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TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - II

TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD HISTORY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the 6th Core Course in the Second Semester of MA Programme in History. The title of this course is Twentieth Century World. The cournse contains a total of 15 units. The course is designed to make the learners familiar with World History and the general trends in the 20th century that has made tremendous impact on humanity.

The first Unit is titled *Legacy of Nineteenth Century* which discusses the various socio-economic and political phenomenon that arose in the 19th century and left a legacy behind.

The second, third and fourth Unit titled *World Order upto 1919, World War I and World War I and its Aftermath* **r**espectively discusses the causes, events and the consequences of the WOrld War I.

The fifth Unit *World Between the Two Wars* discuses the condition in Europe during the time period between two World Wars.

The sixth unit *The Great Economic Depression and Europe* throws light on the impact of the Economic Depression in Europe.

The seventh Unit *Nazism and Fascism* discusses the rise of dictatorship and its impact in Europe.

The eighth unit *World War II* discusess the causes, events and effect of the World War II.

The ninth unit *United Nations Organisation* discusses the formation of a global bosy as a result of the War and its activities.

The tenth unit titled *Communist Revolution* discusses the irise of Communism in China and its larger impact.

The eleventh unit *National Movements and Democracy* throws light on the various nationalist movements tand the fight for democracy hat erupted post World War II.

The twelfth unit *Cultural Change* discuses the emergence of new ideas and ideologies in various spheres.

The thirteenth unit *Cold War and its Effects* discuses the origin of the Cold War and its effects across the globe.

The fourteenth unit titled *Age of Progress* discusses the rights movements across Europe for individual liberty and for the protection of collective rights.

The fifteenth unit *Disintegration of Socialist Block and End of Cold War* reflects on the breaking down of USSR and its various impacts.

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you

may find some boxes marked with: “LET US KNOW”. These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with “ACTIVITY” will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit.

UNIT 1: LEGACY OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Growth of Capitalism and Imperialism

- UK
- France
- Japan

1.4 Liberalism and Socialism

1.5 Nationalism

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.8 Further Readings

1.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- Explain the main trends that shaped the nineteenth century world,
- Discuss the growth of movements centred around political ideologies and its impact across the world, and
- Analyse the economic trends -capitalism that has transformed the state and society in different ways and how it continues to influence the politics of the world.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, this is the first Unit of the Paper 'Twentieth Century World' and in this Unit we will be taking a step back in time and look into the developments that occurred in the 19th century which has left a profound mark in all spheres of our lives, that transcends all boundaries.

In this Unit, we will be basically trying to understand the growth of Capitalism and Imperialism in Europe. We will make an attempt in unboxing the major trends that set in with the growth of capitalism and Imperialism. The politics of that time is well reflected in the growth of the ideas of liberalism and socialism. Nationalism was a major development of the 19th century with far reaching impact.

1.3 GROWTH OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Capitalism is a modern economic concept which became prominent after the industrial revolution. In the pre-industrial period there was merchant Capitalism, i.e., merchant class accumulating capital through trade. The history of capitalism has diverse and much debated roots, but full-fledged capitalism is generally thought to have emerged in north-west Europe especially in the Low Countries (present-day Flanders and Netherlands) and Britain in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Capitalism, also called free market economy or free enterprise economy, is an economic system, dominant in the Western world since the decline of feudalism, in which the means of production are privately owned and production is guided and income distributed largely through the operation of markets. Capitalist institutions existed in the ancient world and flourishing pockets of capitalism were present during the later European Middle Ages.

Capitalism is a result of industrialization and establishment of personal or group proprietorship on industries. The development of railways, roads and modern transport strengthened Capitalism. In France and Russia, railway expansion intensified capitalism. The tariff policy of the European governments also led to rise of capitalism. Governments imposed high tariffs on foreign goods in order to protect native industries. Capitalist mode of production led to the rise of monopoly system. Capitalism thrives on the blood and sweat of the toiling workers. Imperialism and wars are the ultimate consequence of capitalism. Marxist economists view the whole basis of capitalism as illogical, oppressive and unjust. World War I marked a turning point in the development of capitalism. After the war, international markets

shrank, the gold standard was abandoned in favour of managed national currencies, banking hegemony passed from Europe to the United States, and trade barriers multiplied.

The late 17th century saw the sparks of interest in natural sciences and rational thinking flourished leading to an age of enlightenment. This dominated the 18th century and paved the way for a revolutionary era in politics, economy and the society. In the 18th century, with the advance of economic science, doubts arose about the mercantilist assumptions. The new economical thinkers attacked mercantilism, insisted on the labour basis of capital, and the relation between population growth and subsistence. The main economical thinking of the period was laissez faire or liberation/ freedom for the people to do what they will with no interference from the government.

Before 18th century mercantilism was considered as an important system and was essential for national security. But by then it was seemed unnecessary and unfavourable for the growth of the nation. The new economists through their writings tried to prove that a nation's wealth comes from farming and mining; that governmental restrictions on trade and manufacturing are unnatural and bound to react against the highest economic interest. The words 'laissez-faire' means 'don't interfere, the world will take care of itself', thus became the slogan of the new economic liberty. Francois Quesnay and the Physiocrats, were the first groups of economists who criticised mercantilism and pointed out that a nation's wealth not only comes from commerce but from farming and mining. The ideas of the Physiocrats encouraged the state to become liberal with their economic policies, pointing towards the important of agriculture as a true productive in nature, which gave a new hope and pushed the development of agricultural production. The changes in the methods of farming and stock breeding led to the increase of food production which sustains the increase of population. The people also could now sell off their surplus production for manufactured goods thus paving the path for industrial revolution and the development of modern capitalism. In writing on economics and the

principles based on laissez-faire the leading political economist were Adam Smith, David Ricardo, James Mill and Thomas Robert Malthus. Adam Smith is often taken as the prophet of free competition and self-interest and in particular for laissez-faire policies. In his book 'Inquiry into the Nation and Causes of the Wealth of Nation' he established a critique of mercantilism and stated the important of labour and its value. He supported a limited role for government in human affairs; arguing that its intervention was 'generally harmful'. Smith believed that the government should abolish all monopolies, all restrictions on trade, and all regulations of industry. He further pointed out that everyone should have the liberty to pursue his own economic interests, "led by an invisible hand" to promote the good of the whole nation without government interference. Malthus holds that government intervention was not only harmful but also useless, since large parts of the people were doomed to misery in any system. The basic purpose of the laissez-faire economy is to promote a free and competitive market that demands the restoration of the order and natural state of liberty that humans emerged from. A laissez-faire economy is thus characterised by the free movement of laws and force of supply and demand from any form of intervention by a government. This laissez-faire philosophy became more acceptable to the approaching industrial age and won the support of the industrialist and they influenced the authority to accept liberalism of economy for the state policies. What then happened in Europe was a historic shift to a fundamentally different type of economic system, the type known today as 'Capitalism". The economic liberalism brought a significant effect in the development of capitalism in Europe.

Capitalism, in a general way, is large-scale business organization by an individual or a group of individuals with wealth enough to acquire raw materials and tools, and to hire labour in order to produce more commodities for profit. Profit is a basic consideration in capitalism, and the status of an individual in society is measured primarily by his wealth. In the development of modern capitalism, we can distinguish two stages in mainly, the first stage was the commercial capitalism and the other

was the industrial capitalism. The discovery of new lands leads to the growth of worldwide markets and trade system. The European nations started to constitute their colonies, through which the merchants and manufacturers obtain their raw materials and sell their products into those colonies. With this rise of commerce and business, there grew a class of merchants, traders and financiers who sought profit and the states' financial policies provided them with opportunities to increase their trades. The mercantilism policies that the states were following during the period between 16th and 18th century are closely connected with the rise of commercial capitalism and it emerged primarily out of profits of trade and commerce. The commercial capitalism brought great change in the production methods, previous guilds were gradually shut down for industrial manufacturing for the needs of high demand of manufactured goods. This rising demand of manufactured goods fundamentally changed the way business was done at that time, opening up the road for larger factories to produce the manufactured goods. Thus the rise of commercial capitalism resulted into industrial capitalism. The increasing need of producing for commercial purposes and the growth of national and international trades prepared the ground for industrial capitalism, the most classic stage of capitalism.

- **UK**

The roots of capitalism in the UK can be traced back to the late medieval period, where the gradual decline of feudalism paved the way for the rise of market-based economies. With the emergence of a merchant class and the expansion of trade networks, the foundations of capitalist economic relations began to take shape. Key developments such as the enclosure movement, which privatized common lands, and the growth of market towns contributed to the transition from agrarian feudalism to a more market-oriented economy. However, it was the Industrial Revolution that marked a watershed moment in the growth of capitalism in the UK. Beginning in the late 18th century, this period of rapid technological innovation and industrialization transformed British society. Technological advancements

such as the steam engine and mechanized production methods revolutionized manufacturing processes, leading to the establishment of factory-based production and the concentration of capital in the hands of industrial capitalists. The Industrial Revolution also saw the emergence of new social and economic structures, as traditional agrarian societies gave way to industrialized urban centers. Urbanization, fueled by rural-to-urban migration and population growth, reshaped the demographic landscape of the UK. Meanwhile, the rise of wage labor and the proletarianization of the working class redefined labor relations and social hierarchies. Trade and empire played a crucial role in the growth of capitalism in the UK, as the British Empire provided markets for British manufactured goods and access to valuable raw materials from colonies. Colonial exploitation, including the use of forced labor and the extraction of resources, contributed to the accumulation of capital and the expansion of British economic interests overseas. Legal and institutional changes also facilitated the growth of capitalism in the UK. Reforms such as the Enclosure Acts and the repeal of protectionist regulations opened up new opportunities for capitalist enterprise and property rights. The establishment of joint-stock companies and the development of financial institutions provided avenues for investment and capital accumulation, further fueling the growth of capitalism. The growth of capitalism in the UK was not without its challenges and resistance. Workers, facing harsh working conditions and exploitation in factories, organized labor movements and strikes to demand better wages and working conditions.

- **France**

Let us try to understand the complex economic, social, and political forces that shaped its development. Historians have traced the evolution of capitalism in France from its early origins to its modern manifestations, examining key factors such as industrialization, urbanization, imperialism, and class conflict. One of the seminal works on the history of capitalism in France is "The Making of the French Working Class" by E.P. Thompson, which explores the emergence of a proletarian class in France during the

19th century. Thompson's study highlights the impact of industrialization on French society, documenting the experiences of workers in factories, mines, and urban centers. He argues that capitalism in France was marked by intense class struggle and resistance, as workers organized unions, strikes, and protests to challenge exploitation and inequality. Similarly, Fernand Braudel's "Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century" provides a comprehensive analysis of the long-term trends and structures of capitalism in France and other European countries. Braudel's approach emphasizes the importance of geography, culture, and institutions in shaping economic development, arguing that capitalism emerged gradually over centuries through a complex interplay of economic, social, and political factors. In "Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800" by Jean-Lois Flandrin and Peter Burke, the authors explore the material culture of capitalism in early modern France, examining how changes in consumption patterns, lifestyles, and social relations reflected the growth of capitalist relations of production. They argue that capitalism transformed not only the economic landscape but also the everyday lives of individuals and communities, leading to new forms of social differentiation and cultural expression. Another important aspect of the growth of capitalism in France is its relationship to imperialism and colonialism. Historians like Eric Hobsbawm, in "The Age of Empire: 1875-1914," have analyzed how French capitalism expanded overseas through colonial conquest and exploitation. Hobsbawm traces the economic motivations behind French imperialism, including the quest for raw materials, markets, and investment opportunities, and the impact of colonialism on French society and culture. The role of the state in promoting and regulating capitalism in France has also been a focus of historical inquiry. In "States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China" by Theda Skocpol, the author examines how state policies and interventions shaped the development of capitalism in France and other countries. Skocpol argues that the French state played a crucial role in facilitating capitalist expansion through infrastructure development, legal reforms, and social welfare programs, while also suppressing dissent and maintaining social order.

- **Japan**

One of the most significant impacts of industrial development in Japan was its transformation from a pre-industrial agrarian society to one of the world's leading industrial powers. During the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the Japanese government embarked on a program of modernization and industrialization, inspired by Western models. This included the development of infrastructure such as railways, telegraph lines, and ports, as well as the establishment of factories, mines, and modern industries. Industrialization brought about dramatic changes in Japan's social and economic structure. Urbanization accelerated as people migrated from rural areas to cities in search of employment in factories and other industries. This led to the growth of large urban centers like Tokyo, Osaka, and Yokohama, which became hubs of commerce, industry, and culture. The emergence of a wage labor force transformed traditional social relationships and hierarchies, leading to new forms of class consciousness and social conflict. The expansion of industry also had a profound impact on Japan's political and military power. Industrialization provided the economic resources and technological capabilities necessary for Japan to become a colonial power in Asia. The acquisition of colonies like Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria provided Japan with access to vital resources such as raw materials and markets for its industrial goods. Industrial development also fueled Japan's military ambitions, leading to its participation in conflicts such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and World War II. However, industrial development in Japan also had its drawbacks and challenges. Rapid urbanization and industrialization led to environmental degradation, pollution, and overcrowding in cities. The pursuit of economic growth at all costs often came at the expense of workers' rights, leading to labor exploitation, workplace safety concerns, and social inequality. And the capitalist class did nothing to consider their plights. It was only in1897 that the proposal for factory reforms were made for the first time. But it was only in 1916 that a measure in this regard was brought into force.

- **Imperialism**

The 19th century saw the rise of imperialism in Europe, driven by a complex interplay of economic, political, social, and technological factors. Imperialism, characterized by the expansion of a nation's power and influence through territorial conquest and colonization, became a defining feature of European geopolitics during this period. Economically, the Industrial Revolution played a crucial role in fueling imperialism. The industrialized nations of Europe sought new markets for their manufactured goods and sources of raw materials to sustain their growing industries. Colonies and overseas territories offered abundant natural resources, such as minerals, timber, and agricultural products, which could be exploited for profit. Additionally, European powers viewed colonies as lucrative markets for their manufactured goods, creating a cycle of economic exploitation and dependency. Politically, imperialism was driven by the desire for strategic advantage and geopolitical dominance. European nations engaged in imperial rivalries, competing for colonial territories and naval supremacy to secure their interests and extend their influence. The quest for territorial expansion was often justified by notions of national prestige, military power, and civilizing missions. Imperialism also served as a means of diverting domestic social and political tensions, channeling nationalist sentiments into overseas conquests. Socially, imperialism was fueled by ideologies of racial superiority, cultural superiority, and social Darwinism. European colonialists often viewed indigenous peoples as inferior and barbaric, justifying their subjugation and exploitation as a civilizing mission. This attitude was epitomized by the concept of the "white man's burden," which portrayed colonial rule as a benevolent duty to uplift and educate supposedly "backward" societies. Such ideologies provided moral justification for the brutal subjugation and exploitation of indigenous populations. Technologically, advancements in transportation, communication, and military technology facilitated the expansion of European imperialism. Steamships, railroads, and telegraph lines enabled rapid travel and communication over vast distances, facilitating the administration and exploitation of colonial territories. Improved weapons and military tactics

gave European powers a significant advantage over indigenous armies, allowing them to conquer and control vast territories with relative ease. The rise of imperialism in 19th century Europe had far-reaching consequences for both European societies and the colonized peoples. In Europe, imperialism contributed to the consolidation of nation-states, the growth of militarism, and the emergence of nationalist ideologies. It also fueled economic growth and industrialization, providing new markets and investment opportunities for European capitalists. However, imperialism also generated significant social and political tensions within Europe, as competing imperial powers clashed over colonial territories and spheres of influence. Imperial expansionism contributed to the outbreak of numerous conflicts and wars, including the Scramble for Africa, the Opium Wars in China, and the partition of Southeast Asia. For the colonized peoples, imperialism brought devastating consequences, including the loss of land, resources, and sovereignty. Indigenous populations were often subjected to forced labor, cultural assimilation, and violent repression by colonial authorities. Imperialism disrupted traditional social structures and economies, leading to widespread poverty, inequality, and social dislocation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name one economist who criticized mercantile capitalism.

.....

Q 2. State one common problem of capitalism in terms of work force.

.....

Q 3. When was the proposal for factory reforms made in Japan?

.....

1.4 LIBERALISM AND SOCIALISM

- **Liberalism**

Liberalism emerged as a multifaceted ideology in Europe during the

18th and 19th centuries, encompassing various philosophical perspectives and political principles. Derived from the Latin term *'liber'*, meaning 'free', liberalism is characterized by its advocacy for freedom in different spheres of life, including politics, economics, and society. It incorporates ideas from the Enlightenment era, laissez-faire economics, social egalitarianism, and capitalism. The concept of liberalism revolves around the pursuit of individual liberties and equality. It emphasizes the importance of allowing individuals to exercise their rights freely, without undue interference from the state or other societal institutions. Liberalism promotes the idea that individuals should have the freedom to pursue their own interests, make autonomous decisions, and participate in the political process. One of the foundational figures in the development of liberal thought is the 17th-century English philosopher John Locke. In his influential work "Two Treatises of Government," Locke argued against the notion of divine right monarchy, asserting that individuals are naturally free and possess inherent rights such as life, liberty, and property. According to Locke, governments are formed to protect these natural rights, and any authority that violates them loses its legitimacy.

Locke's idea laid the groundwork for philosophy and subsequent political movements. His emphasis on individual rights and limited government intervention became central tenets of liberal thought. Liberalism gained traction as a response to authoritarianism, feudalism, and other forms of political oppression prevalent in Europe at the time. Throughout history, liberalism has evolved and diversified, encompassing a wide range of perspectives and ideologies. From classical liberalism, which prioritizes individual freedoms and limited government, to social liberalism, which advocates for social justice and welfare policies, liberalism has adapted to changing social, economic, and political contexts. Liberalism has immense impact on modern political discourse and policymaking. Liberal principles have influenced the development of democratic governance, human rights frameworks, and free-market economics. Liberal democracies prioritize civil liberties, rule of law, and pluralism, fostering environments conducive to individual flourishing and societal progress. Moreover, liberalism has contributed to the advancement of social justice movements, including

women's rights, civil rights, and LGBTQ+ rights. By championing equality and tolerance, liberalism has challenged traditional power structures and promoted inclusivity and diversity. Liberalism encompasses a diverse range of philosophical ideas and political principles aimed at promoting individual freedom, equality, and societal progress. Rooted in the Enlightenment era and shaped by influential thinkers like John Locke, liberalism continues to shape contemporary debates and policies, serving as a cornerstone of modern democratic societies.

- **Socialism**

The changes in the society of Europe that was brought by modern age not only brought marked changes in the social, political and cultural life of the Europeans but there was a fundamental change in the economic life too. The rise of capitalism brought not only wealth to the capitalist class but it also formed a working class that was somehow left behind in their social status. Capitalism, along with making the European nation rich and wealthy also created a prominent social inequality. In the early years of 19th century a critique of the market driven capitalist economy had began. A new type of reform called socialism gained strength during the 19th century. Socialists argued that the people, whose labour made production possible, should share in industries' profits. Socialists believed that the government led and controlled by the people, should own and operate industry, transportation and services. The root of Socialism can be traced to the French Revolution, when all sorts of ideas for the reconstruction of the society were born. Francois Noel Babeuf also known as Gracchus Babeuf, a French political agitator was one of the first thinkers to advocate about nationalization of wealth, social equality and abolition of private property. A group of idealists, including Saint Simon, Owen, and Fourier propagated a social ideology of equality which is termed as Utopian Socialism. They recommended the voluntary formation of social groups into large, family like organisations, in order that the unit could live together. Their ideas were however too theoretical and idealistic to be carried out, but they influenced other to think about a society which is free from every defective of a capitalistic society.

