PART II
MODERN WORLD HISTORY

IV Semester

COMPLEMENTARY COURSE

BA - ENGLISH & POLITICAL SCIENCE

(2011 Admission onwards)

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

STUDY MATERIAL

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PART II – MODERN WORLD HISTORY

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UNIT-I

ANTECEDENTS

Nationalism is a compound of many factors, some of which have their roots in human nature and many of which have a long history. Yet it is a modern phenomenon. To discover it is a difficult. In one sense, it is the extension of a group to which one belongs. In this sense, it is a form of collective egoism. In a negative sense, it is a manifestation of that fear of the ‘stranger’ with its roots deep in human nature. In modern sense, it is born of that love of the familiar land and people which often regarded as the core of patriotism.

According to Hayes, nationalism has been used in many different ways and it is commonly used “to denote a condition of mind among members of a nationality, perhaps already possessed of a national state, a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of a national state is superior to all other loyalties, and of which pride in one. A nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its ‘mission’ are integral parts”. Similarly, Hans Kohan defines nationalism as “state of mind…striving to a political fact.”

On the other hand, Gellner writes, “Nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political unit and the national unit should be congruent …nationalist sentiment is a feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feel of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment”. Giddens points to the psychological character of nationalism “the affiliation of the individual to a set of symbols and beliefs, emphasizing commonality among the members of a particular community”.

In short, nationalism has two aspects: i) the political character of nationalism as an ideology defending the notion should be congruent, and ii) its capacity to be a provider of identity for individuals conscious of forming a group based upon a common past and culture and attachment to a concrete territory. The power of nationalism emanates from its ability to engender sentiments of belonging to a particular community. Symbols and rituals play a major role in the cultivation of a sense of solidarity among the people.

Thus, in order to understand the concept of nationalism, we must keep in mind that:

* Nationalism is a sentiment that has to do with attachment to common homeland, a common language, ideals, values and traditions, identifying a particular group with symbols such as flag, songs which define it as ‘different’ from others.

* How a sentiment of attachment to a homeland and common culture can be transformed into the political demand for the creation of a state; how is it possible to make this transition? A theory of nationalism has to deal with questions such
as: how does nationalism use and legitimize the use of violence in its quest for the
creation of a state; what is the role of national ideology; what is the role of the
leaders in the national movement and how far can they contribute to the
propagation of symbols and ideals.

* An important feature of nationalism is its capacity to bring together people from
different social and cultural levels. Nationalism is not merely an invention of the
ruling classes to maintain the unconditional loyalty of the masses, but also a tool
to make them believe that they have much in common. This is one of the basic
factors for understanding the persistence of nationalism.

**UNIFICATION OF ITALY**

The Italian Unification is one of the romantic episodes in the history of
Europe. The unification of Italy is an outstanding achievement in the 19th
century. The French Revolution produced in Italians, a sense of nationalism.
Napoleon gave the first impulse to Italian unification. He drove away the Austrians
and the Bourbons at Sadova. The Papal States were annexed and a uniform
system of law and order was established everywhere. In fact, Napoleon infused
incautiously into Italians, the spirit of nationalism.

**First Italian Revolution (1820-21):**

Early in the 19th century, national feeling in Italy was stirred by
revolutionary secret societies known as Carbonari. The Carbonari wanted to
overthrow foreign rule imposed by the Vienna settlement and unify Italy. The
movement was known as Risorgimento. But Prince Metternich intervened and
crushed all movements.

**Second Italian Revolution (1830):**

In July, 1830, when a revolution in France placed Louie Philip on the throne
and established a constitutional monarch, there were outbreaks in the Papal
States. But the Austrians crushed the rebellion.

**Third Italian Revolution (1848):**

In July, 1848, Joseph Mazzini wanted to expel the foreign government from
Italy, end the temporal authority of the Pope over the Papal States, and unit the
whole of Italy under a Republican government. To carry out his ideals, he
established, in 1831, a movement known as “Young Italy.” The young men of
“Young Italy” lit the flames of patriotism throughout Italy and helped the cause of
Italian unification.

During the 1848 revolution, the Italian provinces were supported by Charles
Albert. But the Austrian army crushed the revolt at Custozza near Venice. But
Mazzini roused the people of the Papal States against the Pope. The Pope was
expelled from Rome and a Republic was proclaimed under a committee of three, of
which Mazzini was one. But the French troops overthrew the Republic.
The Austrians defeated Charles Albert at Navora and he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

**Fourth and Final Revolution (1854-70):**

Count Cavour, the “Bismarck” of Italy realized that without any external help, Italy could never be free. By a stroke of diplomatic genius, he offered the services of Scandinavian troops to Napoleon III at a critical stage of the Crimean war. This act enabled him to claim a prominent place in the Peace Conference at Paris (1856), where he won the active support of Napoleon III at Plombieres in 1858.

Having secured formal pledge of French support, Cavour was able to wage a war with Austria. The Italians aided by Napoleon III defeated the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino in 1859. Napoleon suddenly withdrew his support and made the truce of Villa – France with Austria. By it, Sardinia was to gain Lombardy, and Austria retained Venice. The Dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna expelled their despotic rulers and joined with Sardinia.

The next stage of Italian unification is connected with the exploits of Joseph Garibaldi. In 1860, the people of Napes and Sicily rose against the Bourbon King Francis II. Garibaldi along with his volunteers landed in Sicily and annexed the two kingdoms to Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel himself led an army into the Papal States and defeated the Papal forces at Casgfigaria. In 1861, the first Italian Parliament except Rome met at Turin and conferred upon Victor Emmanuel II, the title of “King of Italy.” Venetia was held by the Austrians, and Rome by the Pope, with the assistance of the French army.

In the Astro-Prussian war of 1866, also known as the Seven Weeks War, Victor Emmanuel II helped Prussia. Austria was defeated at Sadova. In the Treaty of Prague that followed, Italy obtained Venice as the price of her help to Prussia. The disasters of France during the Franco-Prussian war led to the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome, which was then easily occupied by an Italian army. Rome became the capital of the united Italian kingdom. The Pope was confined to the Vatican Palace.

Thus the unification of Italy was achieved by the political philosophy of Joseph Mazzini, the diplomacy of Count Cavour, the sound common sense and discretion of the King of Piedmont, and the sword of Joseph Garibaldi, the knight errant.

Relations between the Pope and the Kingdom of Italy were not happy. Benito Mussolini by the Lateran treaty of 1929 ended the long standing question by recognizing the absolute sovereignty of the Pope over the Vatican.

**UNIFICATION OF GERMANY**

At the beginning of the 19th century, Germany was a vast mosaic of states. This formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The two largest states in it were formed of the territorial possessions of Austria and Prussia. There were some secondary states in northern and central Germany. There were hundreds of small states. Some were free cities and others were ecclesiastical states. The Holy Roman
Emperor, who for the past 300 years had been chosen from the Hapsburg family of the Austrians, was now only a formal authority. People of varied blood spread in Germany.

One of the significant developments that have changed the course of history was the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Paradoxically, it was Napoleon who took the first step towards German unity. After overrunning the various German states and defeating the combined armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz, Napoleon formed a political union of German states called the “Confederation of the Rhine.” Hence Napoleon first gave the idea of national unity. He gave them a system of unity and efficiency such as they had never seen before.

The next step towards Germany unity was taken in the direction of commerce. Led by Prussia, the German states entered into a Zollverein or Customized Union to avoid the tariff duties levied by each member of the Confederation on another. This commercial unity led to the political unity of Germany.

Finally, it was Otto Von Bismarck, the prime minister of Germany who unified Germany with his policy of “Blood and Iron.” To achieve his aim, he waged three important wars, namely: 1) War with Denmark (1864); 2) War with Austria (1866); 3) War with France (1870-71)

1. **War with Denmark (1864):**

   The two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were inhabited largely by the Germans, but ruled by the King of Denmark. Bismarck united them to agitate for their union with Germany with the help of Austria. Bismarck sent the Prussian armies into the Danish Duchies and annexed them to Prussia.

2. **War with Austria (1866):**

   Though Austria helped Prussia in the war with Denmark; she did not get any territory. Austria was discontented with the growing power of Prussia. So a war began between Prussia and Austria. The Prussian general Von Moltke inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russians at Sadova. Austria was compelled to accept the Peace Treaty of Prague, by which she agreed to withdraw from the German Confederation and recognize any reconstruction of Germany led by Prussia. Prussia annexed the hostile states and Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Frankfurt and Nassau and constructed a new German Federation.

3. **War with France (1870-71):**

   Bismarck had only one more enemy to deal with, and he was Napoleon III of France. He was jealous of the growing power of Prussia. He interfered in the matters of southern German states and persuaded them not to join with Prussia. It was his belief that the southern states would join the new confederation only when threatened by a foreign power. Hence he began to provoke Napoleon in all possible ways. Napoleon III thought that he could strengthen his prestige in France and also restore the prestige of France by a successful war with Prussia.
Immediate Cause:

In 1868, a revolution in Spain deposed Queen Isabella and the Spaniards offered the crown to Leopold William I of Prussia. Napoleon III objected to it on the round that it would upset the “Balance of Power” in Europe. So Leopold withdrew his acceptance of the crown.

To get a diplomatic victory, Napoleon asked his ambassador to demand from King William I of Prussia and assure him that he would never in future permit a renewal of Napoleon’s candidature. The Prussian king refused this demand and sent a telegram from Ems to Bismarck informing him of what had happened. Bismarck altered the version of the telegram in such a way that it hurt the feelings of both the French and the Prussians. So a war began between France and Prussia.

The war roused the patriotism of Germany. The southern states made common cause with the north, contrary to Napoleon’s expectations. The German army led by General Von Moltake invaded France. The French were defeated at Worth and Metz. Ad Sedan, the whole French army surrendered to General von Moltke and Napoleon III was taken prisoner. Paris was captured.

The finishing touch to the unification of Germany was given in 1871 by the proclamation of Kaiser William I as the Emperor of Germany in the famous “Hall of Mirrors” at Versailles. The new German empire annexed the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The empire was a federation in which Prussia enjoyed great powers.

Meiji Restoration in Japan

The Meiji Restoration was basically a revolution that restored imperial rule to Japan in 1867. It transformed the country from a feudal state into a modern state. The Restoration was a chain of events that led to enormous changes in Japan’s political and social structure. The leaders of the Meiji Restoration, as this revolution came to be known, acted in the name of restoring imperial rule. The word "Meiji" means "enlightened rule" and the goal was to combine "western advancements" with the traditional, "eastern" values. The main leaders of this were: Ito Hirobumi, Matsukata Masayoshi, Kido Takayoshi, Itagaki Taisuke, Yamagata Aritomo, Mori Arinori, and Okubo Toshimichi, and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi. However, political power simply moved from the Tokugawa Shogun to an oligarchy consisting of these leaders, mostly from the Satsuma Province. This reflected their belief in the more traditional practice of imperial rule, whereby the emperor performs his high priestly duties and his ministers govern the nation in his name.

The Tokugawa Shogunate came to its official end on November 9, 1867, when Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the 15th Tokugawa Shogun "put his prerogatives at the Emperor's disposal" and resigned 10 days later. This was effectively the "restoration" of imperial rule - although Yoshinobu still was of significant influence. Shortly thereafter in January 1868, the Boshin War (War of the Year of the Dragon) started with the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in which Chōshū and Satsuma’s forces defeated the ex-shogun’s army. This forced (or allowed) Emperor Meiji to strip Yoshinobu of all power, setting the stage for official restoration.
Some shogunate forces escaped to Hokkaidō, where they attempted to set up a breakaway Republic of Ezo - however, forces loyal to the Emperor ended this attempt in May 1869 with the Battle of Hakodate in Hokkaidō. The defeat of the armies of the former shogun marked the final end of the Tokugawa Shogunate; with the Emperor's power fully restored.

**Russo-Japanese War (1904–05)**

The Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) was fought by Russia and Japan over their interests in China (particularly Manchuria) and Korea. Each country saw strategic value in China and Korea. Before fighting started, Japan introduced a possible settlement, but Russian czar (emperor) Nicholas II (1868–1918) rejected the plan. On February 6, 1904, Japan severed all ties with Russia. Two days later the Japanese launched a surprise attack on Russian ships at Lushun (Port Arthur), Manchuria. On February 10, Japan officially declared war on Russia. Battles on land and at sea went badly for the Russians, who could not be adequately reinforced or supplied to match the powerful and disciplined Japanese. Early in 1905 the war was already unpopular and revolution broke out in Russia, further weakening the country's ability to defeat Japan.

After an eight-month siege at Lushun, Russia could no longer sustain the fighting. The war also had become costly for Japan, which sought assistance from the United States in settling the dispute. U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) headed deliberations that were held at a shipyard in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Following a month of negotiations, a peace treaty (The Treaty of Portsmouth) was signed on September 5, 1905. The treaty stated that Russia and Japan agreed to evacuate Manchuria. Russia gave Japan the southern half of Sakhalin Island, which lies between the two countries (the island was returned to Russia after World War II; 1939–45). Korea came under the control of Japan, and Russia transferred to the lease of China’s Liaodong Peninsula to Japan. As a result of this treaty, Japan emerged as a major world power.

**WESTERN IMPERIALISM**

The Second Industrial Revolution coincided with an age of imperialism as European states extended their hegemony over much of the globe. What accounted for the struggle of Europeans to claim and control the entire world? Some historians suggest that the *new imperialism* (to differentiate it from the *colonialism* of settlement and trade of the 16th to 18th centuries) was a direct result of industrialization. With intensified economic activity and competition, Europeans struggled for raw materials, markets for their commodities, and places to invest their capital. In the late 19th century, many politicians and industrialists believed that the only way their nations could ensure their economic necessities was the acquisition of overseas territories.

**I. Motives for European imperialism:**

a) Economic exploitation [raw materials--rubber, tin, and oil not found in western nations; cotton, sisal, palm oil, ivory, cocoa, coffee, hides and markets for
the finished products: But most colonies were not profitable for the nations. In fact, much colonial territory was mere wasteland and cost more to rule than it was worth economically. What drove countries to sustain such losses then was not profit but national prestige. Business typically invested wherever they could make money, not necessarily in their own countries colonial empire

b) **Aggressive** nationalism (win glory for the nation): Germany and Italy--and France too after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War--were convinced that Britain's status depended on colonies and naval power. Therefore a race to empire developed as European nations competed against each other for colonies, especially for areas that provided ports and coaling stations for their competitive navies. Not wanting to appear weak and having no status, the race was on to acquire an empire.

c) Racism and other ideas of national superiority: Social Darwinists argued that all white men were better fit than non-whites to prevail in the inevitable struggle for dominance in which strong nations would survive and others would not. This justified the rule of Europeans over other peoples.

d) **Humanitarian** concern for others: Some believed that the extension of empire, law, order, and industrial civilization would raise "backward peoples" up the ladder of evolution and civilization. An example would be the concept of “White Man’s Burden”; that is, it was the duty of European Christians to civilize the savages of the world. Yet, in their favor, it must be admitted that “Missionaries were the first to meet and learn about many peoples and the first to develop writing for those without a written language. Christian missionaries were ardently opposed to slavery, and throughout the century they had gone to unexplored African regions to preach against slavery, which were still carried on by Arab and African traders. But to end slavery, many of them believed that Europeans must furnish law, order, and stability” (Perry B.S). So they are still convinced of the superiority of Western civilization, i.e., unable to separate culture and religion.

e) A desire for adventure (an interest is exotic places): Individuals and nations competed to find the highest mountains, the longest river, the highest waterfall, the land never before see by white men! Adventure!

**II. Areas of European Domination**

Aided by superior technology and the machinery of the modern state, Europeans established varying degrees of political control over much of the rest of the world:  

[1] **COLONY**: Control could mean outright annexation and the governing of a territory as a colony. In this way Germany controlled Tanganyika (East Africa) after 1886, and Britain ruled much of India.  

[2] **PROTECTORATE**: Control could also mean status as a protectorate, in which the local ruler continued to rule but was directed, or "protected," by a Great Power. In this way the British controlled Egypt after 1882 and maintained authority over their dependent Indian princes, and France guarded Tunisia.  

[3] **SPHERE OF INFLUENCE**: There were also spheres of influence, in which, without military or political control, a European nation had special trading and legal privileges other Europeans did not have. At the turn of the century the Russians in the north and the British in the south, each recognizing the other’s sphere of influence, divided Persia (Iran).
In some non-Western lands, the governing authorities granted *extraterritoriality* or the right of Europeans to trial by their own laws in foreign countries. Europeans often also lived a segregated and privileged life in quarters, clubs, and whole sections of foreign lands or cities in which no native was allowed to live.

(1) **Positive results of British rule:**

[1] **There** was at least some political unity—the end of internal war and disorder

[2] **The** British built a modern railroad and communications system and developed agriculture and industry to meet the needs of the world market.

[3] **The** railroad, as a link to areas of food surplus, reduced the incidence and impact of local famines, which had plagued India's history

[4] **Population** increased as fewer people died of starvation and lives were saved by Western medical practices.

(2) **Negative results of British rule:**

[1] **They** were ruled by foreigners

[2] **The** British flooded the Indian market with cheap, machine-produced English goods which drove native artisans out of business or even deeper into debt;

[3] **Racism** excluded the Indian elite from British clubs, hotels, and social gatherings and from top government positions alienated even the older elite of princes and landlords who may have profited from British connections (British lack of respect for Indian traditions and culture)

(4) Result: Indians began to push for independence. Mohandas K. Ghandi (1869-1948) developed a doctrine of civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance that—along with British exhaustion from World War II—would lead to Indian independence without a war between Indian and Britain (unfortunately bloody massacres occurred between Hindu and Muslim as India in partitioned into Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu India).

**III. Results of European imperialism:**

1. **The** Westernization of non-Europeans

   Many non-European rulers became absorbed in westernizing or modernizing their people in order to maintain their own control. The sultan of Turkey, the khedive of Egypt, the emperor of Japan and his advisors, and the emperor or empress of China are all examples of rulers who tried to cope with Europeans and Americans in this way.

2. **Resistance** to Westernization

   With varying degrees of success, many non-Europeans resisted Europeanization with a variety of tactics, such as Gandhi's movement of resistance in India, the revolt in Mexico against Maximilian and later against primarily American business interests, and the proclamation of modern nationhood in Turkey.

3. European interference into the affairs of a non-European area
(British in Egypt with Suez Canal; Americans in Philippines; British in Tibet, Afghanistan, and Burma as a result of being in India)

4. **Conflicts** between the European powers themselves that would contribute to the outbreak of World War I.

5. The rise of nationalism in some peoples (Indians, Turks & Egyptians)

6. The exchange of technology, culture, and values between Europe and the rest of the world. (**Beginnings** of the “global village”)

**Imperialism-Scramble for Africa**

We all are aware about what are imperialism and its effects on the countries which were controlled by the imperialists. Africa, along with many Asian countries was conquered by various European colonial powers, such as Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Portugal etc. What was remarkable in these conquests was the knee-jerk reaction of the colonial powers to annex territories in Africa. It all started with a conference in Berlin and within months, half of the soldiers of Europe were shipped to Africa. This hurried response on the part of European powers is referred to as scramble for Africa.

The scramble for Africa, also known as the Race for Africa, was the rush or hurry for African territories by European powers. These European powers rushed for African territories due to several reasons. These causes can be categorized into economic, social, political and humanitarian/social reasons. Partitioning is simply the division/sharing of African land among European powers.

**European Imperialism**

Imperialism is a term that refers to the economic and political domination or control of one country or nation by another one which is technologically and economically more advanced. Therefore, European imperialism was the economic and political domination of other nations world over by European powers. For more than three centuries the European nations had extended their influence and imperialism into other continents such as Asia, Latin America, the West Indies, and Africa. This was possible because these European nations were relatively economically and militarily stronger than the people of other continents.

**The Scramble and Partition of Africa**

The scramble for Africa, also known as the Race for Africa, was the rush or hurry for African territories by European powers. These European powers rushed for African territories due to several reasons. These causes can be categorized into economic, social, political and humanitarian/social reasons. Partitioning is simply the division/sharing of African land among European powers.
Reasons for the Scramble for Africa

1. Economic Reasons

(a) Need for Raw Materials

Due to the Industrial Revolution in Europe, production with the help of machines increased. European demand for raw materials such as palm oil, copper, rubber, cocoa, and gold increased. Africa was seen as being capable of supplying the needed raw materials. As a result, European powers partitioned Africa in order to secure some territories in order to provide a constant supply of raw materials to their industries in Europe.

(b) Need for Market for their Finished Products

With the help of machines during the Industrial Revolution, more goods were produced in the European industries but the local consumption was the same. This meant that not all the goods produced in Europe were locally sold and used in Europe. Therefore, European powers had to look for other areas where they could go and sell their surplus products. Africa was found suitable for this reason. This was because Africa did not have industries to produce these goods.

(c) Need to Invest Abroad

The Industrial Revolution had made many European businessmen very rich by 1880. Many of these had accumulated surplus capital which they wanted to invest abroad for profit because profit had fallen in their respective countries due to the high cost of labor. Therefore, they believed that Africa could provide them with cheap labor. Thus, they started encouraging their home governments to acquire colonies in Africa.

(d) Need to Protect their Trading Companies

Before 1800, many European countries had allowed the formation of companies to promote overseas trade. Examples of these companies include the British Royal Niger Company in West Africa, the British South African company (B.S.A.C.) in South Africa, the Imperial British East Africa and the Germany East African Company in Tanganyika. The second half of the 19th century saw stiff competition among these companies. As a result, these companies were forced to ask their home governments to take over certain African areas where they could enjoy the trade monopoly.

2. Political Reasons

(a) Balance of Power

After the Berlin Congress was held and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 thereafter, European nations realized that there was no power in Europe which was more powerful than the others. This meant that no country in Europe could expand its sphere within Europe without risking a major war. These powers therefore turned to Africa were there was no resistance.
(b) Prestige

Due to the rise of nationalism, many Europeans had developed strong pride and patriotism and loyalty for their countries. They wanted to promote the status of their countries’ position in the world. The possession of a large overseas empire became a symbol of braveness. The more colonies a country had, the more powerful it was considered to be, or rather, considered it to be. For example, when France was defeated in 1871, she lost her two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Hence, France turned to Africa for colonies were there was no resistance. Other Europeans obtained colonies for personal glory. For example, king Leopold of Belgium acquired the Congo Free State and treated it as a personal farm. This encouraged other Europeans to do the same elsewhere in Africa.

(c) Source for Soldiers

Other European nations obtained colonies in Africa so as to provide a source and base for troops. For example, France obtained Senegal and Britain obtained South Africa and used Africans from these territories to fight on their respective sides during the First World War.

(d) Strategic Purposes

Other parts in Africa were obtained by European powers because of their strategic positions. Areas like Egypt, Morocco, Mozambique, Angola, and the cape were obtained to control trade in times of peace and war. Britain’s interest in Egypt was the Suez Canal. This provided a faster sea route to India

3. Social Reasons

(a) Need to Settle Surplus Population

It is important to understand that because of the new machines that were now being used during the Industrial Revolution; many people lost employment in Europe because it was the newly invented machines that were doing their work now. Because of the unemployment due to the Industrial Revolution, European countries obtained colonies in Africa to settle their surplus unemployed population. Nigeria, Rhodesia and Kenya were obtained for this purpose.

(c) Need to Spread Christianity and Combat Diseases

This was another reason that led to the partition of Africa. Some Europeans decided to obtain colonies in Africa so as to convert the Africans into Christianity, introduce modern society and ‘civilize’ them. On the other hand, colonies were obtained so that some Europeans who had certain illnesses could come and live where the climate was favourable.

(b) Need to end Slave Trade

Britain took the lead in fighting against slave trade by passing a law in 1807. In 1833 the British government again passed the Emancipation act by which slavery was abolished through out the British Empire. Many European nations had done the same. However, slave trade continued and other methods had failed.
4. Missionary Activities

Missionaries and explorers opened up the interior of Africa. Their reports about the richness of Africa encouraged the scramble. It is the reports of the accounts of such missionaries and explorers like Dr. David Livingstone that pushed the European countries to have overseas possessions.

5. The Berlin Colonial Conference of 1884/85

The Berlin Colonial Conference was a meeting of European powers in Berlin, Germany in 1884-85 at the invitation of Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the peaceful division and sharing of African territories amongst themselves. At the end of this conference, the Berlin Treaty was signed. It laid down the conditions by which the scramble was to be conducted.

The European powers agreed that any power claiming any territory in Africa must not only notify other powers, but must also effectively occupy that territory. It was this clause of effective occupation in their agreement that encouraged and pushed European powers to partition the continent and develop colonial rule. It was also agreed that two rivers, the Zaire and Niger, were to be free to all for trade transportation. Additionally, slavery was to be abolished in all the territories that the European countries occupied.

No Africa chief was invited to this meeting or consulted about the whole process of partitioning. Soon after this meeting ended agents of many European powers started coming to Africa and began to demarcate boundaries for their claims, which became known as colonies. The only parts, which survived the scramble, were Liberia and Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

The "Scramble for Africa".

Until the 1870s only Portugal, Britain and France of the European nations had made any substantial colonization in Africa. And, the French and British advances had been rather spasmodic, their colonial policies varying with the government or regime in power, and with the enterprise of its representatives in Africa. In the 1870s, however, the outlook of the European nations towards African colonization changed. This was partly due to the greater knowledge of the continent obtained from exploration, and consequent increased opportunities for trade and access to valuable raw materials; and partly due to efforts to protect the explorers and missionaries and to suppress slavery and the remnants of the slave trade. But it was also due to a new spirit of national prestige, stemming largely from the unification of both Germany and Italy in the period 1859-1870; and perhaps to some extent due to the rise of a sentiment that it was the duty of the "superior" white man to civilize, educate and convert the Africans - a sentiment which ignored the fact that the white man was not necessarily superior, and that the Africans might well be much happier, and certainly preferred, to be left alone.
The result was the “scramble for Africa”, in which the European nations competed with each other for colonies there. One of the earliest targets was Tunisia, where Italy had greatly extended her commercial interests and hoped to gain control of the country but, as already mentioned, was forestalled by the French in 1881. The French people were no very ardent colonists; but France’s policy, after her humiliating defeat by Prussia in 1870, had become one of vast colonial expansion, partly to restore her international prestige. Bismarck, the creator of Germany, did not want colonies, but deferred to pressure by German commercial interests, and Germany joined in the competition.

There then followed, in 1884-85, a remarkable international conference in Berlin at which rules were drawn up for colonization in Africa. There were many provisions in the Act emanating from the conference, the main one being that all signatories had to notify the others of any intended action to take possession of any part of the African coast or to penetrate into the interior - and in effect to obtain the approval of the other signatories. In this way, although there were international disputes and ‘incidents’, Africa was carved up by the European nations without armed conflict between them.

One of the first agreements arising from the Berlin conference was the recognition of the "Congo Free State" as the personal possession of King Leopold II of the Belgians. (Belgium had been an independent country since 1830). The enterprising Leopold, seeing the possibilities of central Africa opened up by the explorations of Livingstone, Stanley and others, had called an international conference in 1876 to co-ordinate further exploration and suppress the slave trade. (This was the forerunner of the Berlin conference eight years later.) An international association was formed – largely Belgian - and Leopold engaged Stanley to establish trading posts in the Congo area and make treaties with the African chiefs. Stanley spent 5 years doing this. The international aspect of the operations soon evaporated, and Leopold financed the enterprise from his private fortune - hence the award of the Congo Free State as his personal property. Early in the 1900s mismanagement and ill-treatment of the Africans in the Congo Free State led to international concern, particularly in Britain and the United States. The result was that in 1908 the Belgian government took over the colony, and the worst of the abuses were removed.

In general, the period from 1885 to about 1920 was one of invasion, conquest and/or negotiations with African rulers by the European powers in their chosen and allotted areas, and the setting up of colonial rule. The only African states to survive as independent were Ethiopia and Liberia. In some of the more powerful and organized African countries resistance was fierce and prolonged, but in the end they succumbed to the superior weapons and equipment of the invaders. Another cause of the defeat of the Africans was that there was no unity amongst them – either between different states, or within each state. Some countries comprised several different African peoples, with one ruling and oppressing the others. The Europeans could often recruit African soldiers for their invading armies.
Altogether some 40 colonies or protectorates were formed. Taking in turn the European nations involved:-France was the most active colonial power, and acquired the largest area of territory. By 1900 her African empire included Algeria and Tunisia in the north; Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast and Dahomey in the West African coastlands; French West Africa which took in nearly all the Sahara and western Sudan; French Equatorial Africa which comprised Gabon, some of the Congo and central Sudan (modern Chad); French Somaliland (Djibouti), and the island of Madagascar. France did not achieve this without a number of severe struggles, particularly in Dahomey, and in the Lake Chad area where they met with resistance from the Senussi. It was well into the 20th century before the French had won control in the western and central Sudan. In Madagascar resistance by the Hova dynasty was not finally overcome until 1896. The last stage of French colonization was in Morocco, where France, Spain, Germany, Britain and Italy competed for influence over the Sultan. Eventually, in 1912, the country became a French protectorate, except for the Spanish possessions in the north - around Ceuta and Melilla. Resistance by the Riff tribes continued. A prolonged rising by them in the 1920s was suppressed, but guerilla action went on into the 1940s.

Britain completed her occupation of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Gambia and Sierra Leone in West Africa, and acquired Kenya, Nyasaland*, Uganda, Zanzibar (where the Arab Sultan accepted a British protectorate) and British Somaliland in the east. In the Gold Coast there were two more wars with the Ashanti before it became a British colony in 1902. In Somaliland a Moslem Somali leader, nicknamed the "Mad Mullah" by the British, caused a lot of trouble by raids against the British forces during the first 20 years of the 20th century.

In Egypt a British-officered Egyptian army defended the frontier with the Sudan for 10 years against the Mahdi’s successor until Britain decided on reconquest to end this nuisance and to deliver the Sudanese from tyranny. In 1896-98 the re-conquest was achieved by a British/Egyptian army under Lord Kitchener. The eastern Sudan came under the joint control of Britain and Egypt - and Britain continued to rule Egypt until 1922. (By a British unilateral declaration Egypt then became formally independent, but with certain powers reserved to Britain, including the future of the Sudan. The last British troops left Egypt in 1956, leaving the Sudan a separate state, independent of Egypt.)

In British South Africa the dominant personality in political affairs in the 1880s and early 1890a was Cecil Rhodes who had visions of British dominion from Cape Colony to Cairo. He was alarmed at the threat to the route to the north by German infiltration in South West Africa on one side and the Boers of the Transvaal on the other; and when the Bechuana tribes in 1885 asked for protection against Boer aggression, Britain proclaimed Bechuanaland (modern Botswana) to be a British protectorate.

Rhodes later turned his attention to the land north of the Transvaal – ancient Zimbabwe - then divided between the Shona and the Zulus (with whom Britain had already had a serious conflict in 1879). The British now intervened in a Shona-Zulu war, defeating the Zulus; but some years later, in 1896, they were
faced with a formidable rising of both peoples, which they suppressed. The whole area was given the name Rhodesia, separated in 1911 into the two protectorates of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, north and south of the Zambezi. Northern Rhodesia is modern Zambia, Southern Rhodesia modern Zimbabwe**

Returning to the “scramble” - Germany acquired the Cameroons and Togo, South West Africa (Namibia) and Tanganyika. To the latter were joined Rwanda and Burundi, to form German East Africa. In the first decade of the 20th century the Hottentots and the Herero tribes in South West Africa and the African tribes in Tanganyika all rebelled, unsuccessfully, against German rule.

Italy, after being disappointed in Tunisia, was ‘awarded’ Eritrea (north of Ethiopia) and Italian Somaliland. Not content with this she embarked in 1887 on an attempt to conquer Ethiopia. After establishing a sort of protectorate, with the terms of which the Emperor of Ethiopia did not agree, the Italians invaded the country again in 1896, only to be disastrously defeated at Adowa. Still in search of a greater African empire, Italy invaded Tripolitania in 1911. The Turks, attacked by a league of Balkan countries, withdrew from Tripolitania to meet the menace nearer home - and Italy conquered Tripolitania and Cyrenaica; but they had great difficulty with the Senussi, who were not finally subdued until the early 1930s. In 1934 Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were united to form the Italian colony of Libya.

Portugal, as well as being confirmed in her possession of Mozambique and Angola, was awarded “Portuguese” Guinea. Portugal also still possessed the Cape Verde Islands and Madeira. Spain kept her ancient possessions - in northern Morocco, the Canary Islands and the island of Fernando Po (which she obtained from Portugal in the 18th century). To Fernando Po she added the nearby mainland area of Rio Muni, to form Spanish Guinea; and along the north-west coast she acquired the Spanish Sahara.

*Nyasaland was ancient Malawi, Uganda largely the ancient Kingdom of Buganda. Britain acquired both mainly by peaceful agreement with the Africans.

**The history of Rhodesia, while it was Rhodesia, is included in the history of South Africa. (After the Boer War of 1899-1902, the Boer Transvaal and Orange Free State became British colonies, and in 1910 were united with Cape Colony and Natal to form the British dominion, the Union of South Africa.)

**Results of the Scramble for Africa

1. During the New Imperialism period, by the end of the 19th century, Europe added almost 9 million square miles (23,000,000 km²) — one-fifth of the land area of the globe — to its overseas colonial possessions.

2. Between 1885 and 1914 Britain took nearly 30% of Africa's population under its control, to 15% for France, 9% for Germany, 7% for Belgium and only 1% for Italy. Nigeria alone contributed 15 million subjects, more than in the whole of French West Africa or the entire German colonial empire.

3. Loss of Independence of African Chiefs. Once the colonialists settled on the African soil, they set up colonial administrative offices in order to rule the Africans. In French occupied territories, the indigenous Africans were ruled directly. The
British on the other hand ruled the Africans indirectly through the chiefs. This was called Indirect Rule. Most of the powers that the chiefs had were grabbed from them by the imperialists. The British and the French were determined to put things in order and establish a clear administrative hierarchy with Europeans at the top and Africans below.

4. In the beginning, European countries claimed to be only interested in raw materials. But soon casual commercial dealings were replaced by systematic exploitation and control of Africa’s resources. In their extraction of raw materials like minerals in South African and Rhodesian mines, they did not consider the destruction their activities caused to the natural environment.

5. By the end of the century Europeans were covering the continent with railways and roads. Though the roads that were made mostly followed the already existing slave routes, the others went to areas where Europeans wanted to access raw materials. The railway lines were a completely new phenomenon on the African continent.

### Intrusion of imperialists into China-Impacts

Opium Wars, two trading wars in the mid-19th century in which Western nations gained commercial privileges in China. The first Opium War (1839–42) was between China and Britain, and the second Opium War (1856–60), also known as the Arrow War or the Anglo-French War in China, was fought by Britain and France against China.

The Opium Wars arose from China’s attempts to suppress the opium trade. British traders had been illegally exporting opium to China, and the resulting widespread addiction was causing serious social and economic disruption in the country. In 1839 the Chinese government confiscated all opium warehoused at Canton by British merchants. The antagonism between the two sides increased a few days later when some drunken British sailors killed a Chinese villager. The British government, which did not trust the Chinese legal system, refused to turn the accused men over to the Chinese courts.

Hostilities broke out, and the small British forces were quickly victorious. The Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking), signed Aug. 29, 1842, and the British Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue (Humen), signed Oct. 8, 1843, provided for the payment of a large indemnity by China, cession of five ports for British trade and residence, and the right of British citizens to be tried by British courts. Other Western countries quickly demanded and were given similar privileges.

In 1856 the British, seeking to extend their trading rights in China, found an excuse to renew hostilities when some Chinese officials boarded the ship Arrow and lowered the British flag. The French joined the British in this war, using as their excuse the murder of a French missionary in the interior of China.

The allies began military operations in late 1857 and quickly forced the Chinese to sign the treaties of Tianjin (Tientsin, 1858), which provided residence in Beijing for foreign envoys, the opening of several new ports to Western trade and residence, the right of foreign travel in the interior of China, and freedom of movement for Christian missionaries. In further negotiations in Shanghai later in the year, the importation of opium was legalized. The Chinese, however, refused to
ratify the treaties, and the allies resumed hostilities, captured Beijing, and plundered and then burned the Yuanming Garden, one of the emperor’s palaces, in 1860. Later that year the Chinese signed the Beijing Convention, in which they agreed to observe the treaties of Tientsin.

Late Qing China: Reform and Rebellion (1898 -1900)

Qing (Ch’ing) Government and Society: Background

DYNASTY AND GOVERNMENT

At the top of the Qing dynasty was the Emperor with absolute power. His rule was assisted by the traditional Six Boards. Over the provinces there were the governor-generals (administering more than one province), governors (administering one province), military commanders, and circuit intendants. Their duties and powers overlapped one another’s. In this way, no official, whether in the provinces or at the capital, could enjoy independent political power.

The smallest administrative unit was the county (hsien), governed by a district magistrate (Chih-hsien). Each county covered an area of about several hundred square miles and consisted of several hundred thousand people. Because the district magistrate was by law a stranger in the county he ruled, he knew little about the local conditions of the county he ruled. He governed with the help of two social groups: i. local junior office runners or clerks, who practiced serious corruption and were socially looked down upon, and ii. Local Confucian scholar-gentry.

SOCIETY

A. Scholar-gentry (shen-shih)

All government officials were selected by the Civil Service Examinations held regularly by the government in the provinces or at the capital. If successful, the candidates would be given academic degrees (such as hsiu-ts’ai, chu-jen, and chin-shih). These degree-holders would then enjoy special privileges of dress, law and social position. They would become the scholar-gentry. As no more than 5% of them could become officials, the majority of the scholar-gentry stayed in local villages or cities as social leaders. The scholar-gentry carried out social welfare measures, taught in private schools, helped decide minor legal disputes, supervised community projects, maintained local law and order, conducted Confucian ceremonies, assisted in the government’s collection of taxes, and preached Confucian moral teachings. As a class, these scholars represented morality and virtue. Although they received no official salary and were not government officials, their contributions and cooperation were much needed by the district magistrate in governing local areas. The relations between this scholar-gentry class and the imperial dynasty were two ways:

i. The scholar-gentry depended on the dynasty for academic degrees and official recognition as social leaders.
The dynasty in return depended on the scholar-gentry for:

a. running local affairs and informal administration,
b. Confucian recognition of the ruling dynasty as a lawful one in Chinese history.

**B. Peasants**

The majority of the population was peasants. By the end of the 19th century, the number approached 300 million. Most of the peasants did not know how to read and write. They stayed in their villages and seldom went to other places. They looked to the scholar-gentry for social leadership and were usually obedient and passive. But when life became too difficult, the peasants might become rebels, challenging the dynasty and causing social troubles.

**C. Handicraft workers**

There were few handicraft workers, as industry was scarce in Qing China. Peasants took up much of handicraft manufacturing as a part-time job. As a social class, the workers were not united.

**D. Merchants**

They were socially looked down upon. But they were wealthy. Most of them lived in towns and cities, and maintained good relations with government officials through gifts or outright corruption. Business was done under official supervision and permission. Consequently, unlike the European middle-class, Chinese merchants failed to form an independent power against the old ruling class.

**CULTURE**

**A. Confucian culture**

The re-interpreted learning and ideas of Confucius were taught in school and examined in official civil service examinations. Loyalty to the dynasty, obedience to the father, filial piety, humanity, morality and harmony were emphasized. The dynasty promoted Confucian learning to make itself lawful in Chinese history, while the scholar-gentry depended on Confucian teachings for a high social position. In short, Confucian culture provided the common ground for the scholar-gentry and the dynasty. In trying to win approval from Chinese scholars and make the Qing dynasty lawful, the Manchu (who ruled China from 1644 to 1912) actively sponsored and promoted Confucian culture.

**B. Popular cultures**

Confucian culture was only limited to Confucian scholars and officials. The large majority of peasants believed in native gods, native religions (like Taoism), superstitions and geomancy (*feng-shui*). Local customs and manners were practiced. ii. Since government control in local areas was limited, anti-dynastic secret societies developed at the lowest level of society. During the Qing period, these secret societies kept the anti-Manchu tradition. In society, they committed
and protected crimes. When the dynasty was strong and efficient, the secret societies were generally silent or underground. When the dynasty was weak and on the decline, they became active. Starting from the early 19th century, they organized rebellions against the dynasty.

The Hundred Days Reform, 1898

Causes and Background

A. The advocacy of institutional reform by progressive officials

During the Self-Strengthening period (1862-1894), China developed Western techniques and military technologies. Yet several more progressive officials like Feng Kuei-fen-o already argued that for real self-strengthening, China should develop basic Western institutions (like government organization and education) that gave rise to those techniques and military technologies. Such an advocacy formed an underlying cause for the 1898 reform.

B. The reform-minded scholars' recognition of the inadequacy of the Self-Strengthening Movement (1860-1894)

Ever since 1885, when Qing China was defeated by France in Indo-China, more and more scholar-officials knew the Self-Strengthening Movement was inadequate to save China. Institutional reform was really necessary. Although officials like Chang Chih-tung (a governor-general) and Weng T'ung-ho (an imperial teacher) were Confucian conservatives, they nevertheless advocated a limited administrative reorganization based on Western methods to supplement the traditional, basic Chinese political structure. Weng himself had advocated war against Japan in 1894. But with China's defeat, he realized that changes more fundamental than those of the Self-Strengthening period were necessary.

C. The introduction of Western ideas of reform

i. By foreign missionaries - Beside5 preaching their religion, foreign missionaries, especially the British and American Protestants, introduced Western knowledge and culture to China.

a. They established schools, gave public lectures, opened libraries, and published newspapers and magazines. In particular, missionary schools educated many of the late Qing's reform-minded intellectuals. By 1889, some 16,000 Chinese had studied in such schools.

b. Through discussions, foreign missionaries convinced quite a number of Chinese scholars and officials of the need for reform. Indeed, K'ang Yu-wei, the most important reformer in the 1898 Reform, admitted that many of his ideas on reform came from missionaries.

ii. Through treaty ports - Western social and political ideas were most easily learnt by the Chinese who lived in treaty ports and cities.
a. In treaty ports, a new Chinese intellectual class began to appear. In the International Settlement of Shanghai, for example, where foreigners enjoyed self-rule free from the Qing government’s control, these Chinese intellectuals had the opportunity of observing Western institutions firsthand and the freedom to learn foreign things. They convinced other Chinese scholars outside the treaty ports of the need for institutional reform.

b. Owing to the increased penetration of European goods and ideas' South China was more progressive than the north. It was hardly an accident that K’ang Yu-wei’s native place was in Kwangtung.

**D. The rise of a generation of politically conscious and more progressive-minded young scholars**

i. Translations of Western books on a variety of subjects were abundant in late 19th-century China. They were read by many young Chinese scholars, who therefore became increasingly reform-minded.

ii. The improved communications between different places helped in the growth and spread of national consciousness among Chinese scholars.

iii. To a certain extent, educational reforms before 1894 made it possible for Chinese students to receive a Western-style education.

iv. Traditionally speaking, the scholar class in China had the responsibility of saving the country in time of crisis. With the repeated national humiliations that China suffered after 1840, the young scholars became especially sensitive to national problems and were ready to defend their country. By the late 1880s, this generation of progressively minded young scholars had already become a considerable political force.

**E. The effects of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)**

China’s quick defeat in the Sino-Japanese War further convinced many Chinese scholar-officials that more fundamental reform was both urgent and necessary. The humiliating treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 aroused much public anger in China. Some 600 young students from all over China signed a ‘Ten Thousand Words Memorial’ that rejected the Shimonoseki agreement and advocated institutional reform. The leader was K’ang Yu-wei (Kang Youwei). Despite the official and traditional prohibition against any political grouping, young scholars began to form associations known as hshueh-hui (study societies) to save the country. After 1895, many patriotic societies of this kind appeared. Their local branches spread over the provinces. These societies had four aims:

i. To urge the Qing government to reform its institutions.

ii. To carry out reform activities in the provinces.

iii. To popularize Western ideas by translating more Western and Japanese books and publishing newspapers to advocate such ideas.

iv. To fight against Christianity by changing Confucianism into a state religion. Social programs were to be worked out to compete with the social welfare measures of Christianity in China. Many of these societies had the support of
influential officials like Yuan Shih-k’ai and Chang Chih-tung. The younger and idealistic scholars like K’ang Yu-wei, however, were dissatisfied with the limited and moderate reforms carried out by Yuan and Chang in the provinces. These idealistic scholars favoured broader and deeper institutional changes initiated from Peking.

F. The effects of the Scramble for Concessions (1895-1899)

Foreign imperialism was intensified in the Scramble for Concessions. It further showed the necessity and urgency of institutional reform. By 1898, Germany had seized Kiaochow from China, and other powers were fighting for their own spheres of influence. K’ang Yu-wei repeatedly wrote memorials to the Qing court to advocate institutional reform. Many such reform proposals were circulated in Peking among the young scholars.

G. The political struggle within the Qing court

Meanwhile, a political struggle took place between the Kuang-hsu (Guangxu) Emperor and his aunt, the Empress Dowager Tz’u-hsi (Cixi), within the Qing court. Although Kuang-hsu was the Emperor, real power was held by Tz’u-hsi. A ‘northern’ group of conservatives like Hsu T’ung supported the Empress, while a ‘southern’ group led by Weng T’ung-ho supported the Emperor. Although both agreed on the need for reform, the two groups struggled for the leadership. The Northern Party attempted to bring Chang Chih-tung to Peking to lead the movement. This led the Southern Party to call in many reform-minded young scholars, including K’ang Yu-wei, to support itself. There were the following reasons:

i. Since K’ang Yu-wei advocated political centralization, reforms undertaken by him would strengthen the Emperor’s power and weaken the Empress Dowager’s influence.

ii. Young scholars would not readily challenge the leadership of the more senior officials in the Southern Party.

iii. Weng T’ung-ho was himself attracted by K’ang Youwei’s progressive reform proposals.

iv. Members of the Southern Party like Weng T’ung-ho knew little about Western ideas and institutions.

