIT V

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	a.	6	b.
2	a.	7	c.
3	d.	8	a.
4	b.	9	d.
5	c.	10	b.

NOTE

Suggestive Reading

Books

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- en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Spenser
- www.tnellen.com/cybereng/lit_terms-_allegory.html/