Socialism means an economical system in which the economy is

controlled and regulated by the government so as to ensure welfare and equal opportunity to the people in a society. The main features of socialist economy are as follows:

- Collective ownership
- Economic, social and political equality
- Economic planning
- No competition
- Work and wages according to ability and needs but not market driven
- Maximum social welfare.

It was under Karl Marx, a German philosopher and economist, that the modern socialism was founded. Exiled from Prussia as a result of his political writings, Marx moved to London. In 1848, he and another German, Frederick Engel, published the 'Communist Manifesto'. Feeling that the utopian socialists were too idealistic they developed socialism into another dimension, naming their theory as 'scientific socialism'. Marx later wrote 'Das Kapital' which criticised capitalism by arguing that the working class should control a nation's economy and social conditions. Marx considered control of an economy to be a crucial issue of history. Under capitalism Marx said, only a minority of people who owned the means of production decided the social condition while the rest of the people, the majority workers, did not. Karl Marx and Engel through their works made an impassioned appeal to the workers of Europe to unite and bring up socialist society. The real test for this socialist model came with the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. The Russian revolution of 1917 appears to be one of the most important events since the great French revolution of 1789. After the downfall of the Romanovs, the ruling dynasty of Russia 1917, and the victory of the Bolshevists over their moderate Menshevists socialist, the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Uliyanov, better known as Lenin formed the Soviet government in Russia. The first challenge that Bolsheviks faced after coming to power was that of creating the new socialist society which they had preached for so long. The soviet

government however did not have any example to follow, since there was no any socialist government prior to Russia's, so they had to experiment with the country's economy and brought a matured planned economy into force. Lenin and his successor Stalin developed the various socialist plans for the creation of a socialistic society and economy. Nationalization and Five-year plans were started which gradually raised the prosperity of Soviet Union.

1.5 NATIONALISM

Nationalism was one of the most important factors that led to the path of decolonization. Many historians are of the view that it was the indigenous resistance and anti-imperialist struggle that led to independence. Nationalism is a political, social, economic ideology and movement characterized by the promotion of the interests of a particular nation especially with the aim of gaining sovereignty for its homeland. German, Italian, French, Japanese nationalism set an example for the colonial countries to start their own national movements. In the first decade of the 20th century the nationalists posed a challenge in Asia and Africa. They were encouraged by the ability of Japan, a small Asian country, to inflict a crushing defeat on Russia, a European power, in 1905. Some of the well known leaders of the national movements were Sun Yat Sen in China, Arabi Pasha in Egypt and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in India. The emergence of the western educated elite among the natives of the colonies led to the demand for democracy, self-government and national sovereignty. These nationalist movements of the colonial people determined the pace of decolonization. The First World War was another reason leading to the path of decolonization. These nationalist movements got their force from the situation created by the effects of the First World War itself. When the war began almost whole of Africa and many parts of Asia were under the European control and the European powers promised their colonies that they will be provided with more autonomy and freedom if they provide man power and resources to fight the war against their opponent. However after the war when the Europeans failed to provide freedom and the increased exploitation of colonies for raw materials, manpower and taxes further fuelled

the nationalist discontent. Nationalist movements and desire for freedom was further strengthened by the world wide Great Depression of 1929.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Name one nationalist of Egypt.

.....

Q 5. State one feature of socialist economic model.

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-



1.7 FURTHER READING

1. Vinacke, Harlod M. (2020). *History of Far East in Modern Times*, Revised Edition, Kalyani Publishers.
2. Clyde P. H. and Beers B. F., (1991), *The Far East: A History of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses*, 1830-1975, (6th Edition), Waveland Press
3. Ebrey, P.B. (2010). *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge University Press
4. Hsu,I. (1999). *The Rise of Modern China*. OUP
5. Shuyun, S. (2008). *The Long March: The History of Communist China's Founding Myth*. Anchor: USA



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Francois Quesnay

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Exploitation of the labour force

Ans. to Q. No. 3: 1897

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Arabi Pasha

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Collective ownership



1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Who was John Smith?

Q. 2: Name the author of "The Making of the French Working Class".

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Write short note on-

a. Laissez Faire

b. Liberalism and its impact

c. Features of Socialism

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the effect of capitalism in England and its consequences.

Q. 2: Explain the growth of nationalism as a result of Imperialism and the outcome of the nationalist movements in the colonies.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: WORLD ORDER UPTO 1919

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 The February Revolution of 1917

2.4 The Russian Revolution

2.5 Working of the Bolshevik Government

2.5.1 Lenin as the head of the Government

2.5.2 Stalin, the head of the Government

2.6 Wilson's Fourteen Points

2.7 Let Us Sum Up

2.8 Further Readings

2.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.10 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- Explain the world's political situation up to 1919,
- Analyze the background and causes of the February revolution and the Russian Revolution,
- Discuss the works of the Bolshevik Government and the achievements of Lenin and Stalin, and
- Asses the significance of Wilson's Fourteen Points regarding world peace.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the phenomenon of Capitalism, Imperialism, Socialism, Liberalism and Nationalism that marked the 19th century with far reaching consequences.

In this Unit, we will discuss the condition of some major powers in Europe, especially Russia and the world order upto 1919. The 20th century

is one of the most eventful phases in the history of the World. The first half of the century witnessed the epoch making events of history i.e., the Russian Revolution of 1905, the First World War in 1914, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the end of the Czarism in Russia following the Revolution of 1917. The Fourteen Points of President Wilson are also being depicted here.

2.3 THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION OF 1917

In February, 1917 a general strike was started in Russia against the Czarist Government, initially by the workers and turned into the Russian Revolution which overthrow Czarism in Russia. The Revolution successfully ended in March, 1917 and established a Provisional Government headed by Kerenesky.

For a long time the Russian people were unhappy with the despotic and inefficient Czarist regime. There arose several revolts against the Czar. People organized themselves by founding revolutionary organizations, called Nihilist and Anarchists, though failed to gain success. Revolutionary conditions developed vigorously in 1905 mainly due to the industrial development and the growing consciousness of the labor class, influenced by the Social Democratic Party. Though the Revolution of 1905 failed in its objectives, yet it shook the foundation of the great citadel of the Czarist regime and paved the way for the Revolution of 1917.

Like many other Revolutions of world history, there too were some political and socio-economic factors responsible for the outbreak of the February Revolution of Russia. We may discuss them as follows

The social condition in Russia was also deplorable as the entire system was based on inequality. The masses were poor, over burdened by tax, ignorant, hungry and miserable while the upper classes led a luxurious life. They had no freedom of speech and press. The Law too was not in their access. Even though serfdom was abolished, the condition of the peasants remained the same. They had small land holdings, primitive tools and methods of cultivation, and had no means to improve whatever small land they possessed.

In the meantime industrial development started in Russia with a great velocity and a great numbers of factories grew up. The peasants left their fields to join in the factories as labor with the hope of a better living. But to their dismay, low wages and long working hours made their lives even more dreadful. So they became more distressed and felt helpless.

Influence of the Intellectuals:

Then, the intellectual wave of the time brought consciousness among the people. Through the writings of writers and philosophers like Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky, democratic ideals entered into their minds. Socialism preached by Karl Marx exercised a magical influence on the way of thinking of the Russians. The ground for a great revolution was thus prepared. The people became eager and enthusiastic to fight against the injustice of the Czarist government. The Social Democratic Party continued its activities but in 1911, it was divided into two groups, i.e., the Bolsheviks (majority) and the Mensheviks (minorities). Lenin was the leader of the Bolshevik party and designed his planning for the revolution to end the Czarist regime. In 1912, Lenin started his paper “Pravda” in which he advocated for the Marxist ideology.

Political cause:

Politically Russia was in a chaotic condition in 1917. Czar Nicholas, the ruler of the country was a strong supporter of the Devine Right Theory and believed himself as the representative of God on the earth. He was inefficient and completely under the influence of his Queen and his minister Plehive who was against of any kinds of reforms. Like French Queen Marier Antoinette of 1789, Czarina Alexandra, the beautiful Queen of the Czar exercised tremendous influence on administration. Czar Nicholas was in the habit of consulting with the Czarina in all political matters, while the Czarina was under the influence of a monk named Rasputin (Gregory Efimovitch Rasputin), who was known as the “Holy Devil” for his notoriety. To a great extent he was responsible for the reactionary policy of the Czar. After the failure of the revolution of 1905, the Czar had to convene the parliament (Duma) to satisfy his people, which finally turned out as a reactionary instrument of the Czar’s arbitrary policy.

Outside Russia, the World's Political situation was like a volcano ready to be exploded. The whole world was separated into two hostile camps (one was headed by France and England and the other by Austria and Germany). In 1914, the First World War broke out and Russia joined hands with the Allies led by France and England. But the Russian entry into the War was a crowning act of folly on the part of Czar Nicholas II. The Russian armies suffered from the lack of proper equipment, munitions and supplies. At the same time the Russian generals did not understand the new technique of warfare developed by Germany and the result was disastrous. In the years 1915 and 1916, Russia had been badly defeated by the Central Powers on the eastern front. Thousands of Russian soldiers were killed, peasants were perished and about five million men were wounded at the end of the war. There was acute shortage of food and daily necessities of life.

It led to the growth of political discontent in the country. The Czar was held responsible for the disaster. When the Russian workers started strike in February, 1917, the army and people from other walks of life joined hands with the workers and thus the February (or March) Revolution formally began. On March 8, 1917, about one Lac revolutionaries went on strike in Petrograd. The hungry labors became violent. On March 10, an effective and complete strike was declared all over the country. The Czar then dissolved the Duma, which members joined in the revolt. On March 12, the revolutionaries occupied Petersburg (Petrograd). On the next day (March 13, 1917) Moscow was seized. The revolutionaries carried out *a coup d'état* and the Menshevik Party led by Kerensky formed a provisional government on March 14, compelling Czar Nicholas II to abdicate on March 15, 1917. Thus, the February Revolution closed an era of despotic rule of the house of the Romanov in Russia.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is 'Duma'?

.....

Q.2: What is 'Duma'?

.....

Q.3: What is 'Duma'?

.....

2.4 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is regarded as the most significant event in the annals of the history of the World. It brought significant changes in every spheres of Russian history, i.e., political, social as well as economic. It signified the beginning of a new kind of Governmental system in Russia, closing the era of autocratic Czarist rule. A dictatorship of the proletariat was set up which became a grand success under Lenin and Stalin. It also gave rise to Socialism in the World.

The February Revolution failed to satisfy the lower class people of Russia, as it only benefitted the middle class. The new provisional government was a coalition that represented three different parties of Russia. The President namely Prince Lvoff represented the liberal businessmen and landlords; Paul Milyukoff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs represented the Constitutional Democratic Party; and Kerensky, himself was the leader of the Socialist Party. The new Government had faith in the constitutional working system and introduced liberal reforms, such as freedom of speech, association, press and religion. But the government had to face some difficulties to carry on its agenda as it was a coalition of different political parties with different views. Besides, the Government wanted to continue the war while the Russian people wanted peace. There arose confusion everywhere. The liberal measures could not satisfy the revolutionaries who favored a total change of the political and economic situation of the country. The people had four major demands, viz., (a) ensuring peace, (b) giving lands to the cultivators, (c) bringing industries under the worker's control, and (d) granting equal rights to the non-Russian people living in Russia.

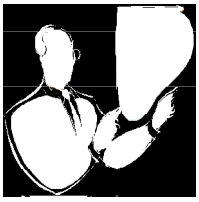
It was under such circumstances, that the Bolshevik party planned to put an end to the provisional government and to set up a government by the workers. Lenin, who had already organized secret Soviet Councils in towns and cities, came forward with his follower Trotsky. In November 1917, the Bolshevik party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky overthrew the Kerensky government and formed the first ever communist government in the world. This event is known as the Russian Revolution of 1917 or the Bolshevik Revolution.

The main cause behind the Revolution was that the Provisional Government under Kerensky failed to fulfill the demands of the people. It tried to prolong the war with greater zeal and renewed vigor, while the people craved for the return of peace. Kerensky himself proceeded to the front to encourage the soldiers. The decision to continue war exasperated the people on one hand, and on the other hand, it speeded the disintegration of the Russian army. Moreover, the Government failed to satisfy the agitating peasants. The Edict of Emancipation had vested the ownership of the land in the *Mir* (village community) and the peasants resented it very much. The peasantry did not have the resources to improve their age old and backward method of cultivation and the new Government too did nothing to transform this situation. At the same time, the Provisional Government did not disturb the huge estates of the landlords while they were demanding for a thorough revision of the Russian property-holding system. The agitated peasants then raised violent activities against their landlords. They lost confidence in the new regime and the ground was prepared for another revolution. Then, the proletariat too remained thoroughly dissatisfied and discontented, for none of their demands like cheap bread and better conditions of work were fulfilled by the Government. Capitalism in the industry continued with its full force as before and the workers did not get any control over it.

Thus, the Provisional Government of Kerensky was completely discredited and looked upon as no better than the Czarist regime. Russia was thus clearly at the threshold of another revolution.

At this juncture, Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik party, who was in exile in Siberia during the February Revolution, entered into the scene in

April, 1917. Under his leadership the Bolsheviks launched a vigorous propaganda with the slogan- “Peace, Bread, Land”. Their propaganda had a mass appeal. They put pressure on the Kerensky Government for granting lands to the peasants and equal rights to all nationalities residing in Russia. At that time the popular slogan of Lenin’s party was “all powers to the Soviets”, which provided the fighting forum of workers, peasants and soldiers. The provisional Government gradually lost popularity and ultimately on November 7, 1917, the All Russian Congress of Soviets successfully seized control of the government by violence under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. This Revolution is known as the ‘October’ or ‘November’ Revolution in history because the Revolution sprang up on 25 October according to the Old Russian calendar while it was 7 November of the common calendar.



LET US KNOW

Two of the great books of that time which prepared the mind of the Russian people for Revolution are "Mother" by Maxim Gorki and "Crime and Punishment" by Dostoevsky.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Which Revolution did ended the Czarist rule in Russia?

.....

Q.2: When Lenin did took the hold of the Russian Revolution of 1917?

.....

2.5 WORKING OF THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT

All Russian Congress of Soviets declared the formation of Bolshevik Government in Russia. Lenin became its Prime Minister and Trotsky was appointed as the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Lenin was the believer of the Marxian philosophy and tried to implement the doctrine of Marxian communism in Russia. His full name was Vladimir Lenin who was in the real

sense “the father of Bolshevism”. He introduced a federal system with all regions of Russia in 1922 which became known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, shortly as U.S.S.R. It united all the republics together under a system of federal government with absolute control by the communist party. The head of this party was Lenin and thus Lenin became virtually a dictator.

- **Lenin**

The main achievements of the Bolshevik Government led by Lenin can be discussed as follows:

Peace Negotiations:- For Lenin the first and foremost work of the Bolshevik government was to end war activities and to start peace negotiations with the Central Powers, as well as to concentrate on the pressing problems at home. Hence the Government immediately started peace negotiations with Germany. Trotsky, the foreign minister was authorized to perform this task. On December 15, 1917, a peace agreement was concluded with Germany at Brest-Litovosk, and three months later a treaty was signed between Russia and Germany on March 3, 1918 which came to be known as the Brest-Litovosk Treaty in history. According to the provisions of the treaty, Russia withdrew herself from the First World War and surrendered Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia and Estonia, along with Baium, Erivan and Kars in the Caucasus to Turkey. It has been estimated that about 37 per cent of her manufacturing industries, 75 percent coal and 73 percent iron fell into the hands of the Central Powers as a consequence of the treaty.

Reconstruction of Russia: - Lenin aimed to bring all of the political and economic institutions of the country under the control of the communist party. The Bolshevik party was renamed as the Russian Communist Party in March 1918. Lenin adopted the following measures to realize his goal:-

- **Making of the Soviet Constitution:** In April 1918, a committee was appointed for preparing the draft of a constitution which became ready in a short while, and in July, 1918, declared Russia “A Republic of a Soviet of workers, soldiers and peasants” and named as the Russian Federated Soviet Republic. This constitution remained operative till 1936 when it was replaced by a new constitution. The fundamental principle of the Soviet Constitution was to recognize

the rights of the workers on administration. The Soviets or the Councils of working men were established in every city and village, which selected their delegates to represent in the provincial Soviets. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets was chosen out of the members of the provincial Soviets. This national congress was the supreme body in organization. It elected the Central Executive Committee, which main function was to select members for the cabinet. It was the controlling body of the whole administration.

The system of election was based upon universal franchise with certain restrictions. All citizens of 18 years and above are granted the franchise on the condition that they should earn their living as productive worker. The family and relatives of the Czars, the nobility, the clergy and the middle class were deprived this right. Thus the whole set up of the administration was designed in communist line under the leadership of Lenin.

- **Administrative reforms**: - Lenin introduced a new system in the administration and abolished all traditional, social and economic institutions of Russia. He proceeded to reconstruct the entire national economy and passed a number of laws. It decreed nationalization of land and its distribution among the cultivators. His government ended private property in land, took the monopoly of the food grain trade, nationalized the factories, railways, mines, etc. Managing bodies of the working men were formed and the mills and factories were handed over to these bodies.

  Lenin also made the declaration of the rights of states on the basis of nationality. Thus, the right of self-determination was granted to those states which were under the dominions of Russia, viz, Lithuania, Finland etc.

  Next revolutionary step was taken regarding the Orthodox Greek Church which exercised great influence over the Russian people. The property of the church was confiscated and the right of imparting education was curtailed too.

- **Suppressive measures against opposition:**

The socialist measures of the Government provoked discontent amongst the landlords, businessmen, clergymen, capitalist industrialist as well as the republicans and the Mensheviks and the proletariats. The Government adopted repressive measures against the opponents. A special revolutionary court was established which was called the 'Cheka'. More than ten thousand people were sentenced to death by this court. In July 1918, Czar Nicholas II was shot to death along with his family. This terrible incident became known in history as the 'Red Terror'.

- **New Economic Programme of Lenin (N.E.P.):**

In order to revitalize the economy of the country Lenin proclaimed a "New Economic Programme" on July 1921. It was a series of economic reforms to bring political and economic stability to the country. It introduced many changes in the field of agriculture, industries, trade, commerce etc.

The key features of the N.E.P. were as following:-

- The requisition of food staffs from the peasants was abandoned. They were permitted to sell their produce in the open market and had to pay a fixed tax to the government.
- Private small scale enterprises were allowed.
- Restrictions were removed from the internal trade.
- Nationalization was applied only to big industries.
- The provision of compulsory labor was removed.
- Foreign investors were allowed to invest capital in Russian industries on the condition that they had to share the profits with the state.
- Strikes and lockouts were banned and strict discipline was imposed.
- A new currency was introduced on the basis of gold standard.

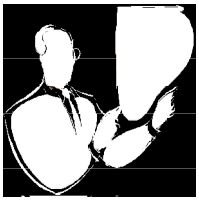
The N.E.P. stimulated production in both agricultural and industrial sector of Russia. It saved the Government from a great catastrophe that

was facing from the opposition of the new regime and Lenin achieved some success in his goal of attaining economic and political stability.

Lenin's Foreign policy:

From 1918 to 1921 Lenin's foreign policy was to promote world revolution by stirring up and aiding Communist uprisings all over the world. Lenin organized the Third International Commintern of the communists at Moscow in 1919. The Bolshevists denounced the imperialism of the Western Powers and Russia was remained isolated. But soon Lenin realized his blunder and decided to make some compromise with the Western countries. Thus an Anglo-Russian trade agreement was concluded in 1921 and with other eleven countries within the same year. As a result, before the close of 1924 Russia re-entered into the arena of world politics.

Through all these measures, Lenin had established the foundation of a new system. He was the real founder of the new Russia in the real sense. He was undoubtedly a great thinker, an efficient organizer, and able statesman, a farsighted politician and a gallant administrator. This great personality of history was died in January 21, 1924.