Consequently, Weng T’ung-ho introduced K’ang to the Emperor Kuang-hsu. The Emperor began reading Feng Kuei-fen’s ideas of institutional reform and Western translations as early as the late 1880s. The Emperor was deeply impressed by K’ang’s reform ideas and was more and more determined to put into effect institutional changes. Dissatisfied with the Empress Dowager’s continued domination over the Qing court, Kuang-hsu intended to make use of a reform movement led by himself to regain power, though on the other hand he really wanted to save China. On June 11, 1898, he issued the first reform decree, telling the people to learn foreign knowledge. The Hundred Day Reform had begun.
MOTIVES, CONTENTS AND RESULTS OF REFORM

A. Motives

i. The Emperor and the young reformers like K'ang Yu-wei believed that institutional reform and more fundamental changes would strengthen China's defence against Western imperialism. Institutional reform was of two kinds:
   a. A new educational structure would replace the old, traditional one, so that the people would become modern citizens of a modern nation like Meiji Japan.
   b. The political system would be re-organized to achieve a greater degree of efficiency. K'ang Yu-wei, however, expected more changes. He intended to establish a constitutional and parliamentary government for China. All other reform measures, to K'ang, were secondary to political modernization.

ii. To old scholar-officials like Weng T'ung-ho, the reform movement was also part of the struggle for power within the Qing court.

iii. Although most of the young scholar-reformers advocated reform out of patriotic reasons, it could not be denied that the reform movement was an opportunity for these young men to advance to positions of power in the government.

B. Contents

From June to September 1898, K'ang Yu-wei and his young followers prepared many edicts and decrees for the Emperor to sign. Some 200 or so reform decrees were issued in quick succession. A broad program for 'reform of institutions' was attempted. The reform measures included the following:

i. Education
   a. Abolition of the 'Eight-legged essay' in the Civil Service Examinations. (The Eight legged essay required the students to have a good memory and frequent practice. Creativity and knowledge of current social and political problems were not necessary.) Introduction of a new syllabus based on current political and economic problems.
   b. Abolition of swordsmanship and marksmanship in the military examinations. Introduction of a new syllabus based on knowledge of modern military tactics.
   c. Opening of a special examination on political economy.
   d. Establishment of an Imperial University in Peking. Founding of a medical school under it.
   e. Establishment of primary and secondary schools in the provinces for the study of both Chinese and Western subjects. Change of traditional private schools into modern government schools. Change of Buddhist temples into public schools.

ii. Government administration

a. Abolition of sinecure posts (jobs with a salary but involving no work) and unnecessary offices, including the governorships of a few provinces.
b. Appointment of progressive-minded officials in government.

c. Introduction of stricter disciplines for civil servants. Measures to check corruption.

d. *Improvement* in administrative efficiency by removing delays and by developing a new, simplified administrative procedure. Creation of 12 new Ministries to replace the old 6 Boards (traditionally responsible for top government administration in Peking).

e. *Encouragement* of reform suggestions from private citizens.

**iii. Military reform**

a. Reorganization and modernization of the army.

b. *Founding* of militia forces (part-time soldiers for local self-defense).

**iv. Economic reform**

a. Promotion of railway construction.

b. Promotion of agricultural, industrial and commercial developments. *Founding* of banks.


**v. Others**

a. Visits to foreign countries by high officials.

b. *Improvement* and simplification of law codes.

**C. Results**

The reform movement only lasted for 103 days.

i. Most of the reform decrees were not carried out. Only in the province of Hunan, where there was a governor sympathetic to the reform, was a serious attempt made to put into effect the Emperor's decrees. In the rest of the empire, reform measures met with either passive non-cooperation or outright resistance. Some officials were willing but had not the ability to carry out the reform. Many officials did not even understand the reform measures.

ii. At first, the Empress Dowager and other high officials like Chang Chih-tung and Weng T'ung-ho were not opposed to the idea of reform. But as conservatives, they disliked the radical changes proposed by K'ang and the Emperor. Opposition to the reform grew.
iii. Many top conservative officials, eunuchs and Manchu begged the Empress Dowager to take over power and rule herself so as to stop the reform movement.

iv. The young reformers feared that the Empress Dowager would sooner or later interfere and depose the Emperor. They therefore planned to carry out a palace revolt by capturing the Empress. They asked Yuan Shih-k'ai to support them with troops. However, Yuan betrayed the Emperor and the reformers by telling the Empress Dowager everything about the intended revolt.

v. The Empress Dowager immediately imprisoned the Emperor, took over the government, and gave orders to arrest the reformers, six of whom were captured and killed. K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (Liang Qichao) were, however, warned in time to escape abroad. Most of the reform measures were cancelled:

a. The Eight-legged essay and the abolished governorships were restored.

b. Study societies (hsueh-hui) were prohibited. The government press was closed.

c. The people were forbidden to make suggestions to the government. However, the Peking Imperial University and some of the provincial schools that had been established were allowed to remain. Some unnecessary offices were really abolished. The Empress Dowager opposed only the radical methods and nature of reform by men like K'ang Yu-wei, not the idea of reform itself.

**REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE HUNDRED DAY REFORMS:**

**A. Reform on paper**

Many of the reform measures were not put into practice.

**B. Opposition to the reform**

The reforms attacked both Chinese tradition and the self-interests of many people.

i. Conservatives felt that the political tradition of the dynasty had been violated by the reforms. They felt that K'ang and his followers intended to destroy Chinese culture.

ii. The Empress Dowager and her followers believed that the reform was just an excuse used by the Emperor and K'ang Yu-wei to struggle for political power.

iii. The abolition of the Eight-legged essay, together with changes in the educational system, ruined the future of students who had been preparing for the traditional government examinations.

iv. The abolition of sinecure posts and governorships ruined the future of many officials. The appointment of young, new and progressive minded scholars to the government endangered the political career of many existing officials. When
promotion was not based on seniority but on real ability; the old and inefficient officials felt that their career prospect would be endangered. Even Li Hung-chang lost some important power because of the administrative changes.

v. Many Manchus believed that the new reform measures were especially directed against them, because:

a. quite a number of conservative Manchu officials had been dismissed from the Central government;

b. all the young reformers were Chinese;

c. K’ang Yu-wei came from South China, where there was a strong anti-Manchu tradition.

   Besides, the Manchus were jealous of the Chinese reformers, who were trusted by the Emperor.

vi. Changes in the military forces threatened the privileges and livelihood of the Manchu banner men and the Chinese Green Standard Army (traditional Qing armies).

vii. The attack on corruption was unwelcome by those officials who got rich by this unlawful practice.

viii. Palace eunuchs who were favoured by Tz’u-hsi feared that administrative reforms would reveal their practice of corruption.

ix. The change of Buddhist temples into public schools angered the Buddhist monks and priests.

C. The lack of effective political power

Without strong political power, no reform could be effectively carried out.

i. The Empress Dowager’s powerful influence at the Qing court

   Although the Empress nominally retired in 1889, she was still in firm control of the Qing court. Her followers controlled top government departments and the imperial armies. Her eunuchs watched every move of the Emperor.

ii. Regional decentralization

   Ever since the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864), the dynasty’s political power had been decentralized. Peking’s control over the provinces was getting weak and was on the decline. As a result, the Central government’s reform decrees did not receive much attention in the provinces.

iii. Weaknesses of the Study Societies
The Study Societies formed between 1895 and 1898 depended heavily upon official support for their existence. When these societies became too radical, such official support was withdrawn and they quickly fell apart. The young reformers at the Qing court had therefore lost a social power base for support in 1898. They had to depend on Yuan Shih-k'ai's military strength to act against the Empress Dowager. As it happened, Yuan betrayed them.

D. The inexperience of the reformers

i. Both K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had no previous experience in administration. Their knowledge of Western institutions was, moreover, limited.

ii. In carrying out reforms, they were not tactful enough. In three months' time, they aimed at doing away with all of China's problems at one blow. It was an attempt at achieving too much in too short a period of time.

iii. Both the Emperor and the reformers offered poor leadership for the reform movement. They failed to obtain support and cooperation from the conservative officials.

E. The lack of popular support from the common people

Reformers like K'ang Yu-wei came from the scholar class. They had little contact with and enjoyed no support of the common people.

F. K'ang Yu-wei's radical ideas

To Confucian conservatives, K'ang was a traitor to Confucianism. Many moderate reformers like Chang Chih-tung were frightened off by K'ang's radical explanations of the Chinese Classics and radical reform programs.

G. Conclusion

Many of the reform measures were not actually practiced. But one could doubt whether they would succeed even if they were really put into practice. The Hundred Day Reform was a sharp break with the gradual changes of the Self-Strengthening Movement. The reform movement lacked effective power and experienced leadership. It invited all kinds of opposition.

EFFECTS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS REFORM

A. The re-establishment of conservative power

The failure of the progressive reform attempt in 1898 led to a re-establishment of conservative influence. The Empress Dowager came back with full power to the Qing court and re-appointed die-hard conservative Manchus to top official positions. The introduction of an anti-Chinese policy began, which furthered the growth of anti-Manchu feelings among the Chinese. This indirectly led to the 1911 Revolution.
B. The growth of an anti-foreign attitude at the Qing court

In 1898, as the Empress Dowager tried to arrest the reformers, K’ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao were helped to escape from China by the British and the Japanese respectively. In addition, foreign ministers in Peking prevented the Empress from dethroning Kuang-hsu and choosing a new Emperor immediately after 1898. Consequently, anti-foreign feelings were strong at the Qing court. This factor partly led to the Boxer Uprising in 1900-01.

C. The disappointment with reform as a way to save China

The failure of the Hundred Day Reform seemed to prove that reform from the top was useless. More and more Chinese came to believe that in order to save China, the Manchu dynasty (which opposed change) must be overthrown, and revolution from the bottom must be carried out. This contributed to the growth of Sun Yat-sen’s (Sun Yixian) revolutionary movement.

D. The way for continued reform efforts

i. Although the Empress Dowager was opposed to the Hundred Day Reform, the reform measures that were introduced had an unforgettable impression on her. After the Boxer Uprising of 1900-01, the Empress announced an official reform movement on her own. Reform measures similar to the 1898 ones were carried out between 1901 and 1911. In short, the Hundred Day Reform quickened the Empress Dowager’s decision in favour of institutional reform.

ii. Some of the 1898 reforms were allowed to continue. They paved the way for the Late Qing Reform (1901-1911). iii. The movement for constitutional government continued.

a. After the 1898 failure, K’ang Yu-wei formed an important political group in Japan to advocate constitutional rule. Liang, on the other hand, began to become an influential political writer.

b. Although the idea of constitutional rule was not actually put into practice in 1898, it was at least introduced to China. This made it easier for the adoption of constitutional government in the Late Qing Reform (1901-1911).

c. The advocacy of constitutional government brought with it ideas of people’s rights which indirectly helped the revolutionary movement.

E. The beginning of mass political movements in China

The establishment of Study Societies from 1895 to 1898 marked the beginning of Modern China’s mass political movements. Whereas scholars in the past had been traditionally unwilling to form political associations and had kept themselves from being involved in political matters, they voluntarily joined societies of a political nature after 1895. The scholar class was increasingly active in politics, a trend that continued from 1901 onwards. This made it easier for the
creation of local political assemblies in the constitutional program of the Late Qing Reform (1901-1911).

F. The birth of modern Chinese nationalism

The enthusiastic organization of nation-saving groups like the Study Societies represented the beginning of Chinese nationalism among the young Confucian scholars. Nationalistic consciousness among them grew. In addition, high Qing officials began to use a new, nationalistic policy in foreign matters. They were conscious of China's national rights in dealing with foreign powers. Concessions made to foreign powers were held to the minimum.

Boxer Uprising / Movement (1900)

Causes and background

A. Anti-foreign ideas and activities in society

i. China’s anti-foreign tradition and presence of Western missionaries in China since 1860.

China had a strong anti-foreign tradition. Foreigners were considered barbarians. After 1860, Western missionaries were given the right to preach Christianity throughout China and to rent or buy land for the construction of churches. The unwanted presence of these foreigners aroused Chinese anger.

ii. Anti-missionary attitude among the scholar-gentry - The scholar-gentry (those who had successfully passed government-held examinations and become China’s social leaders) hated Western missionaries. There were four reasons for this:

a. Foreign missionaries seemed to be challenging the scholar-gentry's social leadership:

- Firstly, the missionaries taught Western things, thereby competing with Chinese scholars as teachers.
- Secondly, the missionaries carried out social welfare measures, which were originally conducted by the Chinese scholar-gentry.
- Thirdly, the missionaries could talk to Chinese officials as equals and demand to see high Chinese officials at any moment, a privilege that only the scholar-gentry enjoyed.
- Fourthly, the missionaries enjoyed special rights in law which previously only the Chinese scholar-gentry possessed.

b. Foreign missionaries told the Chinese people not to worship ancestors and not to take part in local festivals. In the eyes of the scholar-gentry, missionary teachings attacked China’s tradition and culture.
c. Confucianism as a system of thought and religion was challenged by Christianity, since Western missionaries forbade Chinese believers to respect Confucius. Western missionaries represented the products of foreign imperialism and national humiliations. As a result, the scholar-gentry often secretly and indirectly supported anti-foreign activities in society. They distributed books with anti-Christian ideas and created an anti-foreign atmosphere.

iii. Anti-missionary attitude among the ordinary people

The ordinary people hated as well as feared foreign missionaries. There were three reasons:

a. As the missionaries used money to attract believers, many locally recruited Chinese Christians were bad people who joined the church just for a living. These Chinese Christians bullied the local people and committed crimes. In the eyes of local Chinese people, the Western church protected these crimes.

b. Superstition among the people increased anti-foreign feelings. For example,

* It was rumored that missionaries raped Chinese women and took out children's hearts and eyes in the church.

* Fortune-tellers and Taoist magicians in Shantung announced that because the foreigners disturbed the local *feng-shui* natural disasters and the end of the world would come.

c. The ordinary people did not understand and were fearful of Western things in general. For example, Western engines were called the "devil's fire carts".

iv. Anti-foreign attitude among a few Chinese nationalists

A small but growing number of Chinese nationalists were shameful of national humiliations that China suffered. Western missionaries were unwelcomed because they came to China together with greedy merchants and aggressive foreign officials.

B. Anti-foreign feelings in the Qing government

i. Anti-foreign attitude of the Empress Dowager

The Empress Dowager hated foreigners:

a. She remembered how she had been forced to leave the capital when Anglo-French forces invaded Peking in 1860.

b. After 1895, there was the Scramble for Concession that threatened to partition China.
c. After the Hundred Day Reform of 1898, K’ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao were helped to escape by the British and the Japanese respectively. And when the Empress tried to choose a new emperor to replace Kuang-hsu, foreign ministers checked her from doing so. By 1898 the Empress Dowager had decided to resist foreign imperialism. For example, Italy’s request for a concession was flatly turned down.

ii. Anti-foreign attitude among the Manchu conservatives

On the other hand, the hard and ignorant Manchu conservatives like Kang-i and Prince Tuan had re-established their influence at the Ch’ing court after the failure of the Hundred Day Reform. They feared that Western reform would weaken their power and destroy Chinese culture.

iii. Anti-foreign attitude among the Chinese officials

Chinese officials seldom cooperated with foreigners and often deliberately prevented Western missionaries from fully enjoying treaty rights in China. This was because:

a. These Chinese officials belonged to the scholar gentry’ class and were therefore themselves anti-foreign.

b. These Chinese officials needed the support of the scholar-gentry to run local administration in society. They therefore dared not anger their fellow Chinese scholars. As a result, local Chinese officials often turned a blind eye to anti-foreign uprisings in society. With the Qing court taking a strong position against foreign aggression, these local officials were encouraged to resist foreigners.

C. Growing aggressive attitude towards China among the Western powers

From 1870 to 1894, the Western powers adopted a "gunboat" policy in dealing with China: they used force to get what they wanted. After 1895, foreign imperialism in China grew quickly. In 1897, for example, the Germans occupied Kiaochow in Shantung, which aroused great fear among the local Shantung people.

D. Growing aggressive attitude toward China among the missionaries

On the social level, Western missionaries, especially the Catholics, often misused their treaty-rights in China. There were many occasions when Western missionaries interfered in local Chinese official affairs, either on behalf of the Chinese Christians or in order to win more believers. Some missionaries once went so far as to demand the transfer of two Qing provincial governors!

E. Economic hardship and natural disaster

i. By 1900, the value of China’s imports was four times that of her exports. There were two effects:
a. First, China’s industries and commerce were destroyed by the inflow of cheap foreign goods like cotton clothes, which were sold 2/3 cheaper. Consequently, unemployment was great in society. The people suffered economically.

b. Secondly, as the Qing dynasty was poor (as a result of foreign economic exploitation), it was forced to increase taxes, which therefore made the economic conditions of the people even worse.

ii. The traditional Grand Canal in North China lost its function of transport after railways had been built. Consequently, many workers, innkeepers and boatmen, who were left unemployed, rushed into Shantung. It was in Shantung that the Boxers originated.

iii. There were many natural disasters in late 19th century China:

a. The Yellow River flooded in 1898. Shantung was hard hit. Hundreds of Shantung villages were badly affected.

b. Then, in 1900, there was a serious drought in most of North China.

c. As it was believed that all these natural disasters were caused by the presence of the foreigners, anti-foreign feelings spread further.

**ORIGINS OF THE BOXER MOVEMENT**

**A. The Boxer Movement in Shantung**

In Shantung, social disturbances were especially serious. There were two reasons:

i. Many former government soldiers (especially from the Green Standard Armies), who had been disbanded by the Qing dynasty, went from Peking into Shantung and became robbers.

ii. Shantung was traditionally famous for its long history of rebellions led by secret societies. In such circumstances of social insecurity and economic depression, and for the purpose of defending against foreign missionary aggression, the people in Shantung were fond of joining self-defense units for self-protection. Thousands of young men practiced boxing in these units. Many of these units, however, were sponsored by secret societies. As a result, they consisted of many part-time bandits as well as the poor and the hungry. The secret societies organized anti-foreign uprisings and attacked Chinese Christians. Gradually such activities became a movement, which was called the *i-ho ch’uan* (righteous and harmonious fist. Originally, the term *i-ho ch’uan* referred to one branch of a secret society that broke into rebellion in the mid-Qing period. Now, in the late 1890s, the name was used to describe a general social movement of protest in Shantung.

**B. The aims of the Boxers**
Basically speaking, the Boxer Movement was both anti-dynastic and anti-foreign. Not only did the Boxers hate and fear the foreigners, they also blamed the Qing dynasty for its weakness and inefficiency. As a result, the slogan of the Boxer Movement at the beginning was "overthrow the Ch'ing and exterminate the foreigners"

C. The part played by the Qing court

Faced with such an internal rebellious movement, the Qing court had two alternatives: either to suppress the Boxers, perhaps with the help of foreign powers, or to support the Boxers, so as to strengthen dynastic rule. In the end, the Qing court decided on the second policy, because of the following reasons:

i. The Empress Dowager and die-hard Manchu conservatives were anti-foreign.

ii. If efforts were made to put down the Boxer Movement with foreign help, the government would appear to be a traitor to Chinese civilization at large and the imperial dynasty in particular.

iii. According to Confucian teachings, the "voice of the people" should be listened to, and the Boxer Movement seemed to be such a voice. Besides, rulers of China were traditionally confident that armed peasants would be able to drive out the barbarians after the regular government troops had failed to do so.

COURSE AND RESULTS OF THE BOXER UPRISING

A. Official encouragement and the spread of the Boxer Movement

i. From 1895 to 1898, Shantung was under the rule of Governor Li Ping-heng. He secretly encouraged the Boxers to attack Christian missionaries.

ii. In 1899, Yu-hsien, the new Shantung governor, gave active support to the Boxer Movement. Local Qing officials were ordered to ignore any complaint made by the missionaries. With such encouragement, the Boxers began to come over to the side of the Qing. The Boxer slogan was changed into "uphold the Qing and exterminate the foreigners". The name Ɂ-ho ch’uan was changed into Ɂ-ho t’uan (righteous and harmonious militia). Militias (t’uan-lien) were government-approved local-defence forces that consisted of part-time farmer-soldiers.

iii. The Qing court increasingly came to adopt a pro-Boxer attitude. Reactionaries like Prince Tuan and Kang-i recommended to the Empress Dowager that the Boxers be used against foreigners. Regular government troops were taught boxing. Silver money was given to the Boxers.

iv. In May 1900, the Empress Dowager asked the Boxers to enter Peking to show her their magical kung-fu. Convinced of the Boxers' strength and usefulness, she ordered half of the regular government troops to join them. Even Manchu nobles were told to practice boxing.
v. Boxer disturbances spread further. Anti-foreign activities increased. Chinese Christians were killed, railway and telegraph lines were destroyed, and foreigners were murdered. The situation quickly got out of control.

vi. Honest but cowardly officials knew that continued Boxer disorder would lead to a national disaster. But they dared not oppose the Empress Dowager, who trusted die-hard conservatives and ignored any other advice.

vii. In mid-1900, Prince Tuan tried to persuade Cixi of a war policy toward all foreigners. He made the Empress believe, though wrongly, that the foreign powers were demanding the restoration of the Kuang-hsu Emperor, who had been imprisoned by her after 1898. The purpose was served: Tz'u-hsi (Cixi), who was angry, formally declared war on the foreign powers.

viii. Conclusion — whereas the Boxer Movement was both anti-dynastic and anti-foreign before 1899, the Qing court neutralized its anti-dynastic nature by supporting it, making it exclusively anti-foreign thereafter. In the beginning, the Boxers blamed both the foreigners and the imperial dynasty. From 1899 on, however, the Qing court tried to whitewash its share of blame by siding with the Boxers. In sum, the Qing court was responsible:

a. for changing the development of the Boxer Movement (from being both anti-dynastic and anti-foreign to being exclusively anti-foreign), and

b. for spreading Boxer disturbances from Shantung to Peking, thus leading to the war with foreigners. The Boxer Movement began as resistance to the dynasty but ended in support of it, as Peking first tolerated and then authorized the actions of the Boxers.

B. The Allied Expedition

The foreign powers quickly gathered an expeditionary force to rescue the foreigners in Peking. The expedition quickly and badly defeated the Boxers and the Qing troops. The Empress Tz'u-hsi fled Peking for Xian.

C. The allied occupation of Peking and the independence (mutual protection) of Southeast China

It seemed that China would soon be divided among the foreign powers in Peking. But she was not. This was mainly because:

i. The powers were suspicious of each other. Britain and Japan, for example, were distrustful of Russia, who had made use of the opportunity to seize China’s Manchuria and was prepared to turn the region into a Russian protectorate.

ii. The most powerful provincial officials such as Yuan Shikai (in Shantung), Li Hung-chang (in Kwangtung) and Chang Chih-tung (in the Yangtze areas) remained neutral and did not join the war against the West. Through deliberate delay, they collectively disobeyed the Qing court’s orders to fight against the foreigners. They
explained to the foreign powers that the Boxer Uprising was beyond the Empress Dowager's control, and that the outbreak of anti-foreign killings was against her will. An informal agreement was reached with the foreign powers, by which these provincial officials would protect foreign lives and properties in South and Southeast China, while the foreign powers would refrain from sending troops to these regions.

D. Peace settlement

Knowing that armed resistance to the foreign powers was useless, the Empress Dowager called Li Hung-chang to Peking in an attempt to reach a settlement with the foreigners. After much negotiation, peace was finally established. A protocol was signed in September 1901.

E. The Boxer Protocol

In the main, the Boxer Protocol contained the following terms:

i. China had to pay a large indemnity of 450 million taels of silver, to be paid in 39 years at 4% yearly interest.

ii. The import of arms and ammunition was stopped till 1903. The forts between Taku and Peking were to be destroyed. Foreign troops were allowed to be stationed at important points from Peking to the sea. The Foreign Legation district there was enlarged and placed under the exclusive control of foreigners. Chinese were not allowed to live in the district.

iii. Many of the Boxers, government officials and Qing nobles responsible for the Boxer Uprising were accordingly punished, including Prince Tuan and Yu hsien. In the provinces, over one hundred officials were tried and found guilty. Imperial edicts were issued to forbid further anti-foreign activities and organizations in the future. The Civil Service Examinations were suspended for 5 years in areas of Boxer disturbances as a punishment to the pro-Boxer scholar gentry. Thereafter, provincial officials were personally held responsible for any anti-foreign incidents.

iv. China would apologize publicly for the Boxer killings. In particular, missions of apology were to be sent to Germany and Japan, as the ministers of the two countries had been murdered by the Boxers. Compensation was also made.

v. Existing mining regulations in China were to be revised to the benefit of foreign investors. China's customs houses were placed under foreign supervision.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE BOXER UPRISING

A. The impossibility of fighting all foreign powers

The conduct of the Boxers angered all foreign powers, who thereby organized an allied force to march to Peking. China could not hope to resist all foreign powers at the same time.

B. Military superiority of the Allied Expedition

The military forces of the Allied Expedition were far superior to the Boxers and the Qing troops. Despite military reforms carried out between 1895 and 1900, the Chinese troops in Peking were weak and useless.
C. Weakness of the Boxers

The Boxers were actually bandits. They were disorganized. Many of them joined the Boxer Movement not so much because they were patriotic as because they were poor and hungry. They claimed that bullets and fire-arms could not hurt them because they practiced *kung-fu*. But they quickly fell apart when they met foreign troops. They would not defend the country; some of them did not even have the intention of doing so.

D. Absence of popular support for the Boxers

Popular support for the Boxers was lacking throughout the provinces. The provincial independence during the uprising left the Boxers in Peking alone to fight foreign troops. Neither did the Chinese people help. The Boxers were therefore bound to fail.

EFFECTS OF THE BOXER UPRISING

A. Effects on China: political

i. Further violation of China's national right

With the conclusion of the Boxer Protocol, China's national rights were further violated. The terms of the Protocol interfered with China's internal administration. Also, her national defence was badly shaken.

ii. Provincial safety and continued Qing rule

Thanks to the policy of neutrality of clear-head statesmen like Li Hung-chang and Chang Chih-tung, however, most of the provinces in China were not affected by Boxer disturbances or Allied invasion. With the excuse that the Boxers were rebels out of the government’s control, the dynasty could return to power. The Qing dynasty continued to rule over China.

iii. The Empress Dowager's decision on reform

Within the Qing court, even the Empress Dowager realized the impossibility of fighting against foreigners. To save the Manchu dynasty, the Empress knew that institutional reform (which she opposed in 1898) was really necessary. The failure of resistance against foreign imperialism left only one alternative: reform. Other historians suggest that in announcing a reform movement in 1901, the Empress was playing a game of delay. Be it one way or another, however, reform (i.e. the Late Manchu Reform, 1901-11) was really carried out by the Qing government.

iv. Further provincial decentralization

But the political decentralization of the late Qing period was made worse during the Boxer Uprising. The independence of some provinces in 1900-01 clearly
showed that Peking’s control over the country at large was weak. In such circumstances, it was unlikely that the reform efforts after 1901 would succeed.

B. Effects on China: social and economic

i. Growth of anti-Manchu feelings and of social support for the revolutionary movement

In society, suffering and discontent increased when the Qing government raised taxes to pay for the heavy indemnity. At the same time, the corrupt and hopeless Manchu rule, and the Boxer humiliation brought about by the Manchus, convinced many Chinese that revolution, not reform, was the only effective way of saving China. Having failed to resist the foreigners by force, the people concentrated on blaming the Manchus for their inability to defend China. The downfall of the Qing dynasty quickened when revolutionary activities received more social support.

ii. Erosion of Chinese pride and self-respect

The Allied Expedition’s brutal demonstration of power and China’s quick defeat greatly hurt Chinese pride and self-respect. The Chinese attitude toward the Foreigners began to change from one of hatred to one of fear.

iii. Heavy burden of the large indemnity.

The large indemnity had a harmful effect on the Ch’ing dynasty’s financial conditions and obstructed China’s economic growth, as large amounts of money flowed out of the country. The total sum that China had to pay in the next 39 years, with interest included, was over 900 million teals. The Qing dynasty lost much money that could otherwise be used for reform. Later, as an act of goodwill, some foreign powers used part of the indemnity to promote modern education in China. This helped bring about a class of modern intellectuals and students who were opposed to the corrupt Qing rule and who made possible the 1911 Revolution.

C. Effects on China’s foreign relations

i. Delay in the revision of unequal treaties

To the foreign powers, China appeared very uncivilized in 1900-01, as the behaviour of the Boxers was very barbarous. Foreign governments were therefore less willing to consider any revision of unequal treaties, especially treaty rights like extra-territoriality. China’s chance of recovering national rights was delayed.

ii. Decline of the Qing government’s international position

In Peking, foreign ministers strengthened their position over the Qing government by organizing themselves into a powerful group. The Qing dynasty’s international reputation was at its lowest.
iii. *End to the Scramble for Concessions*

On the level of Sino-Western relations, the Chinese determination to resist foreigners in the Boxer Movement had the effect of checking and moderating foreign imperialism in China. The foreign powers were convinced of the need to adopt an Open-Door policy and stop the Scramble for Concessions. As a result, in a general willingness to reduce international conflict and to maintain the existing conditions of China, the principle of equal exploitation was accepted by the powers, even though by 1901 the powers had occupied Peking and was in a position to partition China. The breakup of China was avoided.

**D. Effect on Russo-Japanese relations**

Seeds of future international conflicts in the Far East had already been sown during the Boxer disturbances. During the uprising, Russian troops entered Manchuria, pretending to protect the region from Boxer disorder but actually trying to extend their influence there. After 1901, the Japanese demanded the withdrawal of these Russian troops. Russia’s deliberate delay in withdrawing them was partly responsible for the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904.

**The Chinese Revolution of 1911**

*Underlying Causes and Background of the Chinese Revolution, 1911 - 1912*

**INTERNAL DECLINE OF THE CH’ING (Qing) DYNASTY**

**A. Political factors**

i. Inefficient emperors - As the Ch’ing emperor held absolute power, administration in Peking was efficient only if he was an able man. In the 19th century, however, there was no great Ch’ing emperor.

ii. Lack of able Manchu leadership - As a race conquering China, the Manchus had always enjoyed powerful political influence greater than their small number should give them. Yet in the late 19th century, capable Manchu leadership was, generally speaking, lacking.

iii. Downward spread of administrative inefficiency in the government - Without an able emperor to supervise the officials, they became more incompetent, especially when the political structure itself had always the effect of discouraging energetic action in administration. In turn, these incompetent high officials chose incompetent low officials. The harmful effects of inefficiency thus spread downward.

iv. Sale of government posts - For lack of money to put down rebellions or to meet government expenses, the Ch’ing court increasingly relied on the sale of government posts to enlarge its income. More and more people acquired government posts in this way. On becoming officials, they squeezed as much money from the common people as they could.
v. Corruption - Corruption in the government was serious. High officials received "gifts" from low officials. In turn, low officials put government money into their own pockets. Heavy taxes were imposed on the people, who suffered economically.

vi. Political decentralization - As politics was so corrupt and demoralized, political power could no longer be centralized in Peking. Political decentralization as such had been growing serious since the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864). At that time, the Ch'ing court permitted the creation of regional armies for suppressing rebellions, since the traditional Eight-Banner forces were weak and useless. These regional armies were locally based, financed by local money, and trained to obey local-provincial officials like Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. Peking’s control over them was ineffective. This factor partly explained why the provinces declared independence in 1911.

vii. Growth of the scholar-gentry’s local power - Because of corruption and inefficiency in the government, the local magistrate was increasingly dependent on the scholar-gentry’s cooperation in ruling his county. Consequently, the power of the local scholar-gentry grew. Local men of influence safeguarded local interests. They organized their own military forces for self-defence (known as local militias, t’uan-lien) and collected taxes themselves.

B. Social and economic factors

i. Population growth and social poverty - Long years of peace in the early and mid Qing period contributed to a quick rise in China’s population. Yet,

a) Cultivable land was limited in amount and was concentrated in powerful landlords,

b) the people were forbidden by law to move to Manchuria and other places outside China, and

c) There was no large industrial development to absorb the excessive manpower and to raise the standard of living in society.

Consequently, more people only meant greater social poverty.

ii. Poor economic conditions of the government - As society was poor, the taxes that the dynasty could collect were limited in amount. Besides, serious corruption in the government ate away a large part of the taxes that had been collected. In society, powerful landlords evaded government taxes, thereby putting most of the tax burden on the peasants. When the oppressed peasants broke into rebellions, the dynasty had to spend more money to deal with the disorder, thus making the financial conditions even worse. From the mid-19th century on, the problem of political decentralization made collection of the whole country's taxes more and more difficult (sometimes impossible). Administrative inefficiency led to confusing financial management. To solve its money problem, the poor government increased taxes and sold more of its offices -- thus more social suffering, more corruption, and more rebellions.

C. Ideological factors
Despite attempts at destroying anti-Manchu attitudes by the Ch’ing rulers, such attitudes were preserved at the lowest level of society (i.e. villages), where central governments control was weak. With the outbreak of anti-Ch’ing rebellions since the late 18th century, anti-Manchu feelings that had long been kept underground re-surfaced. The ideological basis of the Manchu rule was challenged.

D. Military factors

The military forces that the Manchu dynasty depended on were of two kinds: the Manchu Eight-Banner Forces, with which the Manchus conquered China; and the Chinese Green Standard Army (lu-ying ), which the Manchus recruited after entering China. By the 19th century, all these troops were no longer useful:

i. Administrative inefficiency and the lack of cooperation - For fear of military disloyalty, the Ch’ing court saw to it that troops in any given area in China were a mixture of soldiers from different Banners. As the Eight Banners rivaled and were jealous of one another, cooperation between them was weak. Military efficiency was poor. The same happened to the Green Standard Army, owing to the lack of central command and the harmful effects of corruption.

ii. Poverty of the soldiers - The pay of the Banner soldiers was set at the beginning of the dynasty but remained unchanged even until the 19th century. Consequently, their livelihood was difficult. Yet, Banner soldiers were forbidden by law to follow any other profession. The Green Standard Army was becoming increasingly corrupt and had also lost its fighting value. Soldiers robbed the people and created more social disorder.

iii. The Manchu’s’ loss of fighting spirit - After entering China as rulers, the Manchus gradually lost their fighting spirit. They were used to enjoyments. Long years of inactivity in peaceful times and the lack of training reduced government troops to paper soldiers.

EXTERNAL THREATS TO THE CH’ING DYNASTY

In the 19th century, when the Ch’ing was on the decline, foreign imperialism came to China and quickened the downward course of the dynasty.

A. Political factors

i. With the Ch’ing government’s defeat by the foreigners, unequal treaties were imposed on China. Politically, therefore, China’s national right was violated. This caused the Ch’ing dynasty to lose much reputation and political power.

ii. Because of China’s weakness, the foreign powers succeeded in annexing many of the vassal-states that traditionally owed loyalty to China, like the Ryukyu Islands, Annam and Korea.
iii. At the height of foreign imperialism in the late 19th century, Chinese territories were cut up into different spheres of influence. The Ch'ing government was totally helpless in resisting such foreign pressure.

**B. Social and economic factors**

i. Foreign economic imperialism increased social suffering in China. For example, the import of cheap foreign textile goods destroyed rural Chinese industries.

ii. Foreign missionary activities in China aroused much hatred and fear among the Chinese.

iii. As for the Ch'ing dynasty, unfavorable balance of trade (imports exceeding exports) reduced the value of the country's currency, which therefore further ate away the government's income. The costs of the wars that China fought with the foreign powers, together with war indemnities that China had to pay, made the dynasty's financial conditions even worse.

**C. Ideological factors**

i. The Manchus had tried to make their dynasty a lawful one in Chinese history by appearing as the defenders of Confucianism and adopting Chinese culture in full. After the coming of the West in the 19th century, however, Confucian political ideas came increasingly under attack. Thus if the Ch'ing dynasty continued to promote Confucian political ideas, it would be condemned as backward and reactionary by the progressive-minded intellectuals. If the dynasty gave up Confucian political ideas, it would lose the ideological foundation on which its rule was built for over two centuries.

ii. Foreign imperialism and the introduction of Western learning stimulated the rise of modern Chinese nationalism. In the presence of foreigners, more and more Chinese people became conscious of their common racial background and national identity. Both national and racial consciousness grew among many Chinese. Anti-Manchu feelings spread quickly. In fact, modern Chinese nationalism expressed itself in the form of an anti-Manchu attitude.

**D. Military factors**

In the Self-Strengthening Movement (1862-94), a modern army and navy were developed. However, they were destroyed in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). After 1896, a New Army was created. But as anti-Manchu nationalism spread among the New Army soldiers, they were not loyal to the dynasty.

**GROWING STRENGTH AND POPULARITY OF ANTI-MANCHU IDEAS**

**A. Anti-Manchu tradition**

As a race believing in its own cultural superiority over others, the Chinese traditionally disliked being dominated by foreigners, whether the Westerners or the Manchus.
B. The psychological comfort derived from anti-Manchu ideas in an age of foreign imperialism

In late Ch’ing times, not only the foreigners, but also the Manchus, were blamed for all kinds of problems that China faced - political, social, or economic. But since the foreigners were too strong to resist (such as in the Boxer Uprising, 1900-01), the only hope of saving China was the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. By putting all the blame for China’s weakness on the Manchus, Chinese intellectuals had a psychological comfort that it was the corrupt Manchu rule, not Chinese civilization itself, that explained China’s weakness.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE LATE CH’ING (Qing) REFORM (1901-1911)

The forces produced by the Late Ch’ing Reform paradoxically helped overthrow the dynasty in the end.

A. Educational reform

The students sent by the Ch’ing government to study abroad turned out to be either intellectuals dissatisfied with the corrupt Manchu rule or revolutionaries working to overthrow the dynasty.

B. Political reform

Constitutional practice gave opportunities to the local provincial gentry to establish independent power against the dynasty. The worsening tendency of political decentralization opened the way for the provinces declaring independence from Peking in 1911-12.

C. Military reform

Military reform led to the establishment of regional military forces practically independent of Peking’s control. In the end, because these military forces did not support the dynasty, the Manchu Emperor was forced to abdicate in 1912.

RISE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

A. Growing social disturbances after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)

i. China’s defeat in the war revealed the weakness of the Ch’ing court. Many secret societies considered the moment suitable for armed uprisings. Small-scale rebellions broke out in many places. There were on average 80 to 100 such revolts every year from 1895 to 1911.

ii. The soldiers recruited to fight Japan were quickly disbanded after the peace treaty of 1895. Discontent grew among them. They became bandits in society.
iii. Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895. As a result, many frightened Taiwanese moved into the neighboring province of Fukien. Social instability in South China spread and grew.

B. Introduction of modern, Western ideas into China

Through missionary efforts and via treaty-ports, modern ideas such as democracy and republicanism were introduced to and popularized among Chinese intellectuals. These progressive young people were greatly influenced by examples of great European revolutions (such as the French Revolution of 1789) and national unifications (such as the German Unification of 1871).

C. Acceptance of the idea of revolution by an increasing number of Chinese intellectuals

More and more young intellectuals decided that a revolution was necessary to save China. The overseas students were particularly won over by the idea of revolution, for the following reasons:

i. On coming into contact with modernized, Westernized societies like Japan, they realized how backward China was.

ii. In a foreign environment, they had the experience of being racially discriminated against and were thus particularly nationalistic.

iii. Because of the freedom provided by the foreign environment, they could experiment with ideas about revolution.

iv. The Western education they received had the effect of encouraging radical activities.

D. Revolutionary activities in China

i. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary uprisings in South China.

ii. Huang Hsing's revolutionary uprising in Central China - In 1903, Huang Hsing, who was an overseas student from the province of Hunan, set up a revolutionary organization there to work for the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty. The organization was called the China Revival Society (Hua-hsing hui ). An uprising was planned. It was unsuccessful. In 1904, Huang Hsing was forced to escape to Japan, where he met Sun Yat-sen.

E. Revolutionary activities in Japan

i. Most of the late Ch'ing overseas students were sent to Japan, and most of them came from the wealthy southern provinces of China. Since South China had a stronger anti-Manchu tradition than North China, revolutionary activities spread quickly among these overseas students in Japan.
ii. But because the overseas students came from different Chinese provinces, they were divided into different provincial factions. A united revolutionary organization was lacking.

iii. In the early 1900s, these overseas students became increasingly patriotic and radical. For example, in 1903, they formed a "Resist-Russia-Volunteer Corps" for the purpose of defending China against the Russian aggression in Manchuria.

iv. By 1905, Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing and the overseas students in Japan realized the importance of cooperation in revolutionary efforts. They set up the Revolutionary Alliance (T'ung-meng hui).

**SUN YAT-SEN AND HIS REVOLUTIONARY CAREER**

**A. Early life**

Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian) was born in a village near Canton in 1866. His family belonged to the peasant class. At early school age, he had a traditional Chinese classical education. At the age of 13, however, Sun was sent to Hawaii to join his elder brother who had started a successful business overseas. There, Sun received a foreign, modern education and became a Christian. Later, he returned to his village and after some time went to Hong Kong to study medicine. He became a doctor in 1892. Then, when practicing in Macau, Sun came into contact with friends who were members of anti-Ch'ing secret societies. Such connections with the secret society proved to be important for his later revolutionary career.

**B. Intellectual background**

Brought up by both traditional Confucian education and modern, Western one, Sun was not bound by the limitations of tradition but was somehow influenced by Chinese culture. Consequently, his ideas were a mixture of both Western and Chinese thoughts. Also, as Sun was less bound by Confucianism, it was more likely for him to become a revolutionary.

**C. Foreign influence**

i. Years of observations, both in Hawaii or Hong Kong and in his home village, made Sun realize the backwardness of China and the progress of the West. His dissatisfaction with the corrupt Ch'ing rule grew.

ii. However, precisely because he had received a Western education and was a Christian and a doctor, Sun had difficulty in making himself acceptable and popular among the traditional scholar-gentry and reformers like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (Liang Qichao) and K'ang Yu-wei (Kang Youwei).

iii. But because Sun was familiar with Western countries and Western culture, he had an advantage of having the quality of political leadership that traditional Confucian scholars lacked contacts with the West.
D. Chinese influence

i. Because Sun came from a peasant family and had lived among overseas Chinese, he was in a better position to develop connections with the lower classes of Chinese society in revolutionary efforts. In this respect, he was unlike the Confucian scholars, most of whom kept themselves apart from the common people.

ii. South China, and Kwangtung in particular, had a stronger anti-Manchu tradition than North China. Born in such an environment (South China), Sun was himself deeply revolutionary in character.

E. As a reformer, 1890-1894

During this period, Sun Yat-sen was not yet an outright revolutionary. He still thought of using the old method to save China - reform. Thus attempts were made by Sun to meet reformist figures of the time, such as K'ang Yu-wei (in 1893) and Li Hung-chang (in 1894). After failure to attract Li's attention, however, Sun became a full-time revolutionary working for the overthrow of the dynasty.

F. As a revolutionary, 1895-1900: dependence on secret societies and overseas Chinese

i. Formation of the Revive China Society (Hsing-chung hui), and the first revolutionary uprising - The society was founded by Sun in Hawaii and Hong Kong in 1894-95. It consisted mainly of overseas Chinese and Christians (such as clerks, workers, farmers and tailors), and was under the leadership of a small group of missionary-educated young people like Sun himself. There were about 150 members. They took an oath to "expel the Manchus, restore the Chinese rule, and establish a republic". It was planned that the overseas Chinese members would organize revolts in places like Hong Kong, and secret-society members would be hired to do the fighting on the Chinese mainland. In 1895, making use of the disturbances created by China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Society planned a revolt in Canton. It was unsuccessful. Sun himself fled overseas.

ii. Attempts at widening support for the revolutionary movement - After 1895, Sun travelled in foreign countries for the sake of:

a. winning sympathy from Western countries, and
b. seeking more support from the overseas Chinese communities.

Sun believed that active foreign assistance or friendly foreign neutrality was necessary for a successful revolution in China. He therefore tried to convince the foreigners that both trade and missionary activities would be better served by a new republic than by the corrupt Manchu dynasty. He promised that a republic set up by the revolutionaries would bring advantages for foreigners. Yet, the results of Sun's travels were disappointing. Not even Hong Kong, a British colony, permitted Sun to organize his revolution.
iii. Kidnap in London, 1896-97 - When Sun stayed in London, he was kidnapped by some Ch'ing officials in the Chinese legation. However, with the help of an English friend, he was finally rescued. Later, Sun published his story as Kidnapped in London and overnight became the most famous Chinese revolutionary. The effect of the incident was to strengthen Sun's sense of confidence and mission, making his determination to overthrow the Manchu dynasty greater than ever.

iv. Support in Japan - Upon arriving in Japan, Sun met and made some good Japanese friends, who were sympathetic toward his revolutionary efforts.

Much help was given to Sun. For example, these Japanese:

a) introduced Sun to many influential people in Japan,
b) raised money for Sun's revolutionary movement,
c) popularized Sun's reputation in newspapers, and
d) (as citizens of Japan, a great power) protected Sun from being arrested or assassinated.

v. Attempted cooperation with reformers - Sun's Japanese friends worked to get the Chinese revolutionaries and reformers to cooperate, since both groups competed for financial support from the same overseas Chinese communities. The attempt was, however, a failure, because:

a. The two sides worked for different ideological objectives (one to reform the existing dynasty, the other to overthrow it).
b. K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the reformers, considered Sun to be poorly educated.

vi. Second revolutionary uprising, 1900 - Making use of the disturbances caused by the Boxer Uprising (1900), Sun and his secret society allies in Kwangtung planned another uprising there. The uprising, known as the Waichow Rebellion held out for a few days and ended in failure. Its effects were as follows:

a. The early success of the uprising further convinced Sun that his revolutionary strategy of stimulating the outbreak of local revolts was correct and workable. Just as Sun expected, Chinese society was ready for revolution.
b. But the final failure showed the weakness of depending entirely and only on secret societies and overseas Chinese in the revolutionary movement. Aiming at a real revolution, not a traditional rebellion Sun began to understand that wider social support was needed.