LET US KNOW

Lenin was called as the Father of Modern Russia. In order to revitalize the economy of the country Lenin proclaimed "New Economic Programme (NEP), a series of economic reforms that brought political and economic stability in Russia.

- **Stalin**

With the death of Lenin, there proceeded a bitter succession struggle between two great leaders of the party, namely Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky. Trotsky, the foreign minister, desired that the Soviet Union should take leading part in establishing socialism in other countries of the world. But Stalin held the view that the Union should concentrate on the development of Russia rather than attempt to dislodge capitalism from the whole world. Finally, by virtue of his hold on the party, Stalin was able to

remove Trotsky from the post of Minister of War. He was expelled from the party in 1927 and in 1929 was finally exiled to America. Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico in 1940. Thus Stalin became virtually the sole dictator of U.S.S.R. and remained in power from 1928 to 1953.

The Five Year Plan: Stalin discarded Lenin's N.E.P. in 1928 and introduced the scheme of Five-Year Plan. The main principles of the Five-Year Plane were the economic self sufficiency and elimination of private capitalism. The First Five Year Plan was put into operation for the period 1928-32, the Second for 1932-37, and the Third one for 1938-42. The First Five Year Plan mainly aimed at increasing the production of industrial goods and industrial machinery. A great numbers of huge factories, large plants, automobile and tractor plants and new blast furnaces were raised. Technical schools were established and the services of foreign expert secured.

In the field of agriculture it aimed at collectivization i.e., grouping small farmers together for collective farming on a co-operative basis. Effective steps were taken to mechanize agriculture.

Spread of education and eradication of illiteracy was it's another main objective. Compulsory education for all children up to the age of 16 was provided and schools were put under government's control.

Regarding religion, some severe measures were adopted. The church was separated, its property confiscated and clergymen were deprived of their franchise.

As a result of all these measures industrial products increased at an amazing rate. The pace of development was followed by other two Five Year Plans. The Second plan produced remarkable progress in the output of coal, steel, iron, power and plants, while the Third plan was geared to meet the requirements of war materials. Thus Russia emerged as one of the foremost industrial power in the world.

- **Stalin's Constitutional Reforms**: Stalin introduced some important modifications in the constitution framed by Lenin in 1918. In 1936 eleven republics had joined the Soviet Union. These republics were granted the right to separate themselves from the Union according to their will.

- **Stalin's Foreign Policy:** In foreign affairs, Stalin believed in collective security and peace. So he entered into an alliance with France and accepted the membership of the League of Nations in 1934. But he lost faith on France or England when they accepted Hitler's demand of Czechoslovakia and signed the Munich Pact in 1938. He therefore reversed his policy and concluded Non-aggression pact with Hitler. But when Hitler attacked Russia in 1941, he concluded a joint agreement with Churchill and Roosevelt to defeat Hitler. Stalin's army destroyed Hitler's imperial army in the battle of Stalingrad in 1943 which rang the death knell of Hitler and the Fascist power.

2.6 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

Wilson, the President of America was very keen to establish an enduring peace for the world. During the course of the war, Wilson made several speeches in which he appealed Germany to end war. He put Fourteen Points before Germany in which he had outlined the basis of a peace settlement on the principal of self-determination.

Wilson's Fourteen Points hold significant importance in shaping the post-World War I world order. Here's why they were significant: Wilson's emphasis on the right of self-determination for all nations was groundbreaking. It challenged the traditional imperialist notion of territorial conquest and laid the groundwork for decolonization movements worldwide. Wilson proposed the establishment of a League of Nations, an international organization aimed at maintaining peace and preventing future conflicts. Although the League faced challenges and ultimately failed to prevent World War II, it laid the foundation for later global governance bodies like the United Nations. Wilson advocated for open diplomacy, calling for transparent negotiations and an end to secret treaties. This principle aimed to promote trust among nations and reduce the likelihood of future conflicts arising from hidden agreements. Wilson's proposal to reduce military forces and armaments worldwide was a step towards demilitarization and fostering a more peaceful international environment. However, this aspect of the Fourteen Points faced resistance from some nations. Wilson's plan included

specific proposals for territorial adjustments based on ethnic and national considerations, aiming to address the grievances that had fueled conflicts in Europe. This approach sought to create more stable borders and mitigate nationalist tensions. Wilson advocated for free trade and the removal of economic barriers between nations. This vision aimed to promote economic interdependence and prevent the rise of protectionism, which had contributed to economic instability and conflict in the past. Wilson's Fourteen Points included provisions for addressing humanitarian issues, such as ensuring the fair treatment of colonial peoples and facilitating the repatriation of populations affected by the war. This reflected a growing recognition of the importance of human rights in international relations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: What is the full term of U.S.S.R?

.....

Q.4: During which period did Lenin's First Five Year Plan was put into operation?

.....

Q.5: What is the " Red Terror"?

.....



2.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt all about the circumstances leading to the February Revolution and the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the consequent changes it brought in the socio-cultural and politico-economic field of Russia as well as in the World politics. The Revolution uprooted the autocratic Czarist regime and established a Socialist dictatorship in Russia. It abolished capitalist economy, nationalized land and other instrument of production. Lenin's NEP and Stalin's Five Year Plan brought tremendous development in Russian economy. You have also seen how the foreign policy of the Bolshevik Government directly

affected the World Order of the period. Russia's surrender from the World War I weakened the Allies while Germany becoming more aggressive and America's President Wilson, most enthusiastic for an enduring world peace, put forward his famous proposal based on the principal of nationality and self-determination which is known as The Fourteen Points of Wilson.



1.7 FURTHER READING

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1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: The February Revolution.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: 7 November, 1917

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The full term of U.S.S.R. is Union of Socialist Soviet Republic.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: For the period of 1928-32.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: In July 1918, Czar Nicholas II was shot to death along with his family. This terrible incident became known in history as the 'Red Terror'.

1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS



A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Who was the Czar of Russia when the Russian Revolution of 1917 breaks out?

Q. 2: When the Brest-Litovosk Treaty was signed?

Q. 3: Write down Lenin's full name.

Q. 4: Who was Rasputin?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Why is October Revolution in Russia also known as November Revolution?

Q. 2: What were the main objectives of NEP?

Q. 3: What were the objectives of the Five Year's Plan of Stalin?

Q. 4: What were the main provisions of Wilson's Fourteen Points?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the effect of capitalism in England and its consequences.

Q. 2: Explain the growth of nationalism as a result of Imperialism and the outcome of the nationalist movements in the colonies.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 3: THE WORLD WAR I

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Origin of the War

3.4 Wilson's Fourteen Points

3.5 Peace Settlement

3.6 Origin of Socialist Order

3.7 Let Us Sum Up

3.8 Further Readings

3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.10 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- Explain the political condition of Europe before World War I,
- Discuss the factors responsible for the outbreak of World WarI,
- Discuss the peace-making process after World War I, and
- Explain the establishment of socialist order in Russia.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the condition of Europe prior to the beginning of the First World War. In this unit, an attempt will be made to examine the factors responsible for the outbreak of the First World War, the origin of the war, the nature of peace settlement, and the origin of the socialist order. The First World War was one of the most important and prominent events in modern world history and politics. The war gave birth to new ideologies, new international institutions, and new leadership in international politics. The world was totally devastated and transformed at the end of the war.

3.3 ORIGIN OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR:

The outbreak of the First World War was not sudden; it had its roots in past events. To conceptualise the origin of the war, we have to start with the unification of Germany and Italy and the subsequent change in international diplomacy and order. The war was the outcome of the complex interaction of imperial and colonial tensions that had been growing among the countries of Europe since the late 19th century. Rivalry among nations, greed for territory, economic rivalry, militarism, and the hunt for new colonies were some of the factors that caused the outbreak of the war.

The Franco-Prussian War was the last major war fought in Europe just before World War I. The war was fought between a number of German kingdoms and France. The defeat of France in 1871 resulted in the unification of German states and the establishment of the German Empire (Germany). In order to consolidate its place in European politics, Germany adopted a system of alliances with other nations of Europe. The alliance system transformed the diplomacy of Europe and led to the formation of two prominent rival alliances in Europe.

In the early 20th century, the situation in Europe was peaceful. For over 60 years, Queen Victoria was on the British throne, and some of her close relatives and descendants were married to the royal houses of different European nations. For example, one of the granddaughters of Queen Victoria was the wife of Tsar Nicholas II, and Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm, King George V, and Russia's Tsar Wilhelm were all first cousins. During the germinating period of the First World War, none might believe that close relations would involve in bitter military and armed conflict.

During this time, Western Europe looks prosperous. All aspects of societal life in Western Europe had been transformed by the Industrial Revolution with advanced industrial technology and production methods. Moreover, the development of transport networks such as roads, canals, and railways were making trade and commerce cheaper, along with transportation. The economic development and stability that resulted out of the Industrial Revolution helped governments to improve healthcare, sanitation and assistance facilities for the poor. The middle class all over

Europe fought for greater political freedom and rights and occupied higher positions in society. The working classes of Europe had also acquired some fundamental rights, especially they acquired the right to vote in Britain after 1867.

Behind all these prosperities, there were international and national tensions. There were rivalry and jealousy among some prominent royal families in Europe, despite close family ties. Uneven rates of economic development, the race to seize colonies, and the arms and military race were some prominent issues that resulted in rivalry among major European nations. The standard of living and the rate of economic progress were not equally distributed in Europe. The all-round impact of the Industrial Revolution on Britain and Germany was tremendous, but just the opposite happened with Eastern European nations such as Russia, the Balkan States, and Austria-Hungary. Due to the uneven distribution of economic growth, several families of the working class dwelled in cramped, unhygienic conditions or in urban slums. Women's suffrage was not allowed in Europe, and growing political movements divided the population along class and ethnic lines. Ruling elites were afraid of the growing influence of radical political ideas such as socialism, anarchism, and communism. Though Europe looked peaceful before World War I, beneath the cover, rivalries and tensions were growing rapidly.

- **Causes of the War**

The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand marked the beginning of the First World War. Ferdinand, nephew and heir apparent to the emperor Franz Josef, was shot dead by a Serb terrorist, Gavrilo Princep (a member of the Serbian secret society 'Black Hand'), at Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, on the 28th of June, 1914. The incident served as a pretext for war. The real causes of the war were hidden in the political and economic development and international diplomacy that took place on the international stage since the German unification.

During the late 19th and the first decade of 20th centuries, one after another alliance was formed by the European nations. How far are these alliances responsible for the war? From the German point of view, the France-Russia alliance supported by Britain was a conspiracy to encircle

Germany. For the British, the fastest industrial growth, rapid naval expansion, and aggressive diplomacy of Germany were threats to their supremacy. So, Great Britain felt the need for a defensive alliance. The Dual Alliance (1879) between Germany and Austria-Hungary marked the beginning of the alliance system. The aim of the alliance was to strengthen Germany against a probable French attack to recover Alsace-Lorraine. On the other hand, the alliance aimed to increase the power of Austria-Hungary against Russia. In order to consolidate own position against France in the struggle for colonies, Italy joined the Dual Alliance in 1882, and the alliance became the Triple Alliance. Italy left the Triple Alliance in 1915. Later Ottoman Turk and Bulgaria joined the group and it came to known as the **Central Power** and also known as the **Quadruple Alliance**.

Other European nations thought that the alliance was a diplomatic step to dominate Europe and an instrument to isolate other countries from each other. So they formed a counter-alliance to protect their interests. France and Russia entered into an alliance in 1893 to counter the triple alliance with Britain, with whom they have colonial conflict. The conflict of interest among France, Russia, and England was resolved soon, and they entered into an alliance. In 1904, the first entente between England and France was signed, and the Anglo-Russian entente was concluded in 1907. Eventually, these two ententes were merged to form the '**Triple Entente'**, also known as **the Allies**. In this way, Europe was divided into two rival alliances, which further degraded already embittered international relations.

The arms race among European powers was another factor responsible for the outbreak of World War I. 'The Supreme Warlord' Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany took measures to enhance the power of the naval force to support the land army. Soon, under the leadership of Grand Admiral Tirpitz, the navy became central to German foreign policy. England, the European naval superpower of that time, became suspicious of the increasing naval power of Germany as it was challenging its naval supremacy. England responded with the massive naval spending programme, which brought these two nations to the battleground. Another vital factor in this sector was that the Hohenzollern leaders were convinced that the rearmament programme of Russia would be finished by 1916, which could be a threat to German existence.

Nationalism also played a significant role in the outbreak of World War I. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, nationalism flourished across Europe. Many nations were trying to assert their independence and power, which fueled competition and tensions among European powers as all sought to expand territory and influence.

Slavic nationalism had a greater influence on the outbreak of World War I. Slavic nationalism believed that the people of the Slavic origin of Eastern Europe should have their own nation as they were significant and influential in the region. The Slavic nationalism, which opposed the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was strongest in Serbia. Disappointed and aggravated by Vienna's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, young Serb nationals enlisted themselves in radical nationalist groups like the 'Black Hand'. This Serb nationalism inspired the assassination of Ferdinand, which marked the beginning of World War I.

Most of the historians argued that the desire for economic control of the world led these countries to the world war and diverted their attention from means of production to the battle field. Regarding the course and result of the war, Norman Lowe and John Traynor quoted Leo Amery, a British imperialist, saying, "The successful power will be those who have the greatest industrial base. Those people who have the industrial power and the power of invention and science will be able to defeat others." Some historians opined that in order to establish economic hegemony all over the world capitalists and industrialists from Germany wanted war against Britain, who owns almost half of the tonnage of merchant ships in 1914. In order to blame the capitalist system for the war, this theory is supported by Marxist historians and scholars. On the other hand, this theory is opposed by some historians, who argue that Germany was almost on the way to economic triumph over other European nations. Norman Lowe quotes one of the leading German industrialist's opinions of 1913: "Give us three or four more years of peace, and Germany will be the unchallenged economic master of Europe."

The war broke out after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to Austria-Hungary's throne, by Gavrillo Prinzip, a member of the Slavic ultra-nationalist group of Serbia, on June 28, 1914. On July

23, 1914, Austria issued a taut ultimatum to Serbia, which included the demand for apologies, the suppression of anti-Austrian activities, and the inclusion of Austrian officers for conducting the inquiry of assassination. Serbia had little knowledge of the assassination conspiracy but politely responded to the Austrian ultimatum. Serbia agreed to comply with all of the demands, excluding the inclusion of Austrian officers in the inquiry process. The Serbian reply was unacceptable to Austria, so on July 28, 1914, she declared war against Serbia. Within two days of the declaration of war by Austria, Russia came to the rescue of Serbia and declared war against Austria on July 30, 1914. Russian participation instigated Germany to join the war in favour of Austria; Germany officially declared war on August 1 and 3, 1914, against Russia and France, respectively. Annoyed by the German war strategy to assault France by subduing Belgium, Britain declared war on August 4, 1914, to support France and Russia. The war was fought on several fronts in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The two prominent fronts were the Eastern Front, where the Russian forces fought against Austro-Hungarians and Germans, and the Western Front, where British, French, and American forces fought against the Germans. In the year 1917, two incidents completely altered the course of the war: the joining of the USA in the Allies camp and the withdrawal of Russian forces from the war after the Russian Revolution. The war was fought in the trenches and lasted until November 1918.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What was 'Black Hand'?

.....

Q.2: State the immediate cause of the outbreak of the World War I.

.....

Q.3: What marked the beginning of the alliance system?

.....

3.4 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS:

American President Woodrow Wilson played an important role in the Paris Peace Conference. Wilson's Fourteen Points were the main basis for the peace agreement concluded after the First World War. The historic importance of the Fourteen Points lay in the fact that it was on their basis that Germany agreed to surrender. Wilson presented the Fourteen Points for the first time in American Congress on January 8, 1918. In the book 'Europe in the 19th and 20th Century', E. Lipson mentioned Fourteen Points as follows:

- Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations.
- Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining such questions of sovereignty the interest of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government title is to be determined.
- The evacuation of all Russian territory.
- Belgium must be evacuated and restored
- All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace- Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made more secure in the interest of all.

- A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.
- The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
- Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated.
- The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the nationalities which are under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
- An independent polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by the undisputedly Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose economic and political independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

A general association of the nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

3.5 PEACE SETTLEMENTS

After the end of the war, a peace conference was held in Paris (1919–1921), which was more representative than that of Vienna (1815). Most of the nations were represented by their elected representatives. In this conference, the *big four* (Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau, and Vittorio Emanuele Orlando) played an important role.

- **The Treaty of Versailles:**

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) was signed with Germany. The Treaty can be regarded as a price which Germany paid for her defeat in the War. As per the treaty Germany lost a large part of her territory. The map of Europe was completely altered by the treaty. The terms of the treaty are as follows:

1. As per territorial clause Germany lost territory as follows:
   - She ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France
   - Malmedy, Eupen and Moresnet to Belgium
   - She lost North Schleswig to Denmark after a plebiscite.
   - Posen and West Prusia to Poland.
   - Lithuania got Memel from her.
   - The Saar was brought under the administration of the League of Nations for 15 years after which there would be plebiscite to decide whether it should belong to Germany or France.
   - Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were taken away from germany and declared as independent states. This was the example of the implementation of the principle of self-determination.
   - Germany and Austria were forbidden to have union.
2. African colonies of Germany were carried away and brought under the supervision of the League of Nation. Various members of the League look after them.
3. German armaments were reduced to a limit of maximum 100000 troops and six battleships only. Germany was refused to have conscription, tanks, armoured cars, military aircraft or submarines.
4. As per the war guilty clause Germany and her allies were blamed for the outbreak of the war.
5. A huge amount of war reparation was imposed upon Germany by the Allies. The actual amount to be paid by Germany was not decided at Versailles, but a reparation commission was formed, which announced the amount later in 1921 and fixed it at 6,600 million pounds.
6. An international organisation for peace and cooperation was to be set up, which later came to known as 'the League of Nations'.

Germany had raised objection against most of the clauses of the treaty but they had only one choice to sign the treaty. The treaty was signed in the hall of Mirrors, at Versailles, from where the formation of German empire was proclaimed almost 50 years before.

Germany protested against the treaty for several reasons. Germans were not included in the Peace Conference of Paris (1919) and the terms of settlement were decided by the victorious Powers. The treaty of Versailles was not a pact freely negotiated between the hostile powers but an instrument imposed upon defeated enemy by the conquerors. The German delegation was allowed to make observations on the draft settlement handed over to them. The opportunity was used by the Germans to protest against the terms of treaty. Some of the prominent objections launched by the Germans are as followed:

1. Several terms and conditions of the treaty were not based on the Fourteen Points of Wilson.
2. Germany launched complain against the lost of territory in Europe. Their complain was related with Alsace-Lorraine ceded to France and West Prussia to Poland.
3. Germany deeply resented the disarmament clause. German representative argued that 100000 troops were not sufficient to maintain law and order at a time of political crisis. Their pain multiplied when they came to know that no other powers intend to disarm on the basis of Wilson's point 4.
4. German delegation also expressed their resentment against the 'War Guilt' clause.
5. The terms and condition of reparation was the final humiliation of Germany. The amount of £ 6600 million gave an opportunity to the Germans to protest that it was no possible for them to pay.

- **Peace Agreement with Austria-Hungary**

At the end of the war, the Habsburg Empire disintegrated and different nationalities declared themselves independent. Austria and Hungary became separate nations and declared themselves as republics. The conference had to recognize and formalise what had already happened. Two different treaties were signed with Austria and Hungary.

- **The Treaty of St. Germain (September 1919)**

The treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria, which was separated from Hungary. Main clauses of the treaty were as follows:

i. Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia.
ii. It also lost Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Bosnia to Serbia, which came to known as Yugoslavia.
iii. Austria lost Bukovia to Rumania.
iv. Poland got Galicia from Austria
v. Italy got Trentino, Istria, Trieste and the South Tyrol from Austria.

- **The Treaty of Trianon (June, 1920)**

The Treaty of Trianon was signed with Hungary, the other half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Some of the clauses of the treaty are as follows:

I. Hungary lost Slovakia and Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia
II. Yugoslavia got Croatia and Slovenia from Hungary
III. Romania got Transylvania and the Banat of Temesvar.

Both the treaties contained a clause related with the formation of the League of Nation. The treaties created saviour economic problems in Austria and Hungary.

- **The Treaty of Sevres (1920)**

The Treaty of Sevres was signed with Turkey. As per the treaty, Turkey lost Eastern Thrance, Smyrna and many Aegean islands to Greece; Italy got Adalia and Rhodes; Syria became a mandate of France; Transjordan, Palestine and Iraq became British mandates. The loss of territory, especially Smyrna on the mainland Turkey paved the way for the nationalist uprising in Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Kemal and his followers rejected the treaty and threw the Greeks out of Smyrna. Finally compromised was reached and settlement was revised by the Treaty Lausanne (1923). The treaty handed over Eastern Thrace, Constantinople and Smyrana to Turkey.

- **The Treaty of Neuilly (1919) With Bulgaria**

As per the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria lost territory to Greece and also to Yugoslavia and Romania. Romania got Dobruja, Yugoslavia got the greater part of Macedonia and Greece got the Thracian Coast, Which deprived Bulgaria of her Aegean coastline. Bulgaria also promised to pay almost half a billion dollars as an indemnity and to limit its army to 33,000 men.

3.6 ORIGIN OF SOCIALIST ORDER

When the First World War was going on, a historic change occurred in Russia, which later on had a great impact on world diplomacy. The Russian Revolution completely changed the course of Russian history as well as world history by establishing socialist order in Russia.

The Tsarist Russia participated in World War I from the Allied camp. Russia faced the German forces on the eastern front of the war. The Russian forces were ill-trained and ill-equipped, so they suffered heavy casualties—about 1.7 million men killed and five million wounded. The economic impact of the war was also disastrous. The prices of the food grains suddenly reached the high watermark, and the general masses were getting it difficult to collect the basic necessities of life. All the circumstances had a direct impact on Russian politics. In the meantime, a revolution broke out in Russia, which dethroned Tsar Nicholas II on 15th March 1917. The revolution is known as the February Revolution, 1917. After the revolution, a provisional government was formed in St. Petersburg (Petrograd).

The Menshevik government, which came to power under the leadership of Karnesky, failed to fulfill the expectations of common people and workers. In the war, Russia was losing territory after territory. The Latvian city of Raga was also captured by the Germans. The war was going on despite all these setbacks. Under these circumstances, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Vladimir Ulyanov (popularly known as Nikolai Lenin), organised workers for another revolution to overthrow the provisional government. Under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks overthrew the government of Karnesky and took over the government on 7th of October, 1917. The revolution, which was popularly known as the Bolshevik or the October Revolution, was successful because of the active cooperation of agricultural and industrial labours. The revolution led to the establishment of the world's first socialist state in Russia, which was later converted to a communist dictatorship.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who was Mustafa Kemal?

.....

Q.5: What did Italy gain from the Treaty of St. Germaine?

.....

Q.6: When was the Treaty of Versailles signed?

.....



3.7 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The First World War was not started suddenly, and several factors were responsible for its outbreak.
- The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson played an important role in the process of peace settlement at the end of the war.
- After the war, several treaties were signed with the defeated nations. The most important among them was the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919).
- The first socialist nation (the USSR) came into existence during World War I.



3.8 FURTHER READING

1. Hayes, C.J.H., (1981 Reprint). *Contemporary Europe since 1870*, Delhi, Surajeet Publications.
2. Lipson E., (2005 Reprint). *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries (since 1815)*, Delhi, Surajeet Publications.
3. Lowe, Norman and John, Traynor, (2023). *Mastering Modern World History*, New Delhi, Bloomsbury India.
4. Lowe, Norman, (2012 Reprint). *Mastering Modern World History*, Delhi, Macmillan Publisher India Ltd.

5. Marriott, J.A.R., (1979 Reprint). A History of Europe: From 1815 to 1939, Delhi, Surajeet Publications.



3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: TA radical organisation

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The Dual Alliance (1879) between Germany and Austria-Hungary

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Leader of a nationalist revolt in Turkey

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Italy got Trentino, Istria, Trieste and the South Tyrol from Austria.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: 1919



3.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Who was Gavrilo Princep?

Q. 2: Among whom did The Dual Alliance (1879) conclude?

Q. 3: Where did Wilson present Fourteen Points for the first time?

Q. 4: When did the October Revolution take place?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Write a short note on-

a. Consequences of the Russian Revolution

b. Treaty of Versailles

c. Treaty of Neuilly

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Critically analyse the factors responsible for the outbreak of WWI.

Q. 2: Make a critical assessment of the Paris Peace Conference.

Q. 3: 'German resentment against the Treaty of Versailles was just.' Discuss.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4: WORLD WAR I AND THE AFTERMATH

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Problem of reparation

4.4 End of Dynastic Empires

4.5 Formation of the League of Nation

4.6 Let Us Sum up

4.7 Further Reading

4.8 Answers to check your Progress

4.9 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Discuss how the problem of reparation created further International Problems
- Understand how dynastic empires came to an end
- Discus about formation and function of the League of Nation.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we discussed the origin of the First World War, peace settlements, and the origin of the socialist order. In this unit, we will discuss the problem of reparation, the end of dynastic empires, and the formation and function of the League of Nations.

After the end of World War I, peace agreements were concluded with the members of the central powers. Among the peace agreements, the most prominent and controversial one was the Treaty of Versailles, which created lots of controversies and problems with the progress of time. Treaties signed with Austria-Hungary and Turkey were also equally important and contributed a lot to ending the dynastic empires after the First World

War. The most significant development on the international stage was the formation of the League of Nations for international collaboration and peaceful coexistence.

4.3 PROBLEM OF REPARATION

The problem of reparation was one of the most controversial and debated problems created by the Treaty of Versailles. In the Paris Peace Conference, Germany was made responsible for the World War and compelled to pay for damages that occurred due to German war efforts. Almost all the clauses of the treaty were harsh, and the clause of reparation was one of them.

In the Peace Conference, the most important question was: How much would France gain from Germany to reconstruct her war damage? The question of reparation was transferred to a reparation commission. In 1921, the commission fixed the reparation amount at £6,600 million. Out of the total reparation amount, France, as the heaviest sufferer, was to receive 58%.

The mount fixed by the commission was out of the German capacity to pay. The high amount of £6,600 million ($32 billion) provided a chance to the Germans to protest that it was impossible for her to pay. J. M. Keynes, an economist and member of the British delegation to the conference, urged the allies to take £2,000 million as reparation, which, according to him, was a more reasonable price Germany could pay. Soon, Germany began to default the annual payment of £100 million. The German failure to pay the reparation in installment created tension among the Allies, who were dependent on the German payment to pay the war debt to the USA.

In 1922, it became clear that Germany would be unable to make its payments. The Reparation Commission was ready to offer relief on the payment of the installment, but France claimed that Germany was deliberately not paying the installment. The Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Russia further deteriorated the condition. The statement of the Paris Peace Conference regarding the deliberate default of coal delivery

by Germany in January 1923 further complicated the problem of reparation. Within some days, French and Belgian forces occupied Ruhr, the German industrial heartland. The French occupation of Ruhr and German "passive resistance" completely devastated the German economy.

In 1924, the Dawes Plan brought some stability to the problem. The plan represented a significant shift in terms of the recognition of the realistic and reasonable capacity of Germany to pay, but the liability figure remained the same. During the initial five years, Germany would pay increasingly from £50 to £150 million. After five years, the payment of reparation would be on the basis of the German economic development index. The Dawes Plan provided a period of relative stability until 1929.

The Dawes Plan proved to be a temporary measure, and soon the problem of reparation started to deteriorate. Germany started to raise its voice against the close regulation of its domestic affairs by foreign nations. They again argued that the amount of reparation (£6600 million) was very high and beyond all reason and must be reduced to a reasonable level. Due to this argument, Great Britain and the United States of America became sympathetic towards Germany, but all other Allies, specially France, argued that there must be a corresponding reduction of inter-Allied debt in case of a reduction in the German reparation. The government of the USA and its public opinion were against any kind of reduction in the war debt and adopted a tariff protection policy which greatly handicapped France and other debtor nations.

After the Dawes Plan, the Allied Reparation Commission proposed a new plan to settle the problem of German reparation. A committee under the chairmanship of Owen Young, an American banker, decided to reduce the amount of reparation from £6,600 million to £2000 million. France had to pay the amount within the next 59 years. The British economist Keynes had proposed the same amount at Versailles. This plan is known as the Young Plan (1929).

The plan was welcomed in Germany, but before implementation, the Great Depression hit Europe as well as the world, which complicated the problem of reparation. In 1931, Germany's creditors decided to grant a

moratorium, and through the Lausanne Conference (1932), they publicly expressed their decision to fix the pending German indemnity at $700 million if America would agree to a corresponding reduction in the inter-Allied debt of war. America would not agree with the proposal, but in a time of financial paralysis, the Allies stopped paying anything to the USA as well as receiving anything from Germany. This practically erased both reparation and inter-Allied war debt from the records of international accounting, but only after destroying world economic stability, the Paris Peace Conference, and finally paving the way for the Second World War.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who was Owen Young and what did he propose?

.....

Q.2: When was the Lausanne Conference held?

.....

Q.3: Who was J. M. Keynes?

.....

4.4 END OF DYNASTIC EMPIRES

Nationalism gained popular acceptance during and after World War I. At the time of the war, the doctrine of national self-determination (the doctrine that people of common language origin who adore common historical traditions and culture should breathe under a polity of their own making) was invoked by the Tsar against the Ottoman and Hobsburg Empires, against Russia by Germany, against the Mid-European Confederacy by the Allies, and by USA President Woodrow Wilson. The rising national sentiment was a most effective impetus for popular morale in waging the war.

The World War started as an effort by Austria-Hungary to stop the disrupting process of the principle of nationality represented by Serbia. The word war, which was regarded as an outcome of economic imperialism,

was also a nationalistic war. It was an extension of the nationalistic wars of the third quarter of the 19th century and was a heroic effort toward the complete national unification of Germany, Italy, and France, and also an attempt towards the national unification of Rumanians, Greeks, and numerous Slavic and Baltic nationalities. The war was successful in this respect as the Paris Peace Conference revised and re-drawn the map of Europe on the basis of the principle of nationality.

The end of the war marked the military and political downfall of the Old Russian (Romanov Empire), Austro-Hungarian (Hubsburg Empire), German (Hohenzollern Empire), and Turkish (Ottoman) empires. The pre-war Austrian and German political and military dominance came to an end. After the war, the Hubsburg Empire was disintegrated; Austria and Hungary became separate nations. The old Austrian empire was compelled to concede large parts of its territories to Italy and other newly flourishing nations in the region. Hungary, which was the other half of the Hubsburg Empire, also received harsher treatment at the peace conference. Serbia was largely benefited by the disintegration of Hungary, which was transformed into Yugoslavia.

The Ottoman Turkish Empire also ceased to exist after the war. Mustapha Kemal, the nationalist leader of Turkey, led a revolution against the Treaty of Serves signed between Turkey and the Allied powers and compelled them to sign a new treaty of Laussanne in 1923. Kemal renounced Islam as the basis of the Turkish state and gave up claims over the Arab-majority area. In this way, the dynastic Ottoman Empire of Turkey whipped out of the world map, and a new nation called the Turkish Republic came into being under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal.

The Hohenzollern Empire was different from others; it was a modern nation-state of Germany. In spite of its dynastic form, the rapid modernisation promoted a strong and popular national identity in Germany. After the war, Germany was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty through which it lost most of its territory, military, and market. As per the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had to lose the non-German territories which were under her

possession, and her military strength was reduced to 100,000 men. All possible measures were taken to weaken Germany, and a republic called the Weimar Republic was established in Germany after the war. Measures taken to weaken Germany later led to the emergence of Hitler.

Russia, which was ruled by the Romanov dynasty, was another empire that came to an end during World War I. In ethnic composition, the Russian Empire outdid even the Hubsburg Empire. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the influence of nationalism, socialism, and communism was increasing rapidly in Russia. The rising communist popularity and activities of the Bolshevik Party, which led to the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, finally marked the end of the Russian Empire. The Soviet Union recognised the principle of nationality and consented to the breakup of the historic Russian empire. They reorganised the remaining parts of the empire on a federal basis. The greater part populated by Great Russians became the 'Russian Soviet Socialist". In the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks accepted that there were nations as well as classes in the union and set up the organisation of the new state along national lines.

4.5 THE LEAGUE OF NATION

The League of Nations, which came into existence after the First World War, was the first international organisation of its kind. The League is often regarded as the brainchild of Woodrow Wilson, the then president of America. No doubt Wilson was a great supporter of the idea, but it was a result of the similar suggestions gathered during the war. Jan Smut of South Africa, Lord Robert Cecil of Britain, and Leon Bourgeois of France proposed a detailed outline of the formation of such organisation.

The League of Nations was formed with two main aims:

1. To maintain international peace through collective measures. An attack on a member state would be regarded as an attack on all members, and the League would respond and act collectively to restrict the aggressor through economic and military sanctions or either one of these.

2. To encourage and promote international cooperation in order to solve socio-economic problems.

FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE:

In accordance with Wilson's call, the league was officially inaugurated in Paris in January 1920. At the beginning, the League had forty-two members, which rose to fifty-one in 1921 and sixty in 1934. It had the following organs:

a. The General Assembly:

The General Assembly holds its session annually. It contained representatives of all the member nations. Each of the member nations had one vote. The Assembly was empowered to decide general policy. It had the power to handle the finances of the League and propose or suggest a revision of treaties. It had to take decisions unanimously.

b. The council:

The Council was a smaller body that had four permanent members: Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The USA, which decided not to join the League of Nations, was to have been a permanent member. It met more frequently, at least thrice annually. There were four non-permanent members elected by the Assembly for a period of three years; the number had increased to nine by 1926. The council dealt with specific political disputes. The decision of the Council had to be unanimous.

c. The Secretariat:

The Secretariat was responsible to the Assembly and Council and looked after paper work related to preparing agendas and writing resolutions to carry out the decisions of the league. The Secretariat had its headquarter at Geneva. The first Secretary General of the League was Sir Eric Drummond.

d. The Permanent Court of International Justice:

The Permanent Court of International Justice consisted of fifteen judges of different nationalities. The court was entrusted the power

to deal with the legal disputes between nations. The Court was situated at Hague in Holland.

e. Commissions and Committees:

There were numbers of commission and committees to deal with specific problems created the world war. Some of the prominent commissions are: The International Labour Organisation (ILO), The Refugee Organisation, The Health Organisation, The Mandates Commission, and the Disarmament Commission etc.. All these commissions looked after specific problems.

FUNCTION OF THE LEAGUE:

The League was successful in different areas of its activity to establish peaceful cooperation in the international arena. Some of its committees and commissions performed very well. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), under its director Albert Thomas (a French socialist), was successfully working for the improvement of labour's condition worldwide. The Organisation persuaded the member states of the League to fix minimum working time in a day and week, minimum wages, to introduce sickness and employment benefits, and old age pensions, etc. The Refugee Organisation under the leadership of Fridtjof Nansen, performed very well and solved the problem of thousands of former prisoners of war stranded in Russia and other countries. It also provided valuable help to the people fleeing from Germany due to Nazi atrocities. The Health Organisation was another organisational entity of the League to function successfully. But the Disarmament Commission was unable to accomplish its task successfully. The World Disarmament Commission Conference of 1932–33 was a failure, after which Hitler withdrew Germany from the League.

The League of Nations was also successful in solving some political disputes among nations. It was successful in resolving the problems of Aaland Island (1920), Upper Silesia (1921), Bulgaria (1925), etc. It gave the verdict in favour of Iraq when Turkey claimed the province of Mosul (1926), part of the British mandated area of Iraq. Moreover, the League

was also successful in mitigating the disputes between Peru and Colombia and between Bolivia and Paraguay in South America.

All the disputes mentioned above were related to small powers, and these disputes did not threaten world peace seriously. The League was not successful in mitigating the disputes, which involved great powers. The League failed to settle the dispute of Vilna (1923) between Lithuania and Poland (supported by France). It was also unsuccessful in solving the Corfu Incidents (1923), which resulted from the dispute between Mussolini's Italy and Greece. The Manchurian Crisis was another dispute which the League was unable to solve. In this dispute, the League summoned Japan to evacuate Manchuria and send a commission of inquiry. Japan did not pay any response and resigned from the League. Its capacity to resolve international disputes was finally tested by the Italian invasion of Abyssinian territory. Italy was one of the founder members of the League and was also a member of the council, which had formed the Covenant, and most importantly, one of the most powerful nations.

ACTIVITY 7.1

a) Make a note on the formation and function of the League of Nation.



CAUSES OF THE FAILURE:

The League of Nations failed to maintain peace in the world for long, the result of which was the Second World War. In the 1930s, the League failed again and again to solve the crisis in which powerful nations were involved. Some of the important clauses of the League's failure are as follows:

1. The league was closely related to the treaties concluded at the Paris Peace Conference. At the initial stage, it looked like the League was working for the benefit of victorious nations. It had to look after the implementation of the peace agreements which were controversial.

2. The United States of America, one of the powerful nations of that time, rejected the League. The Senate of America refused to recognise the Versailles Settlement and the League of Nations in March 1920. The absence of America greatly weakened the League psychologically and financially. Moreover, for a long time, Germany and Russia were denied membership, which further weakened the League. Germany was denied membership until 1926, and the Soviet Union joined the League only in 1934.

3. The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris) was supposed to be functional until the League started its function. But it continued to work, and in several instances, it overtook the League. In 1929, the conference decided to hand over Vilna to Poland instead of Lithuania, whose claim was supported by the League. The Corfu Incident (1923) was another occasion when the Conference undermined the League and compelled Greece to pay the complete amount demanded by Italy.

4. The Covenant of the League had some serious inherent weaknesses, which created difficulties in taking strict action against any aggressors. It was quite difficult to take unanimous decisions; the League did not have its own army, and in 1923, a resolution empowered each member nation to decide whether to join a crisis or not, which nullified Article 16 as per which each member nation had to supply troops to the League. All these provisions of the League Covenant were creating problems in actualisation of collective security. Any attempt to amend and strengthen the Covenant was never accomplished because a unanimous vote was never achieved.

5. The League of Nations was a British and French affair, as the USA and the USSR were outside it and Italy was hostile towards it.

6. The World Economic Crisis (1929) contributed greatly to the decline of the League of Nations. The crisis generated unemployment and led to a decline in living standards in most European nations. All these led to the rise of right-wing extremist governments in Japan

and Germany. These two countries, along with Italy, refused to obey the rules, and their actions exposed the weakness of the League of Nations.

7. The failure of the World Disarmament Conference (1932–3) also contributed to the fall of the League. In the conference, Germany requested equality of armament with France. The French request to postpone the plan for a minimum of eight years provided an excuse to Hitler to pull out Germany from the Conference and finally from the League of Nation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: State Article 16 of the Covenant of the League.

.....

Q.5: Give one reason behind the failure of the League of Nations.

.....

Q.6: What was the direct impact of the treaty of Laussanne in 1923?

.....