G. As a revolutionary, 1901-1905: turn to overseas students

Sun's attention began to turn to the overseas Chinese, especially those in Japan, after 1901. To win support from these intellectuals and to turn them into active revolutionaries against the Manchus, Sun took the following steps:
i. Military training for overseas students - With the help of some Japanese army officers, military training was organized, though unsuccessfully, for Chinese students in Japan.

ii. Ideological programs to save China - An ideology, later known as the Three Principles of the People, was worked out by Sun so as to attract the attention of the overseas students, since the students were fond of experimenting with Western ideas. Moreover, with a modern ideology, Sun would no longer be viewed, as before, as an uneducated traditional rebel.

iii. Anti-imperialist propaganda - As the overseas students were mostly anti-imperialist in attitude, Sun wrote many articles to newspapers and journals to discuss the problem of imperialism in China. Instead of saying good things about foreigners in China, which he used to do previously, Sun now condemned foreign imperialism and praised the Boxers so as to win approval from the students. By drawing attention to the problem of imperialism, Sun was in fact showing the students that he was able to deal with the foreign threat.

iv. Arguments and mass meetings - Sun took up arguments with reformers like Liang Chi-ch'ao on the advantages of a revolution. Also, mass meetings were organized, at which Sun spoke to hundreds of overseas Chinese. Through these opportunities, Sun showed to the overseas students that he too was intellectually capable of analyzing China's problems and proposing solutions to them.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE (T'UNG-MENG HUI)

A. Background to its formation in 1905

i. Growing anti-Manchu attitudes and activities among overseas Chinese students in Japan (see above)

ii. The overseas students' turn to Sun Yat-sen for revolutionary leadership - Before 1903, the overseas students were, generally speaking, distrustful of Sun Yat-sen and paid no great attention to him. From 1903 to 1905, however, they began to welcome him, for the following reasons:

a. After the Boxer Uprising (1900-01), more and more overseas students were convinced that China would be saved by revolution only, not by reform.

b. The overseas students began to recognize the importance of foreign assistance or neutrality (which Sun had the ability to appeal to) in China's revolution.

c. Sun had long years of actual revolutionary experience (which the overseas students lacked).

d. The anti-Manchu and anti-imperialist arguments made by Sun fitted well with the overseas students' attitudes.

iii. Sun Yat-sen's turn to the overseas students for support - (See above)
iv. Japanese efforts in working for the unification of the Chinese revolutionary movement - After failure to bring about cooperation between the Chinese reformers and revolutionaries in 1899-1900, Sun Yat-sen's Japanese friends actively worked to bring different revolutionaries like Sun himself, Huang Hsing and the overseas students together for joint revolutionary action.

B. Leadership

Sun Yat-sen was chosen as the most important leader of the Revolutionary Alliance because of:

i. his close contact with secret societies and the overseas Chinese, which other revolutionaries lacked,

ii. his connections with foreigners, which other revolutionaries did not have,

iii. his ability to raise money for the revolutionary movement,

iv. his experience in organizing revolutionary activities, and

v. the support that Sun's Japanese friends gave him.

C. Membership

From 1905-6, there were about 1,000 people who joined the Revolutionary Alliance, 90% of whom did so in Japan. Most of the members were students and intellectuals, and nearly all provinces of China were represented in the organization (unlike the Revive China Society formed in 1895 which consisted mostly of uneducated people and Kwangtung natives).

D. Objectives

The primary and most important objective was the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Other aims were included in a six-point program:

i. overthrow of the Manchus,

ii. establishment of a republic,

iii. maintenance of world peace,

iv. nationalization of land,

v. cooperation with Japan, and

vi. world support for the revolutionary movement.

E. Weaknesses

i. Lack of unity - Since members of the Revolutionary Alliance came from different provinces of China, the organization was divided into many provincial factions. There were serious personal and ideological disagreements. Leaders of the
provincial factions often planned revolutionary actions regardless of central leadership and the need for cooperation.

ii. Financial problem - Despite the funds raised by Sun Yat-sen, the Revolutionary Alliance was still in need of money for its costly activities.

iii. Unreliable alliance with the secret societies - The secret societies were not good allies of the Revolutionary Alliance because:

a. In revolting against the Ch’ing dynasty, the secret societies were eager to safeguard their self interests.

b. Secret-society members disliked such an unfamiliar and Western-sounding idea as Republicanism.

c. The secret societies favoured traditional methods of rebellion that the Revolutionary Alliance did not always approve of.

iv. Small-size and limited influence - Because the Revolutionary Alliance's membership was limited mainly to the overseas Chinese and overseas students, the organization remained small in size when compared to the large size of China's territories and population. By 1910, for example, there were only about 10,000 members. Among them, no more than 3,000 were intellectuals, and no more than a few hundred of these 3,000 actually and actively took part in revolutionary activities.

ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE, 1906-1910

A. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary strategy

Armed uprisings would be organized in China’s southern border regions. According to Sun, these uprisings would finally result in the seizure of a province or two in South China by the revolutionaries. Then, i. either similar revolts would occur and succeed in other provinces (thus quickly overthrowing the dynasty),

ii. Or, a republic would be established in the south first, win foreign recognition then, and build a base to conquer the north afterwards.

B. Huang Hsing’s revolutionary strategy

Huang Hsing, however, did not consider Sun’s strategy to be a suitable one for China’s conditions. He believed that the Revolutionary Alliance should organize revolts in Central China along the Yangtze to directly attack the Ch’ing dynasty’s heartland.
C. Revolutionary failures, 1907-1910

From 1907 until 1910, Sun and Huang attempted several revolts at the Sino-Vietnamese border and Kwangtung. Because of insufficient financial support and military supplies, however, all these uprisings were unsuccessful. The Revolutionary Alliance began to consider Huang Hsing’s revolutionary strategy.

D. Weakening of the Revolutionary Alliance

i. With repeated failures, many revolutionaries were in despair of further attempts. Wang Ching-wei, for example, began turning to terrorist assassinations of Ch’ing officials as a substitute for armed uprisings. Even the strong-willed Huang Hsing began losing confidence.

ii. Meanwhile, alarmed at the growing revolutionary activities in Japan, the Ch’ing government began limiting the flow of students to the country.

iii. The Japanese government was getting increasingly conservative and unfriendly in dealing with the Chinese revolutionaries. Thus Sun’s Japanese friends lost much influence and found it difficult to help the Revolutionary Alliance.

iv. When Sun Yat-sen left Japan in 1907, unity within the Revolutionary Alliance was further weakened. Dissatisfaction with Sun’s leadership grew among some of the members. There was even a rumour that Sun put public money into his pocket. By 1908, each of the provincial groups in the Revolutionary Alliance organized revolts in its own way.

The 1911 Revolution and the End of the Ch’ing Dynasty

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

A. Growing inefficiency and lack of capable men at the Manchu court, 1908-1911

Li Hung-chang died in 1902, Chang Chih-tung in 1909. Both the Empress Dowager and the Emperor Kuang-hsu died in 1908. Prince Chun, father and regent for the new emperor, was incompetent and ignorant. He dismissed Yuan Shih-k’ai from office, thus removing and angering the only powerful man who could have saved the dynasty.

B. The provincial gentry’s dissatisfaction with the constitutional movement in Peking

According to the time-table of the late Ch’ing constitutional movement, a National Assembly was opened in Peking in 1910. In this way, an opportunity was given to the provincial gentry leaders from all over China to come together (in Peking) and demand more power from the Central government. They were dissatisfied with the slow progress of the constitutional rule:
i. They expected a parliament immediately, not in 1917 as the Manchu government promised.

ii. They discovered that the Manchu court regarded them only as powerless advisers in the National Assembly.

iii. They were angry to learn that the newly formed cabinet consisted mostly of Manchu nobles.

In protest, many of these provincial gentry’ leaders formed a Society of Friends of the Constitution (Hsien-yu hui) in mid-1911. The purpose was to put more pressure on the government. The Manchu court, however, ignored the association. Bitterly disappointed, the gentry leaders returned to their provinces. It was they who decided to declare independence from Peking after the Wuhan uprising in October.

C. Worsened social discontent in the late 1900s

In order to pay for the expenses of reform projects in the 1900s, the provincial gentry had imposed heavier taxes on the people, thereby increasing social discontent. This factor led to the outbreak of many peasant uprisings, especially in the Yangtze valley (where, one must remember, the Wuhan Revolution occurred). Large-scale battles took place between Chinese clans. Robbery was common. The troubled times seemed favourable for revolution.

D. The disputes between the Central government and the provinces over the problem of railway construction

As part of the late Ch'ing reform program, many of the gentry leaders and merchants in southern provinces had earlier raised money for building railways leading to Peking. The Manchu court, however, disliked the idea, believing that the plan would only further weaken central control over the provinces. Aiming at establishing a centralized railway system, Peking therefore tried to obtain a foreign loan to buy up all provincial railway rights. The terms of such a railway nationalization plan seemed rather unfair and disadvantageous to the provincial investors. In mid-1911, the government even ordered the provincial railway companies to disband. Consequently, the provinces broke into angry protest.

The gentry-merchant leaders in Szechwan were the angriest, as much of their money for railway construction had already been lost through corrupt official management. Newspapers there spoke of the Ch'ing dynasty as "selling Szechwan to the foreigners". Outstanding gentry’ members, business leaders and patriotic students joined to form a railway protection association. Anti-Ch'ing feelings became more widespread, though the gentry-merchant leaders had no connection with revolutionaries like Sun Yat-sen. The provincial governor of Szechwan ordered the arrest of some important gentry’ leaders. This forced the protectors to resort to armed action. Within days, gentry-led militia forces in effect took over the administration of the province. All this happened before October 10, 1911.
THE WUHAN UPRISING ON OCTOBER 10, 1911

A. Immediate events leading to the uprising

i. Disloyalty of the government’s New Army - Since 1903, the government’s New Army had been influenced by revolutionary propaganda. Out of a widespread concern for China’s weakness, the officers and soldiers were fond of organizing revolutionary clubs which met regularly to study republican political ideas. Anti-Manchu feeling was strong.

ii. Plans of a military revolt in the Wuhan areas, 1911 - Soldiers of the New Army units in the Wuhan areas (consisting of Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow) were particularly active in forming such revolutionary study groups. Of all these groups, the most revolutionary one was known as the Literary Society (wen-she). In the summer of 1911, it made plans for an uprising to be held in the autumn of the same year.

iii. Accidental outbreak of revolt on October 70, 1911 - The Literary Society had informed the Revolutionary Alliance (T‘ung-menghui) of this intended uprising. But the Revolutionary Alliance considered it not the right moment to start a revolt. As a result, no T‘ung-menghui members went to the Wuhan areas. On October 9, when preparing for the planned uprising, the new army revolutionaries accidentally let off a small bomb in their headquarters in Hankow. Knowing that further delay would result in their capture by the government, the new army men started the revolt immediately the next day, i.e. October 10. They quickly seized the main Wuhan arsenal and forced an army commander, General Li Yuan-hung, to take charge of the situation. It was a successful revolt. Proclamations of the revolution were then sent to other parts of the country.

B. Reasons for the success of the Wuhan Uprising

i. Shortly after the outbreak of revolt, the cowardly Manchu governor-general in the Wuhan areas gave up resistance, thus handing the region to the rebellious soldiers.

ii. The rebellious soldiers had occupied a complete arsenal, and were thus in a strong military position.

iii. Li Yuan-hung was able to win support from the provincial gentry-merchant leaders in the Wuhan region through friendly contacts with them. To the other provinces, the Wuhan revolt was thus backed by respectable, influential citizens (i.e. gentry-merchant leaders) and was not a disorderly uprising led by ignorant peasants or radical revolutionaries.

C. Reactions to the successful Wuhan Uprising

i. Local-provincial gentry and merchants -
a. In the last years of the Ch'ing rule, the gentry-merchant leaders were disappointed at the government’s policies (such as constitutional movement and railway nationalization). The Manchus had in this way lost all support from the gentry and merchants.

b. After years of revolutionary propaganda and activities, the gentry-merchant leaders were convinced of the unavoidable fall of the Manchu dynasty. To show that they were progressive-minded, these gentry-merchant members were eager to join the winning side - that of the revolutionaries.

ii. Modern army - Because of political decentralization, many of the army commanders and officers had established powerful, independent positions in the provinces. For reasons of nationalism as well as of self-interest, these military leaders were unwilling to come to the dynasty's help.

iii. Government officials - Officials of the Central government had lost confidence in the ability of the Ch'ing dynasty to defend itself. They thus chose to take a wait-and-see attitude.

**DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE PROVINCES**

**A. Reasons**

i. The provinces were no longer loyal to the dynasty.

ii. The gentry-merchant leaders and military officers in the provinces feared that the successful revolutionaries (i.e. Sun Yat-sen or Huang Hsing) might challenge their positions of power, and that the discontented peasants might make use of the unstable political conditions to seize land. In declaring provincial independence, the gentry-merchant-military leaders hoped to keep revolution out of the provinces and to keep provincial political power in non-revolutionary hands, thus protecting against radical social ideas and the spread of any peasant revolt.

**B. Course**

In the 2 weeks after the Wuhan uprising, the provinces just watched silently. Then, some gentry-merchant-military leaders in the provinces took the lead in declaring independence from the Manchu court. After one and a half months, 15 provinces, or 2/3 of all China, were no longer within Peking's control. In most of these independent provinces, it was the conservative forces (i.e. gentry, militarists, merchants), not the revolutionaries, that controlled political power. In 10 provinces, for example, military men became governors after declarations of independence.

**YUAN SHIH-K'AI AND SUN YAT-SEN**

**A. The comeback of Yuan Shih-k'ai** (Yuan Shikai)

Immediately after the Wuhan Uprising in October, in a last attempt to save itself, the Manchu court recalled Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had been forced to retire since 1908. However, Yuan had not been loyal to the dynasty and was only concerned about his own power. He delayed coming to the dynasty’s help until he
was given complete control of the Peiyang Army and full powers to deal with the situation as he saw fit.

B. The election of Sun Yat-sen as president

Meanwhile, members of the Revolutionary Alliance like Huang Hsing had returned to China to rival the gentry-merchant-military leaders for control of the political situation. At the provincial level, the revolutionaries could never challenge the powerful gentry-merchant-militarist alliance. At the national level, however, the Revolutionary Alliance was recognized as the leading revolutionary group. It sent representatives to a Provisional Government which met in Nanking in December 1911. Most of the representatives favoured either Li Yuan-hung or Huang Hsing as candidates for the presidency. Lacking agreement, however, supporters of both sides turned to Sun Yat-sen, who had returned from overseas at this moment. Sun was thus elected as Provisional President of the newly established Chinese Republic.

C. Peace talks between Yuan and the revolutionaries

Yuan Shih-kai's position was indeed powerful:

i. He controlled the Peiyang Army.
ii. He had supporters in the Provisional Government in Nanking.
iii. He had foreign backing, since the foreign powers regarded him as the only strong man in China who could maintain law and order.
iv. He enjoyed full powers given by the Manchu court.

Sun Yat-sen and other revolutionaries, on the other hand, knew that their strength was weak and feared that further delay in political unification might encourage foreign imperialist intervention. Thus in the negotiations with Yuan, Sun made it clear that the presidency of the Republic would be given to Yuan if Yuan forced the Manchus to abdicate.

D. The end of the Ch'ing dynasty, February 1912

For reasons discussed later, Yuan Shih-k'ai was willing to give up the dynasty in support of the Republic. On February 12, 1912, under Yuan's pressure, the Manchu court announced its abdication. The 268-year-old Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912), together with the century-long monarchical system of government, was put to an end.

E. Yuan Shih-k'ai as President of the Chinese Republic

On the same day as the Ch'ing dynasty's abdication, Yuan Shih-k'ai promised to support the Republic. Then Sun Yat-sen resigned as Provisional President, to be succeeded by Yuan after a formal election. Yuan was required by the new Republican Government to come to Nanking to take up the presidency.
Unwilling to release his power base in the north, however, Yuan stayed in Peking. He became President of China in March. In April, Peking was made the national capital. It was renamed Peiping.

**F. Reasons for the acceptance of Yuan as the president by the revolutionaries**

i. Yuan had strong military power, and the revolutionaries were unprepared to fight with him in a long civil war, which would only bring more disorder and disunity.

ii. The revolutionaries feared that a long civil war would bring about foreign intervention in the Chinese revolution and foreign partition of China.

iii. The revolutionaries were inexperienced in actually running a government and were disorganized themselves. Besides, as revolutionaries working outside China most of the time, they lacked popular Chinese support and did not have the friendship of the powerful local-provincial gentry. It was difficult for them to struggle with Yuan.

**G. Reasons for Yuan Shih-k'ai's acceptance of the presidency**

i. Yuan was himself ambitious and had never been really loyal to the Ch'ing dynasty.

ii. Republicanism seemed to be a necessity after the success of the revolution in October. Yuan would appear to be a reactionary traitor if he did not make peace with the revolutionaries.

iii. Only by supporting a republic could Yuan receive foreign support. iv. Yuan's military position against the revolutionaries was not altogether superior, since the loyalty of many of his officers was questionable.

**SUN YAT-SEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE 1911 REVOLUTION**

**A. Fund-raising to finance revolutionary activities**

Sun had close connections with the overseas Chinese, especially in Southeast Asia and America. With a strong power of persuasion, Sun was able to win enthusiastic financial support from them. Living in a foreign (often unfriendly) environment, the overseas Chinese were particularly sensitive to being discriminated against by foreigners. As a result, these Chinese people were especially patriotic. They contributed much money in Sun's fund-raising campaigns. The funds were in the form of "patriotic bonds". The revolutionaries promised that the money would be repaid to the buyer after the success of the future revolution.

**B. Connections with foreigners and request for foreign help**

It had been Sun's policy to win foreign sympathy for the Chinese revolutionary movement. He convinced many other fellow revolutionaries of the
importance of such a policy. Sun had the connections and opportunities to turn to foreign governments for help. He had many good foreign friends in Britain, America and Japan. Through these foreign friends, Sun could every now and then explain to both foreign governments and foreign peoples the harmlessness, good intention and (above all) moderation of the Chinese revolutionary movement, so that Sun’s revolution would not be mistaken for another anti-foreign uprising like the Boxer Uprising. It is true that the 1911 Revolution broke out and developed without the active help of foreign powers. But in respecting foreign privileges in China, the revolutionaries were able to win foreign neutrality, without which the Chinese revolution would never succeed.

C. Willingness to work with lower social classes in revolutionary efforts

Unlike other intellectuals who kept themselves apart from the lower social classes, Sun Yat-sen was willing to cooperate and work with peasant bandits and secret-society members in the revolutionary movement. In fact, he was a member of one of the famous secret societies, the Triads.

D. Flexible leadership

Sun Yat-sen had not laid down any absolute and unchangeable formula of revolution. Rather, he followed whatever was suitable and necessary, as long as the aim remained the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Thus revolutionary strategies would change in accordance with the demands of unexpected situations. Because the harmful effects of policy disagreement were cut down, there was better unity within the revolutionary movement.

E. Strong confidence

With repeated failures of revolutionary attempts in the late 1900s, morale began to decline among many revolutionaries. Sun, however, continued to view the future optimistically. He kept his fellow revolutionaries going. And if to some people he appeared to be childish and unrealistic, he nevertheless provided a quality so very important for the success of a revolution - faith.

F. Comprehensive ideology for the revolutionary movement

Sun’s Three Principles of the People provided comprehensive programs to deal with the political, social and economic problems of China. Although such programs necessarily had weaknesses and had to be improved later, Sun was nevertheless the first political leader of Modern China to work out systematic ways to save the country.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1911 REVOLUTION IN CHINA

A. End to the monarchical form of government

Politically speaking, the 1911 Revolution was a decisive break with the past. For over two thousand years, China had been ruled by the monarchical form of
government. Now, in 1911, however, she was willing and determined to abandon it. Whereas in the past, the dynasty could claim absolute obedience from its subject people, the Chinese people after 1911 began to learn that sovereignty (i.e. national right) belonged finally to them and to no one else.

**B. Decreased Confucianism and increased Westernization and modernization**

Such a political break with the past had at least two far-reaching effects:

i. Negatively, the importance of Confucianism in Chinese society was greatly decreased. As the emperorship political structure had been an inseparable part of Confucianism, the abolition of the monarchy in 1911 declared Confucianism a useless political belief. Later, during the May Fourth Revolution in 1919, even Confucianism as a way of life and a body of social thought was under attack. In this way, the 1911 political revolution made way for the 1919 intellectual revolution.

ii. Positively, the creation of a Western-style republic speeded up and extended Westernization and modernization in all areas of Chinese city life and culture. The Chinese people were therefore psychologically better prepared to accept new, modern things. Indeed, some intellectuals even accepted Communism later.

**C. Practice of republicanism**

Over the world at large at that time, republicanism was still not popularly practiced. For example, except for China, there was no republic in Asia in 1911. Even in Europe; there were only two republican governments, one in France, and the other in Switzerland. Seen in this way, therefore, the 1911 Revolution in China was indeed very advanced.

**D. Lack of social revolution**

Socially speaking, the 1911 revolution was a failure:

i. First, the Revolution did not bring about much change in the composition of the Chinese ruling classes. It is true that the emperor and his officials were gone, but the conservative gentry-landlords had not been overthrown, and still ruling in the countryside. In addition, military men of the Late Ch'ing like Yuan Shih-k'ai remained influential. Revolutionaries and intellectuals, who helped run the Republic, were powerless in the presence of these conservative forces.

ii. Secondly, the revolution was limited to several cities only and was too quickly concluded. Only the political system was revolutionized; the social order remained what it had been. Consequently, while the city was modernized, the village was as backward and conservative as ever.

**E. Increased provincial decentralization**

Once the dynasty had been overthrown, the traditional link between the provinces and Peking was cut. The new Republic was weak and could not establish
centralized political power over all China. Consequently, the local-provincial scholar-gentry fell back on local and provincial, not national, affairs. The growth of national consciousness was therefore slowed down. Seen from this angle, the 1911 Revolution worsened the problem of political decentralization of the late Ch'ing period.

**F. From anti-Manchuism to anti-imperialism**

Before 1911, Chinese intellectuals could blame the Manchus for all the national and social problems that China suffered. Now that the Manchus no longer ruled, the blame began to be directed at foreign imperialism. Modern Chinese nationalism, therefore, gradually changed from anti-Manchuism to anti-imperialism after 1911.

**G. Increased foreign influence in China**

Because the new Chinese Republic was weak and divided, foreign control of China was increased after 1911. For example, the foreign diplomats in Peking had taken over the complete direction of China’s maritime customs.

**H. Loss of Outer Mongolia and Tibet**

Territories that traditionally belonged to China were lost, like Outer Mongolia and Tibet, which declared independence from China after 1911.

**EXERCISES**

1. Examine the importance of Meiji Restoration in Japan.
2. Define Imperialism and describe the reasons for the Scramble for Africa
3. Describe the results of the Scramble for Africa
   4. What is Boxer Rebellion?
5. Explain the causes and results of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
UNIT-II

FIRST WORLD WAR

Introduction

The 20th century ushered in a veritable ‘era of conflicts’ in different parts of the world. During 1894-95, the Sino-Japanese War took place, resulting in the victory of Japan over China. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) soon followed in the Far East leading to the complete defeat of Russia. In 1905, the Russian Revolution transformed the ancient Tsarist autocracy into a Constitutional Monarchy. The "young Turks" under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk Pasha, the father of modern Turkey, carried out a revolution in the Ottoman Empire in 1908-1909. In 1911, Italy seized the Ottoman provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This led to the two Balkan Wars which involved Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and the Ottoman Empire as well the Balkan countries like Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Great national and international rivalry was provoked by these Balkan wars which formed one of the important underlying causes of First World War (1914-1918).

Novel Features of the First World War

First World War, which started in the year 1914, possessed novel features in several respects. It was one of its kinds in the history of mankind. World War I occurred on a worldwide scale. Many wars had taken place before 1914. However they did not affect people all over the world collectively. World War I was the first war to be fought on a worldly scale. It had repercussions on almost every country in the world.

It was also the first international war to make use of modern technology for the purpose of destruction and defense. This war saw the use of a large variety of guns, cannons, tanks, bombs, aero planes, warships and submarines, causing great destruction to life and property throughout the world.

The First World War could also be called a total war, since it was the first international war to be fought on the land and above the land, on the sea and under the sea, with the use of tanks, aero planes and submarines. Dr. David Thompson points out that one of World War I’s greatest novelties was "a remarkable disparity between the ends sought, the price paid, and the results obtained."

Causes of the First World War.

Various factors contributed to the outbreak of the First World War:

1. The main cause of the First World War was the ever-rising tide of militarism in Europe. There was a terrible race for armaments after 1870, throughout Europe. Though these armaments were meant for national defense, they created universal suspicion, fear and hatred among nations."Further, in every country there were influential military officers who believed that war was inevitable." They persuaded their governments towards mobilization of the armed forces. This increased military and naval rivalries among nations.
Finally most militarists believed in "preventive" war that is declaring war upon the enemy, while he was weak and crushing him, before he could become strong. Thus Germany wanted to wage war against Russia, before the latter could reorganize its armed forces. Similarly, England desired to crush the growing German navy, before it could become a greater menace to England. Thus, by 1914, all European countries were completely armed and ready meet each other in combat.

2. **Aggressive nationalism** was partly responsible for First World War. The love of one’s country demanded the hatred of another country. Thus the love of France demanded the hatred of Germany, while the love of Germany demanded the hatred of England and vice versa. The chief principle for every patriot was "my country right or wrong." This aggressive nationalism created a favorable atmosphere for war.

3. There were **national rivalries** between Germany and Britain, between Japan and America and also between Germany and Russia. This led to the First World War. The German Kaiser William II declared that Germany was determined to become a world power and this would arouse rivalry with Britain. Owing to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, France lost Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia. It had to recover these provinces. There was also a crisis in the Balkans, leading to the two Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, because of the rivalry between Germany and Russia.

4. There was great **colonial imperialism** owing to the need for raw materials, overseas markets for surplus manufacturers and for colonies for investing surplus capital. This led to colonial conflicts and national rivalries.

5. There was a poisoning of **public opinion** by the press in all the countries. Newspapers would take up some point of dispute and exaggerate it. They made attacks and counter-attacks, engendering a regular newspaper war. Professor Sidney B. Fay comments that they "so offered a fertile soil in which the seeds of real war might easily be germinated." This was especially true in Austria, Serbia, Germany and France, where there were misrepresentations, suppression of truth and tossing of insults thus creating an atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion, which eventually led to the Great War.

6. The system of **secret alliances** was one of the factors that contributed to the First World War. In 1879, Germany entered into a defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary. It was known as the ‘Dual Alliance’ against Russia and France. In 1882, Italy joined the Dual Alliance and thus brought into existence the **Triple Alliance**. Russia entered into a defensive alliance with France in 1890. In 1904, France entered into a defensive alliance with England known as the ‘Entente Cordiale.’

   In 1907, Russia joined the ‘Entente Cordiale’, thus bringing into existence the Triple Entente, which pitted itself against the Triple Alliance. Later Japan joined the Triple Entente, while Romania and Turkey joined the Triple Alliance. Professor Fay rightly mentions that "the system of secret alliances made it inevitable that if war did come, it would involve all the great powers of Europe. The members of each group felt bound to support each other."
7. The Great War of 1914 was partly caused by the existence of international anarchy. Professors Hayes, Moon and Wayland observe that "Every nation could do what it pleased, or what it dared, because there was no international government to make laws for the nations and to compel all nations to respect such laws." No state was ready to submit its dispute with another to any arbitration, or to seek any method of peaceful settlement. Thus the situation was favorable for a war.

8. The murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, on June 28, 1914, by a twenty-four year old fanatical Serbian student in Sarajevo (Bosnia) was the spark that set the World War off.

Course of the First World War

With the news of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, Austria decided to crush Serbia with the support of Germany. An ultimatum was served to Serbia by Austria, which made certain demands on her. When Serbia refused to comply with these demands, Austria declared war with the defaulting country on July 20, 1914. The next day, orders of mobilization were issued by Germany and also by Russia. Germany declared war on France on August 3, 1914. After Germany’s invasion of Belgium on August 4, 1914, England declared war against Germany.

During the early phase of the war, which included the Battle of Verdun, events moved in favor of the Allies. In early 1915, Italy and Rumania joined the Allies. The year 1917 marked a turning point in the course of the war. After being defeated by the Germans, the Russians were highly demoralized. In 1917, they revolted against the Czar and established a Republic. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed with Germany, by the new government in March 1918.

The war at sea was also in favor of the Allies. However Germany’s position grew stronger with the collapse of Russia. Germany began to manufacture 'U-boats' on a large scale and began a submarine warfare. The German submarines then began to destroy the British battleships as well as the American merchant ships. Hence the U.S.A. declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917. U.S.A.’s entry into the war turned the war in favor of the Allies. Finally Germany surrendered in November 1918, on the basis of the Fourteen Points, announced by President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. An armistice was signed on November 11, 1918.

The Paris Peace Conference was held in January 1919 in order to end the war. However only the representatives of the victorious states attended the Peace Conference. The defeated states were not represented. Among the most important members of the Conference were the "Big Four" namely Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France (known as the ‘Tiger’ of France), Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U.S.A.; and Orlando of Italy. The delegates at the council were assisted by an army of secretaries, historians, geographers, financiers and other experts. Finally five treaties were drawn up by the delegates, namely,

1. Versailles with Germany,
2. St. Germaine with Austria,
3. Trianon with Hungary,
4. Neville with Bulgaria, and
5. Sevres with Turkey.

Since the defeated states were forced to sign these treaties, it was also known as a 'dictated peace.'

**Consequences of the First World War**

Revolutionary changes were brought about by the First World War in all forms of social life, as well as in all modes of thinking. The war produced consequences of worldwide significance. World War I caused a terrible loss of human life and property. It involved practically all the countries of Europe and the U.S.A., as well as most of the African and Asian states. Nine million men were killed, and twenty-nine million men were wounded or missing. Thirteen million died on account of civilian massacres, disease and famine, which overtook the world, as a consequence of the Great War. The financial cost of the Great War was estimated to have been about 400 billion dollars.

The map of Europe was reconstructed by a series of treaties.

**By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany surrendered**

i. The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and the coal mines of the Saar basin to France

ii. Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium

iii. Memel to Lithuania

iv. Northern Schleswig to Denmark

v. Five-sixth of the territory of Posen, most of West Prussia and Upper Silesia and Danzig (the corridor to the sea) to Poland.

The **Treaty of St. Germaine** was imposed on Austria on September 10, 1919. As a result of this treaty, the Empire of Austria-Hungary was destroyed. Austria and Hungary were separated. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were created as two new states.

The Allies imposed a separate treaty, called the **Treaty of Trianon**, upon Hungary on June 4, 1920. Hungary lost about 90,000 square miles of territory with a population of about 12 million under this treaty.

The **Treaty of Neville** was forced by the Allies upon Bulgaria on November 27, 1919.

Finally, the Allied powers imposed the **Treaty of Sevres** upon Turkey on August 10, 1920.
Nationalism triumphed to a great extent. The German, the Austrian and Hungarian, the Turkish and the Russian empires were shattered. On their ruins, new national states were built, which were founded on the principle of ‘self-determination’ of the people, as advocated by President Woodrow Wilson. The Polish territories, which were seized by Russia, Prussia and Austria, at the congress of Vienna of 1815, were joined to form the sovereign state of Poland. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were formed into two new independent ideologies and economic systems.

The above Treaties aimed at reducing the armaments of the vanquished and keeping them militarily weak. The Treaty of Versailles made Germany stand fully unarmed before the fully armed Allied powers. All kinds of tanks, armored cars, military aero planes, submarines and air force, were forbidden in Germany. The manufacture of arms and ammunition was heavily restricted. The Treaty of St. Germaine reduced the Austrian army to 30,000 soldiers and her naval force to only three police boats on the Danube.

The end of the war caused serious problems such as large-scale unemployment and also a disruption of normal industrial and economic life. This created a favorable atmosphere for the growth of leftist and other parties, such as Socialist, Communist, Fascist and Nazi parties which gained power in Europe. It also led to the birth of communism in Russia, and authoritarian dictatorships in Italy, Germany, Spain and Turkey.

The Allied Powers set up a Reparation Commission to estimate the total amount of reparation to be made by Germany. The latter was supposed to make financial atonement for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies. It was to make an initial payment of five billion dollars. It was also to devote its economic resources to the physical restoration of the devastated areas in France. German criminals were to be tried and punished by military tribunals of the Allied Powers.

First World War led to the emergence of Great Powers in Europe, America and the Far East. Great Britain proved to be the leading maritime and colonial power on earth. France came to be regarded as a great military power in Europe. Japan enhanced its power and prestige in the Far East, at the cost of China and Russia. Finally, the U.S.A. emerged from the Great War as a great world power.

The Treaty of Versailles was too harsh on Germany; it was fully deprived of her colonies and was totally disarmed by the treaty. She had to pay a crushing war indemnity. It was natural then, that the Germans grew up on the cult of revenge under the leadership of Adolph Hitler who was mainly responsible for World War II.

To promote international co-operation and peace, the American President Woodrow Wilson decided to create the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference. It was to function through three organs namely, an Assembly, a Council and a Permanent Secretariat. It was to have two affiliated organizations called the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Office.

The Balkan War
According to the conditions of the Berlin Treaty, different Christian races were forced to stay in different kingdoms. These races gradually thought of making their own federation, as they were greatly influenced by European ideologies. But their desire could not take the shape of reality.

The Bulgarian Issue (1885) arose as it had captured Rumolia which troubled Serbia immensely. It led to a war between Bulgaria and Serbia. As a result, the Balkan kingdoms were prevented from forming a federation of their own. Bulgaria had intentions of annexing Macedonia to her kingdom and establishing a democracy. Besides Bulgaria, Serbia and Grecia also wanted Macedonia included in their kingdom. There were regular fights among themselves. Due to this, the formation of a federation was effected. As Bulgaria opposed it, even the Greek Prime Minister did not succeed in his efforts of bringing these states closer to the formation of a federation.

However, when the birthday of the ruler of Montenegro was celebrated in 1910, the Ruler of Bulgaria, the Serbian and Greek Princes also actively participated in it. After a military pact made by Greece, Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, made a federation comprising Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. Later, Montenegro joined it. Thus, the Balkan States formed the Federation.

The Main Issues leading to the Balkan Wars

As Turkey was weak, the Balkan Kingdoms (Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro) decided to attack her, with the aim of distributing its parts among themselves. They (Balkan Kingdoms) had made a pact among themselves to distribute the spoils of Macedonia. Accordingly, they waged a war against Turkey and defeated it. Serbia and Montenegro captured Albania and reached Constantinople. The unjust demands of the victors made Turkey wage another war with the Balkans, but to no avail. She lost it again. She was now forced to accept the terms of the victors. A Treaty was signed in London (1913). According to this London Treaty, nearly all the territories of Turkey were lost to the Balkans.

Balkan War of 1913

Now the Balkan Peninsula kingdoms fought among themselves on the question of the distribution of Macedonia. In this war, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Romania took up arms against Bulgaria. As it was difficult for Bulgaria to face the strong armies of these kingdoms, she made peace with them.

Effect of the Balkan Wars

Turkey suffered immense loss of men and territorial possessions as a result of these wars. Greece, Romania and Serbia acquired the territorial gains. Bulgaria was humiliated by its defeat in war. Turkey helped Romania, Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria. It also enhanced the hostilities between the two, but the Treaty of Constantinople made peace between them.

The Peninsula of Balkan is said to be the Volcano of Europe. As far as Europe was concerned, it remained constantly endangered by the conflicts of these kingdoms. The interests of the European rulers clashed with one another for the Balkan Peninsula. The Great War of 1914 was fought as a direct result of the Balkan wars.
The Fashoda Crisis (1898)

The Berlin Conference set the rules for the division of Africa, but it also made the colonial powers even more aggressive in their pursuit of unclaimed territory. A pattern was emerging between the two greatest colonial countries.

France was clearly expanding in a west to east direction, from French West Africa to French Somaliland, while Britain had expanded in a north-south direction, from Egypt to the Cape. The point where the two axes crossed was the Sudan. Here a small French expedition, under Major Marchand, reached Fashoda (now Kodok), on the Upper Nile, in 1898. This was followed, only two months later, by a much bigger British force under Lord Kitchener. The two leaders did not know whether to sit down and have a drink together or fight. Both claimed Fashoda and the Sudan for their own countries.

In London and Paris, for the last time in their histories, there was talk of war between Britain and France. However, the diplomats knew it was absurd for their countries to go to war over a distant African village. Quietly, an agreement was reached. France would recognize the British presence in Egypt and Sudan and Britain would recognize France’s presence in Morocco. With colonial differences settled, the two countries could concentrate on a far more pressing subject; coming together in an Entente Cordiale to face a common danger - Germany.

WAR TECHNOLOGY

First World War was one of the defining events of the 20th century. From 1914 to 1918 conflict raged in much of the world and involved most of Europe, the United States, and much of the Middle East. In terms of technological history, World War I is significant because it marked the debut of many new types of weapons and was the first major war to “benefit” from technological advances in radio, electrical power, and other technologies.

World War I grew out of a variety of factors that had been building up throughout Europe in the preceding decades. During the later 1800s many European countries experienced a rise in nationalism. Nationalism, combined with growing industrial capabilities, led to military buildups and an increasingly tense political situation throughout the continent. Nations were increasingly nervous about what their neighbors might be planning. In response to this tension, England, France, and Russia (Italy would join in 1915 after the war was underway) formed the “Triple Entente” and aligned against Germany and Austria-Hungary. This was one of numerous alliances that divided Europe and made world war virtually impossible to avoid if one nation took action against another.

The flashpoint of the war is generally regarded as the 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, during a state visit to Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary turned its anger towards Serbia, who, they believed, encouraged and abetted the assassination. In retaliation, Austria-Hungary invaded Serbia. On 29 July, in defense of Serbia, Tsar Nicholas II mobilized Russia’s armed forces to pressure Austria-Hungary. Three days later, on 1 August, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany honored its alliance with Austria-Hungary, and declared war on Russia. That same day, France, following its alliance with
Russia, mobilized. Two days later, on 3 August, Germany declared war on France. Great Britain, as an ally of France, declared war on Germany on 4 August. Less then a month and a half after the assassination of the Archduke and within a week of the first military mobilizations the peoples of Europe were engulfed in war.

From the onset, those involved in the war were aware that technology would make a critical impact on the outcome. In 1915 British Admiral Jacky Fisher wrote, “The war is going to be won by inventions.” New weapons, such as tanks, the zeppelin, poison gas, the airplane, the submarine, and the machine gun, increased casualties, and brought the war to civilian populations. The Germans shelled Paris with long-range (60 miles or 100 kilometers) guns; London was bombed from the air for the first time by zeppelins.

World War I was also the first major war that was able to draw upon electrical technologies that had been in development at the turn of the century. Radio, for example, became essential for communications. The most important advance in radio was the transmission of voice rather than code, something the electron tube, as oscillator and amplifier, made possible. Electricity also made a huge impact on the war. Battleships, for example, might have electric signaling lamps, an electric fire alarms, remote control—from the bridge—of bulkhead doors, electrically controlled whistles, and remote reading of water level in the boilers. Electric power turned guns and turrets and raised ammunition from the magazines up to the guns. Searchlights—both incandescent and carbon-arc—became vital for nighttime navigation, for long-range daytime signaling, and for illuminating enemy ships in night engagements.

Submarines also became potent weapons. Although they had been around for years, it was during WWI that they began fulfilling their potential as a major threat. Unrestricted submarine warfare, in which German submarines torpedoes ships without warning—even civilian ships belonging to non-combatant nations such as the United States—resulted in the sinking of the Lusitania on 7 May 1915, killing 1,195 people. Outrage over the Lusitania and other sinkings, coupled with other factors, brought the United States out of its isolationism to declare war on Germany in 6 April 1917. Finding ways to outfit ships to detect submarines became a major goal for the allies. Researchers determined that allied ships and submarines could be outfitted with sensitive microphones that could detect engine noise from enemy submarines. These underwater microphones played an important part in combating the submarine threat. The Allies also developed sonar, but it came too close to the end of the war to offer much help.

The war, especially the brutality of trench warfare, brought death and disease on a scale people had never before experienced. During the 10-month-long Battle of Verdun in 1916, for example, as many as 1,000,000 people were killed. As the war dragged on, casualties increased, and the war became unpopular with ordinary people. Revolution in 1917 led to the end of Russian participation in the war and precipitated the Bolshevik regime. Just over a year later, a worker’s revolution in Germany forced the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II on 9 November 1918. With the militaristic Kaiser out of the way, Germany requested an armistice. Two days later, it took effect on the “Eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the
eleventh month.” On 28 June 1919 German delegates signed the Treaty of Versailles and the war was officially over.

Although the war was over, its ramifications were far reaching. Technologically, great strides had been made in just about every area that might come into play during war. But the costs had been dear, and the end only temporary. Deaths from “The Great War” have been estimated at 10,000,000, and the end of the war itself, the Treaty of Versailles and its humiliating terms for Germany, laid the groundwork for World War II. The war was called “the war to end all wars,” and at the time that seemed possible. Unfortunately, it would prove untrue in less then a generation.

**Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points**

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were first outlined in a speech Wilson gave to the American Congress in January 1918. Wilson’s Fourteen Points became the basis for a peace programme and it was on the back of the Fourteen Points that Germany and her allies agreed to an armistice in November 1918.

1. No more secret agreements ("Open covenants openly arrived at").
2. Free navigation of all seas.
3. An end to all economic barriers between countries.
4. Countries to reduce weapon numbers.
5. All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial
6. The German Army is to be removed from Russia. Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up.
7. Belgium should be independent like before the war.
8. France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine
9. All Italians are to be allowed to live in Italy. Italy's borders are to "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality."
10. Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary.
11. Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states.
12. The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Turkish Empire should govern themselves.
13. An independent Poland should be created which should have access to the sea.
14. A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states.

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The First World War was inflicted untold miseries on the people. So at the end of the world war, the statesman of the world wanted to establish a new world where there would be peace and co-operation.
The horrors of the war made the allied nations who met at Paris to declare the First World War should be a war to end all wars. They were very anxious to set up a permanent body to maintain peace in the world. It was President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S who gave form and shape to this idea.

Organization of the League
The League consisted of 63 members.
It comprised the following Bodies.
1) The League assembly consisted of three representatives of every member state which met once at Geneva.
2) The League council consisted of nine members, five of whom were permanent and rest temporary representing the smaller states.
3) The international secretariat to prepare and execute different businesses of the League.
4) The international court of justice was set up at the Hague to decide international disputes It consisted of 15 judges elected by the assembly for a period of nine years.
5) The international Labor organization contained representative of capitals and labor to provide industrial arbitration and improve labor conditions.

Achievements of the League
Though the League was not able to bring about universal disarmament and to promote peace, it was able to achieve many great things during the 15 years of its existence
1) The international court of justice handled more than 30 cases and delivered in some cases judgment and in some others advisory opinions.
2) The League of Nations prevented a war between Greece and Bulgaria in1925 and it settled the Swedish Finnish dispute between Allan Isles.
3) Through the International Labor Organization, it was able to improve the condition of laborers in many parts of the world
4) Through the mandatory system, the League of Nations was able to improve the condition of improved people.
5) Several million prisoners of war were repatriated under the supervision of the League of Nations.
6) It successfully supervised plebiscites in dispute area.
7) It helped in encouraging cultural and literary activities by the exchange of scientific and literary information.
8) The international court of justice solved the number of international disputes which caused tension

Failures - Causes
1) The first cause for the failure of the League was that the covenant of the League was incorporated with the treaty of Versailles. Germany and Italy regarded the League as “a Victors Club” to preserve the spoils of war and when the Fascists [in Italy] and Nazis [in Germany] came to the power, they wrecked the League by aggressive action.

2) The second cause was that America the organizer was not the member of the League. The absence of America was a great handicap from the beginning.

3) Germany and the U.S.S.R two major powers were kept out from a long time. Perhaps this was a great blunder.

4) The League of Nations was based upon parliamentary tradition and democratic practices while Britain and France had experienced Parliamentary Government, the dictatorship countries had no such experience and hence they did not fit easily into the League system.

5) At a later stage Japan and Germany withdrew from the League and flouted International code of behavior.

6) The League of Nations had no such military power to enforce it’s will upon the rebellious states. It was not a super state.

7) The rule that the decisions of the League council must be unanimous was a serious drawback, for one member state by it’s Veto power could prevent any action being taken.

8) Most of the League members talked highly but acted meanly. There was no sincerity among them. "Self before Service" appeared to be their motto. Hence the League of Nations became the League of Nations.

9) In regard to disarmament, the League permitted Poland and Czech to large army but have prohibited Germany to have powerful army and navy. It allowed the domination of Britain and France.

**EXERCISES**

1. What were the causes and results of the First World War?
2. What is Fashoda Crisis?
3. Explain the 14 points of Woodrow Wilson.
4. ‘The most important reason why the League was weak in the 1920s was because the US never joined’ Do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.
5. What was the function of the International Court of Justice?
6. Where was the headquarters of the League?
7. What were the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations?
UNIT-III

BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

The Russian Revolution of 1917

Introduction

One of the most significant single events in modern world history is undoubtedly the Russian Revolution of 1917. It cannot be compared to any revolution (preceding or following it) in its scope, its fundamentalism, dynamism and its immediate impact.

Causes of the Russian Revolution

Various factors and forces led to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The economic factors were the main factors contributing to the Revolution, as they resulted in poverty, misery and exploitation of the masses by the nobility.

Russia was mainly a highly backward agricultural country before the revolution. The royal family, the nobility and the clergy owned most of the agricultural land. Only between three and ten acres of land was owned by 70% of the peasants. Many of them had to earn their livelihood only 2½ acres land or even less. In addition they had to use primitive tools, implements and methods of cultivation, which were not very productive.

Further, the poor peasants became poorer as they had to pay huge sums of rent and tributes to their landlords every year. This created great discontent among the farmers who were ready to revolt against the Czarist government, in order to end this economic and social system.

In the industrial sphere too, Russia was backward and depended only on foreign capital. The workers and laborers had to endure miserable working conditions. They received extremely low wages and worked for 12 to 14 hours a day. They had to go without any medical relief in case of an accident while on duty. They did not even have a weekly holiday. It was considered a crime to form trade unions.

Moreover, the government did not attempt to improve these conditions. Instead, the Russian villages and cities suffered from poverty, dirt and disease caused by the exorbitant land revenue and the unbearably high taxes and levies.

There was an imbalance in the social structure, owing to the above economic factors. As a result 70% of the Russian population was illiterate. The social structure of Russia was completely devoid of education, medical relief and public health. The masses being poor, hungry, diseased and ignorant were highly addicted to vodka, a very powerful intoxicant. Above all the system of flogging that prevailed in the whole of Russia made Russian social life, highly miserable, inhuman and wretched.
Political factors also formed an important cause of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The masses had no legal means of improving the social structure. A strike was considered to be a mutiny. The people had no press to ventilate their grievances.

The Czarist government was ruthless, absolute and repressive. On January 15, 1905, a peaceful demonstration led by Father Gapon at St. Petersburg was fired upon by the Czarist troops. The Duma (parliament) had limited powers. Franchise was not given to women, laborers and the common people.

The growing discontent among the masses manifested itself in all aspects of national life. The working class became highly receptive to Marxist ideas infiltrating into Russia. In 1893, the Social Democratic Party was founded and in 1903, this party was split into two; the Bolsheviks led by Nikolai Lenin and the Mensheviks led by Martov. While the former was revolutionary and supported by Stalin, the latter was evolutionary and was supported by Trotsky.

In the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Russia, a giant state, received a crushing defeat at the hands of Japan, a very small Asian power. The people realized that the Russian defeat was due to the lack of a well trained and a well-equipped army. Thus it became essential to end the Czarist regime.

The Revolution of 1905 gave the people a good experience in popular uprisings, strikes, lockouts and violent demonstrations against the Czarist government. Thus this Revolution could be regarded as the dress rehearsal for the major upheaval that was to follow in the future. This upheaval would eventually revolutionize the nation in the social, economic and political spheres.

Czar Nicholas II of Russia was under the influence of his Czarina Alexandra Fyodorovna. She in turn was under the sway of the wicked and notorious monk Rasputin, who claimed to have spiritual powers that could heal the young prince. The latter was suffering from an incurable disease. In order to please Rasputin, Czarina Alexandra used to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the state. Thus the ministers and high officials were appointed and dismissed on the careless advice of Rasputin, causing great discontent among the people. Though Rasputin was killed by the nobles in December 1916, the Czarina nobles in December 1916, the Czarina continued to influence the affairs of the state till the Revolution of 1917.

The social, economic, political and psychological conditions in Russia had become so vulnerable that it only required a spark to cause the revolution. World War I was responsible in setting the ball of revolution rolling in Russia. Acute shortage of ammunition, poor generalship, lack of factories, demoralized soldiers, a corrupt government and high treason at all ranks, created a crisis in the state. The entire national life of the state was paralyzed. The peasants and workers denounced the war and the Czarist government. They held demonstrations and went on an indefinite strike. The peasants attacked and killed the Kulaks (rich peasants) and seized their lands. The heavy losses in battles undermined the
morale of the soldiers, who deserted the front and joined the peasants, factory workers and sailors in the revolution that began on March 12, 1917.

**Course of the Russian Revolution**

During the year 1917, two revolutions took place in Russia. The February revolution of 1917 led to the defeat of Czarism, and a republic was established in its place. However the **October Revolution** of 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat (i.e. the laboring class).

The February revolution of 1917 began with the bread riots on February 23. This was followed by a general industrial strike on February 25, in Petrograd. The entire Petrograd garrison and the police, joined the revolution by February 27, and by the following day, Petrograd fell into the hands of the revolutionaries.

The February revolution was the spontaneous outbreak of a large number of workers and peasants. By February 27, two organizations came into existence namely the Provisional Committee of the Duma and the Provisional Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers’ Deputies. The latter which represented factory workers, social revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks was to guide the revolution.

The Czarist ministers were arrested on February 28, 1917 and Commissars were appointed in their place by the Provisional Committee of the Duma. The mutiny of the troops occurred on March 1, 1917. Though the Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate on March 2, 1917, all the members of the royal family remained under house arrest, until they were shot dead on July 16, 1918. This brought the Czarism in Russia to an end.

A provisional coalition government came into existence by March 3, 1917, under the premiership of Prince George Lvov. The Allied powers soon recognized the provisional government; it was considered the ‘legal successor’ to the Czarist government.

However, an ever-increasing number of workers and soldiers came to recognize the **Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers**. Thus a Dual Power was established by the revolution, namely the Provisional Government and the government of the **Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies**. The latter was soon established in all cities, towns and districts. The first All-Russian Congress was announced by the end of March, 1917.

The brilliant leadership and the moving spirit of Lenin was responsible for the October Revolution in Russia. Under his leadership, the Bolsheviks criticized and exposed the shortcomings of the Provisional Government. A huge armed demonstration was held against the Provisional Government in Petrograd, on July 17, 1917. Prime Minister George Lvov was forced to resign. He was succeeded by Alexander Kerensky as the new Prime Minister.
However Kerensky’s new coalition Government soon grew unpopular. At the same time, the masses became attracted towards the Bolsheviks, whom they regarded as the true champions of the revolution. The Bolsheviks became the majority party in most of the Soviets by October 2. They formed the Military Revolutionary Committee under Leon Trotsky. Under this committee, the Red Guards were organized and commissars were procured to take charge of the Petrograd army units. Thus the complete allegiance of the Petrograd troops was secured.

On October 25, the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government was in session under armed protection, was attacked by the Red Guards. All the ministers were arrested and killed. Since the October revolution was a deliberately planned coup d’état by Lenin and the Bolshevik controlled Petrograd Soviet, Lenin is rightly considered to be the Father of the Bolshevik Revolution.

According to the Constitution published and adopted on July 10, 1918, Russia was named as the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. While the Constitution of 1918 guaranteed certain basic rights to the exploited people, it also imposed some basic obligations on them. In 1922, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

In 1921, Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy (N.E.P) which was a blend of state socialism and state capitalism.

After Lenin’s death in 1924, there was a keen struggle between his lieutenants Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, for taking his place. Stalin was successful in establishing his dictatorship in the party, as well as in the country.

Joseph Stalin then inaugurated an era of five-Year plans in order to convert the weak, agrarian Russian economy into a powerful and stable industrial economy. He also attempted to get rid of the Kulaks, by mechanization and the collectivization of all the farms. Thus the First Five-Year Plan in 1928, the Second Five-Year Plan in 1933, and the Third Five-Year Plan in 1938, helped Stalin to realize his objectives completely. Owing to these Five-Year plans, the Soviet Union became the second most highly industrialized country by 1940. The Revolution also enabled the Soviet Union to emerge from World War II as the second super power; the first being the U.S.A. In 1936, Stalin gave a new constitution to the U.S.S.R, which provided for such features as a secret ballot and universal adult franchise.

Consequences and Significance of the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution is regarded as one of the most remarkable events in human history since it set up a new way of living and thinking. Dr. J.E. Swain has rightly commented, "Nothing has so completely challenged orthodox theories, since the French revolutionists overthrew the Bourbons. The Russians, in a few years, have set up standards for a new way of living and thinking."
The Russian Revolution brought to an end the Czarist regime. In its place a Republic was established. The Revolution threw a challenge to the values of western culture, the fundamental principles of trade and industry, the well-established systems of government, the social, economic and political institutions and the methods of diplomacy. Thus the world was forced to re-evaluate the western values of democracy.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was an event of international significance. It struck terror in the minds of the capitalists all over the world as the Revolution made an irresistible appeal to the proletarians. Therefore it was claimed that "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" The Russian Revolution thus invited the laboring people all over the world to unite against the capitalist class. Thus a war was declared between totalitarian dictatorship and democratic socialism, between Marxism and capitalism.

The colonial people were awoken from their long slumber of ignorance. A new consciousness of their political rights against their imperialist masters had been injected into them. The revolution deeply affected the minds of millions in Asia and Africa; they were provided with a fresh weapon in the form of the principle of self-determination of all peoples.

The success of the Russian Revolution changed the character of the nationalist revolutions in the colonial world. They were given a new social and economic content.

In the political field, the cult of the 'common man' was a major result of Soviet democracy. The proletariat regarded socialism as absolutely necessary to complete democracy and make it realistic. Countries like Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Peking, China and Mongolia established proletarian dictatorship.

In the economic field, the conception of economic planning (Five-Year Plans) and the idea of central direction of the national economy with definite goals emerged from the Soviet Union. E.H. Carr declared, "If we are all planners now, this is largely the result, conscious or unconscious, of the impact of Soviet practice and Soviet achievement."

The Soviet economic planning was directed towards the realization of three well-defined social goals. Firstly, the promotion of the material and moral conditions of the proletariat; the realization of the social or the common good of society by and through society and finally the securing of equal social obligations and rights.

The Bolshevik Revolution divided the world into two diametrically opposed power blocs; one being the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union and the other being the anti-Communist bloc, under the leadership of the U.S. The Revolution of 1917 transformed a poverty-stricken Czarist Russia into a super power, under the guiding spirits of Lenin, Stalin and other leaders.
The Bolshevik Revolution is still going on. It continually demonstrates the values that transformed a backward and decadent state into a super power of the world, within the short span of sixty years. It attracts many more millions of Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

COMINTERN

The Communist International, abbreviated as Comintern, also known as the Third International (1919–1943), was an international communist organization. It was founded by Lenin in Moscow in March 1919 to coordinate the world communist movement. The International intended to fight "by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and for the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State." Stalin publicly disbanded the Comintern in 1943.

Lenin's Era

THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES ITS AUTHORITY (1918-1924)

The Bolshevik party was a small party when it seized power. It had to adopt skilful tactics to maintain its power. With Lenin as its leader, the Bolsheviks adjusted their policy to accord with the needs of the people in order to stay in power. (The Bolsheviks changed their name to Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks in March 1918 when the seventh Congress of the Bolshevik Party was held.)

A Flood of Decrees

As soon as Lenin came to power, he passed a series of decrees to satisfy the immediate wants of the Russian people. These included giving land to the peasants, giving control of the factories to the workers, the introduction of 8-hour day, repudiation of foreign debts and secret treaties, and the beginning of an effort to make peace with Germany. The decrees which legalized the seizure of land by the peasants and allowed workers to control the factories won most support from the people as their life-long wishes suddenly came true.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly

Lenin understood that many Russians had hoped for the election of a Constituent Assembly. In November, the nation-wide election for the Constituent Assembly was held. The Bolsheviks won only 1/4 of the votes in this election. (It must be remembered that the Bolsheviks got support chiefly from the revolutionary centers—the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets and the soviets in other
places still supported the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries). Most of the votes went to the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. The liberals also won some votes. Lenin had no intention to give up power to a freely elected Constituent Assembly. After the Assembly had sat for one and a half day, Lenin ordered the Red Guards to disperse it by force. Although this repressive action led to a hardening of opposition to Lenin on the part of the non-Bolshevik parties, Lenin had secured temporary control of the political situation.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Lenin realized that the Russian people desired peace. In December 1917, an armistice was signed with Germany. After some haggling, Trotsky finally made the peace treaty with the victorious Germans in March 1918.

Soviet Russia ceded to the Germans vast territories, including Terms Russian Poland, Lithuania, Kurland, Latvia, and Estonia. To Turkey she gave Ardahan, Kars and Batum in the Caucasus region. The surrender of Bessarabia to the Rumanians was added later. Soviet Russia had to give recognition to the independence of Finland, Georgia and the Ukraine. Reparations of 6 billion marks were exacted in installments.

The peace treaty was a humiliation for Russia. It deprived Russia of nearly 1/3 of her agricultural land and population, more than 3/5 of her iron-ore and coal production and 1/2 of her industrial plants. By a single treaty, Russian territorial gains over the past centuries, dating back to Peter the Great, were wiped out. Russia was pushed back and virtually cut off from the Baltic.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk gained some support from the Russians who desired peace; but it hurt the pride of those Russians who had never agreed to peace at any price and felt humiliated by the harsh terms of the Treaty. The most discontented group was the Social Revolutionaries. The Social Revolutionaries had great influence over the peasantry in the territories lost. They even made an attempt to kill Lenin. They also stirred up peasant uprisings. The former members of the Provisional Government which had advocated the continuation of the war were also infuriated.

To sum up, in its early years, the Bolsheviks were able to make peace and give satisfaction to the peasants and the workers but the non-Bolshevik political groups were dissatisfied with the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the humiliating Brest-Litovsk peace treaty.

The Civil War (1918-1920)

The Participants

The non-Bolshevik political groups attempted to oust the Bolsheviks from power. Between 1918 and 1920, there was a civil war between the 'Red' Russians
and the 'White' Russians. The 'Red' Russians were the Bolsheviks. The 'White' Russians were the Social Revolutionaries, the Czarist supporters (e.g. the army officers and Cossacks), the Cadets and members of other 'bourgeois' political parties. The Mensheviks occupied an ambiguous position in the Civil War. Some sided with the 'White' Russians but most of them were in sympathy with the 'Red' Russians.

Ex-allied countries, at one time reaching fourteen in number, joined in the Civil War to fight on the side of the 'White' Russians. These countries included the U.S.A., Britain, Japan, France and Poland. Their motives were mixed:

(i) Some disliked Communism and had a fear of revolution;

(ii) some hated the Bolsheviks for repudiating the foreign debts, nationalizing foreign investments and publishing the secret treaties between the powers;

(iii) some wanted to take revenge on the Bolsheviks who withdrew from the war;

(iv) Some wanted to protect their oil, coal and iron interests in South Russia;

(v) Some of the neighbouring countries of Russia had a greed for Russia's territories.

Course of the Civil War

The Civil War took place in five main areas on the periphery of the Russian state: in the Caucasus and Southern Russia, in the Ukraine, in the Baltic, in Northern Russia (Murmansk and Archangel) and in Siberia. The White governments were proclaimed in these areas, rivaling the Bolshevik government. The greatest crisis for the Bolshevik government came in the summer of 1919. Admiral Kolchak advanced from Siberia. General Denikin advanced from Southern Russia. General Yudenich advanced from the Ukraine to the outskirts of Petrograd. But these three movements were not well coordinated and were defeated by the Red Army organized by Trotsky.

By the end of 1920, the White governments in these five regions were defeated by the Red Army. The Civil War petered out. But in May 1920, Poland suddenly launched an attack on Kiev. The Red Army fought back but was finally defeated by the Polish troops aided by the French government. By the Treaty of Riga, Russia surrendered extensive parts of White Russia (including Kiev) and part of Ukraine to Poland. In these areas, there were about 4 million Russian and Ukrainians. (Stalin recovered these areas through a deal with Hitler on the eve of the Second World War).

Reasons for the Bolshevik Victory

The Bolsheviks' victory was chiefly attributed to their superior understanding of modern warfare. They made a total war (a war which combined military operations with economic, psychological and other activities):
(i) Trotsky, the Commissar of War, was chiefly responsible for the successful military operations. He exercised a central command over the whole army, emphasizing discipline and obedience. The recruitment of the Red Army was based upon conscription. The commanders of the Red Army were staffed with former Czarist officers who were willing to co-operate. These ex-Czarist officers were watched over by the Political Commissars, who had also the duty to teach the army revolutionary theories, and explain to them the importance of fighting the Civil War against the counter-revolutionaries. Officers would be punished to death if they were defeated in any single battle. Fear of death compelled the Red Army to fight bravely.

(ii) Lenin also ordered an economic reorganization to co-ordinate with the war effort. This was called 'War Communism'. This meant that all the economic resources and products of the country were to be nationalized by the government. In practice, the government sent army detachments and committees of poor peasants to confiscate food crops from the peasants. The industrial plants of the country were taken over by the government. All private banks were closed and their resources were taken over by the State Bank. Internal and foreign commerce became a state monopoly. Railroads and shipping lines were also put in the hands of the State. Compulsory labour for everyone was introduced. No strikes were allowed. Overnight the regime had at its disposal the entire national resources to carry on a war against its enemy.

(iii) In contrast, the White Army had poor discipline. They were uncoordinated in their war efforts. The White General often acted independently. They fought at vast distances from one another. Moreover, the White Army took food from the peasants and so did not have much economic support from the peasants. The White ill-treated the peasants under their rule. They shot their prisoners indiscriminately.

(iv) Psychological fear was exploited to the full by Lenin. Many members of the old Czarist secret police, the Okrana, were used to establish a new secret police, renamed Cheka. It came to employ a staff of 30,000 and its own army. By 1922, the secret police was believed to have put to death about 50,000 persons. The Czar and his family were shot dead. So the Russians dared not oppose Lenin.

(v) The workers rallied under the Bolsheviks. The peasants did the same because they feared that once the Whites were in power, they would repudiate the Bolsheviks' decree of giving land to the peasants.

(vi) The 'White' Russians obtained aids from the Allies. Foreign intervention brought national danger to Russia. A sense of nationalism brought Russians to support Bolshevik government. Except in munitions, allied help to the Whites was too small and unreliable. (e.g. The total British casualties in Northern Russia were less than a thousand men.) The people of the allied countries were too tired of war. Once the war ended, both the Labour Party and the Trade Unions in Britain were objected to British intervention in the Russian Civil War. There were serious mutinies in the French fleet in the Black Sea. The allies withdrew their troops before the end of 1919.
The New Economic Policy (1921-1927)

After the Civil War the first and most important problem facing Lenin was how to restore order and prosperity out of the appalling state of social disruption and economic chaos.

A Devastated Russia in 1921

In agriculture, the peasants did not show any interest to grow their crops as their produce was confiscated arbitrarily to feed the town workers and the soldiers. Some rich landowners (Kulaks) refused to hand in their crops to the soldiers. They made risings in the countryside. Some peasants murdered the communist agents. By 1921 the annual grain yield was about one half of the pre-war production. The drought in the same year immediately brought famine to most of the Russians. From 1918 to 1920, about 6 million died of starvation, hunger and cold. Banditry became widespread. In sympathy with the hungry masses, the American Relief Administration sent relief to Russia and saved many lives.

In industry, the workers also lost their interest to work because they received no cash wages. This led to a drastic decline in industrial output Many industries produced just 15% of the pre-1914 production. Many workers were unemployed. They moved back to the countryside to seek food.

Trade declined because the communication system and the monetary system had broken down. In fact, the only form of trade was barter.

After the Kronstadt Uprising of March 1921, Lenin saw that the situation was dangerous. The livelihood of the people was too bad indeed. Thus Lenin proclaimed", "Everything must be set aside to increase production."

Kronstadt Uprising 1921

Kronstadt Uprising was of great importance to the communists because the sailors of this place had taken part in the March Revolution and the November Revolution. Even these revolutionaries made an uprising and demanded 'Soviets without Bolsheviks'. It means that sufferings of the Russian people were a bit too much. The rising was suppressed by Trotsky after ten days of vicious fighting.

A Retreat from Communism

Lenin thought that the collapse of Russian economy was mainly due to the introduction of 'War Communism' during the Civil War. As nationalization of both agriculture and industry had gone too far, individuals soon lost their initiative to work because they could not make private profits. Thus Lenin declared a 'Retreat from Communism'.

In 1921, Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy. "In order to take two steps forward", Lenin said, "we shall have to take one step backward." The New Economic Policy offered some concessions to the 'capitalistic' desire of the people.
In agriculture, the policy of confiscation of peasant produce was discontinued. The peasants could sell their produce in the market after they had paid a tax on their produce. They were given security of land tenure, permitted to sell or lease their own land and even hire labourers to work on their own land.

The main industries such as banking, mining and transport were industrial still controlled by the Soviets or Workers' Councils. They employed about 80% of the total industrial labour force in 1923 and accounted for 90-95% of the total production by value. But small industrial enterprises were allowed to be in private hands. The private manufacturers were allowed to introduce piece-work rates, preferential rations and bonuses to stimulate the incentives of the workers.

The government also allowed trade to be handled by private domestic traders. The middle men or Nepmen were active in retail and wholesale trade. These private traders controlled about 70% of the retail and wholesale trade between the town and the countryside. The Russian government encouraged trade by signing trade treaties with the outside world, by setting up a State Bank (which issued a new ruble based on gold — an orthodox financial practice of the capitalist nations) and pushing up the schemes of electrification.

To mark the retreat from Communism, Russia re-established friendly relations with the outside world. In 1920 Russia had signed treaties with Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, recognizing their independence. In 1921, a treaty of peace was concluded with Poland, and a commercial treaty was made with Britain. In 1922 the Soviet Union also sent representatives to attend an important international conference at Genoa. By 1924, the Soviet government was trading with, and was recognized by Britain, France and Italy. Many western countries remained suspicious of Russia. (The U.S.A. accorded recognition to the Soviet Union as late as 1933. The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations only in 1934.) They were alarmed by the Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Russia in 1922 because both countries were regarded as two 'disgraced' nations of Europe at the time. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Big Three had set up a chain of states to surround 'Bolshevik Russia' and 'aggressive Germany'. Rapallo Treaty threatened to break this protective chain.

Although Russia had re-built her diplomatic relations with the European countries, she had never given up her long-term objective of world revolution. The Comintern was not dissolved. Throughout 1920's while the Soviet government maintained relations with the European countries, the Comintern continued to promote subversive activities within those countries.

The Comintern

In March 1919, Lenin founded the Third International (or Comintern) in Moscow with Zinoviev as its President. Its avowed object was to replace World Capitalism by World Communism. Its methods were to set up communist parties in all countries of Europe. All these newly-established communist parties would accept instructions from the Comintern. They would break away from the existing
Social Democratic parties which worked for immediate social reforms through parliamentary legislation. These new communist parties would preach the workers to seize power through a revolution. Zinoviev was the President of the Comintern from 1920 to 1926. (In 1926, he was branded as a supporter of Trotsky and lost his position. During the great purges of 1934-1936, he was tried and finally executed in 1936). The Third International lasted until 1943.

**Effects of the New Economic Policy**

By 1928, Russian agricultural and industrial production went back to their 1914 level. The N.E.P. had successfully allayed the economic discontent of the Russian people.

Because the peasants, the small factory owners and merchants were allowed to produce and sell more of their products to increase their private profits, private capitalists soon emerged in the Russian towns and countryside. The rich peasants in the countryside were called the kulaks and the rich businessmen and manufacturers in the towns were called the Nepmen. These capitalists posed a new threat to the survival of the Soviet regime.

**An Appraisal of Lenin**

Lenin's period of rule was comparatively short. In 1922 and 1923, he had a series of strokes. At the beginning of 1924, he died. Lenin had dedicated himself to the cause of revolution. Before 1917 he organized the Bolshevik Party, provided the revolutionary ideology for the Party and led the Party to make the 1917 Revolution.

After 1917 Lenin successfully established the Communist government in Russia by skillfully adjusting the Party policy to suit the needs of the changing circumstances from 1917 and 1924. He was, in fact, the greatest architect of the Bolshevik Revolution and Father of the Soviet Union.

**Stalin’s Era: Socializing Russia (1924-1939)**

I. The Struggle for Leadership (1924-1927)

II. The Second Revolution in Russia (1927-1939)

III. The Constitution of 1936

IV. The Great Purge (1932-1938)

V. Other Accomplishments

I. The Struggle for Leadership (1924-1927)

After Lenin's death in early 1924, there was a struggle for power among the top-level members of the Communist Party—Trotsky, Stalin, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Kamenev. In his will, Lenin did not mention anyone to succeed him as the
leader of the Party and the country. At last, Stalin gained complete power for himself in 1927. There were several reasons which accounted for Stalin’s success.

a) Stalin’s Dominant Position in Politburo, Orgburo and Secretariat

There were three essential organs within the Communist Party: the Politburo (which decided the party policy and thus the policy of the state), the Orgburo (which decided the party organization and party discipline) and the Secretariat (which executed the Party’s decisions and coordinated the local and regional parties with the Communist Party). In 1924, Stalin was a key figure in all these three bodies, but his position as the General Secretary in the Secretariat was particularly important. As the policy of the Party and the state did not change much from 1922 onwards, the Politburo and Orgburo declined in importance. The Secretariat, carrying on its routine administration, became the most important organ of the government. As the General Secretary, Stalin was actually controlling the administration of the country. He could appoint his supporters to important positions in the administration. As a result, Stalin had quietly established his power within the Party before Lenin’s death.

b) Stalin’s Rivals Lacked Popular Support in the Party

Stalin’s rivals, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin all held higher rank than Stalin in the party. Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party only in 1917. Although Trotsky played a leading role in making the coup d’état in the November Revolution and in fighting against the Whites during the Civil War, he remained an isolated figure in the party. Some party members feared him for his ambition—he had the potential to become a Soviet Bonaparte.

Zinoviev had compromised himself by his own record of hesitation before the coup in 1917. Bukharin was an intellectual. He was a doctrinaire and did not have much appeal to the party members as a leader. Stalin was not distinguished as an intellectual. He was least feared by the Communist Party members and got their support more easily. Moreover, Stalin also took an active part in the 1917 November Revolution and the Civil War.

c) Socialism in One Country versus Permanent Revolution

‘Socialism in One Country’ has more popular support than ‘Permanent Revolution’

Trotsky had lived in many countries before 1917. He acquired an international outlook. He deeply believed that a socialist country could not be built up in Russia unless the revolution spread to other parts of the world. So Trotsky advocated immediate revolutions abroad, rapid industrialization and rapid collectivization of agriculture at home. In short, Trotsky asked for ‘a short cut’ to communize Russia and the world as soon as possible. This was Trotsky’s theory of ‘permanent revolution’.
Stalin thought differently. He advocated ‘socialism in one country’. He believed that Russia, with her vast resources, could build up herself as a socialist country alone, without support from the outside. There was no need for a world revolution. At home, Stalin urged for slow collectivization of agriculture.

The masses and the party, enjoying stability after 1922, desired normalcy. They distrusted Trotsky and therefore turned to Stalin. Moreover, the Russians welcomed Stalin’s ‘Socialism in one country’ as a national programme. It gave pride to the Russians that they would lead the world in creating a socialist society without foreign aid.

d) Stalin’s Political Intrigues against his Enemies

Stalin was the craftiest master of political intrigue. On January 21, 1924, Lenin died. Trotsky remained in the Caucasus to recover from an illness and failed to attend the funeral in Moscow. Stalin immediately opened a press campaign against Trotsky and discredited him. In 1924, Stalin secured the help of Kamenev and Zinoviev (the left-wing of the party) to isolate Trotsky in the Politburo. United opposition forced Trotsky to resign from the Politburo and to leave his post of War Commissar. In 1925 Trotsky had lost all his important posts in the party.

After Trotsky was removed from power, Stalin worked with Bukharin (the right-wing of the party) in the Politburo and provoked quarrels between Kamenev and Zinoviev in order to weaken their power.

In 1927, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were expelled from the party. In 1929, Trotsky was deported from Russia. In 1940, he was assassinated in Mexico. Having removed his political opponents from power, Stalin dealt with Bukharin and expelled him from the party in 1928. (Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin were reinstated in the party by publicly acknowledging their errors. But during the great purges they were tried and condemned again.)

By his skilful use of the ‘divide and rule’ policy in the party, Stalin’s position as the sole leader of Russia was now secure.

II. The Second Revolution in Russia (1927-1939)

In 1927, the power struggle within the Communist Party was over. Stalin had gained full political power. Stalin thought that rapid industrialization and collectivization of agriculture would transform Russia into a rich and strong socialist state. (Stalin suddenly accepted Trotsky’s ideas after the power struggle. Actually, Stalin and Trotsky differed in their means but not in their goals.) He made use of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) to make a survey of the country’s economic resources. Targets were then set for each of the industries and each of the collective farms. The industries and the farms had to increase their rates of production according to these targets.

1. Rapid Industrialization under the Five Year Plans
(i) Reasons for rapid industrialization:

(a) By developing heavy industries, Russia hoped that she could first free herself from dependence on capitalist states for machinery and manufactured goods, and finally rival with the industrial production of the United States and Germany.

(b) If Russia was economically strong, she could have the financial resources to produce more powerful armaments that could defend Russia from any possible attacks by the capitalist powers.

(c) Industrialization put all of the national resources under the government and thus enabled the government to impose a stricter hold on the workers.

(d) Finally, Stalin might want to prove that the socialist system, in comparison to the capitalist system, would be more successful in modernizing a nation.

(ii) Results of industrialization:

The First Five Year Plan ran from 1928 to 1932 with heavy emphasis on the development of heavy industries (coal-mining industries, the building of power-stations and tractors, and machine construction). The aims of the First Five Year Plan were declared achieved in 4 years. In 1932, the output of Russian industry more than doubled the pre-war level. New factories were built—the large automobile factories at Moscow, the tractor plans at Stalingrad, the steel plants at Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk Basin, and the hydro-electric stations at Dnieper were all built in this period. The Ural area was developed as an important industrial region. The Trans-Siberian railway, formerly single-track, was now double-tracked.

The Second (1933-1937) and the Third (1939-1943) Five Year Plans attempted to pay more attention to the development of the light industries with the production of more consumer goods. As the Plans were carried out, war threat was increasing. Thus much attention was shifted to heavy industries again. Light industry was neglected. Armaments were produced in great quantities. In 1936, electricity output was 16 times than that of 1913. The output of coal, steel and iron also increased by at least three times than in 1913.

As a result of the Five Year Plans, by the end of 1930’s, Russia had become a major industrial power. She was second in production only to the U.S.A. and Germany. In contrast with the defeat of Czarist Russia in the First World War, communist Russia could defeat even Germany in the Second World War. But it should be remembered that the Russians paid dearly for their success in rapid industrialization. Throughout this period, they received low wages and suffered from the lack of consumer goods and many daily necessities. Perhaps only the tight control of the Communist leaders could make possible such a remarkable success within so short a period of time!
In the Second Five Year Plan, the Communist leaders found that some workers lost initiative to work harder. They compromised the Communist principles with the capitalist principles. 'Capitalistic' incentives were introduced. Good workers were rewarded with higher pay. Competition (with reward) between factories was also introduced. Foreign technicians were employed to give advice.

2. Collectivization of Agriculture under the Five Year Plans

Collectivization of agriculture meant that private farms were abolished. In its place large farms were set up. They were run by a number of families under the control of government officials. The kind of crops and the amount of production were decided by the needs of the district and the state. Machines were usually introduced so as to raise productivity of the land.

(i) Reasons for collectivization:

(a) Stalin wanted to raise the agricultural production of the country. Up to 1928, Russian agricultural system remained backward. Wooden ploughs, sickles harvesting on small holding were the common characteristics of the Russian agriculture. Only when the small farms were grouped together could big farms be formed and machines be used. It was expected that within a short period of time, Russian agricultural production would rise rapidly. This was the basic reason for Stalin's insistence on launching collectivization.

(b) As a result of the New Economic Policy, rich peasants (kulaks) grew up in large number in the countryside. The kulaks refused to transport their grains for sale in the cities when the prices were low. Thus the workers had to pay dearly for their food. If the kulaks were forced to become members of collectives, they had to grow and deliver their crops at prices fixed by the government. If the price of the food was low, it would help to reduce the wages of the workers and the cost of industrial production—an important advantage for the industrialization of Russia.

(ii) The process of collectivization:

Beginning in 1928, the government first persuaded and then forced the peasants to merge their holdings into collective farms. In the process, all their belongings (including land) would be confiscated. The kulaks resisted strongly. The government responded by brutal methods. Teams of party members and industrial workers went to the countryside. Very frequently the party members needed to use force. They drove the peasants from their homes, killed them if they resisted and even starved them to death in order to break their resistance.

Because of this brutal treatment, the kulaks (about 2 million in number) had to give up their farms. They expressed their anger by smashing their farm implements, slaughtering their livestock, burning their crops and farm buildings before they left their farms. (Some even attempted to kill the Communist agents.) In this way, in the winter of 1929 to 1930, Russia lost about 1/2 of her livestock. Because of the blind resistance of the kulaks, agriculture was disorganized. Grain
production went down to the 1913 level. In 1932 a crop failure came. This resulted in a famine that cost the country five million lives.

After 1933 more and more peasants joined the collective farms. By 1939, 95% of Russia farms had been collectivized. The chief reason for the rapid success in collectivization after 1930 was that a few concessions had been made to the kulaks. Firstly, the peasants who joined the collective farms were allowed to keep small plots within the collective farm for their own use. Secondly, they were allowed to keep their own cattle and fowls. Thirdly, a quota had been set for the collective farm. After that quota was reached, the peasants of the collectives could sell the rest of the crops in the open markets for their own profit.

(iii) Results:

The first immediate effect of collectivization was that because all the collective farms were under the control of the government and they were obliged to deliver to the government a fixed quantity of their produce (the quota system) at low price, the workers in the towns were guaranteed with supply of cheap food from the countryside.

Another effect was that the peasants were kept at a low income level, so the produce of the collectives (which were handed to the government) could be sold by the government in the overseas markets for big profit. This gave a source of income to the government to invest in industries. In the long run, collectivization helped to raise agricultural production. Big farms economize labour, facilitate the use of system machinery, and permit more efficient marketing of the crops. By 1935 Russia could produce enough food for her home consumption. By 1939, the sown area of Russia was 1/3 larger than that in 1913. The output of grain more than doubled that of 1914.

Socially, collective farms grouped the peasants together and made it easier for the government to control its people. Many excessive farm hands in the collectives were ordered by the government to go to the towns. This provided cheap labour for industrialization. In short, agriculture was being organized on industrial lines and more geared to the needs and development of the whole country.

III. The Constitution of 1936

In 1936, Stalin judged the time ripe for drafting a new constitution which would preserve his autocratic power in the country. It was adopted by popular vote the following year and went into effect on January 1, 1938.

Reasons for Making the Constitution

(i) In 1936, Stalin might think that both industrial and agricultural reorganization had been quite successful and Communism was definitely sure to stay in Russia, so a new constitution was needed to preserve his autocratic power in this new state.
(ii) In 1936, Hitler had been in power in Germany for three years. Hitler denounced the 'Jewish' Communism in 'My Struggle', and pointed out that he would attack Russia. To prepare for that eventuality, Stalin wanted to secure the support of the democratic nations of the west. Granting a constitution to the Russian people served to give at least an appearance of democracy to Russia.

Main Features of the Constitution

According to the Constitution, Communist Russia called itself the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There were 11 republics, representing the different racial groups and possessing limited powers over their own affairs. Of these the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was the largest and the dominant one.

On paper, the 1936 Constitution had all the democratic features of the Western European parliamentary governments. It provided for universal suffrage for every man and woman aged eighteen or over. They voted by secret ballot. They had the right to vote for the various soviets, high and low, including the Soviet of the Union

For the whole country, the highest organ of state power was the **Supreme Soviet**:

(i) It was composed of two houses: the Soviet of Union, representing the people of Russia and elected by them in the proportion of one deputy for 300,000 electors; the Union of Nationalities, representing the Union republics and elected by the Union republics (each republic elected 25 members). Both chambers had equal legislative powers. No bill could become law without the approval of a majority of both chambers. The Supreme Soviet met twice a year, usually for more than a week at each time.

(ii) When the Supreme Soviet was not sitting, the Supreme Soviet elected from among its members a standing committee, the Presidium, to perform its functions. The President of the Presidium is usually known as the President of the Soviet Union, but he is only the symbolic head of the state.

(iii) The Supreme Soviet also elected a 'Council of People's Commissars' (the Council of Ministers) to act as a kind of cabinet. Each minister was head of a department such as War, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Heavy Industry and so forth. The administrative and executive work of the country was carried on by this Council of Ministers.

Finally, the 1936 Constitution also had a bill of rights. The citizens were guaranteed the freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of religion. They were guaranteed the right to employment and holidays with pay.

There was, however, one feature of the Constitution which marked the Russian Constitution off from the constitutions of the western nations. The Constitution left unimpaired the dominant position of the Communist Party. The
Constitution mentioned that the Communist Party was the only legal party in Russia. The Party controlled the machinery of government, the economic system and the apparatus of culture, alone capable of leading the workers towards communism.

**Criticism of the Constitution of 1936**

In spite of its democratic appearance, the Constitution of 1936 was far from democratic:

(i) The Communist Party remained to be the only political party in the Soviet Union. In 1939 it numbered just about a million and a half in membership and so it was not fully representative of the wishes of the whole nation.

(ii) Although there were elections to be held, there was usually only one single list of candidates offered by the Communist Party. As a result, no opposition candidate could be elected and those elected in the Supreme Soviet must be Communist Party members.

(iii) Since the Supreme Soviet was controlled by the Communist Party members, the Presidium and the Council of Ministers were filled with loyal Communist Party members. Thus the Party policy became the government policy.

(iv) The Supreme Soviet rarely met and had no real power. The Presidium consisting of the Communist Party chiefs was more important in exercising the legislative power in Russia.

(v) The Constitution was not always followed. Russia remained a police state. The secret police had its officers everywhere. Many thousands of people suspected of disloyalty to communism were sent into labour camps, exiled, imprisoned or put to death without trial. The bill of rights could not guarantee personal liberty. The Constitution consolidated the Communist Party's hold over the country. Stalin, controlling the Communist Party, actually dominated the country.

**IV. The Great Purge (1932-1938)**

(1) The Process

Stalin wanted to secure his personal dictatorship. At the time when he was promulgating the Constitution, he carried out a series of purges against his real or alleged enemies! The reasons why Stalin had to carry out purges remain unknown. The following ones were suggested reasons:

(i) Khrushchev said that Stalin was a sick man, suffering from the insane disease of persecution.

(ii) In Germany, Hitler had seized power for a number of years, poising to attack Russia. Stalin wanted to purge the party of disloyal members before the German attack.
(iii) Many old Bolsheviks were still surviving. Some of them raised objection to Stalin’s policies in the Five Years' Plans. Stalin wanted to get rid of the old Bolsheviks. He wanted to be surrounded by 'yes-men' in order to strengthen his personal authority.

(iv) Stalin built up his present dictatorship by intrigue and guile. To preserve his power, he needed to intrigue against his potential enemies before it was too late.

Stalin began with a mass purge of the party from 1932 onwards. In December 1934, with the assassination of Sergei Kirov, the popular party chief in Leningrad and a close rival to Stalin, Stalin broadened the purge (from the party) to encompass the entire population. From 1936 to 1938, there were a series of Show Trials for those accused, followed by mass executions.

(2) Results

By 1938, the purges began to slacken its pace. In the process of the mass purge, one third of the leading members of the party were eliminated. They included Lenin’s close associates, the old Bolsheviks including Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin, the leading army officers of the Red Army, the members of the secret police. The Russian intelligentsia was also victimized. It has been estimated that those subject to persecution, imprisonment, and exile and death sentence during the purge from 1934 to 1938 amounted to seven millions.

When the old Communist Party members were eliminated, the new party members were Stalin’s yes-men. Stalin’s position in the country was raised to the status of a semi-God.

Show Trials

The pattern of the trials was usually the same. The accused were usually charged for being in league with Trotsky and with having plotted to kill Stalin. Other charges such as plotting against the state by sabotage and espionage were also made. Then the accused confessed and were sentenced to death.

Purging the Red Army

Over 30,000 officers were dismissed or executed. This was about half of the officer corps. The Red Army had been seriously weakened during the Great Purges, but by 1941 it had been reorganized. The five million Red Army fought loyally to defend Soviet Union during the Second World War. Stalin’s position was firmly entrenched in Russia because the Red Army was loyal to him.

V. Other Accomplishments

The Communist regime had certain accomplishments to its credit:

(1) The Communist government spent much effort in providing education for its people. In 1931, compulsory primary education was provided for all children from eight to eleven. After 1934, besides the building of primary and secondary schools,
higher education was also provided to growing number of youngsters. By 1938, about 200,000 youngsters graduated from universities and polytechnics. They worked as engineers, doctors, scientists, agriculturists and managers in factories. Accompanying the growth of education was the printing of a large number of cheap books, the building of libraries and the reduction of illiteracy from 60% in 1917 to 20% in 1939.

(2) The official policy of sex equality was being preached. Women became engineers, doctors and teachers. This raised the status of women.

(3) The social welfare services also expanded. The government provided financial aid for working mothers and their infants. It also provided free medical care and hospitalization for most of the citizens.

THE RISE AND FALL OF DICTATORSHIPS IN EUROPE

Introduction

First World War brought almost all the monarchies in Europe to an end. There emerged a popular demand for representative assemblies, democratic electorates, universal suffrage and responsible governments. Republics began to be established all over Europe. The decade from 1919-1929 also witnessed the efforts of the League of Nations and of the world powers, to maintain world peace. Attempts were made towards collective security, through the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, the Dawes Plan in 1924, and the Locarno Treaty of 1925.

Though peace spread throughout the world during the decade after World War I, it was followed in the next decade (1929-1959), by the rise of dictatorships in different forms in European countries such as Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal. The life of the citizen was totally controlled by the dictators; they were the ones who decided how a citizen should vote and even what he should read and do. Dictatorships even threatened their neighboring countries by refusing to work with the League of Nations except on their own terms. The dictators adhered to the supreme motto: ‘everything for the state everything within the state, and nothing outside the state.’

Causes of the Growth of Dictatorships in Europe

Italy was thrown into a state of poverty, discontent and disorder after the First World War. Though the Italians had won the war, their claims were not accepted at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. They were thus seeking a leader who would fulfill their ambitions. They found him in Benito Mussolini.

Thanks to the Treaty of Versailles (1919), Germany was physically mutilated, economically suffocated, emotionally humiliated and territorially encircled. Thus the German youth was filled with a sense of intense hatred and revenge against the Allied Powers. These popular sentiments were well exploited by Adolf Hitler.
At the Washington Conference of 1921-22, Japan was forced to sign three treaties. She was thus looking for an opportunity penetrates into China. The Soviet Union also sought to fulfill its mission of a world communist revolution, after First World War, thus threatening the whole world.

Democratic governments were not able to solve the social, political and economic problems of the post-war period. This exposed the evils in their functioning. The victorious powers such as Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France failed to enforce the Treaty of Versailles vigorously. This also encouraged the growth of dictatorships.

The League of Nations was unsuccessful in its aim to preserve peace. Thus the path was paved for the growth of totalitarian dictatorships. The world economic crisis in 1929, caused frustration, despondency and despair all over the world. Forces of international anarchy were released in 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria. This convinced the world dictators, that the road to aggression was not difficult.

The Rise and fall of Dictatorship in Italy

Italian dictatorship assumed the name of Fascism. It was initiated by Benito Mussolini. Various causes led to the rise of Fascism in Italy. Italy was a disappointed victor of World War I, for it gained much less than it expected, at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. War had proved costly to Italy, draining it of its finances and forcing up the cost of living.

Various post-war problems arose in Italy. Italy faced bankruptcy, starvation, inflation and unemployment. Strikes and lockouts were posed by industrial workers. The middle class became impoverished. The democratic Italian government failed miserably to solve these diverse problems. Italy was tormented with disorder and confusion.

Italy was left crippled economically. The Russian Revolution of 1917 greatly influenced the Italian socialists. They planned a revolution to transplant the Soviet system into Italy. Therefore strikes, lockouts and riots became more frequent.

The Fascists denounced Liberalism, Communism and also Democracy. They also guaranteed the following benefits to the masses:

a. Maximum hours of work and minimum wages for workers
b. Immediate relief to industrialists from strikes
c. Social security and patriotism
d. Maintenance of law and order in the country
e. National glory abroad

In March 1919, Benito Mussolini formed a political party. He named it the Fascisti after the Roman rods or fasces that were carried by the officers attending
upon the ancient Roman Consuls before the chief magistrate of the state. They were emblems of authority at that time. The party consisted of ex-soldiers, industrialists, landlords, professional men, middle-class people and the intelligentsia.

A civil war in Italy lasted from 1920-21. This was between the Fascists and the radicals; the latter were finally eliminated by the Fascists. In October 1922, Mussolini issued an ultimatum in the Congress of Fascists that either the reigns of government should be handed to them, or they would seize it by marching on Rome. King Victor Emmanuel III then invited Mussolini to form a government at Rome. He did so on October 30, 1922. Thus Mussolini came to power by constitutional means, through his Fascist party.

After becoming the Prime Minister, Mussolini demanded and obtained dictatorial powers from the National Parliament. This happened in 1923.

**Mussolini’s Domestic Policy**

After coming to power, Mussolini restored order and stability in the state. He eliminated any kind of opposition that appeared in every form.

Industrialists began to feel secure, since Mussolini banned industrial strikes. At the same time, workers were benefited by a 'Charter of Labor' which guaranteed some basic rights to them. These included such rights as

a. an eight-hour day,

b. a weekly holiday,

c. a compulsory employer’s contribution towards insurance against sickness, accidents and old-age benefits and

d. no dismissal of workers, on grounds of illness.

Mussolini developed the concept of the ‘Corporate State.’ He established six corporations of employers, six of workers and one of professionals. In 1934, a National Council of Corporations was formed to replace the Parliament itself.

Mussolini controlled all educational institutions by appointing only fascist teachers in schools, colleges and universities. He revived and encouraged trade, commerce and industry. The greatest priority was given to the construction of railways and the shipbuilding industry. Banking and currency were regulated.