4.6 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The problem of reparation was one of the international problems created by the Treaty of Versailles.
- At the end of the world war, the Paris Peace Conference revised and redrawn the world map on the basis of the principle of national self-determination; consequently, multi-national dynastic empires disappeared from the world.
- After the war, an international organisation named the League of Nations was formed for peaceful international cooperation. Due to the lack of cooperation from powerful nations like the USA, USSR, Germany, Italy, etc., the League was unable to accomplish its aim and

objectives, which finally resulted in the outbreak of WWII (1939-1945).



4.7 FURTHER READING

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2. Lipson E., (2005 Reprint). *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries (since 1815)*, Delhi, Surajeet Publications.
3. Lowe, Norman and John, Traynor, (2023). *Mastering Modern World History*, New Delhi, Bloomsbury India.
4. Lowe, Norman, (2012 Reprint). *Mastering Modern World History*, Delhi, Macmillan Publisher India Ltd.
5. Marriott, J.A.R., (1979 Reprint). A History of Europe : From 1815 to 1939, Delhi, Surajeet Publications.



4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Owen Young was an American banker, who decided to reduce the amount of reparation from £6,600 million to £2000 million to be paid by France, as the Chairperson of the Reparation Committee formed after Dawes Plan

Ans. to Q. No. 2: 1932

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Economist

Ans. to Q. No. 4: As per this article, which each member nation had to supply troops to the League.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: It was criticised for working for the benefit of the victorious Powers.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Formation of the Turkish Republic



4.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Who was Woodrow Wilson?

Q. 2: Who was the first Secretary General of the League of Nations?

Q. 3: When did the Corfu Incident take place?

Q. 4: What is the full form of ILO?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Write short note on-

a. Fourteen Points of Wilson

b. Formation of the League

c. National Self-Determinations.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Critically analyse the problem of reparation.

Q. 2: Make a critical assessment of the function of League of Nations. Why did it fail?

Q. 3: Briefly discuss the end of multi-national dynastic empires after World War I.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 5: WORLD BETWEEN THE TWO WARS

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Quest for Collective Security

5.4 League of Nations

5.5 Geneva Disarmament Conference

5.6 Reaction of the European Powers

5.7 Let us sum up

5.8 Further Readings

5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.9 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Discuss the reasons behind the various tensions that arises among the countries between the two World Wars.
- Explain the need for collective security among different nations.
- Discuss the roles and responsibilities of the League of Nations in maintaining world peace and security.
- Explain the problems of disarmament and arm control in the sphere of international relations.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the world order post World War I and the problems that had escalated once the War was over. One of the problem, was the that of reparation. A series of settlements were made to reach a solution. However, the seeds of the Second World War was sowed here.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the world between the Two World Wars. Practically, the history of the period between the two world wars can be described as the history of the infringement of the Treaty of Versailles. Some of its provisions were never applied.

5.3 QUEST FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The desire of maintaining international peace and security by means of negotiations between the great powers was for the first time expressed in the formation of the Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe. During the reign of Napoleon, France shattered the balance of power in European politics. So the European politicians felt the necessity of establishing an international organisation so that France could never endanger the peace and security of Europe again after the fall of Napoleon. With a view to preserving peace among the Christian states of Europe, the Holy Alliance was formed by the efforts of Czar Alexander I. Though the purpose of this alliance proved to be an utter failure for various reasons, it cannot be denied that it was the foremost attempt at international co-operation among the European states in modern times. After it, the European states by constituting another international organisation, namely, the Concert of Europe, made another attempt to preserve the peace of Europe on the basis of mutual settlement and co-operation.

In the Paris Conference, after the Crimean War, the question of international peace and security was raised and discussed again. Uninterrupted world peace, during the latter half of the 19th century, gave impetus to international co-operation in the field of trade and commerce, industry, science and education. Attempts were made in the Haque Conference of 1899-1907 to remove the possibility of war even by applying the principle of disarmament.

As an international organisation the League of Nations was formed after the First World War. The original principles of the League were different from those of the former international organisations. The chief object of the League was to preserve world peace and security collectively and to accomplish the welfare of mankind.

Most of the problems which had appeared before the Paris Peace Conference were settled by the year 1924. The reorganisation of Europe and the Near East was complete somehow, though the problem of reparation was still hanging. Though the international activities of the Russian Revolutionaries embittered relations between Russia and Western Powers, yet some of the chief powers meanwhile recognised the new Government of Russia.

The international situation was thus favourable for the establishment of peace and stability. It cannot be denied that the leaders of the Peace Conference drafted the peace treaties with the aim of restoring real peace. An international organisation namely the League of Nations was set up for the prevention of war, for pacific settlement of international conflicts as well as for collective security against aggressions. Such attempts were made not only through the League of Nations but also outside the League framework.

Long before the echoes of war had died down, France embarked upon a prolonged search for her own security against any further attack by Germany. Among the European Powers, France put much emphasis upon the problem of security. France could never forget her defeat in the Battle of Sedan (1870) in the 19th century as well as Germany's violent aggression during the First World War. France also could not forget that it was only a world coalition that saved her from inevitable destruction. Though France finally won and Germany ultimately lost the war, yet the fear of a future German aggression remained uppermost in the minds of the French people and their leaders. Besides France was more anxious about her security against future attack by Germany, due to the political changes in Russia, the isolation of America from European politics, and the imperialistic activities of Italy and Japan after the World War.

In the Paris Peace Conference France demanded expansion of her territories up to the Rhine as a guarantee for her security. But the allies opposed it and allowed France only a temporary occupation of the left bank of the Rhine for 15 years. Apart from this, pacts were concluded

between France and England and France and the USA which assured assistance to France against any unprovoked German aggression.

France concluded a treaty with Poland in 1921. Their interests were identical as both were anxious to preserve the peace terms. So a defensive alliance between these two states was most opportune. In 1922 England guaranteed French security. Moreover as a measure of her security, France tried to enforce the principle of collective security through the League of Nations. In the conference convened at Geneva in 1924, the Greek and Czech representatives drafted a treaty called the Geneva Protocol. While the small powers supported this protocol the big powers rejected it. As a result this protocol was ultimately abandoned. But it can be said that the Geneva Protocol was a grand plan devised for international security. After the Paris Peace Conference, the Locarno Treaties were regarded as the most significant event in the diplomatic history of the world. Next to the Locarno Pact, another important international treaty was the Kellogg-Briand Pact or the Pact of Paris, which was born of American initiative and French courtesy. This Pact of Paris received almost universal approbation and a large number of states of the world took the pledge of refraining from war.

The country which felt much frustrated at the failure of the League to establish a system of collective security inside the league framework was France. Hence, France gave Europe a lead in the quest for security on regional basis. The French quest for security against the aggression of Germany was “the most persistent single factor” in the European politics during the period between the two world wars. France proceeded to secure a defensive alliance with Belgium in 1920. France next formed an alliance with Poland. France next approached Czechoslovakia and a France-Czechoslovak agreement came in January 1924. France also concluded treaties of alliance with Rumania and Yugoslavia respectively in June 1926 and November 1927. These alliances went a long way to relieve France of her security problems. Thus, France succeeded in building up a network of alliance with the lesser powers of Europe that were much interested in the preservation of the political arrangements of Europe as settled by the Versailles and other peace treaties.

Collective security largely depends upon three factors viz., the attitudes of the aligned members to the fulfilment of their obligations, their mutual confidence and the balance of power among them. But unfortunately, the absence of these ideal conditions ultimately were responsible for the failure of collective security.

The League Covenant embodied the provisions for international security. The arrangement for collective security against future aggressive warfare was made in the League Covenant. At the Paris Peace Confidence, France proposed a plan for setting up an international police force to maintain world-peace and security. But this plan failed to secure support of the Allies. The US President Wilson, was opposed to employ the US army under the League of Nations. Rather he advised the chief powers of the world to rely upon each other for peace and security. At the failure of the French scheme, the supporters of the international security system faced a great difficulty. Due to lack of mutual faith and confidence among the nations, the urgency for collective security was felt most. But ultimately all efforts for collective security failed.

The chief reasons for such failure were:

1. No country of Europe was in favour of keeping her troops at the disposal of the League of Nations.
2. Every state was opposed to the idea of unnecessary involvement in a war for the benefit of all by employing its own army at the disposal of the League.
3. Despite the provisions for mutual assistance and co-operation against aggression as included in the Treaty of Versailles and the League Covenant, the Locarno Pact, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, etc. were also concluded. These Pacts created difficulty in the way of ensuring collective security.
4. The French efforts for regional security gave birth to more than one set of rival pacts and alliances in Europe which hampered the cause of the collective security.

The aggressive activities of Nazi Germany and the appeasement policy of the western powers towards Germany destroyed all chances of ensuring collective security.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When did the First World War broke out?

.....

Q.2: In which year did the Paris Peace Conference signed?

.....

Q.3: With whom did France concluded a treaty in 1921?

.....

5.4 LEAGUE OF NATIONS

With the progress of internationalism world organisations have also come into existence. The League of Nations, the United Nations Organisation and the Commonwealth of Nations set up in the present century deserve special mention. Many wars were fought among the nations in the 19th century and destructive weapons capable of destroying the whole human civilization were invented. But at the same time attempts were made to forge unity among the nations of Europe as well as of the world by renouncing war. The Organisation of the League of Nations comes therefore of the logical result of this period. The League of Nations owed its origin to the efforts of the European nations to settle international disputes by peaceful means. The League of Nations formally came into existence on 10th of January 1920, the same day that the Versailles Treaty came into operation. With headquarters in Geneva in Switzerland, one of its main aims was to settle international disputes before they got out of hand and so prevent war from ever breaking out again. The League seemed to be functioning successfully during the 1920s; it solved a number of minor international disputes, as well as achieving valuable economic and social work; for instance, it helped thousands of refugees and former prisoners of

war to find their way home again. In 1930 supporters of the League felt optimistic about the future. However, during the 1930s, the authority of the League was challenged several times, first by the Japanese Invasion of Manchuria (1931) and later by the Italian Attack an Abyssinia (1935). After 1935, respect for the League declined as its weaknesses became more apparent.

The League is often spoken of as being the brainchild of the American President Woodrow Wilson. Lord Robert Cecil of Britain, Jan Smuts of South Africa and Leon Bourgeois of France put forward detailed schemes as to how such an organization might be set up. Wilson's great contribution was to insist that the League Covenant which had been drawn up by an international committee including Cecil, Smuts and Bourgeois, as well as Wilson himself should be included in each of the separate peace treaties. This ensured that the League actually came into existence instead of merely remaining a topic for discussion.

The League had two main aims:

1. To maintain peace through collective security: if one state attack another, the member states of the League would act together, collectively, to restrain the aggressor, either by economic or by military sanctions
2. To encourage international co-operation, in order to solve economic and social problems.

The contemporary world also had hoped that the League of Nations would not only solve the international disputes but would also avert the possibility of war as well by reducing armaments of all states. The signatory states to the League Covenant pledged to maintain world peace and security through international co-operation instead of resorting to war, to regulate relations between nations honourably, and to respect all treaty obligations. The League was composed of three agencies- a council of the representatives of the five powers (Britain, America, Japan, France and Italy) and assembly of the representatives of all the member states joining the League and a permanent Secretariat. Besides, an International Court

was established for settling all international disputes. An International Labour Organisation was also set up in Geneva.

The League of Nations completely depended upon the goodwill of its members for the execution of its decisions. Its existence was based on the consent of the member states. None of the member states had either surrendered her sovereignty to the league or had renounced her right to quit it. League of the Nations was an organisation of a number of nations. The members of the League had agreed to restrict their freedom, in certain cases for the preservation of international co-operation, world peace and security. The league cannot also be called a federation of any kind as it had no jurisdiction over the foreign policy of the member states. Nor will it be safe to call it state for the simple reason that it was “not felt to be a state” nor it had any military force of its own.

The League of Nations existed for 20 years. The League successfully settled the disputes relating to smaller states. But it failed where disputes between bigger states were involved. According to the League Covenant the League had no right to intervene in the mutual disputes of states excepting its member states. In 1921 the League of Nations was able to protect Albania from the aggression of Yugoslavia. Both Japan and China were members of the League of Nations. The members of the League Council separately accused Italy of violating the terms of the League Covenant. The League of Nations was also attentive to make effective the international engagements concerning the minorities. A committee consisting of three members of the league Council was formed and an arrangement was made to receive complaints of the minorities.

The League of Nations was formed with the purpose of renouncing war by settling all disputes through peaceful overtures. In order to achieve that certain special provisions were included in the League Covenant. In article 10, it was stipulated that the member-states of the League were to preserve territorial integrity, security and independence of each other and they were to help if any one of them was attacked by a foreign power. As an international organisation the responsibility of the League of Nations

was wide. Apart from preserving and settling international disputes, it had also the responsibility of creating peaceful conditions in international sphere by reducing armaments of the nations of the world. The attempt of ensuring collective security through the League of Nations was indeed remarkable.

Though the League ultimately failed to execute the principles of disarmament or to prevent further warfare, its efforts in the humanitarian and economic fields were commendable. The social and humanitarian work of the League was in part a co-ordination of sporadic international activities which had begun before the war. During the period between 1925 and 1930, the League of Nations achieved tremendous success. And during this period its prestige rose high. But the League's prestige began to increase from 1924 as the foreign ministers of the member-states began to represent in the League Council. Secondly, with the joining of Germany during this period as a permanent member, the League's power and position rose high. Thirdly, during this period the League was able to settle certain international disputes. Fourthly during this period the League did much in the cause of international co-operation by establishing a number of economic and social organisation.

There were forty-two member states at the beginning and fifty-five by 1926 when Germany was admitted. **Its main organs were as follows**:

a) **The General Assembly**- this met annually and contained representatives of all the member states, each of which had one vote. Its function was to decide general policy.

b) **The Council**- this was a much smaller body which met more often, at least three times a year, and contained four permanent members- Britain, France, Italy and Japan. It was the Council's task to deal with specific political disputes as they arose; again, decisions had to be unanimous.

c) **The Permanent Court of International Justice**- this was based at the Haque in Holland and consisted of fifteen judges of different nationalities; it dealt with legal disputes between states, as opposed to political ones.

d) **The Secretariat**- this looked after all the paperwork, preparing agendas, and writing resolutions and reports for carrying out the decisions of the League.

e) Commissions and Committees- the main commissions were those which handled the mandates, military affairs, minority groups and disarmament. There were committees for international labour, health, economic and financial organization, child welfare, drug problems and women's rights.

Though for various reasons the League of Nations failed, its achievements cannot be wholly undermined;

- Firstly, the League earned unexpected achievement in social, economic and humanitarian spheres.
- Secondly, the most remarkable achievement of the League was its influence in spreading the idea of international co-operation, amity and internationalism.
- Thirdly, the attempts which the League made to solve the international problems through different organisations and on the basis of certain definite principles were never displayed in the past.

The League failed in the end to preserve peace because it could be only what the nations made of it nothing less and nothing more.

There are however several causes for the failure of the League of Nations. Some of which are mentioned below-

a) Lack of Understanding of League Ideal

b) Revengeful Attitude of the Vanquished

c) Dispute between Victors and Vanquished

d) Lack of International Spirit

e) Lack of Co-operation of Big Powers

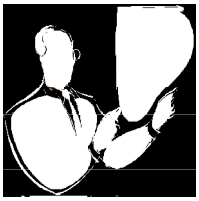
f) Defective Voting System

g) Anglo-French Appeasement Policy

h) Lack of Powers to execute its own Decisions

i) Failure on Disarmament Issue

LET US KNOW



The campaign against Slavery was another important activity of the League. A Slavery Commission was concluded at Geneva in 1925 and in 1932 the league decided to set up a Permanent Slavery Commission. An Advisory Commission for the welfare of the children was also set up by the League.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: When did the League of Nations formally came into existence?

.....

Q.5: Whose brain was behind the formation of the League?

.....

Q.6: Who were the Five Powers?

.....

5.5 GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Geneva Conference or World Disarmament Conference was an international conference held for the reduction and limitation of arms and armaments. This was the world's first Disarmament Conference held at Geneva in February 1932. Representatives of 61 states attended the Conference. In July 1932 the Disarmament Conference adopted a resolution in favour of a substantial reduction of armaments and the prohibition of bacteriological weapons. In this resolution it was announced that;

- The poisonous gas was not to be used as war weapon
- Heavy tanks were not to used
- The number of aeroplanes of all countries were to be restricted and the civil aviation was to be internationally controlled

But this resolution could not remove the competitive attitude of Germany and France and Germany notified her withdrawal from the

Disarmament Conference. Along with Germany, Russia also opposed his resolution, while 41 states accepted it. However a condition of dead-lock had set in the Disarmament Conference due to the unyielding attitude of France and Germany. In September, 1932, a meeting of the representatives of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and USA was held in Geneva to break the impasse. The Conference, failing to take unanimous decision on important matters, adjourned until October.

The second session of the Disarmament Conference began in October 1932. Britain, France and Italy recognised Germany's claim to "equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations". The third session of the Disarmament Conference was convened in February 1933. Meanwhile the international situation had changed considerably. Japan expressed her decision to withdraw from the League of Nations and in fact, she left the League in that year. In a message sent in May 1933 to the Disarmament Conference, the US President Roosevelt said that the chief purpose of this conference should be the total reduction of offensive armaments. He proposed that no country should increase armaments until a disarmament treaty was signed and every state enter into a non-aggression pact with each other. Accordingly, the Disarmament Conference unanimously accepted the draft convention prepared by Mac Donald as a basis of the future treaty.

Still France informed the Disarmament Conference in clear language that she would not disarm until she obtained sufficient guarantee of her security against German aggression. On the other hand, Germany was also not eager to show any compromising attitude to the Disarmament problem. As a result of which, the international situation once again began to deteriorate. In October 1933, Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and within a few days she also withdrew her membership from the League of Nations. With the withdrawal of Germany from the Disarmament Conference, the great effort for international Disarmament practically came to an end. The Disarmament Conference again assembled in May 1934, but a deadlock had set in due to disagreements between

France and Russia on one hand and England, Italy and USA on the other. Russia and France put much stress upon security while England, Italy and USA put much importance upon disarmament. On 11th of June 1934, the Conference was adjourned which never met. Thus, all attempts at solving Disarmament problem through the League failed utterly.

There are several causes for the failure of the Disarmament Conference. Some of them are mentioned below;

1) **Lack of International Co-operation**- The Disarmament Conference could never assume the status of the League Conference in a real sense. Its functions were never concluded on the basis of international co-operation.

2) **Franco-German Rivalry**- Due to the Franco-German rivalry, the conference could never function smoothly.

3) **Difference of opinion among the members on different issues**- Difference of opinion on various issues among the members of the Disarmament Conference particularly between France, Britain and that between Germany and USA had created much complications.

4) **Disregard to economic, psychological and political conditions**- The members of the Disarmament Conference paid too much attention solely upon the reduction of armaments and war equipment without any thought of economic, psychological and political conditions of every state of the world.

5) **Retaliatory attitude of the defeated states towards the victorious states and Germany's militarism**- Another chief obstacle before the conference was the retaliatory attitude of the defeated powers towards the victorious countries. Besides, Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and her firm determination to rearm herself hurled the death-blow to the Conference.

6) **Japan's aggression upon Manchuria**- A little before the commencement of the Disarmament Conference, Japan created

an uneasy atmosphere by launching aggressions upon Manchuria (1931) which bore sufficient indication of the failure of the Disarmament Conference.