Finally, Mussolini signed the Lateran Treaties with the Pope of Rome, in 1929. These created the new state of the Vatican in Rome. The Roman Pope was recognized as its sovereign ruler.

**Mussolini’s Foreign Policy**

Mussolini had promised national glory abroad. To achieve this, he ordered universal conscription, and better arms and ammunition for the armed forces. These measures made the Italian army, navy and air force more efficient.
In 1923, Mussolini secured the island of Corfu (that was in Greece). He then acquired the port of Fiume on the Adriatic Sea. On October 2, 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in Africa, and annexed it on May 9, 1936. In October 1936, Italy and Germany formed a close alliance known as the Berlin-Rome Axis. In 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact against Russia.

Mussolini entered World War II on June 10, 1940. The Italian force suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Allies. Italy surrendered officially, on September 3, 1943. This was the end of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy. Benito Mussolini was captured and shot dead by anti-Fascist Italians.

The Rise and fall of Dictatorship in Germany

There were several factors that contributed to the growth of Nazi dictatorship in Germany after 1930.

After World War I, Germany was filled with a sense of discontent, hatred and revenge, as the Treaty of Versailles crippled her physically, exhausted her economically and weakened her emotionally. The Treaty of Versailles was not enforced strictly by the Allied Powers like Britain, U.S.A. and France.

Currency inflation created serious problems in the country. Before the war, the value of a dollar was 4.2 German marks. By November 1923, it became absolutely worthless at 2.52 trillion to one dollar. To remedy this problem, the government issued a new currency at the old rate, namely 4.2 marks to one dollar. The government fixed the ratio at one new mark to one trillion old marks. Thus the life savings, in the form of bank deposits, insurance, provident funds, pensions and cash, were all wiped out.

The result of the currency inflation was that all industries, factories, workshops and mills were paralyzed. There was widespread unemployment, starvation, and desperation. The introduction of the Dawes Plan in 1924 was followed by an unprecedented prosperity in Germany, up to 1929. However, when the world economic depression came in 1929-1930, Germany faced economic chaos.

After World War I, the atmosphere in Germany was filled with militant nationalism; this was the result of feelings of German superiority and of the utter national humiliation caused by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The Germans had no love for democratic institutions. They preferred prestige and glory to liberty and freedom.

After World War I, communist ideas were spreading throughout Germany. During the economic depression of 1929-1930, millions of jobless workers flocked towards the Communist Party. The middle classes therefore looked forward to the Nazis, to save their country, from a communist revolution.
Finally, the magnetic personality of Adolf Hitler was greatly responsible for the growth of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany. Hitler was chiefly responsible for making his fellow countrymen burn in the fire of revenge, for the national humiliation they had suffered.

Adolf Hitler, an Austrian by birth, joined the German army during World War I. He won an Iron Cross for his bravery. In February 1925, he rebuilt and revitalized his political party, the Nazi party. Its strength increased gradually. In 1932, Hitler acquired German citizenship.

Fresh elections to the Reichstag (German Parliament) took place on March 5, 1933, in which 44% of the total seats were won by the Nazi Party. Thus Hitler formed a coalition government with the nationalists who won 8% of the total seats.

After becoming chancellor, Adolf Hitler crushed all opposition and began a campaign of repression against Jews and Communists. On June 30, 1934 he massacred thousands of socialists for treason, for which the day came to be known as 'Bloody Saturday.' He centralized all the powers of the central and local governments, coordinated all the labor and youth organizations and controlled all the aspects of national life, including the Press, educational institutions, the stage and the cinema.

When President Hindenburg died on August 2, 1934, he was succeeded by Hitler.

The Nazi Party adopted three goals in its foreign policy:

i. Union of all the people of the German race by the right of self-determination, in one great Germany

ii. The cancellation of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain and

iii. The acquisitions of further territory for the support of the people


To expand German territory and power, Hitler followed a policy of naked aggression. Germany entered into a pact with Japan against Russia. It was known as the Anti-Comintern Pact and was signed in November 1937.

With the help of Italy, Hitler annexed Austria on March 11, 1938. On March 15, 1939, Hitler invaded and annexed Czechoslovakia. Germany then signed the Non-aggression Pact with the Soviets, on August 23, 1939. Hitler launched an armed attack on Poland, on September 1, 1939. This was followed by the declaration of war upon Germany by Britain and France on September 3, 1939.
This initiated World War II (1939-1945). However, the Germans surrendered on May 7, 1945 and Hitler committed suicide. This brought Nazi dictatorship in Germany to an end.

**The Rise and fall of Dictatorship in Spain**

The main factors that contributed to the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera in Spain were as follows:

Spain was ruled by King Alphonso XIII; a weak-willed, inefficient and incapable King. He lacked wisdom and statesmanship, which led to his humiliation in the Moroccan problem.

Several abuses were prevalent in the Spanish army and government. The army was inefficient, ill armed, and not well trained.

The failure of the parliamentary government was responsible for the abuses in all branches of government and society.

In order to remove these abuses, the *Officers’ Corps* prepared a reform program. However some of its spokesmen were arrested by the government. The parliamentary government reached its doom and this was followed by the military dictatorship of General Primo De Rivera.

On seizing power, General Miguel Primo de Rivera proclaimed a state of war in the country, imposed strict press censorship, and banned all political activities. Having restored law and order in the country, Primo introduced ambitious schemes for public works, electrification of the railways and road development. He introduced income tax and improved the national finances. He encouraged and stimulated home industries channeled investments and created state monopolies.

In his zeal for reform, Primo was driven to ride roughshod over dissident and unwilling people. There were frequent student riots in the universities against the dictator. Finally, the world economic depression of 1929-1930 caused the collapse of Spanish industries and the national economy. On January 28, 1930, admitting his defeat, Primo resigned from office, and expired in Paris, on March 16, 1930.

At the death of Primo, King Alphonso XIII was in exile in France from April 14, 1931. A republic was established in Spain. The Republicans, under the leadership of Zamora, secured an overwhelming majority in the national legislature, in the elections of April 1931. However the Moderate Republicans defeated the Radicals and Socialists in the elections of November 1933, with Lerroux as their leader. A Popular Front was formed by the anarchists. It violently opposed the government of the Moderates.

In the elections of 1936, the Popular Front secured a majority in the national legislature and formed the government. The Popular Front government was unwilling or unable to prevent its communist and anarchist allies from carrying out destructive activities.
On July 19, 1936, General Francisco Franco and all those officers who were adversely affected revolted against the Popular Front government. General Franco was fully supported by the clergymen, royalists, rightists, landlord and conservative republicans.

The Civil War was fought with great ferocity, and both sides were guilty of committing horrible cruelties. Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Portugal fully supported General Franco and recognized the government that he formed in November 1936.

After assuming dictatorial authority, General Franco abolished all trade unions. He also banned industrial strikes and lockouts. He proclaimed Catholicism as the state religion.

The lands seized from the Society of Jesus and the landlords, by the earlier Popular Front government were returned to them. General Franco borrowed the system of government, the national economy and the foreign policy from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and established the same in Spain. After being a dictator for four decades, General Franco passed away in November 1975.

The Rise and fall of Dictatorship in Portugal

The ‘Cortes’ (the National Assembly) in Portugal was full of factions that had no public force behind them. This paved the way for the October Revolution in 1910, after which Portugal became a Republic. Between 1910 and 1926, there were eight Presidents and forty-three different Ministers. Owing to taxation and unjust exemptions the country became completely bankrupt and impoverished. The national debt increased tremendously, the cost of living shot up, while the value of the currency fell to one-third of its old value. Under the Republic, Portugal was ruled by irresponsible, anti-national and self-seeking political cliques.

The army was eager to carry out a revolution against the Government. In May 1926, the Republican government was overthrown and a military dictatorship was established.

General Antonio Oscar Carmona became the head of the provisional government on July 9, 1926. Carmona was elected the President of the new Republic in March 1928. He was re-elected in 1935, 1942, and 1949. He remained President, until he died in April 1951. The military regime strove to restore law and order in the country. In order to create economic stability, Dr. Oliviera Salajar, a professor of economics was invited to take charge of the Ministry of Finance on June 4, 1926.

On becoming the Finance Minister, Dr Oliviera Salajar introduced radical reforms to revitalize the national economy. He completely rehabilitated the national finances. From 1928 to 1940, he produced an uninterrupted series of budgetary surpluses, which restored Portugal’s financial credit. On July 5, 1932, Dr. Salajar became President of the Council of ministers and gave a new shape to the
Constitution of 1933. As minister of foreign affairs, he piloted the ship of the State through the difficulties caused by the Spanish Civil War.

Significance and Impact of Dictatorships in Europe

The Fascist and Nazi dictatorships were anti-humanist for the dictators had no regard or consideration for fellow feelings. As dictatorship is founded on fear and force, it employs the most violent and coercive measures for suppressing and eliminating all opposition. In Germany as well as in Italy, freedom of speech, expression, belief, worship, communication, press and other freedoms, under which the human personality flourishes, were abolished.

The dictatorships that emerged in Italy and Germany, during the post World War I period were highly anti-internationalist. Both the Fascists and the Nazis were fully intoxicated with the doctrines of militarism. Hence the patriotic and nationalistic spirit in these nations intensified and sanctified these ideas, which proved to be a great source of danger to internationalism. Both Mussolini and Hitler glorified and worshipped war as a noble activity. They condemned the international reign of law and peace, as acts of cowardice and hypocrisy. Hence Mussolini and Hitler inaugurated an era of naked, brutal and ruthless aggression. Thus they proved to be the most dangerous enemies of internationalism.

SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

Introduction

First World War had made the world 'safe for democracy'. Since Germany had been humbled, there was hardly any chance of war-mongering nations rising again. However what was desired did not turn out to be true. Germany and her defeated partners were filled with thoughts of revenge. The victorious powers of World War I, as Italy and Japan, did not secure enough. General discontent spread everywhere. While great democratic states were being shattered on one side, other nations like Germany were arming themselves rapidly. The statesmen of the big nations failed to nip aggressive Germany, Italy and Japan in the bud. Thus Germany, Italy and Japan not only ruined themselves, but also brought the whole world to the brink of ruin.

Causes of World War II

World War II was caused by a variety of factors and forces.

The Second World War can be traced to the Treaty of Versailles, which had been imposed on Germany. This treaty was a kind of dictated peace. It deprived Germany of every scrap of its colonial empire. Danzig was cut off from Germany and the country was forced to stand totally disarmed. Allied troops were stationed in Germany, in order to enforce the provisions of the Treaty. Germany was burdened with reparations. It alone was held guilty of the war. Thus it caused
hatred in the minds of the Germans who were born and brought up in the cult of revenge.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 greatly disappointed victorious Italy. This resulted in the rise of Fascist dictatorship in Italy under Mussolini and the Nazi dictatorship in Germany after 1932, under Hitler. Both the dictators embarked upon a career of open aggression.

After the First World War, victorious Japan followed the policy of imperialism, in the Far East. In 1931, Japan grabbed Manchuria from China. The League of Nations could do nothing, to prevent this aggression. Japan was party to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, which severely threatened world peace.

The Allied Powers were committed to the Wilsonian principle of ‘self-determination.’ However, at the Paris Peace Conference, its application was conditioned by economic necessity, military defense, as well as religious and political traditions. These factors kindled the fire of nationalism and political liberty among national minorities. Germany spread the news that its nationality was being oppressed under the foreign rule in Austria, Sudetenland and Poland. For this reason, Hitler invaded and annexed these territories, thus sparking off World War II.

While disarming Germany, under the Treaty of Versailles, the Allied Powers had pledged to apply the same measures to themselves. And Britain did disarm itself to a great extent. However France and the other European powers always upheld the slogan, "Security first, disarmament afterwards." This convinced Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan that rearmament was the only road to power and national achievement. Thus efforts at disarmament of the world failed miserably. In fact by 1930 most European nations had spent the maximum of their budget on rearmament. This practice eventually led to World War II.

The League of Nations had been formed to promote national security and international peace. However, owing to its weakness, the League failed to achieve its objectives. Britain used the League as an alternative to Bolshevism. France used it as an instrument for perpetuating the peace settlement. Germany condemned it as "a grouping of the victor imperialist powers." Russia regarded it as ‘a forum of the imperialists.’ When the League failed, the only alternative left was that the parties could settle their disputes by resorting to war.

After the First World War, there was a conflict of ideologies, created by totalitarian states like Italy, Germany, Japan and Russia on the one hand and democratic states like Britain, France and the U.S.A. on the other. Since co-existence soon grew impossible between these two opposite camps, war was inevitable.

Great Britain and France developed contrasting attitudes towards international problems in the post-war years. France made every effort to prevent German revival. This led her to search for security in and outside the League. On
the other hand, Great Britain followed a policy of appeasement that is of satisfying Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan, by making various concessions to them. Thus England ignored Hitler's repudiation of Germany's international covenants, Japan's seizing of Manchuria, Italy's conquest of Ethiopia and Germany's seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Once Hitler was allowed to grab his small neighbor, he began to aim at devouring the whole of Europe.

**Course of the Second World War**

World War II began with Hitler’s attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. As both Britain and France had entered into an alliance with Poland in April 1939, they declared war upon Germany. The Germans occupied Western Poland. The Soviet Union annexed Eastern Poland. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a part of Rumania, were invaded and annexed by Russia, soon after.

In April 1940, Denmark and Norway were attacked and annexed by Germany. In May 1940, Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland were raided by German bombers. All these three states surrendered within a week. Following this, the Germans invaded France in June 1940. Paris fell to the Nazis on June 14, 1940. Germany soon occupied the whole of northern and western France, while Italy seized Nice and other French districts that were adjacent to Italy.

After the fall of Poland and France, Britain alone was at war with the Axis Powers from June 1940 to June 1941. However, the British forces were victorious over the Axis powers in Africa.

On June 22, 1941, Russia was attacked by Germany. The Anglo-Russian Alliance was formed on July 22, 1941, for mutual military aid in the war against Germany. The United States also gave the Soviet Union assurances of military help.

The American fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, was bombed by the Japanese on December 7, 1941. Hence the U.S.A. declared war on Japan, on December 8, 1941. Germany and Italy then declared war against the U.S.A. Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union mobilized their forces to destroy the Axis powers namely, Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The Nazi and Fascist forces were successful in their conquest of Europe, up to the end of October 1942. However on November 8, 1942, the Allied forces succeeded against the Axis powers in North Africa. On September 3, 1943, Italy surrendered unconditionally and signed an armistice with the Allies on September 3, 1943.

Forging across the Rhine in March 1945, the Allied forces defeated the German forces. As a result, Hitler lost all hope and committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Hence, the Germans surrendered unconditionally, on May 7, 1945. Japan continued to battle until atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on
August 6 and 9, 1945 respectively, by the United States. Japan finally surrendered unconditionally on August 14, 1945, signing a document of surrender on September 2, 1945.

**Consequences of the Second World War**

Second World War produced disastrous consequences that were unparalleled in the history of mankind.

The war caused unprecedented destruction of life and property. There was a complete destruction of fields and factories, mills and workshops and the houses of the civilians. Crores of people died and many more were permanently disabled. In the opinion of Chester Bowles, World War II "killed twenty-five million people, permanently disabled twice that number and devastated much of Germany, Italy, Poland and the Balkans, Russia, China and Japan."

During the war, the Nazi dictator, Adolf Hitler initiated a movement that aimed at wiping out the whole race of Jews. This was called the holocaust. This movement was part of his plan to conquer the world. Millions of Jews were imprisoned into concentration camps and were subjected to inhuman tortures. The captives were even starved to death. Cruel experiments were performed on these helpless victims. The aged, the sick and the disabled were poisoned with gas.

The war also created an acute scarcity of foodstuff, essential commodities and cloth. This led to unprecedented inflation. The standard of living fell drastically. Since the prices shot up, life of millions became made miserable.

The war proved the moral degradation of man, for he killed his own species in an unparalleled scale. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and militarist Japan inflicted unimaginable cruelties upon the combatants, non-combatants, as well as on innocent men, women and children. The dropping of the two atom bombs by the U.S. upon Japan in August 1945 demonstrated how man was competent enough to wipe out the entire human race, within a split second. Both the victors and the vanquished were guilty of behaving like barbarians.

The three great Axis Powers namely Italy, Germany and Japan were leveled to dust.

(i) Germany, the chief architect of the war was utterly humiliated and punished. At the Potsdam Conference, Germany was divided into four zones. Each zone was placed under a major allied victor.

(ii) The Italian empire disappeared from the map of the world. The spoils of war, in terms of territory and reparation, were shared and enjoyed by the major Allied victors.

(iii) After the war, Japan was placed under the control of the Far Eastern Commission with General Mac Arthur as the Supreme Commander of the Allied
Forces. However, only in 1951, did Japan regain its lost sovereignty, under the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

Great Britain emerged from the war as a second-rate world power. The British Empire suffered heavy losses during the war. After the war, within a short span of time, many new nations were born on the ruins of the British Empire.

The strain of the war on France was beyond her power of endurance. Though it emerged victorious from the war, its status sank considerably in the international field and it became a second-rate power. Undoubtedly, it also suffered heavy losses.

The United States of America played a vital role in winning the war. The U.S. manufacturers made fantastic profits. World War II enabled the U.S.A. to play an important role in financial, political and diplomatic domains all over the world. The underdeveloped, developing and war-torn states turned their eyes towards the U.S.A. for her aid both physical and financial.

In Russia, Stalin left no stone unturned to extract as many concessions as possible from the Allies. This enhanced the power and position of the former USSR. The Soviet Union emerged from the war as another super power.

Second World War enhanced the prestige of the communist dictatorship of Russia, and enabled it to spread its control all over east and central Europe as well as Asia. However democracy held its sway over Western Europe.

- The World thus came to be divided into two power blocs
  - (a) the Capitalist bloc of Great Britain, the U.S. and their allies, and
  - (b) the Communist bloc of the Soviet Union and her satellites.
- The British, Dutch, French and Italian Empires were left in a disintegrated state. New nations like India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon were born on their ruins. Israel, Iran, Syria and Lebanon won political freedom from their imperialist masters.

EXERCISES

1. What were the causes and results of the Russian Revolution of 1917?

2. What is Comintern?

3. Examine the causes for Dictatorship in Italy and Germany.

4. Explain the causes and consequences of the Second World War.
UNIT-IV

PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD PEACE AND THE U.N.O

United Nations Organization (U.N.O)

The World War II resulted in widespread concern for world peace. Hence the United Nations Organization was established after the war in 1945. It was formed to bring terminate to wars and ensure permanent peace in the world as well as to enhance the economic and cultural development of mankind.

Reasons for the establishment of the U.N.O.

Various reasons were responsible for the establishment of the U.N.O:

1. The Second World War: Undoubtedly, the Second World War proved more destructive than the first. It left millions dead and disabled. The fact that another war of the greater scale would possibly bring in the destruction of the world and of human civilization altogether, became a matter of concern the world over.

2. Need for Permanent Peace in the World: The disastrous results of the Second World War gave rise to the need of an organization which could establish and maintain permanent peace in the world. Since the Second World War had originated from the First, all the countries feared that the Second World War could be the cause of a Third. Hence such an organization was even more desirable.

3. Elimination of Mutual Suspicions: One of the results of the Second World War was the division of some of the major countries into two diametrically opposed ideological blocs: the Communist and the Western bloc. Both had no faith in each other. Hence there was an urgent need to reduce the confrontation between them and bring them together through a particular institution.

4. Invention of destructive weapons: With the invention of sophisticated atomic weapons (that were successfully tested during World War II), the threat to the survival of modern civilization had intensified more than ever. Therefore an organization was required where all the nations of the world could come together and consider ways to save themselves and mankind from the destruction caused by such deadly weapons.

5. (ii) Formation

6. It will be recalled that the League of Nations had been established after the First World War primarily with the similar objective establishing permanent world peace and preventing the occurrence of another world war. However, the organization failed to miserably on these counts and the Second World
War did occur. Therefore, this time the nations of the world decided that the next organization should be empowered with more authority, so that the aim of establishing permanent peace could be efficiently enforced.

7. In August 1941 the Atlantic Charter was issued by the U.S. President Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Churchill. This was an important document that underlined the aims of the organization:

1. The maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The encouragement of international cooperation in the sphere of social, economic and cultural development of the world.

3. The development of friendly relations among nations on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people.

4. The recognition of the fundamental rights and status of all people.

8. In October 1944, a scheme for the establishment of an international security organization was discussed at Dumbarton Oaks Conference held in Washington. The next step in this direction was the Yalta Conference held in 1945 in which the U.S. President Roosevelt, the British Prime Minister Churchill and the Soviet Prime Minister Stalin met to resolve to call for a session of the United Nations. The nature of the organization was also determined at this conference. Following this, a conference of about 51 countries was held in June of 1945 at San Francisco and a charter was drawn up. The representatives of these countries signed the charter on June 26, 1945. The U.N.O. started functioning from 24th October, 1945. This day is therefore celebrated as the United Nations Day. Its headquarters was based at New York.

9. The membership of the U.N.O is open to all peace-loving nations, which accept the objectives of the U.N.O and are prepared to observe its principles. A total of 184 nations were members of the U.N.O. by 1994.

(iii) Objectives

The objectives of the U.N.O. are as follows:

1. To maintain international peace and security.

2. To develop friendly relations among nations.

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

4. To promote respect for human rights, dignity and freedom.

5. To promote respect among the member nations for fundamental rights and freedoms of mankind by ending the differences of caste and creed.
6. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of the nations in attaining these common ends.

(iv) Principles

The principles of the U.N.O. are as follows:

1. The U.N.O. is based on the sovereign equality of all its members.

2. Each member nation should perform her duty earnestly according to the Charter.

3. Each member nation should settle the disputes by peaceful means so that peace, security, and justice in the world are not disturbed.

4. All member nations will not make use of threat and violence in their international relations.

5. All member nations will help doing those functions, which the U.N.O. intends to perform according to the Charter, and none will help a country against which the U.N.O. is taking any action.

6. The U.N.O will not intervene in the internal affairs of a country.

7. The U.N.O will also see that all the member nations work to maintain international peace and security.

(v) Functions of the Principal Organs

The U.N.O. has six main organs- (1) General Assembly, (2) Security Council, (3) Economic and Social Council, (4) Trusteeship Council, (5) International Court of Justice, and (6) Secretariat. The important organs are explained below:

1. The General Assembly

   It is an important organ of the U.N.O. It is the chief deliberative organ. It is regarded as the parliament of the U.N.O. Its regular session is held once a year on the third Tuesday in September and continues until the end of December. At the start of each session, it elects a new President, 21 Vice-Presidents, and Chairmen of its seven main committees. Each country can send five delegates but has one vote only. Important decisions need two-thirds majority while decisions on ordinary matters are reached by a simple majority.

   The General Assembly’s chief functions are:

   1. To discuss matters relating to international peace and security.

   2. To promote international cooperation in economic, social, educational, cultural and health fields.
3. To promote the development and codification of international law.

4. To promote cooperation in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

5. To promote friendly relations among nations.

6. To discuss and make recommendations on any question affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the U.N.O.

7. To receive and consider reports from Security Council and other organs of the U.N.O.

8. To consider and approve the budgets of the U.N.O. and it’s specialized agencies.

9. To perform the functions which are concerned with international trusteeship system.

10. To elect members of the U.N.O., the Security Council, Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice.

11. To appoint the Secretary General at the recommendation of the Security Council.

2. The Security Council

The Security Council is the executive body of the U.N.O. It is the most influential organ of the U.N.O. The Council has 15 members. The U.S.A., Russia, England, France and China are the permanent members. Their support is required for every decision. The remaining ten non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two years. At any one time, the ten rotating members must consist of five countries from Africa and Asia, two from Latin America, one from Eastern Europe and two from Western Europe. Each member of the Council has one vote. Each President holds the post for a month.

The functions and powers of the Security Council are:

1. To maintain international peace and security.

2. To investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction.

3. To recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or terms of settlement.

4. To formulate plans for the regulation of armaments.
5. To determine the existence of a threat to peace or acts of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken.

6. To call on the members to apply economic sanctions and other measures to prevent or stop aggressions.

7. To take military action against an aggressor.

8. To recommend the admission of new members.


10. To elect the judges of the International Court of Justice.

11. To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary General.

3. The International Court of Justice

It is the chief court of the U.N.O. It has 15 judges that are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting separately. The term of the judges is restricted to nine years and they may be reelected. The seat of the court is at Hague in Netherlands.

It primarily functions to settle mutual disputes among different nations by peaceful methods. Other agencies of the U.N.O. also approach it for consultation. It may also to resolve disputes among nations, arising on legal questions or treaties.

(vi) Major Agencies of the U.N.O.

The effects of the World War II saw not only the need for an organization to establish permanent world peace but also the formation of certain agencies that would help in the rebuilding of the damaged social and economic structure of nations the world over. The Special Agencies of the U.N.O work together in economic, social, cultural, scientific spheres to ensure substantial development in developed and especially developing countries.

1. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

Most of the work of the United Nations, in terms of finance and personnel, is devoted to programs aimed at achieving economic and social development in the developing countries. The U.N.O. extends aid for national development plans in an attempt to ensure balanced economic and social growth of the world economy. It aims at making the best use of available financial, physical and human resources.

Its programs are related to various development activities in almost every economic and social sector, including farming, fishing, forestry, mining, manufacturing, health and environmental sanitation. It carries out
surveys to economic worth of a nation’s natural resources, improving education systems and upgrading the economic and social structure in order to accommodate sophisticated technology. It is funded by the governments of the member nations.


   This was established in 1946. Its headquarters are at New York. It attempts to arrest the spread of diseases among children. It organizes nutritious food for the benefit of undernourished children in the poor countries. It takes steps to spread information of how to prevent serious diseases. This agency is again financed by the governments of the member nations as well as certain private agencies.

3. **World Health Organization (WHO)**

   It was founded in April 1948 with its headquarters at Geneva. There is an Executive Board that implements its programs. Its primary concern is to improve the health of all the peoples of the world. "Health for all by the 2000" is the main aim of this agency. The WHO provides medical aid. It arranges for medicines to prevent various diseases. It takes measures to check the spread of infectious diseases. This agency also sends specialists to various nations to provide advice for the promotion of human health. It encourages research related to all aspects of health including nutrition, maternity and child care, environmental safety, mental health, control of specific diseases, etc.


   This agency was founded in 1946 with its headquarters at Paris. Its main purpose is to promote peace and security through education, science and culture and communication. Its helps in the spread of knowledge, culture, and international understanding among the member nations. It makes arrangements to expand and direct education in different countries to eliminate illiteracy. It starts schools and trains teachers, planners and administrators. It fosters social sciences as instruments for the realization of human rights, justice and peace. It promotes national and cultural values and encourages the study and development of cultures.

5. **International Labor Organization (ILO)**

   It was founded in 1919 and was also an organ of the League of Nations. It began operating as a special agency of the U.N.O in 1945 and its headquarters at Geneva. This agency aims at improving the working conditions of the laborers all over the world, for the purpose of raising their standard of living, improving their economic and social condition and providing a more just environment for working people. It checks unemployment among the labor, determines their wage hours and conditions.
of work and organizes social insurance, paid vacations, industrial safety, education of their children and labor inspection.

It will be observed that U.N.O.’s role towards maintaining world peace in order to make human life safe and worthwhile can never be overemphasized.

**UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION AT THE CROSSROADS**

*Introductory Observations:*

The United Nations came into existence in 1945 on conclusion of World War II in which the world witnessed unprecedented death and destruction, made possible by the harnessing of advanced technologies in the instruments of war. The United States use of atomic bombs against Japan at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the massive destruction in its wake vividly illustrated how horrific future wars could be.

Gripped with this fear and horror, the victorious nations and other nations got together and established the United Nations Organization. The Charter of the United Nations spelt out that the primary objective was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

In the last sixty years of its existence, the United Nations had to manage and cope with security conflicts ranging from the Cold War era to post-Cold War and now the abominable spectacle of global terrorism of the Islamic Jihad variety as exemplified by the Al Qaeda, Taliban and Pakistan state-sponsored terrorism against India in Jammu and Kashmir, more specifically.

**The United Nations Has Failed:**

If the primary aim and role as envisaged by its founders was to spare humanity from the scourge of war then it would not be wrong to argue that the United Nations has failed, as the following brief examination would indicate:

- **Prevention of Conflict:** The United Nations in the last sixty years, as the record would show, was unable to prevent conflicts and wars breaking out all over the world e.g. Korean War, Vietnam War, Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan, the United States sponsored Islamic Jihad via Pakistan on Afghanistan against the Soviets, the three Gulf Wars and the wars leading to the break up of Yugoslavia.

- **Conflict Resolution:** Unable to deter conflict, the United Nations has been a failure in conflict resolution also. In fact it seems that over the years, vested interests have impeded conflict resolution as it served the purpose of keeping in being a large number of United Nations missions, observer groups and Advisers to the United Nations Secretary General. Cambodia seems to be the only exception.
- Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament: The prevention of Nuclear Proliferation should have been accorded top-most priority along with nuclear disarmament. Here again the record of United Nations agencies charged with this task have been deplorable. The United Nations did not focus, highlight or condemn any of the following developments:

  ◆ China’s assistance to Pakistan in development of nuclear weapons.
  ◆ China’s supply of nuclear capable missiles and missile technology to Pakistan.
  ◆ China’s assistance in building up of North Korea’s long-range and nuclear capable missiles.
  ◆ Pakistan’s supply of nuclear weapons technology to North Korea.
  ◆ United States permissiveness in tolerating all of the above developments. Inaction despite CIA evidence was sought to be justified by the United States on grounds of lack of actionable intelligence.

Obviously, structural inadequacies of the United Nations, the resolve and political inclinations of the United Nations Secretary General and the strategic interests and preferences of the United Nations Security Council permanent members were at play.

- War on Terrorism: Terrorism especially after 9/11 has acquired a disturbing salience in global security. More so, when there are indications that the Al Qaedaists could use nuclear dirty bomb or chemical and biological weapons against their so called enemies i.e. USA, Israel and India and other Western countries too. The United Nations should have been overwhelmingly and single-mindedly dedicated in its efforts towards this end.

Why Has the United Nations Failed in its Primary Role?

The United Nations has failed in its primary role of securing the international community against the scourge of war in the estimate of this author, due to the following reasons:

- The United Nations has deviated from its primary role of preventing conflicts and over-extended into fields extending from education, to health, to humanitarian issues, to social and cultural fields.
- The United Nations today has emerged as an overextended empire with vested interests to enlarging its extent from New York to Paris to Rome and all sorts of UN advisors present from Africa to East Timor.
• The United Nations bureaucracy is too heavy and flabby with no justifiable functions.

• Millions of US dollars are spent on United Nations functions and operations other than the primary role of conflict prevention.

• United Nations operations and functions which could be performed by regional organizations or players are abrogated or duplicated by United Nations organizations.

• Millions of United Nations dollars are spent on various committee meetings and honorariums to their select members which have no connection at all with global security.

• Non-traditional security threats are being given priority at the expense of conflict prevention. This again is part of United Nations empire-building by vested interests.

All of the above could lead to the failure of the United Nations as an effective instrument for conflict prevention and global security, more so today, when the world is passing through uncertain and testing times as far as global security is concerned.

**United Nations at the Crossroads:**

The United Nations can truly be said to be at the crossroads. This is evidenced by the inclination of the world’s only superpower namely, the United States to bypass the United Nations, tired of its obstructiveness and endless meetings. It is also evidenced by the concern of other powers that the United States as the leading power is hijacking the United Nations and that the United Nations be made more representative by restructuring United Nations Organization.

In view of the above, the United Nations is at a critical juncture of its existence and the leading powers of the world including the emerging ones have to ponder over the following questions:

• Will restructuring of UN organs and making them more representative, especially the Security Council, would make the United Nations more effective?

or

• Would review the existing over extended roles and restricting the United Nations to its primary role of global security management and prevention of conflict, make the United Nations more effective?

While deciding on the above questions, certain terms of reference need to be recorded and these are:
• United Nations cannot substitute or provide for a world government.

• While pursuing a more representative character of its Security Council, the Security Council as the supreme body for global security management cannot be allowed to become a trade union.

• Global security management is frightfully expensive and hence United Nations operational costs need to be drastically reduced by a wholesale elimination of organs like UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNCHR, UN Human Rights Commission etc, and all the various exotically named standing committees.

• In the same context espousing creation of standing and dedicated United Nations Military Force needs to be excluded.

United Nations Future Challenges:

Future challenges to global security are not going to be global wars but more of asymmetric type of wars, limited wars, insurgencies and terrorism. All of these would be more possibly driven by religious fundamentalism, ethnic strife and ethnic genocide.

The Greater Middle East and Africa are more conflict prone than other regions of the world. Conflictual flash points exist in East Asia and South-West Asia.

In terms of security management, the United Nations would be challenged by a variety of scenarios namely:

• Regional instabilities caused by rogue states especially those with a record of nuclear proliferation.

• Failed states, where the state apparatus, rule of law and economic breakdown lead to state disintegration by exorbitant defence expenditure and corruption.

• Conflicts over control of energy resources, strategic materials and water-sharing.

United Nations' Responses to Future Security Challenges.

United Nations’ responses in terms of security management of future challenges would basically boil down to:

◆ Preventive Diplomacy

◆ Conflict Prevention

◆ Peace Building
Implicit in all of the above would be the necessity of using military force if necessary. In terms of using military force for global security management, the United Nation would have to fall back on the use of any one of the following options:

- Military and diplomatic assets of the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council
- Military assets of any other nations willing to join a UN Coalition.
- Military assets of regional organizations and regional powers to ensure and enforce peace in their regions.

United Nations has to divest itself of UN Peace Keeping Operations (PKO). Such PKO activities, it has been seen become endless. UN empire building exercises draining disproportionate financial resources. Such PKO operations also have a tendency to delay conflict resolution and many a times rendering them totally irrelevant to the existing ground realities e.g. The United Nations Military Observer Group in Kashmir stationed in India and Pakistan wasting resources in redundant roles.

The criteria for both the present Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and those to be included in any future expansion should be:

- Commitment to provide their military assets to the United Nations for global security management when called upon to do so, without any preconditions or reservations.
- Commitment to share expenses for global security management.
- Commitment to share expenses for peace-building operations where and when required.

Countries like China without any financial contribution to the United Nations and no military contribution towards any UN coalition forces should not qualify for Permanent Membership of the UN Security Council.

As in nature, where there is a hierarchical order in operation, so should it be for global security management. It is already operative as seen by United States unilateral military assertiveness by passing the United Nations. This has come about because global security management cannot be done by a trade union of countries demanding equitability but without contributing or being in a position to contribute for the Peace Umbrella that they seek from the United Nations.

**Concluding Observations:**
In global security management there is no room for ‘liberalism’ or ‘peace offensives’. The definition of peace itself is negative; it means a state of absence of war. So if war is to be absent than the resultant peace has to be secured by the United Nations, by use of force if necessary. United Nations Organization was primarily charged with the responsibility of saving future generations from the ‘scourge of war’. The United Nations should exclusively concentrate on this role and divest itself from social, cultural, economic and environmental issues. The manner in which security challenges are manifesting themselves in the 21st Century and the disparate destructive forms that are appearing can only be combated by a United Nations exclusively focused on global security management.

**International Atomic Energy Agency**

The IAEA is the world’s center of cooperation in the nuclear field. It was set up as the world’s "Atoms for Peace" organization in 1957 within the United Nations family. The Agency works with its Member States and multiple partners worldwide to promote safe, secure and peaceful nuclear technologies.

**Organizational Profile**

The IAEA Secretariat is headquartered at the Vienna International Centre in Vienna, Austria. Operational liaison and regional offices are located in Geneva, Switzerland; New York, USA; Toronto, Canada; and Tokyo, Japan. The IAEA runs or supports research centers and scientific laboratories in Vienna and Seibersdorf, Austria; Monaco; and Trieste, Italy.

The IAEA Secretariat is a team of 2300 multi-disciplinary professional and support staff from more than 100 countries. The Agency is led by Director General Yukiya Amano and six Deputy Directors General who head the major departments.

IAEA programmes and budgets are set through decisions of its policymaking bodies - the 35-member Board of Governors and the General Conference of all Member States. Reports on IAEA activities are submitted periodically or as cases warrant to the UN Security Council and UN General Assembly.

IAEA financial resources include the regular budget and voluntary contributions. The annual regular budget is set by the General Conference, as well as extra budgetary funds and voluntary contributions to the Technical Co-operation Fund.

**IAEA Mission & Programmes**

The IAEA's mission is guided by the interests and needs of Member States, strategic plans and the vision embodied in the IAEA Statute. Three main pillars - or areas of work - underpin the IAEA's mission: Safety and Security; Science and Technology; and Safeguards and Verification.

**Relationship with United Nations**
As an independent international organization related to the United Nations system, the IAEA’s relationship with the UN is regulated by special agreement. In terms of its Statute, the IAEA reports annually to the UN General Assembly and, when appropriate, to the Security Council regarding non-compliance by States with their safeguards obligations as well as on matters relating to international peace and security.

**DISARMAMENT DECADE**

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

The **Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**, commonly known as the **Non-Proliferation Treaty** or **NPT**, is a landmark international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. Opened for signature in 1968, the Treaty entered into force in 1970. On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of 190 parties have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon States: the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China (also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council). More countries have ratified the NPT than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty’s significance. Four non-parties to the treaty are known or believed to possess nuclear weapons: India, Pakistan and North Korea have openly tested and declared that they possess nuclear weapons, while Israel has had a policy of opacity regarding its own nuclear weapons program. North Korea acceded to the treaty in 1985, but never came into compliance, and announced its withdrawal in 2003.

The NPT consists of a preamble and eleven articles. Although the concept of "pillars" is not expressed anywhere in the NPT, the treaty is nevertheless sometimes interpreted as a *three-pillar* system, with an implicit balance among them:

1. **Non-proliferation**,  
2. **Disarmament**, and  
3. **The right to peacefully use nuclear technology**.

The NPT is often seen to be based on a central bargain: “the NPT non-nuclear-weapon states agree never to acquire nuclear weapons and the NPT nuclear-weapon states in exchange agree to share the benefits of peaceful nuclear technology and to pursue nuclear disarmament aimed at the ultimate elimination of their nuclear arsenals”. The treaty is reviewed every five years in meetings called Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Even though the treaty was originally conceived with a limited duration of 25 years, the signing parties decided, by consensus, to extend the treaty
indefinitely and without conditions during the Review Conference in New York City on May 11, 1995.

At the time the NPT was proposed, there were predictions of 25-30 nuclear weapon states within 20 years. Instead, over forty years later, only four states are not parties to the NPT, and they are the only additional states believed to possess nuclear weapons. Several additional measures have been adopted to strengthen the NPT and the broader nuclear nonproliferation regime and make it difficult for states to acquire the capability to produce nuclear weapons, including the export controls of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the enhanced verification measures of the IAEA Additional Protocol. However, critics argue that the NPT cannot stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons or the motivation to acquire them. They express disappointment with the limited progress on nuclear disarmament, where the five authorized nuclear weapons states still have 22,000 warheads in their combined stockpile and have shown a reluctance to disarm further. Several high-ranking officials within the United Nations have said that they can do little to stop states using nuclear reactors to produce nuclear weapons.

**Strategic Arms Limitation talks (SALT I and II)**

Amidst the Cold War, a series of treaties was issued under the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty to curtail the build up of nuclear weapons. SALT I, as it is commonly known, was the first of the Strategic Arms Limitation talks between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The Communist leader Leonid Brezhnev, who was the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, met with U.S. President Richard Nixon in November of 1969 to come up with a treaty that would contain the arms race. The negotiations lasted until January of 1972, and by May 26 of that same year the treaty was finalized. The two treaties signed that day were the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, or ABM, and the Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Provisions of the ABM treaty included regulation of antiballistic missiles that could possibly be used to destroy incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM’s) launched by other countries. Also each side was limited to only one launching area for ABM’s and 100 interceptor missiles. This treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate on August 3, 1972. The Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms was to have a five year duration that would freeze the number of strategic ballistic missiles, such as the ICBM’s and the submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM’s), at the current 1972 level.

In late 1972, negotiations began for SALT II and continued for seven years. Finally on June 18, 1979, in Vienna, Brezhnev and President Jimmy Carter signed the SALT II treaty. Since the two countries had developed different strategies, with the U.S.S.R. focusing on larger warheads and the U.S. concentrating on missiles with a greater accuracy, specifications of the previous treaties had to be changed. SALT II set more specific regulations on the different missiles. Limits were set on the number of strategic launchers, and the various types of missiles. Each side was limited to no more then 2400 weapons systems.
SALT II was sent to the Senate to be ratified, but due to tensions between the two countries, Carter pushed the treaty aside. In the years following, some of the standards set in SALT II were voluntarily being observed by the two sides, but the treaty was never ratified. Later negotiations took place in Geneva that was known as the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, or START. Tensions continued up until the end of the Cold War, but war never broke out again and the race to stockpile weapons finally ended in the early 1990’s.

**Helsinki conference, 1975**

The Helsinki Agreement is a declaration adopted by 35 sovereign states in 1975. The declaration focused on improving the relations between Communist governments and the Western world, with a goal of reducing Cold War tensions.

1. **Origin**
   - The Helsinki Agreement was the final act produced by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The conference was held in Helsinki, Finland, in July and August of 1975.

2. **Other Names**
   - The Helsinki Agreement is more commonly referred to as the Helsinki Accords. Other common names include the Helsinki Final Act and the Helsinki Declaration.

3. **Adopting States**
   - Thirty-five states signed the Helsinki Agreement on August 1, 1975. Signatories included the United States of America, Canada and every European state with the exception of Albania and Andorra (whose heads of state were absent).

4. **Impact on Borders**
   - The Helsinki Agreement affirmed Europe's national borders as they were at the end of World War II. This was seen as a diplomatic victory for the Soviet Union, since it was an official recognition of the Soviet takeover of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

5. **Impact on Human Rights**
   - A significant part of the Helsinki Agreement was the consensus among participating nations to promote human rights, adherence to international law and the peaceful resolution of disputes. This was seen as a concession made by the Soviet Union to the West in exchange for the recognition of postwar borders.

**The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)**
The concept of banning nuclear testing originated with arms control advocates in the early 1950’s after over 50 nuclear explosions had been registered between July 1945 and December 1953. Prime Minister Nehru of India initially proposed the elimination of all nuclear test explosions worldwide, but no treaty was launched as a result of public concern in the context of the Cold War. Nuclear tests resumed, but in 1961 Physicians for Social Responsibility documented the presence of strontium-90 (a by-product of nuclear tests) in the teeth of children around the world, confirming that nuclear tests pose serious public health dangers.

In 1963 a Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) was adopted banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater, or in space. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was created in 1968, wherein all signatories were committed to the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament. The PTBT and NPT paved the way for negotiations in the 1970’s that almost led to a CTBT. Although additional proposals in the 1980’s failed, successful talks in the early 1990’s with support from the United Nations General Assembly finally brought about a CTBT.

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty was opened for signature in New York on September 24th of 1996. The obligations as laid out in this text go far beyond previous treaties on nuclear weapons testing requiring parties to refrain from participating in all types of nuclear tests explosions in all environments. The underlying premise of such requirements is a commitment to nuclear non-proliferation and to the longer term process of nuclear disarmament.

**The Value of the CTBT**

The CTBT is a major milestone in the effort to prevent nuclear proliferation and promote steps toward abolition of nuclear weapons. In addition to establishing a permanent ban on all nuclear explosions in for any purpose, its “zero-yield” prohibition on nuclear tests helps to constrain development and deployment of new, sophisticated nuclear weapons. The Treaty also establishes a far-reaching verification regime that includes a global network of sophisticated seismic, hydro acoustic, radionuclide monitoring stations, as well as on-site inspection of tests to deter and detect violations.

**EXERCISES**

1. Examine the importance of Atlantic Charter
2. Write a short note on Washington Conference
3. Analyze the structure and functions of UNO
4. What is SALT?
5. What is CTBT?
UNIT-V

COLD WAR

COLD WAR AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

The post World War II period saw a new kind of international relations set in. It was neither an era of peace nor of war. The major power blocs were the Western Bloc, led by The United States and Great Britain and, the Eastern Bloc, led by the Soviet Union. The Eastern or the Soviet Bloc was made up of countries that favored Communist ideology and the communist form of government. Countries belonging to the American camp upheld the capitalist form of economy and a democratic form of government. These were the main ideological differences between the two camps.

The differences surfaced during the Yalta Conference itself. Although the two powers agreed on most fronts, there was disagreement on one point. Russia had set up a communist government in Poland while Poland already had a government in exile in London. America became suspicious of Russia’s communist agenda on this account. This suspicion was fanned during the Potsdam Conference. The tension only grew in the following years. There was no open warfare between the two blocs: only blatant propaganda and disruptive economic measures. Therefore this rivalry came to be popularly called the Cold War. The term was first coined by
Bernard Baruch, an American statesman and later popularized by Professor Lippmann.

The Cold War was marked by international conflicts in almost every field between the power blocs. It affected the spheres of defense, economy, diplomacy and ideology. The interesting thing to note is that through all this the two countries made a show of maintaining peaceful diplomatic ties.

**The Development of the Cold War**

*After World War II*, Russia was able to build up a huge communist empire, through outright annexations, military occupations and the establishment of dependent "satellite" states. In 1947, the United States, along with Britain and France took steps to stop Russian and communist aggression, which only fell short of an open war. The events which ensued may best be described as a "cold war" which a critic describes as "a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism)." The American statesman Bernard Baruch first used this term in a speech to the South Carolina Legislature on April 16, 1947 when he said, "Let us not be deceived; we are today in the midst of a cold war."

It is convenient to divide the history of the cold war into various periods. The first period was between 1945 1947, the second period between 1947 1953, the third period between 1953 1963, the fourth period between 1970 1980 and the fifth period from 1980 onwards to the present day.

**The Cold War between 1945 and 1947**

This was the preparatory stage of the cold war. After general hostilities ceased in 1945, the communists selected Italy, France, Greece and Turkey as their main targets. They strengthened their position in France and Italy, by taking advantage of the prevailing chaotic conditions after the *World War II*.

The Truman Doctrine was announced by President Truman in the American Congress on March 12, 1947. He declared that the United States must adopt a policy to support free peoples who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. He said "We must take immediate and resolute action." The Truman Doctrine was a proposal to send military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, which the American Congress authorized in May 1947.

The *Marshall Plan* was an extension of the principle underlying the Truman Doctrine. The Secretary of State Marshall initiated the *European Recovery Program*, through his famous speech at Harvard on June 5, 1947. The Soviet Union attacked the Marshall Plan regarding it as an intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The tension between the US and the Soviet Union in Greece increased so that relations between them deteriorated. In accordance with the Marshall Plan, the US gave 11 billion dollars in aid within a four-year period. Thus it helped in protecting Europe from economic collapse and communist domination.
The Molotov Plan was initiated by the Soviet Union which also established the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) to help the economic consolidation of socialist countries. Thus the Marshall Plan and the COMECON heralded the "cold war" in international relations between the US and the Soviet Union.

**The Cold War between 1947 and 1953**

During this period, the Western Powers took action to provide defenses against the spread of Communism. On August 15, 1947, the Rio Treaty or Pact, also known as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance for the maintenance of continental peace and security, was signed at Rio de Janeiro.

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949 by the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Greece and Turkey became its members in February 1952 and West Germany joined it in 1955. In order to achieve the objectives of the Treaty, the parties were expected to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack. The NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) aimed at strengthening the morale of Western Europe, and at halting the Soviet expansion westwards. NATO proved to be effective, as the Communists could not make any territorial gains in Europe or in the Atlantic area, after April 1949.

A Treaty called the Anzus Pact was entered into between Australia, New Zealand and the US in 1951, in order to co-ordinate their efforts for the collective defense and preservation of peace in the Pacific area. The Treaty aimed at keeping the Soviet influence away from the Pacific.

On May 17, 1952, a Treaty was signed at Paris, to establish the European Defense Community, containing provisions for common political institutions, armed forces, budget and arms program. On September 8, 1951, the Japanese-American Security Treaty was concluded. The US agreed to maintain American forces in and about Japan, (at the request of Japan) in order to deter armed attack on the country.

**The Berlin Blockade**

After Germany surrendered in 1945, Berlin was divided into four zones each controlled by one of the four Allies: USA, Britain, France and Russia. The supposed reason for this division was to completely disband Hitler’s Nazi Party. Germany being in a miserable condition, the US, Britain and France went about re-constructing their territories as per capitalist norms. The USSR followed the communist pattern.

In April 1948, Russia closed all the roads through which the Americans, British and French were supplying food, coal and other goods to their special zones in an attempt to compel them to surrender the former German capital to the
Russians. However the Western allies clung to Berlin. Supplies were brought to
Berlin by airplanes for one and a half years. In September 1949, Russia accepted
defeat and reopened the roads.

Though the blockade was lifted, it had serious consequences. Germany was
left divided into two in 1949. Later on, the USSR built a wall across Berlin to
prevent any relations between East Germany (the German Democratic Republic)
and West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany). This division of Germany
continued for forty years and ended, when the wall was broken down (on 3rd
October, 1990).

The Korean War turned into a major confrontation between the two super
powers. In June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The UN Security Council
called for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal of North Korean troops. The US
President Truman sent American naval and air forces to give the South Koreans
"cover and support." Though the Korean War had begun between North Korea and
South Korea, it turned into a war between North Korea and the US. By the end of
1950, it became a war between the US and Communist China backed by the Soviet
Union. The Chinese launched an offensive against the positions under the
command of the United Nations.

An armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. However, the Soviet and
American troops continued to remain in both the Koreas. The cold war hostility
continued.

China also became a cold war territory. The Soviet Union helped the
Communists under Mao Tse-tung against the Chinese government headed by
Chiang Kai-Shek. The American government gave Chiang Kai-Shek military and
financial aid. When the civil war was renewed at the beginning of 1947, the tide
turned in favor of the Communists. Nearly all of North China fell to the
Communists. In 1949, South China fell into the hands of the Communists, except
for the island of Formosa. Chiang Kai-Shek left the mainland of China and retired
to Formosa. Thus the Soviet Union won the cold war in China.

The Cold War between 1953 and 1963

During this phase of the cold war, the US continued her policy of military
and economic offensive. On September 8, 1954, the Treaty of Collective Defense of
South-East Asia, known as SEATO was signed by the US, Great Britain, France,
New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, for the collective defense for
preserving peace and security in the "treaty area."

The Baghdad Pact which was signed in 1955 between Iraq and Turkey, had
military and economic aspects. Britain, Pakistan and the US entered into the Pact
later. It was directed not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the non-
aligned Arab states.
On May 19, 1954, the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed between the governments of Pakistan and the US.

The Warsaw Pact was the Treaty of Friendship, co-operation and Mutual Assistance signed by Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union in May 1955, in order to meet the challenge from the US and her allies.

Indo-China was a troubled area after World War II. After the Geneva Agreements were signed, Vietnam was partitioned so that North Vietnam was to be under the Communists, and South Vietnam was to be under the French. However, the whole of South Vietnam fell into the hands of the Communists in April 1975. The cold war in Indo-China ended in the complete victory of the Soviet Union and Communist China, against the US and her allies.

The Cuban Crisis

Thanks to Cuba, Latin America obtained a first-hand experience of the cold war.

Cold War in Africa

In Africa, the Soviet Union helped the Congo in order to balance the influence of the Western powers.

The Suez Canal crisis in 1956 after the Suez Canal was nationalized by President Nasser of Egypt. In a bid to re-exert international control over the canal, Israeli forces attacked Egyptian positions in the Suez Canal zone. Britain and France joined the attack against Egypt. Eventually, the US put pressure on Britain and France who withdrew their forces from Egypt. This resulted in the resignation of British Prime Minister Eden. The Australian prime minister, Robert Menzies was appointed to bring about a settlement. However, his mission was unsuccessful. Besides the military intervention in the whole affair met with Soviet protest. America too did not support this. Hence US relations with Britain, France and Australia were strained for a while.

The Eisenhower Doctrine was enunciated by President Eisenhower for the Middle East, proclaiming the American intention to use armed forces against any communist aggression in the Middle East. The Eisenhower Doctrine aimed at providing economic and military aid to any nation threatened by Communism.

The Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed on August 5, 1963 by the US, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. It provided for a limited ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, beyond its limits, including territorial waters or high seas.

Fidel Castro took over the reigns of the Cuban government from January 1, 1959, after overthrowing the then leader Fulgencio Batista. He went on to nationalize American-owned industrial estates and companies and then struck a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. This naturally led to deterioration in US-Cuban relations. The US broke off all ties with Cuba in 1961. After this, with
Kennedy’s backing the deposed Batista’s supporters invaded Cuba, landing in the Bay of Pigs. The rebels were easily crushed by the Cuban forces. This event resulted in Castro declaring himself a Marxist and Cuba becoming communist.

It was found from aerial surveys that medium-range ballistic missiles had been installed in Cuba. On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy declared that there was to be a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment bound for Cuba. This came into effect on October 24, 1962. Ultimately, the Soviet Union agreed to dismantle the Cuban missile sites and transport the missiles back to the Soviet Union. Thus the imminent danger of a world war was averted, owing to the restraint shown by Khrushchev on this occasion.

The Cuban crisis had several consequences, of which the danger of a nuclear holocaust was the most significant.

**The Cold War between 1963 and 1970**

On June 12, 1968, the General Assembly passed a resolution recommending the adoption of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. President Johnson of the US urged the members in the General Assembly to adopt the Treaty. The objectives of the treaty were to limit the spread of nuclear weapons from nuclear to non-nuclear states, to encourage disarmament by nuclear nations and to allow all nations to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

**Arab-Israel Wars**

There were a series of wars between various Arab states and Israel ever since Israel received independence in 1948. In these Wars the Soviet Union supported the Arab cause while the US backed Israel. In the war between Israel and Egypt in 1967, the Soviet Union expressed itself strongly, against the pro-Israeli policies of the Western Powers. This increased the intensity of the cold war between the Soviet Union and the US.

**The Hungarian Revolt**

The East European communist countries resented Soviet domination. There were riots in East Berlin and Poland due to this. A student revolt broke out in Hungary in October 1956. Workers joined them. The Communist government first asked for Soviet intervention but ultimately introduced reforms. As a result of this, Soviet troops were withdrawn from Hungary. Enraged by this action, Russia attempted harsh reprisals and the matter was brought up in the UN by America.

**Soviet Occupation of Czechoslovakia**

Since 1948, a Communist government was in power in Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party leader in Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek wanted to bring about a Socialist democratic revolution. The Warsaw Pact countries and the Soviet Union attempted to stop Dubcek from carrying out his reform plans. When these efforts failed, Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Soviet, Polish, Hungarian,
Bulgarian and East German troops on August 20, 1968. The western powers passed a resolution condemning the action by the Soviet Union conglomerate.


From 1970 onwards there was détente or cessation of the strained relations between the US and the Soviet Union.

On August 12, 1970, the Moscow-Bonn Agreement was signed by Kosygin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Willy Brandt, Chancellor of West Germany. Following this, Brandt initiated measures for resolving the Berlin problem. On September 3, 1971, the US, the Soviet Union, Britain and France signed an Agreement on Berlin.

When the civil war in Cambodia (Kampuchea) ended in April 1975. With this, the cold war came to an end at another front.

The Vietnam War ended on April 1975, with the defeat of the American forces. Both North and South Vietnam were united, thus silencing another center of the cold war.

In 1971, Dr. Kissinger paid a visit to Peking (Beijing), via Pakistan. In February 1972, President Nixon visited China. The US agreed to withdraw all her forces and military installations from Taiwan.

In May 1972, President Nixon visited Moscow and signed the Treaty on Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on certain measures. Brezhnev paid a return visit to the US in June 1973. Together with Nixon, he pledged to work for a lasting world peace and make an effort to end the nuclear race between the two countries. President Nixon visited the Soviet Union in June July 1974, and agreed with Brezhnev to limit underground testing for five years.

The next summit was held at Vladivostok in November 1974. It was attended by President Ford and Brezhnev. They agreed on a limit on the number of offensive nuclear weapons like missiles launched from land, sea and air bombers and multiple warhead missiles. Both these leaders also attended the 35-Nation Summit Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on July 30 1975 at Helsinki.

The US, the Soviet Union and Great Britain concluded a Treaty in February 1971, for the prohibition of the deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea bed, ocean floor, and the sub-soil thereof. On March 26, 1979, the Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel was signed to reduce tension in the Middle East.

However, the period of détente between the super powers ended with the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December 1979 and her refusal to vacate that country, even when asked to do so, by the US.
The Cold War after 1980

On December 8, 1987, the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty for the destruction of Europe-based missiles signed between the US and the Soviet Union.

On April 14, 1988, Pakistan and Afghanistan formally signed a US and Soviet Union guaranteed Accord at Geneva. According to this agreement, the Soviet Union agreed to pull out all Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

In August 1988, South Africa, Angola and Cuba announced a cease-fire as agreed upon in Geneva.

The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev visited China in May 1989. This visit resulted in an agreement on the reduction of armed forces on the Soviet-Chinese border.

In his New Year Greetings to the Soviets, Gorbachev declared that the year 1989 had ended the Cold War. In a television message to the Soviet Union, President Bush called upon Gorbachev to join him in redoubling efforts to maintain world peace. The Cold War came to an end because of the disarmament efforts of the UN. (Above points are brief about Cold War and its end and some of the following explained in detail)

Kennan and Containment, 1947

George F. Kennan, a career Foreign Service Officer, formulated the policy of "containment," the basic United States strategy for fighting the cold war (1947-1989) with the Soviet Union.

Kennan's ideas, which became the basis of the Truman administration's foreign policy, first came to public attention in 1947 in the form of an anonymous contribution to the journal Foreign Affairs, the so-called "X-Article." "The main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union," Kennan wrote, "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." To that end, he called for countering "Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western world" through the "adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy." Such a policy, Kennan predicted, would "promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

Kennan's policy was controversial from the very beginning. Columnist Walter Lippmann attacked the X-Article for failing to differentiate between vital and peripheral interests. The United States, Kennan's article implied, should face down the Soviet Union and its Communist allies whenever and wherever they posed a risk of gaining influence. In fact, Kennan advocated defending above all else the world's major centers of industrial power against Soviet expansion: Western Europe, Japan, and the United States. Others criticized Kennan's policy for being
too defensive. Most notably, John Foster Dulles declared during the 1952 election campaign that the United States’ policy should not be containment, but the “rollback” of Soviet power and the eventual "liberation" of Eastern Europe. Even within the Truman administration there was a rift over containment between Kennan and Paul Nitze, Kennan's successor as director of the Policy Planning Staff. Nitze, who saw the Soviet threat primarily in military terms, interpreted Kennan's call for "the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force" to mean the use of military power. In contrast, Kennan, who considered the Soviet threat to be primarily political, advocated above all else economic assistance (e.g., the Marshall Plan) and "psychological warfare" (overt propaganda and covert operations) to counter the spread of Soviet influence. In 1950, Nitze's conception of containment won out over Kennan’s. NSC 68, a policy document prepared by the National Security Council and signed by Truman, called for a drastic expansion of the U.S. military budget. The paper also expanded containment's scope beyond the defense of major centers of industrial power to encompass the entire world. "In the context of the present polarization of power," it read, "a defeat of free institutions anywhere is a defeat everywhere."

Despite all the criticisms and the various policy defeats that Kennan suffered in the early 1950's, containment in the more general sense of blocking the expansion of Soviet influence remained the basic strategy of the United States throughout the cold war. On the one hand, the United States did not withdraw into isolationism; on the other, it did not move to "roll back" Soviet power, as John Foster Dulles briefly advocated. It is possible to say that each succeeding administration after Truman’s until the collapse of communism in 1989, adopted a variation of Kennan’s containment policy and made it their own.

The Truman Doctrine, 1947

With the Truman Doctrine, President Harry S. Truman established that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. The Truman Doctrine effectively reoriented U.S. foreign policy, away from its usual stance of withdrawal from regional conflicts not directly involving the United States, to one of possible intervention in far away conflicts.

The Truman Doctrine arose from a speech delivered by President Truman before a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947. The immediate cause for the speech was a recent announcement by the British Government that, as of March 31, it would no longer provide military and economic assistance to the Greek Government in its civil war against the Greek Communist Party. Truman asked Congress to support the Greek Government against the Communists. He also asked Congress to provide assistance for Turkey, since that nation, too, had previously been dependent on British aid.

At the time, the U.S. Government believed that the Soviet Union supported the Greek Communist war effort and worried that if the Communists prevailed in the Greek civil war, the Soviets would ultimately influence Greek policy. In fact,
Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had deliberately refrained from providing any support to the Greek Communists and had forced Yugoslav Prime Minister Josip Tito to follow suit, much to the detriment of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. However, a number of other foreign policy problems also influenced President Truman's decision to actively aid Greece and Turkey. In 1946, four setbacks, in particular, had served to effectively torpedo any chance of achieving a durable post-war rapprochement with the Soviet Union: the Soviets' failure to withdraw their troops from northern Iran in early 1946 (as per the terms of the Tehran Declaration of 1943); Soviet attempts to pressure the Iranian Government into granting them oil concessions while supposedly fomenting irredentism by Azerbaijani separatists in northern Iran; Soviet efforts to force the Turkish Government into granting them base and transit rights through the Turkish Straits; and, the Soviet Government's rejection of the Baruch plan for international control over nuclear energy and weapons in June 1946.

In light of the deteriorating relationship with the Soviet Union and the appearance of Soviet meddling in Greek and Turkish affairs, the withdrawal of British assistance to Greece provided the necessary catalyst for the Truman Administration to reorient American foreign policy. Accordingly, in his speech, President Truman requested that Congress provide $400,000,000 worth of aid to both the Greek and Turkish Governments and support the dispatch of American civilian and military personnel and equipment to the region.

Truman justified his request on two grounds. He argued that a Communist victory in the Greek Civil War would endanger the political stability of Turkey, which would undermine the political stability of the Middle East. This could not be allowed in light of the region's immense strategic importance to U.S. national security. Truman also argued that the United States was compelled to assist "free peoples" in their struggles against "totalitarian regimes," because the spread of authoritarianism would "undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States." In the words of the Truman Doctrine, it became "the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Truman argued that the United States could no longer stand by and allow the forcible expansion of Soviet totalitarianism into free, independent nations, because American national security now depended upon more than just the physical security of American territory. Rather, in a sharp break with its traditional avoidance of extensive foreign commitments beyond the Western Hemisphere during peacetime, the Truman Doctrine committed the United States to actively offering assistance to preserve the political integrity of democratic nations when such an offer was deemed to be in the best interest of the United States.

**Marshall Plan, 1948**

In the immediate post-World War II period, Europe remained ravaged by war and thus susceptible to exploitation by an internal and external Communist threat. In a June 5, 1947, speech to the graduating class at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall issued a call for a comprehensive program to
rebuild Europe. Fanned by the fear of Communist expansion and the rapid deterioration of European economies in the winter of 1946-1947, Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act in March 1948 and approved funding that would eventually rise to over $12 billion for the rebuilding of Western Europe.

The Marshall Plan generated a resurgence of European industrialization and brought extensive investment into the region. It was also a stimulant to the U.S. economy by establishing markets for American goods. Although the participation of the Soviet Union and East European nations was an initial possibility, Soviet concern over potential U.S. economic domination of its Eastern European satellites and Stalin’s unwillingness to open up his secret society to westerners doomed the idea. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the U.S. Congress would have been willing to fund the plan as generously as it did if aid also went to Soviet Bloc Communist nations.

Thus the Marshall Plan was applied solely to Western Europe, precluding any measure of Soviet Bloc cooperation. Increasingly, the economic revival of Western Europe, especially West Germany, was viewed suspiciously in Moscow. Economic historians have debated the precise impact of the Marshall Plan on Western Europe, but these differing opinions do not detract from the fact that the Marshall Plan has been recognized as a great humanitarian effort. Secretary of State Marshall became the only general ever to receive a Nobel Prize for peace. The Marshall Plan also institutionalized and legitimized the concept of U.S. foreign aid programs, which have become a integral part of U.S. foreign policy.

Cominform

Founded in 1947, Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) is the common name for what was officially referred to as the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties. It was the first official forum of the international communist movement since the dissolution of the Comintern, and confirmed the new realities after World War II – including the creation of an Eastern Bloc.

Cominform was a Soviet-dominated organization of Communist parties founded in September 1947 at a conference of Communist party leaders in Szklarska Poręba, Poland. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin called the conference in response to divergences among eastern European governments on whether or not to attend the Paris Conference on Marshall Aid in July 1947.

The initial seat of Cominform was located in Belgrade (then the capital of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia). After the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the group in June 1948, the seat was moved to Bucharest, Romania. The expulsion of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from Cominform for Titoism initiated the Informbiro period in that country’s history.

The intended purpose of Cominform was to coordinate actions between Communist parties under Soviet direction. It had its own newspaper (titled For Lasting Peace, for People’s Democracy!), and it encouraged unity of Communist parties. The Cominform was dissolved in 1956 after Soviet rapprochement with Yugoslavia and the process of De-Stalinization.

Division of Germany

The Second World War ended in 1945 with the defeat of Nazi Germany. In the Potsdam Agreement of 2 August 1945, the four victorious allies – the USA, Soviet Union, England and France – decided to divide Germany up into four
occupied zones. Soon there were tensions between the allies. The three western zones became democratic; free elections were already held here in 1946. Finally, on 23 May 1949, the Grundgesetz (Basic Law) or German constitution was proclaimed for the Federal Republic of Germany that emerged from these three zones. A democratic German state was created with its capital in Bonn. In the zone administered by the Soviet Union, the so-called East Zone, a part of Germany evolved that was dependent on the Soviet Union, with its capital in (East) Berlin. Here, the power was held by the Socialist Unity Party (SED). This part of Germany called itself the German Democratic Republic. Despite its name, this state, which was not recognized by the majority of western states for a long while, was by no means democratic. For example, there were no free elections. A lot of people left the GDR in the first few years after it was founded and went to West Germany. In 1961, the rulers in the GDR gave the order to build the Berlin Wall to prevent people fleeing to the West. This made the division of the country visible to the entire world. It ended only when the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989 and Germany was reunified on 3 October 1990.

EMERGENCE OF COMMUNIST CHINA

SOME BASIC IDEAS OF COMMUNISM

A. Marxism

i. The concepts of class struggle and economically determined history - According to Karl Marx (founder of Communism, living in Europe in the 19th century), history move in continuous struggles between different classes of society for material benefits:

a. First, there was "Feudalism", from ancient times to about the late 18th century, when the upper social class like the nobility ruled over and exploited the other classes below.

b. Secondly, there was "Capitalism", emerging after the late 18th century, when the middle-class such as businessmen and industrialists grew in power, became dissatisfied with feudal rule, overthrew the feudal class (in movements like the French Revolution of 1789), and set up a government of their own. In turn, however, the middle-class exploited and oppressed lower-classes like workers and peasants. But as industrialization progressed, the strength of the workers steadily grew.

c. Thirdly, there would be "Socialism or Communism". As Marx predicted, the workers and peasants, who could no longer tolerate capitalist exploitation, would revolt against the middle-class oppressors, seize factories and farms, abolish social inequalities, and set up a government for the benefit of all common people. Life would be happy thereafter.

ii. The importance of workers in urban revolutions - Marx foretold two things:

a. First, factory workers were more politically conscious than ignorant peasants. Thus workers were the most important force in the future Communist revolution.

b. Secondly, it was in great European industrial centers like London that Communist revolutions would most likely take place, since the factory workers there were most powerful.

B. Leninism

i. Marx’s predictions did not come true.
a. First, though Russia was not among the most industrialized countries nor had many workers, she had nevertheless a successful Socialist revolution in 1917.
b. Secondly, the European workers had not risen in revolt even by 1919. On the contrary, they patriotically worked overtime to help their capitalist countries during the First World War (1914-18).

ii. Lenin’s contributions to Communism - Lenin therefore added more ideas to the original Marxist theories. According to Lenin:
   a. the Socialist Revolution of 1917 of Russia was successful because there was a centralized, unified and well-organized Communist party to lead the otherwise weak and disunited lower classes. Unlike Marx who believed that the workers would automatically rise against the middle class themselves, Lenin insisted that a small group of leaders should be responsible for guiding the workers and organizing armed uprisings. These few leaders knew more about Communist ideas, science, and history, and were thus in a better position to apply their knowledge for the masses.
   b. The workers in Western Europe did not revolt against the middle-class governments because the capitalists had succeeded in delaying any such revolt by bribing the workers with colonial wealth. Such wealth was ill-gotten by imperialism. Thus Lenin argued that non-European colonial peoples (like the Chinese) had the responsibility or mission to attack imperialism. The purpose was to put an end to colonial profits that European capitalists got from imperialism, which would thereby quicken Communist revolutions led by workers in Europe. Whereas Marx depended entirely on European workers for starting Communist revolutions, Lenin gave non-European colonial peoples of the world a part to play. In colonial areas (like China), the workers, peasants and middle-class should form a “united front” against the imperialist great powers.
   c. A feudal, colonial country (like 20th-century China) could bypass Capitalism to jump to Socialism immediately if there was the proper guidance of a strong Communist party, even though Marx argued that a country must have Capitalism before Socialism.

C. Problems of Marxist-Leninism
   i. Both Marx and Lenin overemphasized the importance of economic, impersonal factors and forces in history leading to Communist revolutions.
   ii. The Marxist-Leninist dependence on the working class in spreading Communism was inapplicable to non-industrialized countries where there were few industrial workers.

D. Maoism - ideas of Mao Zedong

REASONS FOR THE RISE OF COMMUNISM IN CHINA
A. The attractiveness of Communism as a body of thought to modern Chinese intellectuals
   i. The Communist principle of class struggle offered simplistic explanations for the complex problems of China in the early 20th century.
   ii. Compared with Western democracy, Communism provided more inclusive, complete and comprehensive ideas for Chinese intellectuals to analyse and think about.
iii. It had been part of China's intellectual tradition to play down the importance of material things but to emphasize moral values. Communism's emphasis on virtues like self-sacrifice or unselfishness fitted well with China's moral requirements. Like the Confucian scholars in the past, modern Chinese intellectuals could, on becoming Communists, see themselves as guardians of a public morality.

iv. To Chinese nationalists, Communism's class analysis could account for China's backwardness in terms of the shortcomings of the old Chinese ruling class (Manchus, Confucian scholar-gentry), thus avoiding the sensitive implication that the Chinese as a race were corrupt. When the blame for China's weakness was put on the traditional ruling classes, Chinese intellectuals could still take pride in the Chinese past and in being Chinese. Self-respect and national pride could be restored.

v. Communism was the most advanced philosophy and was a goal not yet achieved even in Western Europe and America. On accepting Communism, China would seem to be ideologically ahead of other Western capitalist countries. Besides, Communism seemed more scientific and modern than ideas like democracy. Chinese intellectuals would obtain a sense of psychological superiority in believing in Communism.

vi. Because Lenin emphasized the important role played by colonial peoples in the world revolution, Chinese intellectuals were filled with a sense of mission and a feeling of comfort and importance. China would no longer be a passive and helpless borrower of Western culture: on accepting Communism, China would have a part to play in determining mankind's future. Indeed, Lenin's explanation of imperialism suited the anti-imperialist attitude of Chinese intellectuals and saved face for them.

B. The suitability and applicability of Communism to China's conditions

i. When compared with democracy and capitalism, Communism paid more attention to social problems and their solutions.

ii. Just like Russia, China had many poor peasants, who formed a good revolutionary force for a Communist revolution. If Russia could practice Communism, China could also do so.

iii. Traditionally, Chinese peasants were accustomed to passively obeying the leadership of a small group of social leadership - the Confucian scholars. Chinese intellectuals, on becoming Communist leaders, could thus conveniently replace the Confucian scholars to direct the ignorant peasants.

iv. Communism's effective methods of political organization provided new political weapons for Chinese intellectuals to use against both the warlords and the foreign imperialist powers. Since Chinese society was fundamentally group-based (i.e. people were used to group-organization), the Communist principle of group unity was agreeable to and would be welcomed by the Chinese.
v. Because of both foreign economic exploitation and Chinese conservatism, capitalism had not been firmly established in China, even by the early 1920s. Despairing of the practicability of capitalism in China, some Chinese intellectuals began to turn to Communism as a substitute.

vi. Parliamentary rule in Peking became a plaything under the warlords and completely lost its real meaning. Despairing of the suitability of the Western parliamentary system in China, some Chinese intellectuals began to turn to Communism.

C. The effects of the First World War

i. Even the democratic-capitalist European countries fought with each other. This seemed to prove that Western democracy had serious weaknesses and that the Communist prediction about the decline of capitalism was correct.

ii. Many Chinese intellectuals believed that the First World War both arose out of and clearly demonstrated the selfish material culture of the West. To save China, they looked for a modern yet moral world order. Communism seemed to offer such an order.

iii. The 1919 Versailles Settlement that concluded the war did not abolish imperialist treaty-rights that foreign powers enjoyed in China. More than that, the former German concessions in Shantung, which Japan seized during the war, was allowed to remain in Japanese hands. Consequently, Chinese intellectuals were bitterly disappointed. Some-of them lost confidence in Western democracy in general and began turning to Communism.

D. The effects of the Bolshevik success in Russia in 1917

i. Russia was similar to China in terms of backwardness. Yet Communism succeeded in Russia in 1917. This strengthened the hope among Chinese intellectuals that Communism could really be practiced in China.

ii. The Bolshevik success in October-November 1917 seemed to show the effectiveness, efficiency and popularity of Communism.

iii. After 1917, the Soviet government had twice announced its willingness to give up previous imperialist privileges enjoyed by Tsarist Russia (before 1917) in China. As a result, some Chinese intellectuals became more sympathetic toward Soviet Russia and, by extension, Communism.

E. The effects of the May Fourth Movement in China

The May Fourth intellectual revolution popularized Communism in the following ways:

i. The destruction of China’s traditions like Confucianism cleared the way for the introduction of new ideas like Communism.
ii. The May Fourth Movement produced an atmosphere of radical spirit, intellectual curiosity and ideological experimentation. This made it easier for the acceptance of Communism by Chinese intellectuals.

iii. The May Fourth Incident of 1919 saw the rise of new, politically conscious social forces in China, like students, businessmen, middle-class members or workers. Many Chinese intellectuals rightly recognized the political usefulness and revolutionary potential of these popular forces. To unite all Chinese people against foreign imperialism, Communism provided the best instrument, since it was an ideology calling upon the common people as a whole to save the country.

iv. The May Fourth Incident made students and intellectuals politically active. They were thus more prepared to organize political groupings such as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) themselves.

v. The May Fourth Movement also showed that efforts to save China were very urgent. Further delay would result in the destruction of the Chinese race. Thus, a more far-reaching, complete and advanced ideology (like Communism) was welcomed.

F. Conclusion: radicalization of Chinese intellectuals

Before 1919, most Chinese intellectuals believed that China's manifold problems could be slowly solved by evolutionary and reformist measures. In view of the growing seriousness of the problems, however, it became clear that such a belief was false. After 1919, therefore, some Chinese intellectuals felt that only more revolutionary and radical efforts could save China. Communism was accepted.

THE FORMATION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) IN 1921

A. Introduction of Marxism in China

It was probable that Marxism was introduced in China in 1905. But from 1905 to 1919, the influence of Marxism remained very small. It was not until the May Fourth Movement that Communism was made more popular in China.

B. Founding of Marxist study groups, 1918-1921

i. In North China, Li Ta-chao, who was a librarian in the University of Peking, became a Communist in 1918. He founded Marxist study groups to study the ideology in Peking. Men like Ch’u Ch’iu-pai and Mao Tse-tung, who later became important Communist leaders, worked under him as followers.

ii. In the south, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who was originally Dean of the Peking University, organized similar Marxist study groups in Shanghai in 1920. Other societies like these soon sprang up in China. For the time being, however, their strength was still weak.

C. Russian encouragement
In early 1920, Voitinsky, a Russian representing the Comintern (i.e. international Communist organization dominated by Soviet Russia), came to China and discussed first with Li Ta-chao and then with Ch'en Tu-hsiu the possibility of organizing a unified Communist party.

D. Founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

Under the guidance of Soviet Russia, a founding meeting of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) was held in Shanghai in July 1921. It was attended by 12 men (including Mao Tse-tung) who represented about 60 other members all over China. Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao were absent, but they were recognized as the two founders of the CCP.

E. Weakness of the CCP

Because the different Marxist study groups came from and represented different areas of China, the newly formed CCP was not unified and centralized. Moreover, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao disagreed on the policy that the CCP should adopt:

i. Following the Russian model of revolution, Ch'en Tu-hsiu believed that only urban workers, not the ignorant peasants, could bring about a Communist revolution.

ii. More concerned about the actual conditions of China, Li Ta-chao believed that the peasants were the main force in carrying out a Communist revolution. To Li, young Chinese intellectuals should go into the villages to organize and save the peasants. Unfortunately he was killed by a warlord in 1927. Mao Tse-tung, his follower, took up his ideas, further refined them, and put them into practice afterwards.

F. Policy of the CCP

Because of Soviet Russia’s influence, Ch'en Tu-hsiu’s policy of organizing the workers was adopted in the CCP after 1921.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949

On October 1, 1949, Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong declared the creation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The announcement ended the costly full-scale civil war between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), which broke out immediately following World War II and had been preceded by on and off conflict between the two sides since the 1920's. The creation of the PRC also completed the long process of governmental upheaval in China begun by the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The "fall" of mainland China to communism in 1949 led the United States to suspend diplomatic ties with the PRC for decades.
The Chinese Communist Party, founded in 1921 in Shanghai, originally existed as a study group working within the confines of the First United Front with the Nationalist Party. Chinese Communists joined with the Nationalist Army in the Northern Expedition of 1926-27 to rid the nation of the warlords that prevented the formation of a strong central government. This collaboration lasted until the "White Terror" of 1927, when the Nationalists turned on the Communists, killing them or purging them from the party.

After the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, the Government of the Republic of China (ROC) faced the triple threat of Japanese invasion, Communist uprising, and warlord insurrections. Frustrated by the focus of the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek on internal threats instead of the Japanese assault, a group of generals abducted Chiang in 1937 and forced him to reconsider cooperation with the Communist army. As with the first effort at cooperation between the Nationalist government and the CCP, this Second United Front was short-lived. The Nationalists expended needed resources on containing the Communists, rather than focusing entirely on Japan, while the Communists worked to strengthen their influence in rural society.

During World War II, popular support for the Communists increased. U.S. officials in China reported a dictatorial suppression of dissent in Nationalist-controlled areas. These undemocratic polices combined with wartime corruption made the Republic of China Government vulnerable to the Communist threat. The CCP, for its part, experienced success in its early efforts at land reform and was lauded by peasants for its unflagging efforts to fight against the Japanese invaders.

Japanese surrender set the stage for the resurgence of civil war in China. Though only nominally democratic, the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek continued to receive U.S. support both as its former war ally and as the sole option for preventing Communist control of China. U.S. forces flew tens of thousands of Nationalist Chinese troops into Japanese-controlled territory and allowed them to accept the Japanese surrender. The Soviet Union, meanwhile, occupied Manchuria and only pulled out when Chinese Communist forces were in place to claim that territory.

In 1945, the leaders of the Nationalist and Communist parties, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, met for a series of talks on the formation of a post-war government. Both agreed on the importance of democracy, a unified military, and equality for all Chinese political parties. The truce was tenuous, however, and, in spite of repeated efforts by U.S. General George Marshall to broker an agreement, by 1946 the two sides were fighting an all-out civil war. Years of mistrust between the two sides thwarted efforts to form a coalition government.

As the civil war gained strength from 1947 to 1949, eventual Communist victory seemed more and more likely. Although the Communists did not hold any major cities after World War II, they had strong grassroots support, superior military organization and morale, and large stocks of weapons seized from Japanese supplies in Manchuria. Years of corruption and mismanagement had
eroded popular support for the Nationalist Government. Early in 1947, the ROC Government was already looking to the island province of Taiwan, off the coast of Fujian Province, as a potential point of retreat. Although officials in the Truman Administration were not convinced of the strategic importance to the United States of maintaining relations with Nationalist China, no one in the U.S. Government wanted to be charged with facilitating the "loss" of China to communism. Military and financial aid to the floundering Nationalists continued, though not at the level that Chiang Kai-shek would have liked. In October of 1949, after a string of military victories, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the PRC; Chiang and his forces fled to Taiwan to regroup and plan for their efforts to retake the mainland.

The ability of the PRC and the United States to find common ground in the wake of the establishment of the new Chinese state was hampered by both domestic politics and global tensions. In August of 1949, the Truman administration published the "China White Paper," which explained past U.S. policy toward China based upon the principle that only Chinese forces could determine the outcome of their civil war. Unfortunately for Truman, this step failed to protect his administration from charges of having "lost" China. The unfinished nature of the revolution, leaving a broken and exiled but still vocal Nationalist Government and army on Taiwan, only heightened the sense among U.S. anti-communists that the outcome of the struggle could be reversed. The outbreak of the Korean War, which pitted the PRC and the United States on opposite sides of an international conflict, ended any opportunity for accommodation between the PRC and the United States. Truman's desire to prevent the Korean conflict from spreading south led to the U.S. policy of protecting the Chiang Kai-shek government on Taiwan.

For more than twenty years after the Chinese revolution of 1949, there were few contacts, limited trade and no diplomatic ties between the two countries. Until the 1970s, the United States continued to recognize the Republic of China, located on Taiwan, as China’s true government and supported that government’s holding the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 1949**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created in 1949 by the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union.

NATO was the first peacetime military alliance the United States entered into outside of the Western Hemisphere. After the destruction of the Second World War, the nations of Europe struggled to rebuild their economies and ensure their security. The former required a massive influx of aid to help the war-torn landscapes re-establish industries and produce food, and the latter required assurances against a resurgent Germany or incursions from the Soviet Union. The United States viewed an economically strong, rearmed, and integrated Europe as vital to the prevention of communist expansion across the continent. As a result,
Secretary of State George Marshall proposed a program of large-scale economic aid to Europe. The resulting European Recovery Program, or Marshall Plan, not only facilitated European economic integration but promoted the idea of shared interests and cooperation between the United States and Europe. Soviet refusal either to participate in the Marshall Plan or to allow its satellite states in Eastern Europe to accept the economic assistance helped to reinforce the growing division between east and west in Europe.

In 1947-1948, a series of events caused the nations of Western Europe to become concerned about their physical and political security and the United States to become more closely involved with European affairs. The ongoing civil war in Greece, along with tensions in Turkey, led President Harry S. Truman to subjugation. A Soviet-sponsored coup in Czechoslovakia resulted in a communist government coming to power on the borders of Germany. Attention also focused on elections in Italy as the communist party had made significant gains among Italian voters. Furthermore, events in Germany also caused concern. The occupation and governance of Germany after the war had long been disputed, and in mid-1948, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin chose to test Western resolve by implementing a blockade against West Berlin, which was then under joint U.S., British, and French control but surrounded by Soviet-controlled East Germany. This Berlin Crisis brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of conflict, although a massive airlift to resupply the city for the duration of the blockade helped to prevent an outright confrontation. These events caused U.S. officials to grow increasingly wary of the possibility that the countries of Western Europe might deal with their security concerns by negotiating with the Soviets. To counter this possible turn of events, the Truman Administration considered the possibility of forming a European-American alliance that would commit the United States to bolstering the security of Western Europe.

The Western European countries were willing to consider a collective security solution. In response to increasing tensions and security concerns, representatives of several countries of Western Europe gathered together to create a military alliance. Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the Brussels Treaty in March, 1948. Their treaty provided collective defense; if any one of these nations was attacked, the others were bound to help defend it. At the same time, the Truman Administration instituted a peacetime draft, increased military spending, and called upon the historically isolationist Republican Congress to consider a military alliance with Europe. In May of 1948, Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg proposed a resolution suggesting that the President seek a security treaty with Western Europe that would adhere to the United Nations charter but exist outside of the Security Council where the Soviet Union held veto power. The Vandenberg Resolution passed, and negotiations began for the North Atlantic Treaty.

In spite of general agreement on the concept behind the treaty, it took several months to work out the exact terms. The U.S. Congress had embraced the pursuit of the international alliance, but it remained concerned about the wording
of the treaty. The nations of Western Europe wanted assurances that the United States would intervene automatically in the event of an attack, but under the U.S. Constitution the power to declare war rested with Congress. Negotiations worked toward finding language that would reassure the European states but not obligate the United States to act in a way that violated its own laws. Additionally, European contributions to collective security would require large-scale military assistance from the United States to help rebuild Western Europe’s defense capabilities. While the European nations argued for individual grants and aid, the United States wanted to make aid conditional on regional coordination. A third issue was the question of scope. The Brussels Treaty signatories preferred that membership in the alliance be restricted to the members of that treaty plus the United States. The U.S. negotiators felt there was more to be gained from enlarging the new treaty to include the countries of the North Atlantic, including Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Ireland, and Portugal. Together, these countries held territory that formed a bridge between the opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean, which would facilitate military action if it became necessary.

The result of these extensive negotiations was the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. In this agreement, the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United Kingdom agreed to consider attack against one an attack against all, along with consultations about threats and defense matters. This collective defense arrangement only formally applied to attacks against the signatories that occurred in Europe or North America; it did not include conflicts in colonial territories. After the treaty was signed, a number of the signatories made requests to the United States for military aid. Later in 1949, President Truman proposed a military assistance program, and the Mutual Defense Assistance Program passed the U.S. Congress in October, appropriating some $1.4 billion dollars for the purpose of building Western European defenses.

Soon after the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the outbreak of the Korean War led the members to move quickly to integrate and coordinate their defense forces through a centralized headquarters. The North Korean attack on South Korea was widely viewed at the time to be an example of communist aggression directed by Moscow, so the United States bolstered its troop commitments to Europe to provide assurances against Soviet aggression on the European continent. In 1952, the members agreed to admit Greece and Turkey to NATO and added the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955. West German entry led the Soviet Union to retaliate with its own regional alliance, which took the form of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and included the Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe as members.

The collective defense arrangements in NATO served to place the whole of Western Europe under the American "nuclear umbrella." In the 1950s, one of the first military doctrines of NATO emerged in the form of "massive retaliation," or the idea that if any member was attacked, the United States would respond with a large-scale nuclear attack. The threat of this form of response was meant to serve
as a deterrent against Soviet aggression on the continent. Although formed in response to the exigencies of the developing Cold War, NATO has lasted beyond the end of that conflict, with membership even expanding to include some former Soviet states. It remains the largest peacetime military alliance in the world.

South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 1954

In September of 1954, the United States, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, or SEATO.

The purpose of the organization was to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region. Although called the "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization," only two Southeast Asian countries became members. The Philippines joined in part because of its close ties with the United States and in part out of concern over the nascent communist insurgency threatening its own government. Thailand, similarly, joined after learning of a newly established "Thai Autonomous Region" in Yunnan Province in South China, expressing concern about the potential for Chinese communist subversion on its own soil. The rest of the region was far less concerned about the threat of communism to internal stability. Burma and Indonesia both preferred to maintain their neutrality rather than join the organization. Malaya (including Singapore) found it politically difficult to give formal support to the organization, though through its ties with Great Britain it learned of key developments. Finally, the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 signed after the fall of French Indochina prevented Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos from joining any international military alliance, though these countries were ultimately included in the area protected under SEATO and granted "observers" status.

Most of the SEATO member states were countries located elsewhere but with an interest in the region or the organization. Australia and New Zealand were interested in Asian affairs because of their geographic position in the Pacific. Great Britain and France had long maintained colonies in the region and were interested in developments in the greater Indochina region. For Pakistan, the appeal of the pact was the potential for receiving support in its struggles against India, in spite of the fact that neither country was located in the area under the organization's jurisdiction. Finally, U.S. officials believed Southeast Asia to be a crucial frontier in the fight against communist expansion, so it viewed SEATO as essential to its global Cold War policy of containment.

Headquartered in Bangkok, Thailand, SEATO had only a few formal functions. It maintained no military forces of its own, but the organization hosted joint military exercises for member states each year. As the communist threat appeared to change from one of outright attack to one of internal subversion, SEATO worked to strengthen the economic foundations and living standards of the Southeast Asian States. It sponsored a variety of meetings and exhibitions on cultural, religious and historical topics, and the non-Asian member states sponsored fellowships for Southeast Asian scholars.
Beyond its activities, the SEATO charter was also vitally important to the American rationale for the Vietnam War. The United States used the organization as its justification for refusing to go forward with the 1956 elections intended to reunify Vietnam, instead maintaining the divide between communist North Vietnam and South Vietnam at the 17th parallel. As the conflict in Vietnam unfolded, the inclusion of Vietnam as a territory under SEATO protection gave the United States the legal framework for its continued involvement there.

The organization had a number of weaknesses as well. To address the problems attached to the guerrilla movements and local insurrections that plagued the region in the post-colonial years, the SEATO defense treaty called only for consultation, leaving each individual nation to react individually to internal threats. Unlike the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), SEATO had no independent mechanism for obtaining intelligence or deploying military forces, so the potential for collective action was necessarily limited. Moreover, because it incorporated only three Asian members, SEATO faced charges of being a new form of Western colonialism. Linguistic and cultural difficulties between the member states also compounded its problems, making it difficult for SEATO to accomplish many of its goals.

By the early 1970s, members began to withdraw from the organization. Neither Pakistan nor France supported the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and both nations were pulling away from the organization in the early 1970s. Pakistan formally left SEATO in 1973, because the organization had failed to provide it with assistance in its ongoing conflict against India. When the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the most prominent reason for SEATO’s existence disappeared. As a result, SEATO formally disbanded in 1977.

**The Warsaw Treaty Organization, 1955**

The Warsaw Treaty Organization (also known as the Warsaw Pact) was a political and military alliance established on May 14, 1955 between the Soviet Union and several Eastern European countries. The Soviet Union formed this alliance as a counterbalance to the National Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a collective security alliance concluded between the United States, Canada and Western European nations in 1949.

The Warsaw Pact supplemented existing agreements. Following World War II, the Soviet Union had concluded bilateral treaties with each of the East European states except for East Germany, which was still part of the Soviet occupied-territory of Germany. When the Federal Republic of Germany entered NATO in early May 1955, the Soviets feared the consequences of a strengthened NATO and a rearmed West Germany and hoped that the Warsaw Treaty Organization could both contain West Germany and negotiate with NATO as an equal partner. Soviet leadership also noted that civil unrest was on the rise in Eastern European
countries and determined that a unified, multilateral political and military alliance would tie Eastern European capitals more closely to Moscow.

The original signatories to the Warsaw Treaty Organization were the Soviet Union, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic. Although the members of the Warsaw Pact pledged to defend each other if one or more of them came under attack, emphasized non-interference in the internal affairs of its members, and supposedly organized itself around collective decision-making, the Soviet Union ultimately controlled most of the Pact’s decisions. The Soviet Union also used the Pact to contain popular dissent in its European satellites, for example in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Poland in 1981.