5.6 REACTION OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS

After the First World War Japan emerged as a mighty naval power in the Far-East. On the other hand, the growth of Japanese supremacy in the Pacific caused anxiety to America. As America had to confront the rivalry of Japanese Naval Power, she became active to avoid as far as possible any naval conflict with Japan by limiting the naval power of the interested countries in the Far-East. The US President, Harding, convened a conference in Washington in 1921. The purpose of this conference was also to settle the Sino-Japanese dispute and to end the Anglo-American naval rivalry. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 ultimately caused difficulty for Britain in the Far-East. In 1021 the First Naval Conference met at Washington which lasted till February 1922. The representatives of eight states Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, China, Japan, Portugal and Netherlands attended this conference. Apparently, the naval power resolutions adopted at the Washington Conference might appear as a very important step in the direction of international disarmament, but in reality the conference achieved very little success. As the Washington Conference of 1921-22 failed, to achieve success to any considerable extent over the issue of naval disarmament, the US President, Coolidge, convened a second Naval Conference in Geneva in 1927.

When the International Disarmament Conference of 1932-33 failed and when Germany proceeded on her plan of remilitarisation, Britain became alarmed and concluded a naval treaty with Germany in June 1935. It is known as Anglo-German Naval Agreement. Britain agreed to allow Germany the right to increase her battleships by 35% of the British naval power and to build ships of various types. In fact, with a view to protect her interests against the possible aggression of

Germany, Britain concluded this treaty with the former. The non-co-operation of France and Italy with the Geneva Conference made the failure of the conference almost certain. Moreover, the Anglo-US differences also led to the failure of the Geneva Conference and the Geneva Conference widened suspicion and ill-will between the two powers. The demands and counter-demands of France and Italy at the London Naval Conference of 1930 and their refusal to sign the London Naval Treaty seriously undermined the importance of the conference as well as the naval treaty. Rather every state felt the necessity of armament in apprehension of a future catastrophe.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: What was the main motive of the Geneva Disarmament Conference?

.....

Q.8: What do you mean by the terms 'Disarmament and Arm Control'?

.....

Q.9: Who prepared the Draft Convention of the Disarmament Conference?

.....



5.7 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- Various reasons behind the tensions that arises among the countries between the two World Wars.
- The search for collective security among different nations was felt to be urgent.
- The roles and responsibilities performed by the League of Nations in maintaining world peace and security was under questioned.
- The problems of disarmament and arm control in the sphere of

international relations were discussed.



5.8 FURTHER READING

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3. Roy, A.C.; 2010; *International Relations since 1919*, World Press; Calcutta-700073



5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: State one factor responsible for the failure of collective security.

Q. 2: State a provision of the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928).

Q. 3: Account one reason for the collapse of the collective security system of the League of Nations in the 1930's.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Write a short account of the Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932-34). Why did it fail?

Q. 2: Describe the efforts of the League of Nations to effect international security. How far were they successful?

Q. 3: What attempts were made towards regional security outside the framework of the League of Nations?

Q. 4: Examine briefly the steps that were taken to guarantee peace security between the two World Wars.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: "Collective Security is the main purpose of the United Nations". What are the provisions of the charter towards that end?

Q. 2: What were the main elements of the problem of disarmament? Discuss the causes of the failure of the efforts for disarmament between the two world wars?

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UNIT 6: THE GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND EUROPE

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Economic Depression

6.4 Crisis and Great Depression

6.5 Recovery and Losses

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Readings

6.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the causes of the Economic Depression,
- Explain the measurers undertaken to tackle the economic crisis,
- Discuss the impact of the Great Depression on the 20th century world

6.2 INTRODUCTION

The Economic Depression refers to the fall in the economy of leading nations in the early 20th century following the First World War. It led to widespread unemployment and financial hardship of a global scale. Generally, downfall of an economic system can be considered as a usual phenomenon if it is short termed or the amount of damage is lesser. The term recession is used to describe such events. But depression in economy refers to a serious drop in GDP that lasts for a year or more. Depression has severe consequences such as widespread unemployment and a long halt in economic activities. The world economy after the First World War underwent such a phenomenon. In September, 1929 there began a fall in

the buying of shares at the New York stock exchange in Wall Street and people began to sell their shares before the prices fell too far. The situation became panic and by 24 October, the share prices fell drastically. Many people who had purchased shares at a higher price were ruined financially. This disaster became infamous as the Wall Street Crash. Thousands of banks were closed as people had to withdraw their savings. Factories were closed as there was no demand for commodities in the market, resulting in mass unemployment. The situation came to be known as the Great Economic Depression, which affected other countries in a gradual manner.

6.3 ECONOMIC CRISIS

The term Economic Depression generally refers to a sustained period of significant economic decline that resulted in a nation's GDP drop and rise in unemployment. Following the First World War, industrialists started manufacturing too many goods resulting in unsold stocks of goods. As the need for more production was reduced, workers were laid off. The workers, who had no unemployment benefits, could not afford to buy more goods and thus goods remained unsold. This was termed as a vicious circle. During the period between 1923 and 1929, industrial profits increased by 72 per cent, but at the same time the average wage of the workers rose by about 8 per cent only. This indicated that the general population had less buying capacities which was gradually declining as well. On the other hand, the corporations were not prepared to increase wages or to reduce prices. So the mal-distribution of income created an imbalance.

A similar condition occurred in many European nations. The Europeans termed it as the European 'Slump'. The European economy was still struggling following the First World War. There was a rise in unemployment and more importantly the United States and Japan posed great economic competition. By early 1929, demand for machines, French wine and new housing in Britain started to fall. Moreover from 1928, American overseas investment in Europe also began to fall because investors realized that they could earn more profit from the American stock

market than from Europe. Many European nations like Germany, Britain, Italy, Hungary and Poland had to increase interest rates to allure the American investors. But it affected their domestic economy in an adverse way.

There was a sharp rise in economic activity in Great Britain. Domestic production increased and import from other countries also increased. There was a delusion of an economic boom. But soon the boom turned itself into a slump. The country started suffering from housing shortage because of high costs in building, rent restrictions and inefficiency of the implementing authority. The Economic Depression of the 1920s was an indirect outcome of the First World War. The War had significant impact on world economy as the USA emerged as a major economy following the War. During the War itself, the allies of the USA had to depend on American loans for war funds. There was a growing demand for American products worldwide. Gradually America became 'the world's banker'. In the early 1920s, there was a scarcity of currency in many European nations and they had to take loans from America. Germany, the worst affected nation was offered loans under the Dawes Plan of 1924. It was estimated that 4 billion dollars were invested by private enterprises in a period of five years. Between 1924 and 1930, Europe received a whooping amount of 7.8 billion dollars as loans from America. This dependency on American loans made the European nations' economy vulnerable for a fall.

Europe as a whole was a major theatre of the First World War, resulting in the destruction of farmland, factories and homes. The overall productivity of European nations fell short twice than that of the USA. The reconstruction of factories, agricultural lands delayed the process of modernizing agriculture and primary production in Europe. In the early 1920s, levels of inflation rose drastically across Europe. Germany, Austria and Hungary were the most affected countries as the governments printed money for welfare demands, economic reconstruction and reparations. Britain saw a rise of about 50 per cent in inflation rate, which was the lowest among the European nations. The general population realized that

their savings had turned into worthless papers. In an attempt to stabilize the currency, European nations resorted to the gold standard system. 40 countries adopted the gold system between 1924 and 1929.



LET US KNOW

Gold Standard was a system in which the economic unit of account was based on a fixed amount of gold. Since the 1870s up to the 1930s it remained as the basis for the international monetary system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name the non-european country apart from the USA that emerged as a strong economy after the First World War.

.....

Q.2: The First World War had adverse effect on European economy. True or False.

.....

Q.3: Name a European country that dependent on American loan after the First World War.

.....

6.4 THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The collapse of the American stock market on Wall Street on 24 October 1929 (Black Tuesday) marked the beginning of the economic collapse. But historians have long agreed that for central and eastern Europe, at least, an economic recession began in 1928 with demand for both agricultural and industrial goods beginning to decline. The construction of new public buildings and new homes also began to decline that year – always an important indicator for future economic prospects. By the middle of 1929 similar trends were evident in the United States and it was this downturn which helped to trigger a wave of selling on the American stock

market. The stock market, which was supposed to facilitate investment in productive enterprise, became a place where people wanted to make fortunes by gambling on stock prices. People started buying stocks only to sell them to others after a few weeks at a higher price. Due to mass speculation the price of stocks continued to rise, overlooking the companies' actual capacity for earning dividends. However, many experts at that time opined that the prices of stocks were not too high. But by March, 1929 the crash became inevitable. Yet it was not the Wall Street Crash, but the policy response to it, which turned the economic downturn that appeared in the world economy in 1929 into the greatest economic depression ever known. American bankers believed that speculation in the stock market had been encouraged by easy access to cheap credit, so their response in 1929 and 1930, determined by the logic of the gold standard, was to increase interest rates.

The national income of the USA dropped down by 42 million dollars between 1929 and 1932. Production of the country was reduced by 37 per cent and industrial production fell by 48 per cent. Similarly there was a huge drop in import and export. Consequently, wages of the factory workers had to be reduced by 38 per cent. By the summer of 1932, number of unemployed persons increased to almost 16,000,000, which was roughly 25 per cent of the total labour force of the country. Though agricultural production dropped by 6 per cent, but the price of agricultural products fell by 63 per cent. These developments had a dramatic effect on countries around the world. As the American investment began to disappear, banks in Europe underwent an unstable phase. Other European nations flocked to London in search of loans, but Britain was itself in a difficult position. In May, 1931 the Creditanstalt, Austria's largest commercial bank collapsed and the same happened with many German banks. After October, 1929 price of agricultural products fell by 50 per cent. Falling prices of agricultural products spelt disaster for over 67 per cent of the world's population whose livelihood depended on agriculture at that time. The flow of American loans into Germany and the rest of Central and Eastern Europe, in particular, soon dried up and the consequences were dramatic. Thanks to this loss of

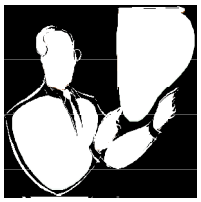
US credit, gold standard membership determined that countries had to raise interest rates, thus making it more difficult for businesses and farms to borrow money at precisely the time they needed to do so to combat depression. Governments, too, began to feel the squeeze as their levels of revenue from taxes fell dramatically just when they needed to spend more money on unemployment benefit and public work schemes to mop up unemployment and to kick-start recovery. Across Europe parliaments, as in Britain and Germany in the summer of 1931, became deadlocked over the issue of government spending. Thanks to the rules of gold standard membership the golden vice squeezed ever tighter around the European economy.

Confidence in the future now evaporated, which meant that not only were governments cutting back on spending, companies and individuals were too. Demand for industrial and agricultural products dried up, and this caused prices to fall still further. By the end of 1930 the price of wheat sold on the Liverpool exchange had fallen by 50 per cent and the price of meat by 40 per cent. Desperate to protect their own markets from the threat of cheap foreign imports being dumped on them, levels of trade protection began to rise dramatically. By 1932 France had introduced strict quotas on over 3,000 different products entering France, and German tariffs rose by 50 per cent after 1929. Most startling was Britain's retreat into protection in the autumn of 1931, ending a commitment to the ethos of Free Trade that had lasted 85 years. The world was now divided into competing economic blocs.

Countries which depended heavily on the export of agricultural produce were especially hard hit because agricultural prices fell more dramatically than those of industrial goods. A Polish farmer, who paid 100 kg of rye to buy a new plough in 1928, now found that the same plough cost 270 kg. By the summer of 1931, the European economy began to crack under the strain of the continued fall in prices, the lack of demand and spiraling levels of unemployment. Economic, political and financial pressures combined to produce a financial crisis that swept across Europe like a flash flood. In countries, like Austria and Germany, where the banks

had a particularly close relationship with industry, the collapse of private companies forced banks, too, to shut up shop. With some of Europe's most prestigious banking houses facing ruin, the German and Austrian governments were forced to become directly involved in managing the financial system. They also introduced exchange controls to stop the further export of gold or foreign currency from German or Austrian banks to banks in Switzerland or Britain. This action directly violated the rules of the gold standard system, despite German claims that it did not.

A very different banking crisis shook Britain in 1931. Here it was not commercial banks, but the central bank, the Bank of England, that came under pressure. The financial crisis culminated in Britain's abandonment of the gold standard in September 1931. This was a key turning-point in the Great Depression. Sterling now became a floating currency (its value was no longer fixed) and its value fell by some 30 per cent, which immediately made British exports much cheaper. Government was now also freed from the rigorous demands of the rules of the gold standard: these, though sensible enough during periods of sustained economic growth, had made it almost impossible to fight the depression. Interest rates were now cut, making it easier for business and the government to borrow money; and as confidence in the future began to rise, and so, too, did society's willingness to buy goods.



LET US KNOW

BLACK TUESDAY

The American Stock Exchange crashed on 29th October 1929 which was a tuesday. The event therefore was known as Black Tuesday because it unfolded a chain of events leading to the Great Depression, one of the greatest economic crises of the modern world.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: The collapse of the American Stock Exchange took place on which date?

.....

Q.5: The Creditanstalt was the largest commercial bank of which country?

.....

Q.6: Great Britain abandoned the Gold Standard in September _____.

.....

6.5 RECOVERY AND LOSS

President Hoover of the United States of America adopted measures like bank loans to farmers, lower taxes but failed to recover from the Great Depression. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the new President introduced the 'New Deal'. He offered Federal guarantees to bank deposits and suspended the Anti-Trust Acts. The USA stopped the export of gold and silver and also the amount of gold in coins was reduced. Trade agreements with other countries, particularly about agricultural goods were signed. For those who were affected the most, a Federal relief system was instituted. For increasing agricultural productivity and for more power supply, the Great Hoover Dam was constructed under the Tennessee Valley Authority. Roosevelt initiated the National Industry Recovery Act which incorporated the Civil Works Administration, the Public Work Administration and the Works Progress Administration. It enabled the government to spend a gigantic amount of 3300 million dollars on public works. The industries were appealed to maintain a standard of wages and working hours. Trade unions were also granted powers, ensuring better conditions for the workers. Roosevelt adopted certain measures for the long term. A Social Security Act was enacted on a Federal basis for unemployment insurance, maternity and child welfare services, old-age pensions, and relief for the poorer section.

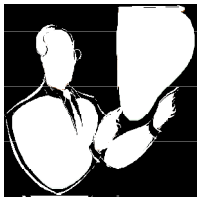
The recovery from the Great Depression in Europe was a gradual and complex process that unfolded over the course of the 1930s and into the early 1940s. The economic hardships experienced during the depression prompted governments to reassess their economic policies and implement measures aimed at restoring stability and growth. One key factor in the recovery was the departure from the gold standard. Many countries abandoned the gold standard to give their economies more flexibility in managing monetary policy. This shift allowed for currency devaluation, making exports more competitive and stimulating economic activity. The move away from strict adherence to gold was a crucial step in fostering recovery. Germany went under the Nazi regime in 1933. After that the road to recovery took a separate form in Germany. A complex system of trade and monetary restrictions was introduced to manage domestic economy. The state started controlling the movement of foreign exchange and trade. Prices, private investment banks and wages were also brought under government scrutiny. Relinquishing the gold standard, the Nazi regime started a programme of government expenditure to generate demand. Within a year the amount of public investment increased twice as government funds were used in industrial investment, employment schemes and constructions. By 1935 government expenditure increased to 60 percent. On the contrary countries like Holland, Belgium and France continued to adhere to the gold standard with a hope to internationalise it.

Government intervention and increased public spending played a pivotal role in jumpstarting economies. Many European nations implemented New Deal-style programs inspired by the United States, focusing on public works projects, infrastructure development, and job creation. These initiatives injected much-needed capital into struggling economies and provided employment opportunities, helping to alleviate the widespread unemployment that characterized the Depression years. The banking sector also underwent reforms to restore confidence and stability. Regulatory measures were introduced to prevent the speculative excesses that had contributed to the initial collapse. Additionally, efforts were made to stabilize and strengthen financial institutions to avoid future crises.

International cooperation became essential for overcoming the economic challenges. The Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 laid the foundation for the post-war economic order. Institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were established to promote monetary stability and provide financial assistance for reconstruction efforts. European nations, devastated by the war that followed the Depression, benefited from these cooperative efforts in rebuilding their economies.

Industrial production and technological innovation played a crucial role in the recovery process. As demand for goods and services increased, industries expanded, creating job opportunities and driving economic growth. Technological advancements in sectors like manufacturing and transportation further contributed to productivity gains and economic development. The recovery was not uniform across all European countries. Some, like Germany, experienced a more rapid resurgence due in part to aggressive state intervention and rearmament policies. Others, such as Spain, faced prolonged economic difficulties exacerbated by internal conflicts.

The recovery from the Great Depression in Europe involved monetary policy adjustments, government intervention, international cooperation, and industrial revitalization. The challenging period presented by the Great Depression influenced economic policies for decades to come, emphasizing the importance of practical and harmonized efforts to address economic downturns.



LET US KNOW

AUTARKY

Autarky is an ideology that refers to self-sufficiency of societies, communities, states and their economic systems. The word itself is derived from a Greek word meaning self-sufficiency. Many European countries adopted autarky as their ideology to recover from the losses of the Great Depression.

Loss:

The Great Depression resulted in tremendous loss all over the world. As a repercussion, industrial production dropped by almost 30 per cent globally. There was a great decline in international trade, which was around 65 per cent from 1929 to 1932. In the USA itself, unemployment grew by 25 per cent in 1932. Approximately 9000 banks were closed in the USA itself, leading to the collapse of the banking system. It further accelerated the economic crisis. The deplorable condition of the farmers was further intensified by the Dust Bowl, a severe drought in the Midwest. As a result, rural poverty increased. Malnutrition and other health issues grew along with homelessness.

In Europe also, industrial production declined due to the Great Depression. Germany's industrial output was reduced by 41 per cent from 1929 to 1932. Great Britain had to face a decline of 24 per cent in her industrial production. Exports from Germany were reduced by 61 per cent between 1929 and 1932. Like the USA, unemployment also increased in Europe. For example, Germany had 30 per cent unemployed populations in 1932. Thousands of banks were shut down all over Europe, resulting in a financial meltdown. The price of agricultural products also decreased, in France it fell by over 40 per cent during the Depression. European cities were full of homeless refugees. There were political upheavals in European nations, which was triggered by the Great Depression. Moreover, the countries tried to become economically self-dependent, which resulted in competitiveness. It created further diplomatic tensions among European countries. It laid the groundwork for shifts in European geopolitics. The Great Depression resulted in financial losses, social hardships and political changes in European countries. These factors shaped the course of future developments.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Which US President started offering loans to the farmers to tackle with the economic crisis?

.....

Q.8: Who initiated the New Deal?

.....

.....

Q.9: What is the full form of IMF?

.....

.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The Economic Depression was an outcome of the destabilization of economy after the First World War. It refers to the fall in the economy of leading nations in the early 20th century following the First World War. It led to widespread unemployment and financial hardship of a global scale.
- The lack of balance in production and distribution led to economic depression which was characterized by unemployment.
- European countries, which depended on American loan, were also affected. As the American investment began to disappear, banks in Europe underwent an unstable phase. Other European nations flocked to London in search of loans, but Britain was itself in a difficult position
- Industrial and agricultural productions fell to a great extent during the Depression era.
- The affected countries tried several measures to recover from the loss like the New Deal introduced in the USA and like the autarky in many European nations.
- The Great Depression had far reaching impact on the course of history of the 20th century. The Great Depression resulted in financial losses, social hardships and political changes in European countries. These factors shaped the course of future developments.



6.7 FURTHER READING

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6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Japan

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Germany

Ans. to Q. No. 4: 24th October, 1929

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Austria

Ans. to Q. No. 6: 1931

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Herbert Hoover

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Franklin D Roosevelt

Ans. to Q. No. 9: International Monetary Fund



6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What does economic depression mean?

Q. 2: What was the New Deal?

Q. 3: Why did American loan create problems for European countries?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: What were the causes of the economic depression?