By the 1980s, the Warsaw Treaty Organization was beset by problems related to the economic slowdown in all Eastern European countries. By the late 1980s political changes in most of the member states made the Pact virtually ineffectual. In September 1990, East Germany left the Pact in preparation for reunification with West Germany. By October, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland had withdrawn from all Warsaw Pact military exercises. The Warsaw Pact officially disbanded in March and July of 1991 following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

**The Baghdad Pact (1955) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)**

The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

In the early 1950s, the United States Government expressed an interest in the formation of a Middle East Command to protect the region against communist encroachment. The nature of some of the ongoing tensions in the region, like Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian-led anti-colonialism, made it difficult to forge an alliance that would include both Israel and Western colonial powers. Instead, the U.S shifted its focus to the "Northern Tier," referring to the line of countries that formed a border between the U.S.S.R. and the Middle East. The idea was to conclude an alliance that would link the southernmost member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Turkey, with the westernmost member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Pakistan. Turkey and Pakistan signed an agreement in 1954 to increase security and stability in the region. In February 1955, Iraq and Turkey signed a "pact of mutual cooperation" in Baghdad to resist outside aggression, and they opened it to other countries in the region as well. In April, the United Kingdom announced its intention to adhere to the Pact, and it was followed by Pakistan and finally, Iran. The King of Jordan considered joining, but he could not overcome domestic opposition to the pact. The United
States signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the United States participated as an observer and took part in committee meetings.

Developments in the Middle East in the years that followed weakened the Pact. In 1956, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal, an important international waterway. Israel responded by invading the Sinai peninsula, and British and French forces intervened. The outcome of the incident was a profound loss of British prestige in the region, which in turn damaged its position of leadership in the Baghdad Pact. A series of events in 1958, including an Egyptian-Syrian union, an Iraqi revolution, and civil unrest in Lebanon threatened regional stability. In response to these developments, the United States invoked the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine as justification for intervening in Lebanon. The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention, and in 1959, Iraq announced it was formally leaving the arrangement. As a result, the other signatories to the Baghdad Pact formed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO. Although the United States was still not a member of the organization, it did sign bilateral military aid treaties with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, ensuring that it would continue to be active in supporting the CENTO members.

CENTO never actually provided its members with a means for guaranteeing collective defense. After the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, CENTO moved its headquarters to Ankara, Turkey, and the United States continued to support the organization as an associate, but not as a member. CENTO never created a permanent military command structure or armed forces, but the United States provided assistance to its allies in the region. By the close of the Eisenhower Administration, it had become clear to CENTO members that the organization was a better conduit for economic and technical cooperation than it was a military alliance. In 1979, the Iranian revolution led to the overthrow of the shah and Iran’s withdrawal from CENTO. Pakistan also withdrew that year after determining the organization no longer had a role to play in bolstering its security. CENTO formally disbanded in 1979.

SUEZ CRISIS, 1956

In 1956, the Suez Canal became the focus of a major world conflict. The canal represents the only direct means of travel from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, making it vital to the flow of trade between Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and the U.S. Normally, free passage was granted to all who used the canal, but Britain and France desired control of it, not only for commercial shipping, but also for colonial interests. The Egyptian government had just been taken over by Gamal Abdel Nasser, who felt the canal should be under Egyptian control. The United States and Britain had promised to give aid to Egypt in the construction of the Aswan High Dam in the Nile. This aid was retracted however, and in retaliation Nasser nationalized the canal. He intended to use the funds raised from the operation of the canal to pay for the Dam.
Angry British and French politicians joined forces with Israel, a long time enemy of Egypt, in an attack against Nasser. The Israeli army marched toward the canal on October 29, 1956. Britain and France reinforced the Israelis, and the joint effort defeated the Egyptian army quickly. Within ten days, British and French forces had completely occupied the Suez region. Egypt responded by sinking 40 ships in the canal, blocking all passage. The United Nations sought to resolve the conflict and pressured the two European powers to back down. The rest of the world shunned Britain and France for their actions in the crisis, and soon the UN salvage team moved in to clear the canal. Britain and France backed down, and control of the canal was given back to Egypt in March 1957. The Egyptian government was allowed to maintain control of the canal as long as they permitted all vessels of all nations' free passage through it.

The colonial tradition of Britain and France began to crumble after the Suez Crisis. The feeling of defeat by a former colony eventually led to the two nations giving up their African colonial empires. The long era of colonization was finally coming to a close. The conflicts between Israel and Egypt, however, were just beginning. Hostilities again flared on June 5, 1967, during the Six-Day War. The Yom Kippur War, the fourth of many armed conflicts between Israel, Egypt, and other Arab nations began on October 16 (Yom Kippur), 1973. Although the war lasted only two weeks, it marked the first time that oil played a major part in the outcome. From October 1973 to March 1974 Arab nations maintained an embargo on oil exports to Israel's western allies. Israel and Egypt finally began resolving their differences in an UN peace treaty in 1979.

**KOREAN WAR**

Second World War divided Korea into a Communist, northern half and an American-occupied southern half, divided at the 38th parallel. The Korean War (1950-1953) began when the North Korean Communist army crossed the 38th Parallel and invaded non-Communist South Korea. As Kim II- dung's North Korean army, armed with Soviet tanks, quickly overran South Korea, the United States came to South Korea's aid. General Douglas MacArthur, who had been overseeing the post-WWII occupation of Japan, commanded the US forces which now began to hold off the North Koreans at Pusan, at the southernmost tip of Korea. Although Korea was not strategically essential to the United States, the political environment at this stage of the Cold War was such that policymakers did not want to appear "soft on Communism." Nominally, the US intervened as part of a "police action" run by a UN (United Nations) international peace-keeping force; in actuality, the UN was simply being manipulated by US and NATO anti-Communist interests.

With the US, UN, and South Korean (ROK) forces pinned against the sea at Pusan, MacArthur orchestrated a daring amphibious assault on Inchon, a port on the western coast of Korea. Having made this landing, MacArthur crushed the North Korean army in a pincer movement and recaptured Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Instead of being satisfied with his rapid re-conquest of South Korea, MacArthur crossed the 38TH Parallel and pursued the North Korean army all the way to the northernmost provinces of North Korea. Afraid that the US was
interested in taking North Korea as a base for operations against Manchuria, the People’s Republic of China secretly sent an army across the Yalu River. This Chinese army attacked the US/UN/ROK forces. Only after the appointment of Lt. General Matthew Ridgway as commander of ground forces did American morale improve and the initiative begins to swing against the Chinese Communists.

Although President Truman hoped to end the war quickly and pressed MacArthur to be more tactful, the brilliant strategist went against presidential orders and continued spouting incendiary lines about his hopes to reunify Korea. After gaining the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Truman relieved MacArthur of command. The move was extremely unpopular in America; MacArthur was perceived as a popular war hero. Only the support of the JCS saved Truman from impeachment after the firing.

Ridgway took MacArthur’s command and held off the Communists with strong fortifications and entrenchments just north of the 38TH Parallel, sending occasional offensives against the Iron Triangle, the Communists staging area for attacks into South Korea. Peace negotiations dragged on at Kaesong then moved and continued to drag at Panmunjom through 1951 and 1952. The US tried using strategic bombing to intimidate the Communists into negotiating a peace treaty, but they wouldn’t budge, particularly on the issue of POW (Prisoner of War) repatriation. Neither side wanted to appear weak, nor so the talks went on, occasionally breaking down for months. Only after Eisenhower, who was a war hero and was unafraid of Republican criticism (since he himself was a Republican), became President, could the US make substantial concessions to the Communists. In 1953 a peace treaty was signed at Panmunjom that ended the Korean War, returning Korea to a divided status essentially the same as before the war. Neither the war nor its outcome did much to lessen the era's Cold War tension.

**Vietnam War**

Although the Cold War was the dominant feature of the post-1945 world, another momentous change in the international system took place concurrently: the end of Europe’s five-century-long domination of the non-European world. Some one hundred new sovereign states emerged from the wreckage of European colonialism, and Cold War competition was promptly extended to many of these new states.

The Vietnam War was the legacy of France’s failure to suppress nationalist forces in Indochina as it struggled to restore its colonial dominion after World War II. Led by Ho Chi Minh, a Communist-dominated revolutionary movement—the Viet Minh—waged a political and military struggle for Vietnamese independence that frustrated the efforts of the French and resulted ultimately in their ouster from the region. Vietnam had gained its independence from France in 1954. The country was divided into North and South. The North had a communist government led by Ho Chi Minh. The South had an anti-communist government led by Ngo Dinh Diem.
The Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War in 1949 and Chinese intervention against the United Nations in Korea made U.S.-China policy a captive of Cold War politics. Those events also helped to transform American anti-colonialism into support for the French protectorates in Indochina, and later for their non-Communist successors. American political and military leaders viewed the Vietnam War as the Chinese doctrine of revolutionary warfare in action (using Chinese and Soviet arms, to boot).

The overarching geopolitical aim behind the United States' involvement in Vietnam was to contain the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. To accomplish this aim, the United States supported an anti-communist regime known as the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) in its fight against a communist take-over. South Vietnam faced a serious, dual-tracked threat: a communist-led revolutionary insurgency within its own borders and the military power of its communist neighbor and rival, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). Preventing South Vietnam from falling to the communists ultimately led the United States to fight a major regional war in Southeast Asia.

John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) decided to commit American support troops to South Vietnam. Four thousand troops were sent in 1962. There has been an endless debate about what he would have done in Vietnam. He of course, did escalate American involvement by expanding the number of advisors there from 15,000 to 16,000. But there is evidence is there that he would not have Americanized the war to the extent that Lyndon Johnson did. He was skeptical of the military. He feared that the US could get bogged down in Vietnam. He had Secretary of Defense McNamara in 1962 to lay out plans for American withdrawal by 1965. On the day he left for Dallas Texas in 1963, he asked his policy advisor Mike Forestall to lay plans for a full discussion of Vietnam including a full discussion on getting the United States out of there.

In the fall of 1963, American efforts to build a democratic bulwark against communism in South Vietnam were failing. President Kennedy struggled to get the Diem government and a communist insurgency--under control. On November 3, 1963 Ngo Dinah Diem died at the hands of his generals. Less than two weeks after President Diem’s death, President Kennedy was assassinated.

After John Kennedy was murdered, Vice President Lyndon Johnson served the last fourteen months of Kennedy’s term. He then was elected to his own full term. It began in January 1965. Much of his time and energy would be taken up by the war in Vietnam. By early 1964, America had about seventeen-thousand troops in Vietnam. The troops were there to advise and train the South Vietnamese military.

In March 1964, after visiting South Vietnam, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recommended that the United States increase its aid to the Republic of Vietnam. Having later concluded that the South Vietnamese would be unable to defend themselves in any time that would not overstretch the patience of American public opinion, and that the costs of pulling out were tolerable, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara [in retrospect] concluded that the US ought to have withdrawn forces "either in late 1963 amid the turmoil following Diem’s assassination or in
late 1964 or early 1965 in the face of increasing political weakness in South Vietnam” [three other dates when a pull-out would have been possible and desirable: July 1965, December 1965, and December 1967].

In the latter part of 1964, there was a general feeling that the military situation in South Vietnam was deteriorating. Both Hanoi and Washington, thinking that they were losing, decided that a faster tempo of reinforcement was necessary to prevent defeat. On the ground, Ho Chi Minh, communist leader of the DRV, responded quicker than Johnson. In addition to political and technical cadres and replacements, he infiltrated regular North Vietnamese Army (NVA) combat units into South Vietnam. By December 1964, a regiment of the NVA 325th Division was identified in the Central Highlands. The rest of the 325th was in action in the south by February 1965. US ground combat troops did not deploy to South Vietnam until March 1965.

To frustrate North Vietnamese and Viet Cong efforts, and in part to "contain" China, the United States eventually fielded an army of over 500,000 men and engaged in extensive air and naval warfare against North Vietnam. The American military effort provoked stiff domestic and international opposition, led to strained civil-military relations at home, and called into question many of the assumptions that had dominated US foreign and military policy since 1945, but failed to compel the enemy to do its will. In short, America's strategic culture was fundamentally altered in the jungles of Indochina.

The political leadership demanded restraint out of fear that an escalating conflict could cause an intervention by either China or the Soviet Union. These fears weighed heavily on President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson was haunted by the twin images of President Harry Truman being branded as too soft on Communism after having "lost" China to the Communists in the first place, and again of Truman letting his generals (especially MacArthur) embroil him in a larger Korean War with the entry of China across the Yale River. In light of his ambitious domestic agenda, which required robust economic and political support across the spectrum, Johnson would not relinquish control of the situation in Southeast Asia to the extent that it could derail his domestic plans in the press and in the public eye. The president had made a decision and a promise that the war would not seek an overthrow of the North Vietnamese regime. What seemed at the tactical level a bewildering array of restrictions and prohibitions was in fact an attempt by the leadership of this country to resolve the political problem of the spread of Communism without escalating into a larger war.

The phrase "credibility gap" gained wide currency as the war wore on. Who was deceived, and by whom? General Abrams described the RVNAF's performance in LAM SON 719 and in the early stage of the 1972 spring offensive as creditable. In November 1971 and again late in April 1972, he rated Lieutenant General Lam, who had mishandled the Laotian incursi on and soon would be overwhelmed at Quantrill, as "outstanding." In January 1973, Ambassador Bunker accepted General Weygand's assessment that the Military Region commanders were "the best they have been in a long time. . . ." In May 1974, the Defense Attach in Saigon
reported: "Tactically . . . overall, RVNAF was triumphant. Ever improving . . . avenging . . . the debacle that signaled to the US in 1963-the ARVN could not go it alone." None of these appraisals can withstand scrutiny, but there is no reason to believe that the men who made them were dishonest. Any apparent deception was more likely self-deception.

Search and destroy was a faulty concept, given the sanctuaries, given the fact that the Ho Chi Minh Trail was never closed. It was a losing concept of operation. Allied forces in South Vietnam were never organized into a single combined command, but at lower levels many combined operations were conducted, with varying degrees of success. The war also demonstrated the advantages (and especially disadvantages) of tight operational control by the President, the National Security Council and the Department of Defense in Washington.

The North Vietnamese regime, which received outside assistance from the communist great powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, proved a formidable adversary. Tet was an utter military and political defeat for the communists in Vietnam, yet a political disaster in the United States. Whether the United States should have heavily committed itself militarily to contain communism in South Vietnam remains a hotly debated topic. The debate is closely related to the controversy over whether the problems in Southeast Asia were primarily political and economic rather than military. The United States strategy generally proceeded from the premise that the essence of the problem in Vietnam was military, with efforts to "win the hearts and minds" of the South Vietnamese populace taking second place.

This transfer of the burden of combat, which began in earnest after the inauguration of President Richard M. Nixon in January 1969, came to be called Vietnamization. The United States would supply South Vietnam with weapons to defend itself, provide training, and maintain a shield behind which the South Vietnamese could expand their armed forces. Because the Nixon administration was determined to reduce U.S. casualties, especially among ground troop draftees, Vietnam zing the ground war took priority. Air power, applied by military professionals and volunteers, would have to provide the shield.

For the United States, Saigon's twenty-year ally, the results were more puzzling, and the abrupt defeat seemed to pose as many questions as it answered. What had caused the debacle and who was responsible? Were the South Vietnamese "stabbed in the back" by an American Congress reluctant to legislate further support for a war that seemed to have no end? Or, was the blame to be found closer to Saigon, in a domestic insurgency that South Vietnam had been unable to stamp out or in a host of internal problems that the American advisory effort had been unable to resolve? Given the almost limitless assistance that the United States had poured into South Vietnam, the lack of a successful American outcome appears almost inexplicable. Yet, what has been called "America's longest war" had both begun and ended with little American involvement. Perhaps it was never truly an American war, and a final assessment may conclude that the
problems faced by the American advisory mission in Saigon were insurmountable and that, in the end, the South Vietnamese were simply "stabbed in the front" by a stronger, more determined enemy.

McNamara later wrote: "Were such high costs justified? Dean Rusk, Walter Rostov, Lee Kwan Yew, and many other geo-politicians across the globe to this day answer yes. They conclude that without US intervention in Vietnam, communist hegemony--both Soviet and Chinese--would have spread farther through South and East Asia to include control of Indonesia, Thailand, and possibly India. Some would go further and say that the USSR would have been led to take greater risks to extend its influence elsewhere in the world, particularly in the Middle East, where it might well have sought control of the oil-producing nations."

**CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS**

The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the world ever came to nuclear war. The United States armed forces were at their highest state of readiness ever and Soviet field commanders in Cuba were prepared to use battlefield nuclear weapons to defend the island if it was invaded. Luckily, thanks to the bravery of two men, President John F. Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev, war was averted.

In 1962, the Soviet Union was desperately behind the United States in the arms race. Soviet missiles were only powerful enough to be launched against Europe but U.S. missiles were capable of striking the entire Soviet Union. In late April 1962, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev conceived the idea of placing intermediate-range missiles in Cuba. A deployment in Cuba would double the Soviet strategic arsenal and provide a real deterrent to a potential U.S. attack against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Fidel Castro was looking for a way to defend his island nation from an attack by the U.S. Ever since the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961; Castro felt a second attack was inevitable. Consequently, he approved of Khrushchev's plan to place missiles on the island. In the summer of 1962 the Soviet Union worked quickly and secretly to build its missile installations in Cuba.

For the United States, the crisis began on October 15, 1962 when reconnaissance revealed Soviet missiles under construction in Cuba. Early the next day, President John Kennedy was informed of the missile installations. Kennedy immediately organized the EX-COMM, a group of his twelve most important advisors to handle the crisis.

After seven days of guarded and intense debate within the upper echelons of government, Kennedy concluded to impose a naval quarantine around Cuba. He wished to prevent the arrival of more Soviet offensive weapons on the island. On October 22, Kennedy announced the discovery of the missile installations to the public and his decision to quarantine the island. He also proclaimed that any nuclear missile launched from Cuba would be regarded as an attack on the United
States by the Soviet Union and demanded that the Soviets remove all of their offensive weapons from Cuba.

During the public phase of the Crisis, tensions began to build on both sides. Kennedy eventually ordered low-level reconnaissance missions once every two hours. On the 25th Kennedy pulled the quarantine line back and raised military readiness to DEFCON 2. Then on the 26th EX-COMM heard from Khrushchev in an impassioned letter. He proposed removing Soviet missiles and personnel if the U.S. would guarantee not to invade Cuba. October 27 was the worst day of the crisis. A U-2 was shot down over Cuba and EX-COMM received a second letter from Khrushchev demanding the removal of U.S. missiles in Turkey in exchange for Soviet missiles in Cuba. Attorney General Robert Kennedy suggested ignoring the second letter and contacted Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to tell him of the U.S. agreement with the first.

Tensions finally began to ease on October 28 when Khrushchev announced that he would dismantle the installations and return the missiles to the Soviet Union, expressing his trust that the United States would not invade Cuba. Further negotiations were held to implement the October 28 agreement, including a United States demand that Soviet light bombers be removed from Cuba, and specifying the exact form and conditions of United States assurances not to invade Cuba.

The Arab-Israeli Conflicts

Ancient history of Israel and Palestine

The ancient Jewish kingdoms of Israel and Judea had been successively conquered and subjugated by several foreign empires, when in 135 CE the Roman Empire defeated the third revolt against its rule and consequently expelled the surviving Jews from Jerusalem and its surroundings, selling many of them into slavery. The Roman province was then renamed “Palestine”.

After the Arab conquest of Palestine in the 7th century the remaining inhabitants were mostly assimilated into Arab culture and Muslim religion, though Palestine retained Christian and Jewish minorities, the latter especially living in Jerusalem. Apart from two brief periods in which the Crusaders conquered and ruled Palestine (and expelled the Jews and Muslims from Jerusalem), it was ruled by several Arab empires, and it became part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire in 1516.

The rise of Zionism

In the late 19th century Zionism arose as a nationalist and political movement aimed at restoring the land of Israel as a national home for the Jewish people. Tens of thousands of Jews, mostly from Eastern Europe but also from Yemen, started migrating to Palestine (called Aliyah, “going up”). Zionism saw national independence as the only answer to anti-Semitism and to the centuries of persecution and oppression of Jews in the Diaspora. The first Zionist congress took
place in 1897 in Basel under the guidance of Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl, who in his book “The Jewish State” had painted a vision of a state for the Jewish people, in which they would be a *light unto the nations*. Zionism basically was a secular movement, but it referred to the religious and cultural ties with Jerusalem and ancient Israel, which most Jews had maintained throughout the ages. Most orthodox Jews initially believed that only the Messiah could lead them back to the ‘promised land’, but ongoing pogroms and the Holocaust made many of them change their minds. Today there are still some anti-Zionist orthodox Jews, like the Satmar and Naturei Karteh groups.

**The British Mandate for Palestine**

During World War I Great Britain captured part of the Middle East, including Palestine, from the Ottoman Empire. In 1917 the British had promised the Zionists a ‘*Jewish national home*’ in the Balfour Declaration, and on this basis they later were assigned a mandate over Palestine from the League of Nations. The mandate of Palestine initially included the area of Transjordan, which was split off in 1922.

Jewish immigration and land purchases met with increasing resistance from the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, who started several violent insurrections against the Jews and against British rule in the 1920s and 1930s. During the Great Revolt of 1936-1939 the followers of the radical Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin al-Husseini (a Nazi collaborator who later fled the Nurnberg Tribunal) not only killed hundreds of Jews, but an even larger number of Palestinian Arabs from competing groups. The Zionists in Palestine (called the *Yishuv*) established self-defense organizations like the Haganah and the (more radical) Irgun. The latter carried out reprisal attacks on Arabs from 1936 on. Under Arab pressure the British severely limited Jewish immigration to Palestine, after proposals to divide the area had been rejected by the Palestinian Arabs in 1937. Jewish refugees from countries controlled by Nazi Germany now had no place to flee to, since nearly all other countries refused to let them in. In response Jewish organizations organized illegal immigration (Aliya Beth), the Zionist leadership in 1942 demanded an independent state in Palestine to gain control of immigration (the Biltmore conference), and the Irgun committed assaults on British institutions in Palestine.

Despite pressure from the USA, Great Britain refused to let in Jewish immigrants – mostly Holocaust survivors – even after World War II, and sent back illegal immigrants who were caught or detained them on Cyprus. Increasing protests against this policy, incompatible demands and violence by both the Arabs and the Zionists made the situation untenable for the British. They returned the mandate to the United Nations (successor to the League of Nations), who hoped to solve the conflict with a partition plan for Palestine, which was accepted by the Jews but rejected by the Palestinians and the Arab countries. The plan proposed a division of the area in seven parts with complicated borders and corridors, and Jerusalem and Bethlehem to be internationalized (see map). The relatively large number of Jews living in Jerusalem would be cut off from the rest of the Jewish state by a large Arab corridor. The Jewish state would have 56% of the territory, with over half comprising of the Negev desert, and the Arabs 43%. There would be
an economic union between both states. It soon became clear that the plan could not work due to the mutual antagonism between the two peoples.

**History of the establishment of the State of Israel**

After the proposal was adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1947, the conflict escalated and Palestinian Arabs started attacking Jewish convoys and communities throughout Palestine and blocked Jerusalem, whereupon the Zionists attacked and destroyed several Palestinian villages. The Arab League had openly declared that it aimed to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state by force, and Al Husseini told the British that he wanted to implement the same ‘solution to the Jewish problem’ as Hitler had carried out in Europe.

A day after the declaration of the state of Israel (May 14, 1948) Arab troops from the neighboring countries invaded the area. At first they made some advances and conquered parts of the territory allotted to the Jews. Initially they had better weaponry and more troops, but that changed after the first cease-fire, which was used by the Zionists to organize and train their newly established army, the Israeli Defense Forces. Due to better organization, intelligence and motivation the Jews ultimately won their War of Independence.

After the armistice agreements in 1949, Israel controlled 78% of the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea (see map below), whereas Jordan had conquered the West Bank (until then generally referred to as Judea and Samaria) and East Jerusalem and Egypt controlled the Gaza Strip.

Jerusalem now was divided, with the Old City under Jordanian control and a tiny Jewish enclave (Mount Scopus) in the Jordanian part. In breach of the armistice agreement Jews were not allowed to enter the Old City and go to the Wailing Wall. In 1950 Jordan annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem, a move that was only recognized by Great Britain and Pakistan. A majority of the Palestinian Arabs in the area now under Israeli control had fled or was expelled (estimated by the UN about 711,000) and over 400 of their villages had been destroyed. The Jewish communities in the area under Arab control (i.e. East Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gush Etzion) had all been expelled. In the years and decades after the founding of Israel the Jewish minorities in all Arab countries fled or were expelled (approximately 900,000), most of whom went to Israel, the US and France. These Jewish refugees all were relocated in their new home countries. In contrast, the Arab countries refused to permanently house the Palestinian Arab refugees, because they – as well as most of the refugees themselves – maintained that they had the right to return to Israel. About a million Palestinian refugees still live in refugee camps in miserable circumstances. Israel rejected the Palestinian ‘right of return’ as it would lead to an Arab majority in Israel, and said that the Arab states were responsible for the Palestinian refugees. Many Palestinian groups, including Fatah, have admitted that granting the right of return would mean the end of Israel as a Jewish state. The question of the Palestinian right of return is the first mayor obstacle for solving the Arab-Israeli conflict.
The Six Day War and Arab rejectionism

The Arab-Israeli conflict persisted as Arab countries refused to accept the existence of Israel and instigated a boycott of Israel, while they continued to threaten with a war of destruction. (There were some talks, but the Arab states all demanded both the return of the refugees and also parts of Israel in return for just non-belligerence). They also founded Palestinian resistance groups which carried out terrorist attacks in Israel, like Fatah in Syria in 1959 (under the guidance of Yasser Arafat), and the PLO in Egypt in 1964.

In May of 1967, the conflict escalated as Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran for Israeli shipping, sent home the UN peace keeping force stationed in the Sinai, and issued bellicose statements against Israel. It formed a defense union with Syria, Jordan and Iraq and stationed a large number of troops along the Israeli border. After diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis failed, Israel attacked in June 1967 and conquered the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Desert from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria and the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan (see map below). Initially Israel was willing to return most of these territories in exchange for peace, but the Arab countries refused to negotiate peace and repeated their goal of destroying Israel at the Khartoum conference.

The Six Day War brought one million Palestinians under Israeli rule. Israelis were divided over the question what to do with the West Bank, and a new religious-nationalistic movement, Gush Emunim, emerged, that pushed for settling these areas.

After 1967 the focus of the Palestinian resistance shifted to liberating the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a first step to the liberation of entire Palestine. The Arab Palestinians started to manifest themselves as a people and to demand an independent state. East Jerusalem, reunited with West Jerusalem and proclaimed Israel’s indivisible capital in 1980, but also claimed by the Palestinians as their capital, became a core issue for both sides in the conflict. The division of Jerusalem with its holy places is the second large obstacle for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

History of the struggle for a Palestinian state and the peace process

In 1974 the PLO was granted observer status in the UN as the representative of the Palestinian Arabs. Beside the UNRWA (set up in 1949 for relief of the Palestinian refugees) several new UN institutions were established to support the Palestinians and their struggle for their own state. In 1975 the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 3379, declaring Zionism to be a form of racism, which caused the UN to lose its last bit of credibility as a neutral mediator in the eyes of Israel, although that resolution was ultimately revoked in 1991. Former UN actions perceived as bias by Israel included the establishment of UNRWA as a separate organization aimed at assisting but not repatriating the Palestinian
refugees and the easy acceptance of Egypt’s decision to dismiss the UN peacekeeping force from the Sinai. The ‘Zionism is racism’ resolution gave a strong boost to the settlers’ movement and helped bring the rightwing Likud party to power in 1977.

In 1979, under Likud prime minister Menachem Begin, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty after American mediation, for which Israel returned the Sinai Desert to Egypt. Subsequent negotiations regarding autonomy for the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank failed because the Palestinians didn’t accept Israel's limited autonomy proposal for these areas, and Israel refused to accept the PLO as a negotiation partner. This changed in the early 1990s after the PLO had renounced violence, recognized the legitimacy of Israel, and declared to only strive for a Palestinian state in the 1967 occupied areas. Moreover a major uprising of the Palestinians in the occupied territories from 1987 on (the first Intifada) convinced the Israeli government that they could not continue to rule over the Arab population. Partly secret negotiations in Oslo led to an agreement under which in 1994 a Palestinian National Authority was established under the leadership of Arafat and the PLO, to which Israel would gradually transfer land. Elections were held for the presidency of the PNA and the Palestinian Legislative Assembly, from which violent or racist parties were excluded. After a 5 year transition period the most difficult matters would be settled in final status negotiations, such as the status of Jerusalem, the Palestinian refugees, the Jewish settlements and the definite borders. Eventually 97% of the Palestinians came under PA control, including all of the Gaza Strip and approximately 40% of the West Bank land.

Since 1967 Israel has been establishing Jewish settlements in these areas, at first mostly small ones in unpopulated areas and under the Likud governments from the late 1970s on all over the area and large settlement blocs. Although the Oslo agreements did not require removal of the settlements, it was clear that they would constitute an obstacle to a definite peace agreement. The rapid growth of the settlements undermined Palestinian confidence in the peace process. The Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, who partially froze settlement construction, was assassinated by a Jewish extremist in 1995.

On the Palestinian side, Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian territory led to the construction of a terror network by the extremist Hamas and other groups, who from the mid 1990s on were able to carry out an unprecedented number of suicide attacks inside Israel. Under Arafat the PA took limited action against the terror groups and even funded them, and Arafat gave the green light for attacks when that suited his strategy. The continuing violence by Palestinian extremists constitutes the fourth obstacle for peace.

The Oslo peace process got bogged down because both the Palestinians and the Israelis did not stick to agreements they made and the leadership on both sides did little to build confidence and to prepare their own people for the necessary compromises. Large groups on both sides protested against the concessions required by the agreements made. The peace process slowly dragged on towards the negotiations on Camp David in the summer of 2000. After the failure of Camp
David a provocative visit to the holy Jerusalem Temple Mount by Likud leader Ariel Sharon sparked the second Intifada, which the Palestinian Authority had been preparing for. Palestinian leaders like Marwan Barghouti later admitted to having planned the second Intifada in the hope that it would press Israel into more concessions. However, the opposite happened, as the Israeli peace camp collapsed under the violence of Palestinian suicide attacks.

In December 2000 US president Bill Clinton presented “bridging proposals” suggesting the parameters for a final compromise, including a Palestinian state on all of the Gaza Strip and about 97% of the West Bank, division of Jerusalem and no right of return to Israel for Palestinian refugees. While Israel in principle accepted this proposal, no clear answer came from the Palestinian side. In last minute negotiations at Taba in January 2001, under European and Egyptian patronage, the sides failed to reach a settlement despite further Israeli concessions. Both sides agreed to a joint communiqué saying they had never been so close to an agreement, but substantive disagreements remained about i.e. the refugee issue.

Shortly after that Sharon’s Likud party won the Israeli elections, and in the US democratic president Bill Clinton was replaced by George W. Bush. Following the terrorist attacks from Al Qaida inside America on September 11, 2001, Bush permitted Sharon to strike back hard against the second Intifada. After suicide attacks had killed over a hundred Israelis in March 2002, Israel re-occupied the areas earlier transferred to the Palestinian Authority and set up a series of checkpoints, which severely limited the freedom of movement for the Palestinians. In 2003 Israel started the construction of a very controversial separation barrier along the Green Line and partly on Palestinian land. These measures led to a strong decline of Palestinian suicide attacks in Israel, but also to international condemnations. Especially the dismissal of Palestinian workers in Israel led to increasing poverty in the territories.

Although both parties accepted the ‘Road Map to Peace’, launched by the Quartet of US, UN, EU and Russia in 2003, no serious peace negotiations have taken place in recent years between Israel and the Palestinians. Israeli PM Ariel Sharon did take unilateral measures such as the disengagement from the Gaza Strip in 2005, but he demanded an end to Palestinian terrorism before he would engage in negotiations with Arafat’s successor Abbas concerning final status issues. Plans for further unilateral withdrawals from the West Bank were put on ice after Hamas won the PA elections in early 2006, thousands of rockets were fired from the Gaza Strip into Israel, and border attacks took place from both the Gaza Strip and south Lebanon (which Israel had unilaterally withdrawn from in 2000). The latter had spurred the disastrous Second Lebanon War in the summer of 2006.

**Obstacles to peace**

The primary cause for the Arab-Israeli conflict lies in the claim of two national movements on the same land, and particularly the Arab refusal to accept
Jewish self-determination in a part of that land. Furthermore fundamentalist religious concepts regarding the right of either side to the entire land have played an increasing role, on the Jewish side particularly in the religious settler movement, on the Palestinian side in the Hamas and similar groups. But whereas the settlers received a blow when they failed to prevent the disengagement from the Gaza Strip, Hamas won the Palestinian elections, and after their breakup with Fatah and their take-over of the Gaza Strip, they remain a dominant force capable of blocking any peace agreement.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is further complicated by preconceptions and demonizing of the other by both sides. The Israelis see around them mostly undemocratic Arab states with underdeveloped economies, backward cultural and social standards and an aggressive religion inciting to hatred and terrorism. The Arabs consider the Israelis colonial invaders and conquerors, who are aiming to control the entire Middle East. There is resentment concerning Israeli success and Arab failure, and Israel is viewed as a beachhead for Western interference in the Middle East. In Arab media, schools and mosques anti-Semitic stereotypes are promoted, based on a mixture of anti-Jewish passages in the Quran and European anti-Semitism, including numerous conspiracy theories regarding the power of world Zionism.

Since the Oslo peace process however, a broad consensus has been formed that an independent Palestinian Arab state should be established within the areas occupied in 1967. Polls on both sides show that majorities among Israelis and Palestinians accept a two state solution, but Palestinians almost unanimously stick to right of return of the refugees to Israel, and most Israelis oppose a Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem.

**Palestine Liberation Organization**

The Palestine Liberation Organization is undoubtedly one of the best known terrorist organizations in the world. Accordingly, the organization is led by perhaps the best known individual in the modern history of international terrorism; Yasser Arafat. The PLO was created in 1964 during a meeting known as the Palestinian Congress in an effort to give a voice to the large number of Palestinians living in refugee camps in Lebanon. It was not long before the group began to splinter into various factions, all of whom believed they knew the best way to achieve Palestinian liberation. Most notable of these groups were the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, and al-Fatah. Each of these factions remained more-or-less under the umbrella of the PLO and never strayed too far from the fold.

By 1967 the PLO had decided that their primary goal was the destruction of the state of Israel. For the next ten years, this goal was the primary focus of the massive terrorist campaign by which their reputation was formed. This war cost untold hundreds of casualties on both sides with very little to show in return. Therefore, in 1974 the PLO made a conscious decision to alter its focus from the
purely terrorist to one that would include political elements, necessary for any meaningful dialogue. This created more unhappiness amongst some followers who felt that the PLO, while striking blows, was not truly finding its mark. This led to the creation of yet another splinter group called the Rejectionist Front. It was at this time that Yasser Arafat and his group al-Fatah took over the leadership role.

Things began to change quickly such as the all-important recognition of the PLO by the United Nations and by the Arab peoples at the Rabat Conference. Arafat deftly manipulated the organization from one perceived by the (Western) public as barbaric into one slowly being considered a movement with legitimate claims. Israel, perhaps sensing the growing sympathy, redoubled its efforts to eliminate the Palestinian threat. In 1982, the Israeli army swept into Beirut, Lebanon and forced the PLO to flee from its bastion. In a decision that radical Palestinians resented, Arafat agreed to come to the bargaining table to discuss peace with Israeli leaders. Little came of these talks, and soon after dissension within the ranks of the PLO became more pronounced and some of the moderate leaders were assassinated.

Perhaps in an attempt to reconcile with these dissenters, Yasser Arafat decided to provide support for the hijacking of a major cruise ship. The ship that was select was the Achille Lauro and what happen next would do more damage to the reputation of the PLO than anything that had happened previously. Together with operatives from the PLF, terrorists seized the vessel and took the entire ship hostage. In a cowardly and reprehensible act, members of the team shot to death a wheelchair-bound Jewish passenger named Leon Klinghoffer, and then dumped his body overboard. World response was swift, condemning, and slow to recover.

By 1988, Arafat had taken the diplomatic road one step further when he not only announced the right of the state of Israel to exist but renounced PLO terrorism. The perceived commitment to these ideals caused Israel to finally agree to serious talks with the PLO. The result of these discussions was that today the Palestinian people live under partial self-rule and seem on the way to obtaining the homeland they have yearned for years. In recent years, Palestinian youths have become disillusioned by what they perceive as the plodding nature of the PLO in regard to its pursuit of an independent Palestinian nation. Many of these followers have joined the either HAMAS or Hezbollah. On September 9, 1993, in letters to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Norwegian Foreign Minister Holst, PLO Chairman Arafat committed the PLO to cease all violence and terrorism.

On September 13, 1993, the Declaration of Principles between the Israelis and Palestinians was signed in Washington, DC. Between September 9 and December 31, the PLO factions loyal to Arafat complied with this commitment except for one, perhaps two, instances in which the responsible individuals apparently acted independently. Two groups under the PLO umbrella, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Hawatmeh faction (DFLP-H), suspended their participation in the PLO in protest of the agreement and continued their campaign of violence. Today, Yasser Arafat and the PLO participate in a tentative peace with the Israeli
government in an effort to stabilize tensions and establish a mutually acceptable resolution to the decades-old conflict.

**Decline (Collapse) of USSR**

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formally dissolved on December 25, 1991. This left all fifteen republics of the Soviet Union as independent sovereign states. The dissolution of the world’s first and largest Communist state also marked an end to the Cold War.

Circumstances:

- Leonid Brezhnev led the USSR from 1962-1982
- More of a Stalinist, than Khrushchev - refused to adjust Russia to modern times
- Yuri Andropov 1982-1984, could not get along with Regan, in power when KAL flight 007 was accidentally shot down, was convinced of an impending American Nuclear attack
- Konstantin Cherenkov 1984-85 - old, ill, dies!

The Accomplishments of the USSR to 1985

- Soviet system transformed Russia in 1917 from a backwards country into a superpower, with massive human costs
- Shared superpower status with the USA for 45 years
- Did make drastic improvements in the daily lives of citizens, famine and food shortages
- Became a developed nation - had education, medical services, life expectancy, etc.

Problems:

Economic Stagnation: by the 1980s, there was zero economic growth, development of the black market for consumer goods, could not produce enough grain, rationing of food, consumer goods were inferior, poor use of resources (Pipeline)

Military Spending: 15-25% of GNP, Americans spent only 5-7%, too much on guns, not enough on butter.

Political Stagnation and Corruption: Party officials lived a privileged life, they did not want reform when it was most needed.
Ideology: Command economy, complete centralized planning, individual initiative is replaced by quotas and threats.

Nationalism: 50% of the population was not Russian; the non-Russian ethnic groups would fuel the break-up in combination with economic problems and the unwillingness of the new Russian gov’t to turn guns on its own people, like they had before.

Mikhail Gorbachev

- Became the leader of the USSR in 1985
- Intentions were to reform Communism, he believed it could be reformed
- Different kind of Soviet leader, had a personality, charisma, was popular
- He got rid of many corrupt party officials, but at the local levels his reforms were either ignored, or not done. So not too much was accomplished.
- Chernobyl Nuclear Disaster 1986 - meltdown and radioactive leaks of the main reactor was a total embarrassment - Soviet technological incompetence
- Glasnost 1986 - meaning openness - encouraged open debate about issues - Newspapers were less censored - open review of Soviet History, Sakharov was freed from exile (built the H-bomb), Gorbachev denounced Stalin.
- He believed in democratizing communism, which would be better than capitalism
- Perestroika 1987: - Means restructuring - one ideology, one party, but needed flexibility in economy, not the Command Economy - Hungary’s and Czech’s mistakes, - wanted renewed détente, ignored the ethnic problems, but was now fully committed to reform
- Elected officials, the party was an obstacle.

6 Reasons for Soviet Collapse

1. Socialism failed economically - stagnation, no-reform efforts for years

2. Popular opposition and Nationalism killed the USSR
3. Competition with the West killed it - guns not butter, equality with the USA, but no $$$$- SDI

4. Conspiracy theory - Gorbachev knew he would bring down the system?

5. Party officials killed for personal gain

6. Boris Yeltsin - for personal power

Errors:

- Anti-Alcohol campaign lost government revenue from sales of Vodka
- Heavy investment in machinery did not produce results
- Glasnosta = hoarding of consumer goods by people
- growing deficit
- chose officials from loyalty, not like-mindedness = not always agree
- stayed in Afghanistan too long
- local officials would not cooperate
- Net production actually went down 9%

Towards Collapse:

- By introducing Perestroika and Glasnost, Gorbachev raised expectation very high, but would soon loose control.
- No clear directional ideological goals
- Strikes resulted in wage increases, increasing expectations, no way to pay.
- Problems between the reformers, and the hard-line Communists
- The public now was allowed to openly despise politicians, and listen to western music
- 1989 all the former Soviet Eastern Bloc countries broke away from the USSR
• More and more local government’s within the USSR were heading towards independence

• Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania all broke away, and Gorbachev would not send in the Red Army

• The more Gorbachev was willing to push reform, the less he accomplished

• He could not reform the fundamentals of the former Soviet State (Lenin, Stalin)

• By 1990, all major aspects of the USSR were gone - one party, one monopoly, etc...

• Gorbachev had become a social democrat - Marxism within a constitutional democracy

Boris Yeltsin

• His power was in the Russian Republic only

• Seen as popular, while Gorbachev was too linked in the old ways

• Yeltsin destroyed Gorbachev

The Collapse:

• The USSR did not explode, it imploded (from within)

• People did not care about politics, they wanted food

• Gorbachev was a hero internationally and a villain at home

• 1991, production declined 18%, energy was down 10%, deficit grew

• Gorbachev could not secure large foreign loans

Coup D'état:

• Gorbachev went south for a holiday (The Crimea)

• Conspirators tried to take over the government, poorly organized, did not arrest key figures, did not cut communication links

• With Gorbachev away, Boris Yeltsin became the focus
Yeltsin stood on a tank and rallied the people against the conspirators, covered by the media

The conspirators backed down

Gorbachev returns as the "lame duck" leader, Yeltsin has saved the day

The army lost much of its influence

Yeltsin then outlawed the Communist Party in the Russian Republic

The End of the USSR:

Dec 1, 1991, a vote for independence in the Ukraine (the most powerful republic)

This led to the creation of the CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States

Yeltsin created this to get rid of the USSR and Gorbachev

Christmas day 1991, Gorbachev signed the documents to create CIS.

EXERCISES

1. What is meant by ‘cold war’?
2. Explain Truman Doctrine.
3. What is Cominform?
4. Describe the significance of PLO
5. Why USSR declined?
UNIT-VI

DECOLONISATION AND NEO COLONIALISM

Decolonization signifies the surrender of external political sovereignty, largely Western European, over colonized non-European peoples, plus the emergence of independent territories where once the West had ruled, or the transfer of power from empire to nation-state. The historical process that this overarching term draws our attention to has not yet acquired an agreed definition among historians, but ‘decolonization’ usually means the taking of measures by indigenous people and/or their white overlords intended eventually to end external control over overseas colonial territories and the attempt to replace formal political rule by some new kind of relationship.

Citizens of the new nation-states, and their admirers, often prefer to speak of ‘national liberation’ rather than use the term ‘decolonization’ generally favoured by Western scholars. In itself, this reflects different views of what actually took place. ‘De-colonialism, would, perhaps, be a more neutral academic term. The rather forbidding term ‘decolonization’, used here because of its overall convenience and familiarity, appears to have been coined in 1932 by an expatriate German Scholar, Ortiz Julius Bonn, for his section on ‘Imperialism’ in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. It took 20 years to pass into more general currency and first features in a book title when Henri Labouret, a liberal French administrator, interpreted it as a natural climax of imperial rule whose arrival was being unwisely hastened by contemporary
pressures. 'Decolonization' will be used both in the general sense, as a historical movement which tended to encourage the removal of non-indigenous rule, and in relation to an ongoing historical process in particular colonial situations.

Strengthening of National Movements in Asian-African Countries

The period after World War II witnessed the rise of nationalism in several countries of Asia. Various factors contributed to this national awakening.

Causes for the Rise of Nationalism in Asia

In World War I, one of President Wilson’s Fourteen Points was the principle of self-determination of the people. This regulation brought about the independence of some countries like Poland. This principle filled the Asians with nationalistic and patriotic feelings. They then fought for the independence of their countries, more so, after World War II.

The Second World War weakened Western imperialism and inaugurated an era of decolonization. After World War II it became impossible for the European powers to cling to their empires. This process is known as "decolonization". It was a triumph of nationalism from the point of view of the Afro-Asian countries.

Japan’s initial victories in South East Asia exploded the myth of Western supremacy. A dwarf Asiatic nation like Japan managed to disrupt the Western domination over Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines all in the name of "Asia for the Asians". This Japanese wartime slogan produced a tremendous impact on the Asian colonies which soon began to burn with the fire of revolution.

During World War II, the "natives" of Asia, came into contact with Western culture and technology. Most Asian intellectuals realized the vast gulf of differences between their own people and the Westerners. They resolved to lead the kind of life led by the Western men, for which national independence was an essential pre-requisite.

The Labor Party in Britain became a strong enemy of imperialism and was anxious to pursue the course of decolonization. Similar movements began to occur in France and other European countries. This quickened the process of decolonization.

The Soviet propaganda was another factor. The persistent and militant demands of the subject people for national independence were fully backed and used by the Soviet Union to create trouble for its Western rivals in the "Cold War". The Soviet propaganda and Soviet arms were responsible for the triumph of communism in China, North Korea and North Vietnam.

After World War I, the United States sharply reacted against imperialism, and championed the cause of the natives and of the native government and the
Asian countries. The U. S. liberated the Philippines in 1946. In 1952, Puerto Rico was transformed into a self-governing democratic "Common-Wealth".

**FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH EAST ASIA**

The concept of Southeast Asia as a political entity developed during the period of Second World War. Before, the war this region had been seen as a distinct geopolitical area. The term Southeast Asia was first used when the Allied Powers decided to establish a separate Southeast Asian command in August 1943. Since then the term got currency and the region came to be treated as a distinct geographical unit. The term Southeast Asia used to describe the countries which lie between India China, Australia and the open expanses of the Pacific Ocean.

Diverse by race, religion and wealth Southeast Asia had one nearly common feature before the Second World War. With the single exception of Thailand, all were ruled by foreigners; the British, French, Dutch, American and Portuguese. During the World War II, most of the regions were occupied by the Japanese. The outstanding landmarks in the history of Southeast Asia during the postwar period are the fall of the Japanese empire, the restoration of European colonialism and the achievement of national independence during the Cold War.

**MALAYA-SINGAPORE.**

Malaya Peninsula could be regarded as one of the most heterogeneous and multi-cultures area in the South East Asian region. Malaya Peninsula was the second largest Colony of Britain in Asia after British India. It consisted of nine states, two British settlements and Singapore, a small island less than a mile distant from the mainland. Like many other South-East Asian countries, during the Second World War, it was also conquered by the Japanese imperial power. With the humiliating defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Malaya once again became a colony of British Empire.

After the reformation of colonial rule in Malaya peninsula in the early post Second World War years, the British colonial administration initiated massive changes in its oppressive colonial policy which aimed at perceiving some form of colonial structure in the country. The major intention of the colonialists was to create a class of elites who will remain as the major social base for the colonial rule. In January 1946, the arrangement for “Malaya Union”, excluding Singapore was announced. Singapore was separated from Malaya and made crown colony.

Singapore was separated from Malaya for three reasons. Firstly, three quarters of its population are Chinese; if Singapore was linked, reduce the Malaya to a minority. Secondly, while Malayan economy was not a liberalized economy and on the contrary Singapore was a fully opened economy based on free-trade. And thirdly, the British wished to retain the island as a military base. Singapore therefore followed a parallel constitutional development to that of Malaya. The British scheme for Malaya Union was not implemented due to popular agitation. Consequently, British formed the ‘Federation of Malaya’ in 1948, which was
accepted. Turku Abdul Rah man, the father of anti-colonial movement and the
most distinguished statesman of Malaya became its first president. In 1957 Britain
granted independence to the federation of Malaya. Singapore was made a self-
governing country under the terms of this agreement.

In 1959 Singapore became completely independent. Lee Kuan Yew- a
Cambridge educated lawyer and leader of the people Action Party- became its
Prime Minister. Malaya and Singapore were however, economically interdependent
and for geographical reasons it was considered that this should be linked together
politically. The plan for the union of the two countries was originally proposed by
Leekuan Yew to Abdul Rah man. On the basis of this, Malaya proposed the
creation of a federation of Malaysia. A referendum in Singapore supported the
plan and the people of Malaya backed it as well. Despite the opposition Indonesia
and Philippines, the Federation of Malaysia came in to being in 1963.

The next three years were a dangerous period for the Federation. The
merger of two countries generated serious problems, economic, religious and
racial. As a result the relation between the two were gradually deteriorated and the
intolerance and the distrust aggravated with the mounting tensions there exerted
a massive difference between the socio-economic development and the value of the
predominantly urban Singapore and traditional based agrarian Malaysia, Muslims
who constitute the majority of the Malaysian society and they were and in
contrast to Singapore whose people were highly modernized where religions had
only a marginal role in social life. Communal and racial riots eventually led
Singapore to withdraw from Malaysian Federation in August 1965. Singapore soon
emerged as a independent republic under Leekuan Yew. It became a well ordered
state with a democratic constitution.

Leekuan Yew, who headed the Singapore government for 31 years, developed
his policies on autocratic lines. His government was organized on the basis of one
party rule. His government was organized on the basis of one party rule. His
incorruptibility and almost puritanical zeal kept Singapore free from crime, drugs
and sexual crimes. Tight government planning and extensive social welfare system
helped the country to achieve great economic progress. Singapore became a
member of the United Nations and common wealth. In November 1990, Lee Kuan
Yew announced his retirement but he kept a watchful eye on the selection of his
successor Gohchok. He remains in the government as “Senor Minister” and staying
as General Secretary of the people’s Action party.

INDONESIA.

Indonesia, the largest country in South East Asia, witnessed a powerful anti-
imperialist revolution which finally led to its liberation. She had been under Dutch
rule by the end of the 17th century and known for more than two centuries as
Dutch East Indies. Nationalist uprisings against the Dutch rule began to take
place in the early decades of the 20th century. In 1927 the National Party was
organized with the aim of achieving independence.Dr.Sukarno and Dr.Hatta
emerged as the most distinguished leaders of the Indonesian movement for independence.

The nationalist leaders campaigned against the Dutch throughout the 1930s and many leaders including Sukarno were arrested. In 1942 Indonesia was occupied by the Japanese. They soon released Sukarno and other leaders and allowed them to play a part in the administration of the country, promising independence when the war was over. With the Japanese defeat in 1945, Dr.Sukarno proclaimed the independence of Indonesia not expecting any resistance from the Dutch, who had been defeated and their country occupied by the Germans. The Republic of Indonesia was formally proclaimed in Jakarta on 17th August 1945. However; Dutch troops soon arrived seeking to re-establish control over Indonesia. Fighting soon broke out between the forces of the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch, which lasted for 4 years.

In July 1947, the Dutch resorted to force and this came to be called the first police action. The brutalities of this action received the attention of UN Security Council, which subsequently arranged a ceasefire. The Dutch launched a second police action in 1948 which resulted in the arrest of Dr. Sukarno and Dr.Hatta. This second police action was again criticized internationally. The UN Security Council immediately issued another ceasefire order. There were demands in many countries of the world to put an end to the war in Indonesia. The United States suspended economic aid to the Dutch in Indonesia. India held a conference of Asian nations in New Delhi in January 1949 to condemn the Dutch repression and to support Indonesians in their struggle for independence.

The Netherlands finally yielded to the pressure of world public opinion and agreed to recognize the independence of Indonesia, excluding West Irion (West New Guinea). Sukarno on his part agreed to a Netherlands-Indonesia union under the Dutch crown. On 28 December 1949, power was officially transferred to the Indonesian government and the Dutch troops withdrew. Dr. Sukarno, the creator and President of Indonesia (who later came to be called Bung Kato meaning the Leader), soon broke away from the union and began to pressure the Dutch to hand over West Irion, seizing Dutch owned property and expelling Europeans. Eventually in 1963 Holland gave way and allowed West Irion to become part of Indonesia. With this the process of Indonesian independence was completed.

**INDO-CHINA.**

It was during the time of Emperor Napoleon III (1848-70) that France acquired the Chinese-held New Caledonia, Cochin-China, and Cambodia. She had a few trading centers and colonies in India also. Here empire in Indo-China (1893) began to spread when her Prime Minister, Jules Ferry, undertook an expedition to the Far East. He succeeded in getting the consent of the Chinese government for the establishment of a French Protectorate over the two decades the French Empire in Indo-China further expanded at the expense of two nations – China and Siam. France and Britain came to settlement
regarding their mutual spheres of influence over Siam in 1896. Three years earlier to this event France had established a union of Indo-China.

During the Second World War Japan compelled the French Vichy Government to permit her to use Indo-China as a base for her military operations. In 1944, the American forces aided by the Chinese forced the Japanese to retreat and that how France regained her colony of Indo-China. However, her troubles were not yet over in this part of the world. The success of Japan in this part of the world during the war inspired a group of revolutionaries called Vietminh’s. Their great leader was Ho Chi Minh. He started a national movement to liberate the area held by France. The French controlled puppet government led by Bao Dai in Annam was toppled and Ho Chi Minh installed an independent Republic of Vietnam. Subsequently, the French reestablished their control over Cambodia and Laos. Feeling strong, they decided to recapture the northern cities held by the Vietminh forces. But the Vietminh forced led by Ho Chi Minh launched a long guerilla warfare to expel the French despite the stiff resistance offered by 400,000 French-troops. The war seemed unending and terribly expensive for the French who had no hopes of winning. The climax came when the Vietminh forces captured the French stronghold of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. A settlement was arrived at the Geneva Conference, in 1954 that North Vietnam (separated by 17th parallel) should be under the control of the Vietminh and South Vietnam to be under the Bao Dai government temporarily pending the following election for the whole country, in 1956. France set up independent monarchies in Cambodia and Laos whose territorial integrity and sovereignty were to be respected by all countries as per the Geneva agreement.

Bao Dai became unpopular and was forced to go into exile. He was succeeded by the President Nago Dinh Diem who had the full backing of the Government of the United States. It may be noted that the U.S.A.was alarmed at the spread of communism in South-East-Asia and determined to contain it at all cost. The regime of Nago Dinh Diem became extremely unpopular for its cruelty and corruption. He refused to hold elections in 1956 as per the Geneva agreement and in this he was supported by the U.S. government. Had elections been held Ho Chi Minh would have undoubtedly won? Disgusted at the attitude of Nago Dinh Diem, the nationalists in South Vietnam formed the National Liberation Front (NLF) and sought the assistance of the Vietminh forces to liberate the country. It exercised its control over certain areas in South Vietnam with the support of the people. The Diem’s regime became very unpopular and he was murdered in 1963. The Government of South Vietnam was led by weak military rulers who were supported by the United States Government. The prevent South Vietnam from falling into the hands of the Viet Cong (soldiers of the NLF), the American Government carried on a proxy war. Presidents Johnson and Nixon got their feet dragged into this quagmire and unfortunately they could not perceive that the NLF supported by the Vietminh was waging a war of liberation. The Americans could not see the end of the tunnel and finally signed a peace agreement with the Hanoi government in
January 1973. With the withdrawal of American Advisers from South Vietnam, the Saigon government had no chances of survival. It fell into the hands of communist forces (North Vietnamese) in April 1975.

**BURMA/MYANMAR.**

During the World War II, a desperate Burmese nationalist group led by Aung Sang left Burma and took military training in Japan. They hoped to expel the British with the Japanese assistance. When Japan conquered Burma during the Second World War, they set up a puppet government. Aung San became the Minister of War. After the Japanese retreat from Burma, Aung San crossed over to the British side to enable them to re-conquer Burma. When the British were reluctant to grant freedom to Burma, Aung San formed a political party to agitate. After the Labor party came to power in Britain in 1945, it was decided to grant independence to Burma. Assassinations of Aung San and several other leading politicians followed Britain granted independence to Burma and she became a republic in January 1948.

**National Movement in Africa**

After the Second World War nationalist movements in Africa quickly gained momentum. This was largely due to the war itself, and its effects. Many thousands of Africans had fought in the Allied armies, expanding their outlook and their knowledge of international affairs; and the war had been to some extent an antiracist war - against the racist governments of the Axis powers. And many more Africans had by now received the beginnings of a modern education and begun to take an interest in political matters. In many parts of Africa outstanding leaders arose - such men as Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Sékou Touré of (French) Guinea, Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast.

Moreover the status of the two great colonial powers in Africa - France and Britain - had changed, and also their attitude to colonialism. France had been defeated, and after the war soon had serious troubles in her south-east Asian colonial empire, which she abandoned altogether in 1954. Britain had withdrawn from her Empire in India in 1947, and British opinion was becoming favourable to political concessions towards self-government in her colonies and protectorates.

The first moves came in the north. After their withdrawal from south-east Asia the French were faced with nationalist unrest in Morocco and Tunisia which they were unable to subdue, and both were granted independence in 1956 - the year in which the British left the (Egyptian) Sudan to be an independent nation.

The greatest blow to France, though, was a Moslem revolt in Algeria, regarded as part of France, and where there were over a million European settlers. For four years, 1954-58, huge numbers of French troops were sent to Algeria to crush the rebellion, but failed to do so. In 1958 the French government decided to negotiate, whereupon the settlers and French military leaders in Algeria seized
power. To restore the situation de Gaulle came back, on a wave of public enthusiasm, to govern France. But the war went on; and in 1962, with the approval of a referendum in France, the independence of Algeria was accepted. Nearly a million settlers moved to France.

Meanwhile France had launched, in 1958, a “Community of African nations” to include all the remaining French territories in Africa. (De Gaulle had probably hoped that Algeria would fit into this.) In the Community each state was to be self-governing, but closely linked to France in foreign, strategic, financial and economic affairs. The following became members: Senegal, Gabon, Chad, Congo, Central African Republic, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Benin (Dahomey), and Malagasy (Madagascar)*. Guinea did not join, and became independent. Two years later all members of the Community became fully independent - whereupon six of them withdrew from the Community (Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, and Benin).

The organs of government in the Community later dropped into abeyance, but French influence remained dominant. The ex-mandates Togo and Cameroon also became independent in 1960, and remained territories associated with the Community. French Somaliland became a "territory associated with France" and fully independent as the Republic of Djibouti in 1977. In all these ex-French African states, except those in North Africa, French is still an official language - and it is also much spoken in ex-French North Africa.

The first Negro state to gain independence was the British colony, the Gold Coast, which became independent Ghana in 1957 under the leadership of Nkrumah (and the British part of the Togo mandate was added to Ghana). The other British possessions in West Africa - Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia - followed between 1960 and 1965. (Gambia took the name "The Gambia" after independence.)

Progress towards self-government and eventual complete independence was probably smoother in these West African states where there were few white settlers than it was in some of the climatically more salubrious territories in East Africa, where there were significant numbers of Europeans and Asians who were apprehensive of their future under African rule. For instance, in Kenya there were some 40-50,000 whites, about the same number of Arabs, and nearly 200,000 Indians or Pakistanis who had originally been imported for work on railway building. Nevertheless, between 1960 and 1964 independence was granted to all the British possessions in East Africa: British Somaliland (which was united with ex-Italian Somaliland to form the new state of Somalia), Tanzania**, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, and Zambia. In Kenya Britain had been confronted during most of the 1950s by a terrorist Organization, the Mau Mau, and a Kikuyu secret society expressing resentment against the European settlers and against the restrictions on allotment of land to Africans.

In South Africa the British protectorate of Bechuanaland became independent Botswana in 1966; and two other tribal territories - Basutoland and
Swaziland - which were surrounded by the Union of South Africa and had become British protectorates in 1868 and 1902 respectively, also gained independence, Basutoland (as Lesotho) in 1966, Swaziland in 1968. In 1960 the Union of South Africa became a republic, and in 1961 withdrew from the British Commonwealth. The former British colonies and protectorates Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland all remained in the Commonwealth.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia was more difficult. Britain’s plans for her independence with majority rule (in effect African rule) were bitterly opposed by most of the ¼ million or so white settlers. Failing to reach any agreement on the question, the white Rhodesians in 1965 declared Rhodesia to be an independent Dominion, within the Commonwealth. Negotiations and discussions - and internal troubles - continued for 15 years, until in 1980 Rhodesia became the independent African nation Zimbabwe - staying in the British Commonwealth. The remaining territory in southern Africa, South West Africa or Namibia, is still administered by South Africa, which would like to incorporate it into the republic - against the ruling of the United Nations.

Belgian Africa. The Congo Free State became independent Zaire in 1960. Rwanda and Burundi were detached from it, and became separate states in 1962. The Portuguese were reluctant to give up their African empire; but in all three colonies - Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau (Portuguese Guinea) - they were faced with continuous warfare from the early 1960s onwards against the guerillas of African resistance organizations. In 1974-75 Portugal abandoned the struggle, and all three became independent.

Spain granted independence to Spanish Guinea in 1968 - under the name Equatorial Guinea; and in 1975 the Spanish Sahara came under the joint control of Morocco and Mauritania. So, between 1951 (Libya) and 1980 (Zimbabwe) colonial Africa ceased to exist. Instead there were (apart from Egypt, Ethiopia*** and South Africa) 43 independent countries, of which only one - Liberia - had been independent in 1950; and the unsolved problem Namibia.

*Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory, Benin and Guinea are parts of what was French West Africa; Gabon, Chad, Congo and Central African Republic parts of what was French Equatorial Africa.

** Tanzania consisted of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. They were granted independence separately; but in Zanzibar the African majority rebelled against and overthrew the Arab Sultan and elected to join with Tanganyika.

***The ex-Italian colony of Eritrea was joined, by a United Nations decision, to Ethiopia in a federation, and was later (in 1962) incorporated in Ethiopia as a province of that country.

Impact of the emergence of Asian and African Countries as independent nations
• Afro-Asian Unity. The establishment of Afro-Asian Unity was due to the emergence of countries of Asia and Africa and independent nations. It aimed at sorting out mutually common problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

• Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung. The newly independent Asian and African countries came closer to each other for safeguarding their newly acquired independence. This led to Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung (Indonesia) in 1956. This was attended by 73 Asian and 6 African countries.

• Emergence of Non-Alignment Movement. It was another achievement of newly independent Afro-Asian countries. These non-aligned countries opposed the cold war and armament. The First Non-Aligned Countries’ summit was held at Belgrade. India played a significant role to form unity in Asia and Africa.

• Common Understanding on World Affairs was developed especially on the question of independence of nations which were under foreign rule and were struggling for independence.

South Africa—Struggles against Apartheid

Apartheid, the Afrikaans name given by the white-ruled South Africa’s Nationalist Party in 1948 to the country’s harsh, institutionalized system of racial segregation, came to an end in the early 1990s in a series of steps that led to the formation of a democratic government in 1994. Years of violent internal protest, weakening white commitment, international economic and cultural sanctions, economic struggles, and the end of the Cold War brought down white minority rule in Pretoria. U.S. policy toward the regime underwent a gradual but complete transformation that played an important conflicting role in Apartheid’s initial survival and eventual downfall.

Although many of the segregationist policies dated back to the early decades of the 20th century, it was the election of the Nationalist Party in 1948 that marked the beginning of legalized racism’s harshest features called Apartheid. The Cold War then was in its early stages. U.S. President Harry Truman’s foremost foreign policy goal was to limit Soviet expansion. Despite supporting a domestic civil rights agenda to further the rights of black people in the United States, the Truman Administration chose not to protest the anti-communist South African government’s system of Apartheid in an effort to maintain an ally against the Soviet Union in southern Africa. This set the stage for successive administrations to quietly support the Apartheid regime as a stalwart ally against the spread of communism.

Inside South Africa, riots, boycotts, and protests by black South Africans against white rule had occurred since the inception of independent white rule in 1910. Opposition intensified when the Nationalist Party, assuming power in 1948, effectively blocked all legal and non-violent means of political protest by non-
whites. The African National Congress (ANC) and its offshoot, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), both of which envisioned a vastly different form of government based on majority rule, were outlawed in 1960 and many of its leaders imprisoned. The most famous prisoner was a leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, who had become a symbol of the anti-Apartheid struggle. While Mandela and many political prisoners remained incarcerated in South Africa, other anti-Apartheid leaders fled South Africa and set up headquarters in a succession of supportive, independent African countries, including Guinea, Tanzania, Zambia, and neighboring Mozambique where they continued the fight to end Apartheid. It was not until the 1980s, however, that this turmoil effectively cost the South African state significant losses in revenue, security, and international reputation.

The international community had begun to take notice of the brutality of the Apartheid regime after white South African police opened fire on unarmed black protesters in the town of Sharpeville in 1960, killing 69 people and wounding 186 others. The United Nations led the call for sanctions against the South African Government. Fearful of losing friends in Africa as de-colonization transformed the continent, powerful members of the Security Council, including Great Britain, France, and the United States, succeeded in watering down the proposals. However, by the late 1970s, grassroots movements in Europe and the United States succeeded in pressuring their governments into imposing economic and cultural sanctions on Pretoria. After the U.S. Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986, many large multinational companies withdrew from South Africa. By the late 1980s, the South African economy was struggling with the effects of the internal and external boycotts as well as the burden of its military commitment in occupying Namibia.

Defenders of the Apartheid regime, both inside and outside South Africa, had promoted it as a bulwark against communism. However, the end of the Cold War rendered this argument obsolete. South Africa had illegally occupied neighboring Namibia at the end of World War II, and since the mid-1970s, Pretoria had used it as a base to fight the communist party in Angola. The United States had even supported the South African Defense Force’s efforts in Angola. In the 1980s, hard-line anti-communists in Washington continued to promote relations with the Apartheid government despite economic sanctions levied by the U.S. Congress. However, the relaxation of Cold War tensions led to negotiations to settle the Cold War conflict in Angola. Pretoria’s economic struggles gave the Apartheid leaders strong incentive to participate. When South Africa reached a multilateral agreement in 1988 to end its occupation of Namibia in return for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, even the most ardent anti-communists in the United States lost their justification for support of the Apartheid regime.

The effects of the internal unrest and international condemnation led to dramatic changes beginning in 1989. South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha resigned after it became clear that he had lost the faith of the ruling National Party (NP) for his failure to bring order to the country. His successor, F W de Klerk, in a move that surprised observers, announced in his opening address to Parliament in February 1990 that he was lifting the ban on the ANC and other black liberation parties, allowing freedom of the press, and releasing political prisoners. The
country waited in anticipation for the release of Nelson Mandela who walked out of prison after 27 years on February 11, 1990.

The impact of Mandela’s release reverberated throughout South Africa and the world. After speaking to throngs of supporters in Cape Town where he pledged to continue the struggle, but advocated peaceful change, Mandela took his message to the international media. He embarked on a world tour culminating in a visit to the United States where he spoke before a joint session of Congress.

After Prime Minister de Klerk agreed to democratic elections for the country, the United States lifted sanctions and increased foreign aid, and many of the U.S. companies who disinvested in the 1980s returned with new investments and joint ventures. In April 1994, Nelson Mandela was elected as South Africa’s first black president.

**Nelson Mandela & South Africa**

In the early 1930’s, South Africa emerged from the British Empire into nationhood; from the onset, however, South Africa was undemocratically ruled by a white minority which immediately began to curtail the rights of non-whites. The stripping of the civil rights of non-whites culminated in 1948 with formal implementation of a racial “apartheid,” meaning apartness. Under the constraints of apartheid, non-whites (but especially blacks) were the subject of a systematic program of discrimination. Non-whites were confined to segregated communities, as economic hardships followed, black communities soon turned into slums. Non-whites were forced to use separate public facilities, which were frequently, if not always, inferior to those of their white counterparts. Non-whites were stripped of their rights to vote. Finally, interracial dating and marriages were strictly forbidden. Then, in 1960, the National Party outlawed all opposition groups and as a result many groups and organizations which were opposed to apartheid were forced underground. One such group was the African National Congress which was founded by Nelson Mandela. In 1964, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage and treason.

Over twenty-five years later, however, increasing international pressure, including harsh economic sanctions from both the United States and the United Nations, forced change from within the National Party. In 1989, F.W. de Klerk of the National Party was elected president on the platform of apartheid reform. In February 1990, de Klerk legalized opposition parties and freed Mandela; and in the 1992 national election, white South Africans (as the elections were still segregated) voted overwhelmingly to end the apartheid. During the next national election the forty-six year reign of apartheid ended when over twelve million (12,000,000) South Africans (including, for the first time, blacks who makes up nearly 75% of the nation’s population) cast their vote for Nelson Mandela to become the nation’s first black president. Although de Klerk was outvoted by Mandela by nearly four-fold, he retained a position within the transitional government as deputy president, a position which he held until 1996 when a new constitution, which forbid discrimination on the basis of race, gender, age, or sexual orientation, was ratified.
Though South Africa has emerged from the shackles of apartheid, the nation is still gripped with many critical problems including the outbreak of the AIDS virus, a recovery from the economical ruin and abandonment and at the hands of the since lifted economic sanctions whose effects still linger, and ending the self-perpetuating circle of violence which has beset the nation.

**Neo-colonialism**

Neo-colonialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalization, and cultural forces to control a country (usually former European colonies in Africa or Asia) in lieu of direct military or political control. Such control can be economic, cultural, or linguistic; by promoting one's own culture, language or media in the colony, corporations embedded in that culture can then make greater headway in opening the markets in those countries.

The term "neocolonialism" was first coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first post-independence president of Ghana, and has been discussed by a number of 20th century scholars and philosophers, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Noam Chomsky.

"Neo-colonialism" is a term used by post-colonial critics of developed countries' involvement in the world. Writings within the theoretical framework of neocolonialism argue that existing or past international economic arrangements created by former colonial powers were or are used to maintain control of their former colonies and dependencies after the colonial independence movements of the post–World War II period. The term neocolonialism can combine a critique of current actual colonialism (where some states continue administrating foreign territories and their populations in violation of United Nations resolutions) and a critique of the involvement of modern capitalist businesses in nations which were former colonies. Critics adherent to neocolonialism contend that multinational corporations continue to exploit the resources of post-colonial states, and that this economic control inherent to neocolonialism is akin to the classical, European colonialism practiced from the 16th to the 20th centuries. In broader usage, neocolonialism may simply refer to the involvement of powerful countries in the affairs of less powerful countries; this is especially relevant in modern Latin America. In this sense, neocolonialism implies a form of contemporary "economic imperialism" that powerful nations behave like colonial powers of imperialism, and that this behavior is likened to colonialism in a post-colonial world.

**OIL WARS/POLITICS**

Control over oil resources was the central objective of the Arab countries after the independence. The development of Arab oil consciousness has been divided into 4 periods.

1. The initial period (1859 to 1950). During this period the countries of the region did not have any control over the oil industry or oil business. The
production and marketing of oil was totally controlled by the Western companies during this stage.

2. Consciousness Period (1950-1970). The period witnessed massive political developments in the region such as the growth of nationalism and the end of colonialism. Countries started collective bargaining. The formation of OPEC (1960) and APEC (1968) were the major developments in this period. This strengthened the control of producing countries over the industry.

3. Take off Period (1970-’73). The political interventions for the control of oil industry and direct control of producing countries over the companies were the major developments in this period. Countries started using their power very confidently in this period and challenged the companies and their home states.

4. Oil Revolution (1973). The Arab Israeli war in 1973 and the United States military help to Israel in the war were the immediate causes of oil revolution. It has a clear link with the developments of 1960’s. Oil politics has developed through different stages. In the first stage oil-producing countries demanded sharing of profit on the basis of selling price. In the second stage they demanded the royalty also on the basis of selling prices. The Royalty had been given to the producers on the basis of posted prices till that time. Since the posted price was very low, compared to selling price, the producing countries used to get very less share of income from their oil resources.

Arab countries got remarkable achievements in the oil industry by 1970, but they could not use the possibilities of oil as a political weapon. It is the Ramadan war of 1973 which revealed the importance of oil in the day to day concerns of Arab people.

The amazing equation of political power and energy and the use of energy with political aim were the major aspects of the Arab oil revolution of 1973. They used this commercial commodity as an instrument of diplomacy. The oil weapon was used in different levels. Oil Embargo, nationalization of Oil industry, cut in oil production and sharp increase in the price of oil were the major measures taken by the Arab countries. The US financial and military aid to Israel provoked the Arab states. They declared oil embargo over US and other countries that helped Israel in the war. The Kuwait summit of OAPEC in 1973 demanded complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. It imposed blockade over the US shipments, until they stop pro Israeli politics, Saudi Arabia free zed the US assets in that country. Libya nationalized all foreign oil companies in its soil. This resulted in the rapid increase of oil price from 1.77 Dollar per Barrel to 3.05 Dollar and to 7 Dollar per barrel within few months. The cut in oil production created scarcity of oil in international oil market and sharp increase of the price. As it is evident, the developments related to oil revolution were more political than economic. Oil became a double edged weapon which shook the west on industries as well as political Leadership. Japan shifted its pro-Israel policy. Western countries were forced to change their indifferent attitude towards the Palestine question. This gradually led to the negotiations between Israel and Arabs.
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was originally created by the Breton Woods Conference as part of a larger plan for economic recovery after World War II. The GATT's main purpose was to reduce barriers to international trade. This was achieved through the reduction of tariff barriers, quantitative restrictions and subsidies on trade through a series of different agreements. The GATT was an agreement, not an organization. Originally, the GATT was supposed to become a full international organization like the World Bank or IMF called the International Trade Organization. However, the agreement was not ratified, so the GATT remained simply an agreement.

The functions of the GATT have been replaced by the World Trade Organization. What is the purpose of GATT? According to the Preamble of GATT, the objectives of the contracting parties include,

- raising standards of living
- ensuring full employment
- a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand
- developing the full use of the resources of the world
- expanding the production and exchange of goods.

The Preamble also states the contracting parties' belief that “reciprocal and mutually advantageous arrangements directed to the substantial reduction in tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce” would contribute toward these goals. Importantly, “free trade” is not the stated objective of GATT.

The role of GATT in integrating developing countries into an open multilateral trading system is also of major consequence. The increasing participation of developing countries in the GATT trading system and the pragmatic support provided to them through the flexible application of certain rules helped developing countries to both expand and diversify their trade. It could now be said that a great number of these countries have already become full partners in the system as can be witnessed by their active participation in the Uruguay Round. The task of helping to integrate further the least-developed countries is one of the challenges that lies ahead in the WTO. Similarly, the full integration of countries with economies in transition into the trading system must be achieved in order to strengthen economic interdependence as a basis for greater prosperity and world peace.

These negotiations were critical to ensure the future health of the world economy and the trading system. The globalization of the world economy over the past decade has created a greater reliance than ever on an open multilateral trading system. Free trade has become the backbone of economic prosperity and development throughout the world. Partly as a result of this, there has been a shift in trade policy mechanisms from border measures to internal policy measures, substantially affecting the management of trade relations. The Uruguay Round sought to establish a new balance in rights and obligations among trading nations as a result of this phenomenon. We are gradually moving towards a global marketplace, and for that, we need a global system of rules for trade relations among partners in that marketplace.
The challenges that we face are therefore enormous. The only way back from this globalization in the world economy would be through depression and eventual chaos. We therefore have no choice but to move forward. In doing so, however, we must be sure to preserve to the highest extent possible the spirit and tradition of the GATT, which to a large extent was the key to its success.

**World Trade Organization (WTO)**

The World Trade Organization or WTO was formed in the year 1995. The main goal of WTO is to help the trading industry to become smooth, fair, free and predictable. It was organized to become the administrator of multilateral trade and business agreements between its member nations. It supports all occurring negotiations for latest agreements for trade. WTO also tries to resolve trade disputes between member nations.

Multi-lateral agreements are always made between several countries in the past. Because of this, such agreements become very difficult to negotiate but are so powerful and influential once all the parties agree and sign the multi-lateral agreement. WTO acts as the administrator. If there are unfair trade practices or dumping and there is complain filed, the staff of WTO are expected to investigate and check if there are violations based on the multi-lateral agreements. If the offending country is found guilty of violations, sanctions are levied.

To become a member of WTO is very important. It only means that a member country automatically becomes part of the "Most Favored Nations." Having the status of being one of the "Most Favored Nation" gives access to discounted tariffs and lesser trade barriers, excessive regulations and import quotas that are all the privileges of WTO's members. These privileges pave way to bigger market for the members' products which results to more sales, more jobs and better economic growth.

More than 75% of the members are ranked as developing countries. Through their membership with WTO, they can easily penetrate the market of developed countries at lower tariffs. At the same time, developing countries are also lessening tariffs in their import market. By doing this practice, developing countries are using the chance to develop their corporations and industries into more mature and sophisticated kind until they become competitive to the market of developed countries.

**Four Steps to Become a WTO Member**

1. The interested country should submit an application to become a member. A committee of any member country can review this application.
2. The interested country then makes negotiations on bilateral agreements on trade with any country it prefers. The content of these agreements will apply automatically to all members of WTO.
3. The review committee of WTO creates a draft of the terms and conditions of membership which takes account of the necessary changes in its current trade policies.
4. Two-thirds of the member nations should vote that the interested country can become a part of WTO. After the voting, the new member must ratify the membership agreement.
If a country is not yet a member of WTO, they can opt to become the "observers" where they must apply for membership within five years of being an observer.

The highest decision-making committee of the WTO is known as the Ministerial Conference which meets biennially. All the members of WTO attend this conference. The last Ministerial Conference was held in Geneva from November 30 to December 2, 2009.

**Role of WTO in Globalization**

1. WTO plays an important role in the principle of trade without discrimination in the free market trade.
   - **Most-favoured-nation (MFN): treating other people equally.** Under the WTO agreements, countries cannot normally discriminate between their trading partners. Grant someone a special favour (such as a lower customs duty rate for one of their products) and you have to do the same for all other WTO members.

2. **National treatment: Treating foreigners and locals equally.** Imported and locally-produced goods should be treated equally — at least after the foreign goods have entered the market.

3. **Freer trade - gradually, through negotiation:** Lowering trade barriers is one of the most obvious means of encouraging trade. The barriers concerned include customs duties (or tariffs) and measures such as import bans or quotas that restrict quantities selectively.

4. **Predictability - through binding and transparency:** With stability and predictability, investment is encouraged, jobs are created and consumers can fully enjoy the benefits of competition — choice and lower prices. The multilateral trading system is an attempt by governments to make the business environment stable and predictable.

5. **Promoting fair competition:** The WTO is sometimes described as a “free trade” institution, but that is not entirely accurate. The system does allow tariffs and, in limited circumstances, other forms of protection. More accurately, it is a system of rules dedicated to open, fair and undistorted competition.

6. **Encouraging development and economic reform:** The WTO system contributes to development. On the other hand, developing countries need flexibility in the time they take to implement the system’s agreements.

**IMF—International Monetary Fund**

The IMF, an international organization with 184 member countries, was established in 1944 to promote international monetary cooperation, exchange rate stability, and orderly exchange arrangements; and to provide temporary financial assistance to countries to help ease balance of payments adjustment. Based in Washington D.C. the managing director (traditionally a European national) is Dominique Strauss Kahn; the Fund currently has 2,693 staff from 141 countries; and 75 countries owe the Fund around $34 billion. Its operations include surveillance (of member countries economies and the global economy), technical assistance and financial support. The latter is provided in the form of loans to which conditions are attached.

The nature of the financial and organizational relationship a member state has with the IMF is determined by its quota, which is set when the country joins the Fund. The quotas are assigned as SDRs, the unit of account at the IMF, and
are determined using a formula which takes into account the size and characteristics of a country's economy. The amount the member contributes, can potentially borrow and the number of votes allocated to it are determined by the quota.

The USA has the largest quota which affords their representative 16.83 per cent of the total votes - as a majority vote of 85% is required to make some decisions (including changes to voting rules) the USA has veto over some types of IMF decision; the 25 EU member states have 31.4% of votes (France, Germany and the UK have a combined vote of 15.64% giving veto power over some decisions); by comparison the combined vote of the 47 African Nations is just above 6%.

**Lending**

The IMF lends to member states which enter into balance of payment difficulties i.e. the country cannot reasonably finance its international debt payments. The profile of IMF lending, over time, varies sharply. Due to the nature of the reason for loans the highest volume has been during times of international financial instability, for example: the oil price shocks that occurred in the 1970s; the debt crisis of the 1980s; the economic transition of the former socialist countries, in central and eastern Europe and central Asia, in the early 1990s; or the wave of exchange rate and financial crisis in the second half of the same decade.

The process of lending involves the drafting of a "letter of intent" by a country’s government in conjunction with the IMF - the letter of intent must then be accepted by the IMF’s executive board. The letter contains the economic policy and structural adjustment conditions a country's government has agreed to fulfill in order to obtain the loan. As the Fund sometimes acts as a lender of last resort in crisis situations, governments are often not in a position to decline or negotiate conditions. Conditions attached to loans have been criticized as being too specific in their requirements, not tailored specifically to a country's needs and often damaging to governments' social programmes which impact the poorest in society most.

There are a number of 'instruments' through which countries can borrow money, they include the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) and the Exogenous Shock Facility (ESF), which make loans available to low-income member states at a concessional rate of interest. PRGFs were established in 1999 to replace Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facilities (ESAFs) with the official aim of making poverty and growth more central to the Fund’s lending. ESAFs had been criticized for their restrictive conditionality and detrimental effect on poverty; however PRGFs have come under similar criticism for imposing strict conditions especially in the area of public expenditure.

The ESF provides loans at short notice for countries to solve balance of payments or other macro-economic problems caused by external shocks to the economy, for instance, a sudden rise in the oil price. Poor countries are often severely affected by external shocks and protection mechanisms, such as building up foreign exchange reserves, are often unavailable to these countries.

Other lending instruments include: Stand-By Arrangements (SBA); the Extended Fund Facility (EFF); the Supplemental Reserve Facility (SRF); and the Compensatory Financing Facility (CFF). Loans via these instruments are made at
non-concessional rates. The price, known as "the rate of charge," determined by the Special Drawing Right (SDR) interest rate which is adjusted on a weekly basis to account for fluctuations in international money markets.

**Surveillance**

Surveillance can otherwise be described as monitoring and consultation and its aim is to monitor world economic developments while encouraging international dialogue over the effects of member states' domestic economic policy. The IMF periodically undertakes Article IV consultation reports for individual member state assessing strengths and weaknesses of their financial systems. Global and regional surveillance results are published in to biannual publications the World Economic Outlook and Global Financial Stability Report - the former is a more general overview of the world economy, the latter focuses on the financial sector and capital markets.

**Technical Assistance**

The third component of IMF activities is technical assistance which any member state can obtain free of charge. Around three quarters of technical assistance goes to low or low-middle income countries and there is a high level of activity in post-conflict countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Fund provides technical assistance in many areas including, but not exclusively, macroeconomic, fiscal (government spending and taxation) and monetary policy; exchange rates; and financial and macroeconomic statistics.

**GLOBALIZATION–IMPACT ON THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

**Globalization**

The term globalization was used in 1983 by Harvard Economic Review. The concept became popular in the early 1980s. The process of globalization started with the emergence of the capitalist market in the 16th century. What we witness presently is a continuation and culmination of that process. It is also viewed as new post cold war ideology. This ideology justifies the rule of hegemonic structure of global power which wants to establish the monopoly of a powerful country over resources of the whole world.

**Features of Globalization**

1. Integration of national economy to the world economic system.
2. Elimination of technical obstacles like distance and time by means of revolutionary technological advances in transport and communication.
3. Abolition of trade barriers between states and liberalization of capital markets, which allows them to go anywhere they find higher returns.
4. Provide wider access, but not equal access for everyone.
5. Standardization and homogenization of production.
6. The erosion of the autonomy of the nation state.
7. The new global order would be managed by a set of global institutions; they would be served by experts who do not have problems of representational accountability of a democratic state.
8. Global institutions would be set up and controlled by the world’s most powerful countries (G8). They would guarantee peace and order to the whole world.
9. The monopoly of violence and its technology will be withdrawn from a large number of individual responsible national states. They are mainly located in the
southern hemisphere. The responsible and civilized democracies of the north would monopolize and control violence. It is claimed that this will eliminate international wars and alleviate poverty wherever it exists.

10. Market fundamentalism. There is nothing that market cannot do. Pricing every thing from air and drinking water to education and healthcare is considered essential for ensuring rationality, quality and efficiency. Market efficiency is preferred over social security. Everything else is subordinated to finance capital.

11. Labour loses its power in several dimensions. There will be numerical decline of organized workforce, weakening of trade union, politically rightward turn of social democratic parties which shift to neo-liberal market oriented policies.

12. Use of English as global language.

13. Production across the frontiers of states and continents.

**IMPACT ON THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

The neo-liberal policies of globalization are put into practice by imperialism using the global institutions of WTO, IMF, and World Bank. Most of the third world countries are already in a debt trap and are unable to pay even the interests of the loan they have taken form IMF, World Bank and other private banks of industrialized countries. The WTO has further made more problems through its agreements on TRIPS, TRIMS, and agreement on agriculture. The new round of talks of WTO is proceeding with an agenda on investments, labour standards and subsidies on agriculture. The WTO agenda favours the industrialized west and is against third world development.

The agenda of globalization insists on a regime of liberalization and privatization. Liberalization means removal of government restrictions on export, import and investments. Import tariffs should be reduced. This will hit the industries and agriculture in India which cannot compete with the highly subsidized western goods which are cheaper. In agriculture, the highly subsidized agricultural products of USA, European Union and Australia will destroy Indian agriculture and affect the livelihood of millions. Liberalization has already hit most of the industries which have closed down unable to compete with cheaper imports. Privatization meant government owned industries and infrastructure should be dismantled. In India even a disinvestment had been created for this purpose. Another problem is the reduction in government expenditure which in effect is reduction in spending for social sectors like health, education, and transportation. In effect conditions are created for making third world countries captives of markets for multinational companies. The consumer culture created causes a permanent drain for third world economies. Gradually the third world becomes mere appendages of global capitalism and leads to Americanization of the non industrialized countries.

The economic breakdown of nations creates problems for all sections of people. It causes unemployment and under employment, destruction of agriculture and industry. It has questioned even the relevance of the nation state in the coming decades. It also led to the thinking that ‘There is No Alternative’ (TINA).But recently struggle against globalization has started with the slogan ‘Another World is Possible’. World Social Forum (WSF), had its inception in Brazil in 2001, is the major organization in this struggle.
The WSF is a broad camp of multiple kinds of movements. None of these dominates the situations, but talk to each other and collaborate to the degree they can. It is an open forum inspiring political action. Initially the WSF focused on the inequalities of the global economic and trade regimes. Later it included new themes like women’s problems and battle against forms of exclusion based on descent, ethnicity and race at its meeting in Mumbai during February 2004. WSF is considered to be a movement and a rallying point for people around the world. It is considered as a counter to the World Economic Forum. It reflects the realization that new-liberalism on a global scale needs to be opposed by a worldwide resistance to that process. Globalization as a process sets to impose on nations and peoples across the world a set of policies that integrate their markets. This process leaves little room for countries to remain sovereign and to preserve the sovereign will of the people.

EXERCISES
1. Describe the National Movement in Asia and Africa.
2. Write a short on African National Congress
3. What is Apartheid?
4. Explain Neo-colonialism.
5. What is GATT?

SYLLABUS
MODERN WORLD HISTORY FROM AD 1500
Course 2 - WORLD IN CRISIS

No. of credits: 4
No. of contact hours per week: 6
Aim of the Course: To present the major incidents and movements that led to the First and Second World Wars and to enable the student to understand the background of the present era and the need for preserving peace.

UNIT I - Antecedents
• Nationalism in Europe - Emergence of Italy and Germany as unified nations.
• Meiji Restoration in Japan - Russo Japanese war.
• Imperialism - Scramble for Africa
• Intrusion of Imperialists into China - impacts - Boxer Rebellion - Chinese Revolution of 1911.

UNIT II – First World War
• Aggressive nationalism - Balkan crisis - Fashoda crisis.
• Alliances among countries - Europe in two blocks - race for armaments - incidents leading to the war.
• War technology
• Fourteen points
• The victors and the vanquished
• Paris Peace Conference and Treaties
• The League of Nations

UNIT III – Between the World Wars
• The Russian Revolution - establishment of the USSR - Comintern
• Dictatorships - Fascism in Italy - Nazism in Germany - Totalitarian rule in Spain and Portugal - dictatorship in Turkey.
• Outbreak of the Second World War - fundamental causes - incidents leading to the war - Allied powers and axis powers - war technology.

UNIT IV: Preparations for World Peace and the UNO

• Scars of the World War
  • Conferences during the war - Atlantic Charter - Washington Conference- Potsdam conference - end of unity among allied powers - San Francisco Conference and the foundation of UNO.
  • Organs of UNO and their functioning - specialized agencies of UNO.
  • Attempts at arms limitation-International Atomic Energy Agency- Disarmament Decade - Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty- SALT- Helsinki Conference (1975) - CTBT.
  • Appraisal of the working of UNO.

UNIT V: Cold War

• Origin
  • Containment of Communism - Truman Doctrine - Marshal Plan.
  • Cominform
  • Division of Germany
  • Emergence of communist China
  • Military Pacts
  • Suez Crisis
  • Korean war
  • Vietnam war
  • Liberal Government in Cuba
  • Cuban missile crisis
  • Arab-Israeli Conflicts - Palestine Liberation Organization
  • Decline of USSR and the end of Cold War.

UNIT VI: Decolonization and Neo Colonialism

• Strengthening of National movements in Asian-African Countries.
  • Freedom struggle in Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia and Myanmar
  • National movement in Africa - Egypt - Algeria - Ghana - Congo - Forces against the unity of African nations.
  • South Africa - African National Congress - Struggles against Apartheid
  • Neo-colonialism - Oil wars - Multi National Companies - colonizing the intelligence - GATT, WTO - IMF.
  • Globalization - Impact on Third World Countries.

Readings:
Amesto Phillipe Fernandez: *The Millennium*

Arreghi. G.: *The long 20th Century*

Beard Michael: *A History of Capitalism*


Fanon. F: *Wretched of the Earth*

Fanon. F: *Black Skin white masks*

Ferrow Marc: *Colonialism: A Global History*

Field House. D.K: *Economics and Empire*

Hazen.C.D : *Europe Since 1789*

Hobsbaum E.J.: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*

Hobsbaum E.J.: *The Age of Revolution*

Hobsbaum E.J.: *The Age of Capital*

Hobsbaum. E.J: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.*

Hobson. J: *Imperialism*


Lichtheim George: *A Short History of Socialism*

Panikker. K.M: *Asia and Western Dominance*

Rodeniy. W: *How Europe under developed Africa*

Trotsky Leon: *History of the Russian Revolution*

Wallerstain Emmanuel: *The Modern World System*

Ania Loomba: *Colonialism/Post Colonialism*

Breeher. M: *The New States of Asia*

Calvorressi Peter: *World Politics Since 1945*

Carr. E.H: *Between the Two World Wars*

Fleming. D.F: *Cold war and Origins*

Hall G.D.H.: *A History of South-East Asia*
Halle. L.J: *The Cold War As History*

Hobsbaum. E.J: *The Age of Extremes*

Raymond Aron: *Peace and War*

Seaman. L.C: *From Vienna to Versailles*

Smith Antony: *Nationalism*

Vinacke Harold. M: *A History of Far East in Modern Times*

Young Robert. J.C: *Post Colonialism.*