Q. 2: Discuss about the development of the Great Depression.

Q. 3: What were the conditions of the working class during the Great Depression?

Q. 4: How did the government of USA respond to the Great Depression?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: What measures were taken to recover from the Great Depression?

Q. 2: How did the Great Depression affect the world? Explain your answer.

Q. 3: How did life change during the Great Depression?

*** ***** ***

UNIT 7: NAZISM AND FASCISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Nazism in Germany

7.4 Fascism in Italy

7.5 Let us sum up

7.6 Further Readings

7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.7 Model questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the causes of the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany
- Discuss the impacts of Fascism and Nazism in world politics
- Analyse the major features of the doctrines of Fascism and Nazism

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the period of Economic Depression in Europe and its wider implications. In this Unit, we shall discuss the rise of political ideology that disturbed the balance of power in Europe and had disastrous results. These ideologies had a common trait which was marked by their hostility towards democracy and socialist ideas, and the aim of establishing dictatorship.

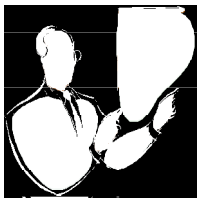
The term 'Fascism' was first used for the movement which started in Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini in Italy in the year 1922. The term Fascist was derived from the Italian word **fascio** which means 'bundle' and figuratively, a bundle of rods and an axe. This evidently became a symbol for the party flag.

On the other hand, after eleven years of fascist rule in Italy, **Nazism** triumphed in Germany under Adolf Hitler. Hitler became the most powerful dictator in Germany. Hitler called his movement Nationalist Socialism, though the socialism was little in evidence after 1929. Nazism's core concept was shaped by Hitler's beliefs in German (Aryan) racial superiority and the dangers of communism. It rejected democracy, liberalism, the rule of law, and human rights, stressing instead the subordination of the individual to the state and the requirement of strict obedience to leaders. It focused on the inequality of individuals and "races" and the right of the strong to rule the weak.

7.3 NAZISM IN GERMANY

After the unification of Germany, certain aspects of Germany's history after the first world war Germany had sought to satisfy her imperial ambitions through war but she had suffered defeat. The outbreak of revolution in Germany towards the end of first world war led to the collapse of German monarchy. However, even though Germany became a republic, the forces behind the monarchy – the industrialists, land owners, the officers of the army. The government of German republic was unable to destroy their power. These forces began to turn to the anti-democratic forces represented by Nazism to extend their power and to check the power of socialist movement.

The term Nazism derived from the name of the party which Hitler founded in 1921 – The National Socialist German Workers' Party, for short Nazi Party. Like Mussolini, Hitler had also planned to capture power through a march on Berlin. He was arrested and jailed, but was released before his term was over. In jail, he wrote his book 'Mein-Kampf' (literal meaning – my struggle), which expressed some of the most monstrous ideas of Nazi movement. He glorified the use of brute force. He preached extreme intolerance against the German Jews, who were pointed fingers at not only for the defeat of Germany in the first world war but for all the ills of Germany. He promoted and glorified violent Nationalism and extolled war.



LET US KNOW

The Enabling Act allowed the Reich government to issue laws without the consent of Germany's parliament, laying the foundation for the complete Nazification of German society. The law was passed on March 23, 1933, and published the following day. Its full name was the "Law to Remedy the Distress of the People and the Reich."

- **Rise of Hitler and Nazi party**

The Nazis capitalized on the sense of humiliation which many Germans felt at their defeat in the First world war and the unjust provisions of treaty of Versailles. They also exploited the misery of the people which had worsened due to the reparation which Germany was made to pay to the allied powers. In 1929 occurred the most serious economic crisis which affected the capitalist countries of the world. As a result of this crisis, eight million workers, about half of the working populations of Germany were rendered unemployment. It was during this period the Nazi party, which was no more than a conspiratorial group in the beginning began to spread its influence. The Social Democratic party and the Communist Party were very powerful with huge followers. These two parties were failed to united against Nazis.

The victory of Nazism in Germany, like that of Fascism in Italy, was neither the outcome of popular uprisings, nor the results of a sham march on Berlin such as Mussolini's on Rome. In the election held in Germany before Hitler came to power, the Nazi party had polled less votes then the socialist and communist vote put together. It had only 196 seats out of total of about 650. Hitler's coming to power was a result of political intrigues. Despite his poor showing in the election, Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany by the President Hindenburg of Germany on 30th January 1933. Within a few weeks, the entire democratic structure in Germany was shattered.

Soon after coming to power, Hitler ordered fresh election and let loose a reign of terror. Assassination of anti-Nazi leaders was organized on a large scale on 27th of February, 1933, the Reichstag (Parliament) building was set on fire by the Nazis. The communist party of Germany was blamed for the fire and was suppressed. In spite of the terror organized by the Nazis, the Nazi party could not win a majority of seats in the parliament. However, Hitler assumed dictatorial power and in 1934 became the president. Trade unions were suppressed and thousands of socialists, communists, and anti-Nazi political leaders were exterminated. The Nazi started a huge bon fire into which the works of some of the best writers of Germany and other countries were thrown. Besides socialist and communist, Jews were made victims of an organized campaign of humiliation and violence. A massive program of militarization was launched and preparation for war began. The victory of Nazism was a calamity not only for the German people but for the entire Europe and many other parts of the world.

The Nazi state: In 1934 the Nazis went on to abolish the separate parliaments of the individual states within the Reich, such as Prussia. They also began to devour their own kind: the SA (Sturmabteilung) was destroyed on the night of 30 June 1934. The Brownshirt of the SA included potential rivals to Hitler. The SA antagonized the German military, who saw the Brownshirt as a rival force to the army. Hitler proclaimed himself Fuhrer, combining in himself the offices of Chancellor, president, the military commander -in-chief. A secret police force was also developed. The Reichstag had already been reduced to an assembly of loyal Nazis, cheering and saluting on cue, and Nazi officials had steadily taken over all political appointments. Trade union were abolished, and a fierce censorship blotted out all criticism. By 1934, all power lay with Nazis and, above all, with the Fuhrer.

- **Causes of the rise of Nazism**

They offered national unity, prosperity and full employment by ridding Germany of what they believed were the true causes of all the troubles -

Marxists, also tagged as the 'November criminals' (the people who had agreed to the truce in November 1918 and later the Versailles Treaty), Jesuits, Freemasons and Jews. Increasingly, the Nazis sought to lay the blame for Germany's defeat in the First World War and all her subsequent problems on the Jews. With the 'stab in the back' myth, great play was made in Nazi propaganda - the idea that the German army could have fought on but were betrayed by the traitors who had surrendered prematurely.

They promised to build Germany into a great power again by overthrowing the Versailles settlement, which was so unpopular with most Germans. This would include bringing together all Germans (in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland) into the Reich.

The private army of the Nazi, the SA (Sturmabteilung - Stonn Troopers), was attractive to young people who were unemployed; it gave them a uniform along with a small wage.

Wealthy landowners and industrialists encouraged the Nazis because they feared a communist revolution and they approved of the Nazi policy of hostile approach to communists.

Hitler himself had unparalleled political abilities. He possessed great energy and willpower and a remarkable oratorial gift, which enabled him to put forward his ideas with immense emotional backing.

- **Doctrine of Nazism**

Nazism was greatly inspired by the teachings of Hegel, Nietzsche and Rosenberg. Hegel gave the ideas of extreme militarism and narrow nationalism. Nietzsche's nihilism rejected the western ideas of morality and dignity of men.

Aryan Supremacy: The Nazi ideology promoted the idea of protection and preservation of the Aryan race, which was seen as a pure, noble and superior race.

Totalitarianism: Nazism believed in the state having complete control over all aspects of society, including the economy, the media, and individual rights, which made it a totalitarian political system.

Führerprinzip: Nazism was led by one strong charismatic leader, who held absolute power and was believed to carry the will of the people. Adolf Hitler was the Führer of Nazi Germany.

Propaganda: The Nazis largely used propaganda to shape public opinion and force their ideology. They had control on the media and used posters, rallies and films to spread their message.

Anti-Semitism: The Nazi regime was dominated by anti-Semitic nature, and it spread the idea that Jews were responsible for many of the problems facing Germany. This led to the execution of policies aimed at the extermination of six million Jews during the Holocaust.

Militarism: The Nazis followed a policy of aggressive expansionism, which inevitably led to the outbreak of World War II. The military was looked at as the ultimate expression of German power and strength.

Eugenics: The Nazis pushed the idea of eugenics, or the selective breeding of humans to form a superior race. This was implemented using policies aimed at sterilizing or eliminating individuals who were deemed “unfit” or “inferior”.

- **Impact**

The impact of Nazism on Germany was profound and far-reaching, leaving a legacy that reverberated through the nation’s history and society. Nazi rule, under Adolf Hitler from 1933 to 1945, inflicted devastating consequences on Germany in numerous aspects, reshaping its politics, economy, society, and culture.

Political Impact: Nazism transformed Germany into a totalitarian state, consolidating power under Hitler and the Nazi Party. The regime dismantled democratic institutions, suppressed opposition, and established a dictatorial rule. The Reichstag Fire in 1933 was exploited to justify the Enabling Act, effectively granting Hitler the authority to enact laws without the approval of the parliament. Subsequently, concentration camps and secret police, like the Gestapo, were utilized to eliminate dissent and enforce compliance.

Economic Impact: The Nazi regime implemented extensive economic policies aimed at achieving self-sufficiency and rearmament. This included massive public works programs, such as the construction of the Autobahn, to reduce unemployment. However, these initiatives were sustained by a militarized economy, plunder from conquered territories, and the exploitation of forced labor, especially from marginalized groups and concentration camps. By the end of the war, the economy was in ruins, and Germany faced immense debt and destruction.

Social Impact: Nazism propagated a racist ideology, promoting the belief in Aryan racial superiority and advocating for the extermination of "undesirable" groups, particularly Jews, Romani people, disabled individuals, and others deemed inferior. This led to the systematic murder of six million Jews in the Holocaust, causing irreparable trauma and leaving a scar on the nation's collective memory. Additionally, Nazi policies enforced conformity and propagated propaganda, controlling societal norms and promoting a cult of personality around Hitler.

Cultural Impact: The Nazi regime sought to reshape German culture, promoting Nazi ideology in arts, literature, and education. Books deemed "un-German" or contrary to Nazi ideals were banned and burned. Artists and intellectuals were either censored or coerced into creating works that glorified the regime. Simultaneously, the persecution of intellectuals, scientists, and artists who opposed Nazi ideology stifled creativity and diversity of thought.

Legacy: The defeat of Nazism in 1945 resulted in Germany's division and occupation by Allied powers. The Nuremberg Trials held individuals accountable for war crimes and crimes against humanity, highlighting the atrocities committed under the Nazi regime. Germany faced a long period of denazification and had to confront its past, leading to a collective reckoning with its history and efforts to ensure such horrors would never be repeated. The impact of Nazism on Germany reverberates to this day, influencing policies, societal values, and efforts to promote tolerance, memory, and education about the dangers of extremism and totalitarianism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name the autobiography of Hitler.

.....

Q.2: What is the meaning of Fuhrer?

.....

..**Q.3:** What does the Reichstag mean?

.....

7.4 FASCISM IN ITALY

The first nation of Western Europe to turn against the old ruling regime was Italy. During World War I Italy deployed more than five and a half million men, of whom nearly 700,000 were killed. The financial burden of participating in the War was huge. The country underwent heavy losses in a war that was unpopular with both socialists and pro -Austrian Catholics. The nationalists were equally unhappy with the minimal gain in territory from the Treaty of Versailles. The War resulted in inflation with inevitable rise in prices, speculation, and profiteering. Protests and strikes were often. People of Italy held their rulers responsible for the humiliation at Versailles.

In 1919 Benito Mussolini lain the foundation stone of the Italian Fascist party and his armed gangs were used by landlords and industrialists to organize violence against the socialists and communists. A systematic campaign of terrorism and murder was carried out but the government showed no to little interest in curbing it. In between 1919 and 1922, there were five different governments, all of which were not capable of taking decisive affirmative action that the situation demanded. In 1921, elections were held in Italy. No single party could win a majority and thus, no stable government was formed. Despite the terror organized by Mussolini's party, they could only acquire 35 seats. When the party's instability came to light, Mussolini openly talked of seizing power. The Fascists staged a 'march on Rome' which ended in king Victor Emmanuel inviting Mussolini

to form a government. Thus, without firing even a shot, Fascists, under Mussolini's leadership, came to power in Italy and remained until July 1943.

- **Rise of Mussolini and Fascist party**

  Mussolini was born in Dovia di Predappio, Forli, Italy to Alessandro and Rosa Mussolini on July 29, 1883. His father was a blacksmith and mother was a devout catholic school teacher. After serving as an Italian army member during World War I, Mussolini came back home, looking for a way to unite the Italian people. In 1918, he began to deliver emotionally driven speeches, calling for a dictator to lead the country. He was convinced that only a strong leader could unite the people to overcome Italy's post war mass unemployment, strikes by socialists and communists, and chaotic political party conflicts. In 1919, Mussolini began his fascist movement in the northern city of Milan. He formed groups of street fighters and made them wear black shirts. These gangs beat up socialists and communists and forced them out of local governments. On the other side, the communist revolution in Russia had taken place only two years prior. Mussolini's fascist movement speedily garnered the support of anti-communist property owners, business people, and middle-class professionals like teachers and doctors. Mussolini formed the National Fascist Party in 1921. But he was yet to create a clear fascist program. However, he knew one thing for sure that he wanted to rule Italy. In October 1922, in a speech before thousands of his supporters, Mussolini declared, "Either the government will be given to us, or we will seize it by marching on Rome." After a few days, he led his followers on a massive march to Italy's capital city. As thousands converged on Rome, government leaders became so unnerved that they submitted resignation. Meanwhile, King Victor Emmanuel had the constitutional duty to appoint a new prime minister, who would form the next government. With his Blackshirt gangs and other supporters swarming the streets

of Rome, Mussolini demanded that the king appoint him as the prime minister. The king had to accept the proposal, and at age 39, Mussolini became Italy's youngest prime minister ever on October 29, 1922.

The Coalition Government formed by Mussolini was approved by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 306 to 116. The Italian population too gave their approval to the Fascist revolution and expected a strong and stable government as was promised to them. From 1922 to 1943 the Fascist Party, under Mussolini, dictated terms. The twenty-one years of rule by Mussolini gave Italy the appearance of being converted to the Fascist ideology, though in reality only a small minority of confirmed Fascists—around 20,000,000 strong—alone were active, while majority of people simply submitted by accepting the new regime. Mussolini came together with Hitler and entered the war in 1940. However, Italy was defeated in 1943 and Mussolini's regime was overthrown.

The Fascist State

Mussolini wasted no time in consolidating his power once he became the Prime minister of Italy in 1922. The Fascists operated as a kind of private army to do his bidding. The monarchy imposed no constraints and restrictions on the Prime minister and, in the election of 1924, Mussolini had full control of parliament. After the election, Mussolini shut down opposition newspapers and banned public protests and related meetings. He declared all other political parties illegal except for his own Fascist Party. He banned the labour unions and their strikes. He also founded a political police force, the Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Antifascism. A Fascist Grand Council rubber-stamped Mussolini's decrees and made parliament lose its relevance. Mussolini had adopted the title, Il Duce (the Leader) by 1925. He delivered emotion filled public speeches, swaying back and forth, puffing his chest, and resting his hands on his hips. The crowds reverted fascist slogans such as "Il Duce is always right!" and "Believe, obey, fight!"

Mussolini tried comparing the "new man" of Italy to the hardened soldiers of ancient Rome. As for women, Il Duce saw their role as of giving birth and taking care of a new generation of warriors. The Fascist Party formed youth organizations for all boys and girls aged between 8 and 18. These groups promoted military drills (for boys), physical training, and the ideals of the fascist state.

Mussolini had very little use for religion. However, Italy was a strongly Catholic country. Gentile continued the teaching of Catholic doctrine in the elementary schools, as minister of education. But, at the secondary level, he replaced it with philosophy. The Catholic Church showed objection to this reform. Mussolini adopted pro-Catholic policies against abortion and divorce to keep the church from opposing his fascist regime. In 1929, he signed a treaty with the church which resulted in making Catholicism the state religion. This agreement also brought back the teaching of Catholic doctrine in secondary schools. On the other hand, the church accepted Mussolini's fascist state and to stay away from Italy's political affairs.

- **Causes for rise of Fascism**
  - Out of all the factors that led to consolidation of Fascism in Italy, the prominent ones can be understood from the below mentioned points:
  - *Disappointments from the Versailles settlement*: When Italy entered the war, the Allies had promised several territories. Italy was however given only four territories; rest were awarded to others. The Italians were disheartened in view of their valiant efforts during the first world war and loss of 700,000 men. The military leaders in Italy were disappointed as the victory did not yield desired outcomes.
  - *Economic aftermath of the war*: In the wake of the war, Italy went for demobilization which created serious unemployment and bred discontent. There were major strikes and lock-outs in the country. Hungry mobs organized a number of uprisings and frequent riots. The existing government was not able to tackle

the situation of the county. Under these circumstances the people thought that only a strong, powerful, and stable government could take the country forward. It was argued by the followers of Fascism that Italy, under such terrible conditions, will only be saved by the Fascist revolution. The situation was fully utilised to their benefit by Fascists under the leadership of Mussolini and they fed the people with the idea of proving them a strong government.

- *Unbothered parliamentarians in Italy*: The doubtful system of franchise prevailing in the country also contributed to the rise of fascism in Italy. Under the existing system of franchise various political parties entered the parliament. The members of these parties often discussed baseless and irrelevant issues and did not pay any attention to the public welfare. Due to their mutual differences these parties could not take any concrete actions against the terrorists and thereby contributed to the rise of fascism in Italy.
- *Rise of communism in Russia:* the Russian revolution was also an inspiration for the Italian leaders. The Italian leaders fully tried to exploit the extremely bad economic conditions prevailing in the post-world war phase and tried transplanting the soviet system in Italy. They organized riots, strikes, etc and created a chaotic condition in Italy which was exploited by the Fascist.
- *Nationalism and Socialism:* These two forces were particularly more influential in Italy than in any other country in Europe. Italians were disgruntled elements for the loss of spoils of victory compared to that of England and France which made them feel like poor relatives among the rich Western allies. This provided the ground to opposing groups like Nationalists and Socialists from 1920 onwards to criticise Prime Minister Giolitti's government for his inability to solve the piling socioeconomic

problems of post-war Italy. These two parties were also clashing against each other amidst an atmosphere of rebellion and violence. At this point, Mussolini appeared on the scene with claims to unite the seemingly conflicting forces of socialism and nationalism. His new political party suggested a happy union of both the groups.

- **Fascism and its features**

Fascism is an idea of the twentieth century that is almost best defined by what it opposes. It is a paradoxical outgrowth of the horrifying outcomes of World War I—paradoxical in the sense that it is at once a reaction to the horrific conditions and massive loss and disfigurement of the war and an embracing of the sense of strong relationship and companionship that grew in the trenches. Mussolini's frequently changing its aims before 1923 suggest that his main concern was simply to acquire power; after that he seems to have just modified and added to his ideas as he went along. It eventually came out that the type of fascism Mussolini had in mind contained certain features, such as: it is more like an authoritarian and stable government, it required a one-party state, followers of extreme nationalism, it also required economic self-sufficiency and the most important is the strong military organization.

Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) was the chief exponent of the fascist doctrine and was a disciple of Hegel and a great admirer of Benito Mussolini. He had described the core elements of Mussolini's philosophy as anti-intellectualism; the total submission to authority; and contempt for reason. He mentions that Fascists were opposed to democracy, liberalism, and all forms of socialism, be it revolutionary or evolutionary. Democracy was seen as stupid, corrupt, slow moving and the worst form of government—'a decaying corpse'. Parliament was criticised as a useless talking shop. He also rejected the Marxist's advocacy that everything in life was determined by economic factors and went on to say "economic well-

being would reduce man to the level of animals." Fascists also did not agree with the idea of class war and stood for cooperation between all sectors of society in the glory of the state. Fascism was based on idea of extreme and narrow nationalism. Complete commitment to the state was the highest duty of citizens. Fascism also opposed international peace and harmony and rooted for war as a national policy, as it alone provides a chance to demonstrate the strength of the nation. He said, "War is to man what maternity is to women." Therefore, territorial expansionism was the avowed policy of Fascism.

- **Impact**
  - *Expansion of territories*: Mussolini slowly transformed the weak foreign policy of the previous government and tried to make Italy a superpower. Need for raw material for industrial development, increase in population, making it imperative for Italy to have territorial expansion. Italy accordingly adopted the policy of setting France against England; France and England against Germany; England, France and Germany against the Soviet Union. Therefore, through an organised policy of dividing the major European powers and through invasion and conquest, Mussolini succeeded in expanding Italian territories.
  - *Economy and Labour*: Fascism applied the imagery and metaphors of war to economic production, as evident in highly propagandized, but largely unsuccessful, 'battles' for national autarchy in raw materials and wheat, in its efforts to 'nationalize' the Italian masses. According to the principle enshrined in the Fascist Charter of Labour of 1927, Mussolini claimed to cater to the needs of workers while rejecting socialism, that earlier conflict between employees and bosses was now overcome as both became 'producers' for the nation. The implementation of the 'Corporate State' during the 1930s,

consisting of representative bodies of employers and employees for each sector of the economy, only superficially reflected this. In practice, employers were favoured over workers by the regime. In the wake of the 1930s economic depression, big businesses benefited from the state's intervention to save failing companies and fascism's preparation for long-term warfare and occupation of foreign territory. Despite state welfare measures, huge numbers of workers and their families saw a decline in living standards. Fascist unions did very little to protect them against wage cuts and sackings. While propaganda exalted rural life, the economic policies of the regime impoverished the peasant masses in particular.

- *Led to Second World War*: Mussolini joined the Anti-Communist Pact of Japan and Germany in 1937. Therefore, the Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis came into being. Also, during the Spanish Civil War, Italy helped General Franco. The victory of the General in the Civil War led to strengthening of the position of Italy in the western Mediterranean. Now, Italy was in the German camp. Subsequently, in 1938, Italy denounced the treaty made with France in 1935. Italy was right on the warpath when she concluded a formal military pact with Germany in May 1939.
- *Education:* Government of Mussolini heavily invested in education as a means of developing future generations of fascists. Ideological penetration of education was very much evident in primary schools, where politically 'reliable' instructors tried to ensure that children were drilled in fascist 'values', including a spirit of sacrifice and heroism, strict obedience to authority, and protection and enhancement of the Italian 'race'. Youth organizations of the Fascist Party assisted the process of ideological instruction through to university, with activities

focused on pre-military training for boys and forms of civic service for girls, although working-class youngsters were less likely to participate if they left school early to go into employment. In poorer parts of Italy, particularly the South and rural areas, lack of resources limited the attractiveness and extent of organized youth activities. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the fascist regime was very successful in controlling the minds of children and teenagers, having been made to believe that fascism as well as their leader were invincible. Having been brought up to believe that their leader and fascism were invincible, many were left traumatized by Mussolini's fall from power during the Second World War.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Name a fascist force.

.....

Q.5: Who formed the Fascist government in Italy.

.....



7.5 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- Nazism and Fascism gained prominence in the 20th century, represent the dark chapter in the human history. Rooted in the authoritarianism, these movement championed the nationalism, totalitarian rule, and the suppression of individual freedoms.
- Characterized by aggressive expansionism, racial superiority and the cult of a single leader, they led to devastating consequences including the Holocaust and widespread devastation during World War II. Despite their initial appeal to certain segments of the society, Nazism and Fascism stand as stark reminders of the dangers of unchecked powers, intolerance and the erosion of democratic values. It is crucial

to remember the lesson of history to prevent the resurgence of such ideologies and strive for world built on equality, tolerance and protection of fundamental human rights.



7.6 FURTHER READING

1. Carsten, F. L. (1967). *The Rise of Fascism*. London. Methuen.
2. Dev, Arjun & Indira Arjun Dev. (2009). *History of the World*. Hyderabad. Orient Blackswan.
3. Lowe. Norman. (2013). *Mastering Modern World History*. UK. Palgrave Macmillan.
4. Nester, William R. (2010). *Globalization: A Short History of the Modern World*. Palgrave Macmillan.
5. Watson, Jack. (1985). *Success in European History 1815-1941*. London. John Murray Ltd.



7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Mein Kampf.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Leader

Ans. to Q. No. 3: German parliament

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Black Shirt

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Benito Mussolini

Ans. to Q. No. 6: To end monarchy.



7.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What do you understand by Fascist State?

Q. 2: Mention any two factors which led to the rise of Hitler in Germany.

Q. 3: What was the Mussolini's view on educating women in Italy?

Q. 4: How did Hitler manage to claim power in Germany?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: How did Nazism become popular in Germany?

Q. 2: What role did Mussolini play in removing the monarchy from power?

Q. 3: State the major features of fascism.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Explain Fascism. Analyse the rise of Mussolini and the consequences of fascist ideals.

Q. 2: Write briefly in 50 words about the Nazi's idea about Aryan supremacy which was promoted by Hitler.

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UNIT 8: WORLD WAR II

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Origin

8.3.1 Nature

8.4 Results of World War II

8.5 Let Us Sum Up

8.6 Further Readings

8.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.8 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the origin of the Second World War,
- Analyse the nature of Second World War and how it was different from all the previous wars.
- Discuss the consequences of the Second World War

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed in details the doctrines of Fascism and Nazism and the rise of the authoritarian leaders Mussolini and Hitler under Italy and Germany respectively.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the Second World War in details. We will discuss the origin and nature of the War. The Unit shall also discuss the outcome of the War. The Second World War was the most devastating war that the world has ever witnessed. The Second World War began in Europe in September 1939 between Germany on one side and France and England on the other. Until the entry of United States into the war in December 1941, the war essentially remained a European war. The war affected most of the nations of the world. The war was certainly global in

character as it for it saw prolonged fighting in the pacific as well as in the Atlantic, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe. The first phase of the war lasted from September 1939 until April 1940. It was one of the unbroken German victories against Poland, Scandinavia and the Low Countries. The events of the second phase of the war (1940-41) were the defeat and fall of France, the Battle of Britain and the war in North Africa. The third phase of the war started in June 1941 and lasted until November 1942. The chief events were the German invasion of the Soviet Russia, the Japanese war against the United States and Allies and the Allied landings in Morocco and Algiers. The fourth phase of the war (1942-44) was a phase of preparation for the final repulse of Germany, Italy and Japan. The final phase of the war (1944-45) witnessed the liberation of France, the surrender of Germany and Japan and the collapse of Eastern and Central Europe under soviet influence.

8.3 ORIGIN OF WORLD WAR II

After the First World War, in 1919 a Peace Conference had been convened at Paris. Several treaties had been concluded with the defeated countries. The Allied powers had also discussed about the established of permanent peace in the world. The League of Nations had been established to solve the mutual problems in a peaceful manner. The members of the League promised to maintain peace, the territorial integrity and national unity of the nations and to solve problems through mutual discussions under the guidelines of the League. But the League could not work successfully due to many reasons. On the other hand, the peace of the continent was threatened by the rising powers of dictatorship in Germany, Italy, Japan and Spain. The dictators of these countries challenged the system established by the Paris Peace Conference through their aggressive activities and they also created danger for peace. Therefore the political situation again returned as it existed before the outbreak of First World War. The peace system established by the Allies could sustain only for twenty years and in 1939 the war began among the European powers. The following were the main causes of the Second World War:

1. Humiliating Treaty of Versailles – After the defeat of Germany in the First World War she was forced to sign the treaty of Versailles. According to the terms of this treaty Germany had to pay a huge amount as war indemnity and it was beyond her capacity at that time. The military power of Germany was reduced considerably and she was deprived of all her colonies. In the treaty of Versailles the victors did not adopt the policy of foresightedness while laying down the terms and conditions. They crushed the national prestige of Germany and therefore the Germans became dissatisfied against the harsh conditions of the treaty. The Germans decided to take revenge for their humiliation and therefore the Second World War has been called as the war of Revenge.

2. Rise of Dictatorship – In many countries of Europe the feeling of dictatorship arose especially in Germany, Italy, Japan and Spain. In 1933 Hitler came into power and became the dictator of Germany. He hated the treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations and therefore he violated the terms of treaty of Versailles and withdrew himself from the Disarmament Conference of Geneva. He declared that Germany was no longer a member of League of Nations and captured Austria and Czechoslovakia. Lastly he invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939 and thus the Second World War broke out. After the First World War the spirit of dictatorship also arose In Italy. Mussolini was the leader of the Fascist Party who captured the administration of Italy in 1922 and established his dictatorship. In the same way, the feeling of dictatorship also arose in Spain and Japan. In Spain, General Franco defeated the republicans in a civil war with the support of Hitler and Mussolini and established his dictatorship. On the other hand Japan after the First World War signed a treaty with Germany and Italy and Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis came into existence. This Axis became a danger for the peace of the continent.

3. Conflict between Democracy and Autocracy – The international tensions culminated in the Second World War were in part due to ideological conflicts and in part to conflicts of national interests. The combined operations of these two factors produced a cleavage between nations and led to their alignment in rival groups. In the formation of these groups a common ideology was no doubt an important factor but the most powerful incentive to join a particular alignment was supplied not so much by a common political faith as by considerations of furthering national interests. The rival systems often overlapped. Hence to attribute the tensions and conflicts of inter-war period to only one of these factors would be an over simplification of a fact which was essentially complex.

The Second World War saw the struggle between two contradictory principles i.e democracy and autocracy. Germany, Italy and Japan supported the principle of autocracy whereas England, France and America were the supporters of principle of democracy. The rapid spread of all these new ideas and concepts constituted a serious challenge to the democratic ways of Western Europe. Thus the war became inevitable between the supporters of democracy and autocracy. Once Mussolini had remarked 'the struggle between the two worlds presents no compromise: either we or they'.

4. Diplomatic Alliances – As agreed in the Paris Peace Conference, no member of League of Nations would make any alliance with other countries and if any such alliances were formed, they would be treated as violation of the covenant of the League and such countries would be punished. But several secret as well as open treaties were concluded by the European nations. As a result of these alliances Europe was divided into two groups. Germany, Japan and Italy were part of Fascist group and they opposed the Treaty of Paris, violated its provisions and supported the principles of dictatorship. The other group was formed of anti-fascist powers like France, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. When the World War

started Russia joined the fascist group whereas Great Britain and America joined the democratic group led by France. Thus the clear cut division of the continent of Europe in two contradictory groups made the Second World War inevitable.

5. Militarism – The treaty of Versailles sought to destroy German militarism by reducing the military strength of Germany to the minimum. Germany was forced to reduce her army to 1, 00,000 men, to stop their import and export and to restrict the production of war materials. She also had to surrender her fleet to Britain. Germany felt cheated and therefore tried to increase her military powers. In 1933 when Hitler came to power he made military education compulsory for all its citizens. After Germany almost all countries of Europe began to increase their military strength in 1938. Therefore the Second World War was inevitable owing to the immense increase in armaments and the development of militarism.

6. Imperialism – the rise and development of imperialism also contributed towards the outbreak of Second World War. Even after witnessing the destructive role of imperialism in the First World War the European countries did not give up this policy. Hitler and Mussolini clearly declared that the aim of their foreign policy was to re-establish a vast empire. Hitler occupied Rhineland, Memmel, Austria, and Czechoslovakia and incorporated them into his empire. Japan also occupied Manchuria. Mussolini also occupied several territories and created a vast empire. In 1935 in order to check the aggressive policy of fascist powers France and Russia signed a pact. Furthermore in order to ensure her position against Germany several treaties were concluded by France with countries like Belgium, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia. This way the feeling of imperialism led to rivalry among the big powers of Europe.

7. Weakness of League of Nations – The League of Nations was established in order to maintain permanent peace and order in the

world after the First World War. But despite of its efforts the organization failed to secure world peace. The member states violated its provisions and many left the membership. The League of Nations had no effective machinery to enforce its decisions and therefore it failed to maintain peace during Japan-Manchurian War, China-Japan War and Italy-Abyssinian War. It could not restrain Hitler and his aggressive policy. So the Second World War became evitable due to the weakness and incompetence of League of Nations.

8. Mutual Differences of the Allies – The allied powers could not remain united against the increasing influence of dictatorship in Europe. It led to the rise of the power of Italy and Germany. Due to their mutual differences the allied powers could not take any collective steps against Hitler and Mussolini. They adopted the policy of appeasement and did not try to prevent the increasing powers of these dictators. England and America wanted to adopt liberal policy towards Germany but France opposed it. France was disappointed with the policy of England and America and therefore she concluded treaties with Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. Hitler took advantage of this situation and signed a treaty with Russia and this treaty was called the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact in the history of Europe. Thus the Allies became weak due to their mutual differences and distrust.

The immediate cause of the War was events that followed the declaration of the independence of Poland in the Paris Peace Conference and therefore a Polish Corridor was also created through Germany in order to join Poland with the sea coast. It ran up to the port of Danzig. This decision was against the prestige of Germany. Hitler wanted to restore the lost glory of Germany by adopting aggressive policy and launching attacks on different countries of Europe. The fundamental aim of Hitler's foreign policy was the establishment of Greater Germany. He captured the province of Rhine, Austria and Czechoslovakia and established the Rome-Berlin

Axis. Hitler made a plan to attack Poland after taking Memel. He demanded Danzig and also demanded that Polish Corridor to be ceded to Germany. France and England adopted the policy of appeasement towards Hitler and Mussolini which encouraged them. They made several efforts to appease the dictators instead of preventing their increasing powers collectively. Poland on the other hand refused to accept the demands of Germany and was dependent upon the military support of England and France. At last, the British Government ended the policy of appeasement and announced that Great Britain would come to the rescue of Poland against German invasion. But Hitler did not pay any attention towards it and invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. The British Government was bound to help Poland and therefore declared a war against Germany on September 3, 1939.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: . In which year did Hitler invaded Poland?

.....

Q.2: . What was the immediate cause of World War II?

.....

Q.3: . Who was the leader of Fascist party?

.....

8.3.1 Nature of World War II

The Second World War was different from all the previous wars in many aspects. It was a total war – a war in which all the resources of the state and the whole activity of the nation were mobilized for war purposes. The omnipotence of the state was exercised as never before. It took control of the activities of every sphere of life and subordinated them to the exigencies of the war. Everybody was made to contribute to war efforts, Food and many other items were rationed, private houses were requisitioned and factories were

controlled. The scope and strategy of the war was world-wide. The battles of World War II were fought in all the quarters of the globe – in the ice floes of Arctic region, in the deserts of North Africa, in the jungles of Burma and New Guinea, in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Islands of the Pacific in the Far East.

The Second World War was different in method and strategy from the First World War. The most important feature of the First World War was that it was static and was trench warfare. The Second World War on the other hand was characterized by unexampled mobility. Hitler's Blitzkrieg or lighting war struck down six nations within a time period of three months and it was only possible because of the successful cooperation between the German land and air forces and also the perfect organization of the supply services. Another characteristic of the war was the use of airplanes as a dominant weapon. Air power shattered old traditions of attack and defence and wiped away the distinction between combatants and non-combatants. The World War II was also a war of ideas as of nations. The Nazis looked upon themselves as superior race and wanted the inferior races to work for them. The aggressive policy of Nazis towards the other states clearly reflected this philosophy. Apart from this Nazism stood for a totalitarian state in which there was no room for individual freedom of any kind. Hence it was a big challenge to the democratic ways of life prevalent in Western Europe. The ideologies of Nazis threw all human rights and moral considerations to the winds as they committed crimes like mass murders at concentration camps without any compunction of conscience. Hence fight against Nazism at that time was compared to fight for freedom and civilization. That's why the Allies formulated their war aims in the Atlantic Charter of 1941. President Roosevelt summed up the war aims of the Allies as consisting of four freedoms- Freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and political freedom. The same principle was announced in a joint declaration issued by

Roosevelt and Churchill at the Cassablanca Conference in January 1943. In declaring the objective of the war to be the 'unconditional surrender' of the Axis Powers they said 'unconditional surrender' means not the destruction of the German populace, nor of the destruction of Italian or Japanese populace but it mean the destruction of a philosophy in Germany, Italy and Japan which is based on the conquest and subjugation of other peoples. Thus the ideology of Allies stood in marked contrast to that of the Axis Powers. It is thus clear that more than just political liberty was at stake. It was civilization as it has grown up in Europe that was threatened.

The World War II was a global war. It was destructive and posed a challenge to mankind that if wars of this kind were not stopped; human civilized will be wiped out very soon from the surface of the earth. World War II was far more devastating both in terms of loss of material and manual resources compared to World War I. Each warring nation and civilian population all over the world suffered many hardships. Property worth crores and crores of rupees were lost and lakhs of human lives were also lost. In the real sense of term it was a global war. In both the World Wars propaganda played a main role and both the sides always kept their propaganda machinery geared up. In the Second World War both military and civilian population got directly or indirectly involved in one way or the other. Speed was also an contributing factor in the war. Every war was taken at a tremendous speed, without any loss of time. All decisions were taken promptly and mostly on the spot. Both the sides used extensively available sophisticated war material for winning purpose. Air force and industry played a decisive role in the war.

8.4 RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II

The Second World War was a momentous event which changed the whole world. The loss of human life and material goods was beyond

calculation. About 40-50 million people lost their lives and half of them were civilians. The destruction was greatest in the German-Soviet War and Russian losses were estimated at 20 million dead. France lost around 50, 00,000 lives. The forces of British Commonwealth lost some 4, 45,000 lives. In addition 60,000 civilians were perished by aerial attacks. The United States estimated their loss at around 3, 00,000 military casualties. Germany lost over 4 million out of which 1 million people were civilians. China and Japan loses estimated at 6 and 3 million respectively. Italy lost around 3, 10,000 and half of them were civilians.

The Second World War also caused enormous uprooting and displacement of people. German conscription of labour in the occupied countries displaced millions of Europeans from their homes. Millions were taken as prisoners. In the first three and half years of the war 30 million Europeans had left their original homes. In the Balkans and Hungary, several hundred thousand people had found themselves uprooted. Hitler and Stalin forceful movements were also responsible for displacement of people. Hitler brought home German minorities from the South Tyrol, the Baltic States, the Bukovina and the Dobrudja. Hitler also drove out Poles, Slovenes and Czechs from their homes and tried to replace them with Germans. Likewise Stalin moved Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians into Russia. This led to the problem of resettlement and re-housing. The settlement of frontiers at Yalta and Postdam effected various transplantations. A large number of Germans sought asylum in the British and American Zones of Occupation. Massive war weariness added to human suffering and distress.

The material and moral havoc brought by the war was on a gigantic scale. Hundreds of harbours were destroyed, miles of railway line, railway bridges, tunnels, road bridges and roads were damaged and destroyed. Apart from these material resources were exhausted and agricultural crops were reduced. But the greatest moral damage done by the war was hatred and thirst for revenge.

The economic consequences of the war were far reaching. Though the United States, Canada and South America had been enriched, the rest of the world had been impoverished. Trade was at a standstill, transportation and communication had been disrupted, currencies were depreciated and

credit facilities uncertain and food and fuel stocks were inadequate. The recovery from these conditions was slower in Eastern Europe than in the west. The position of United States in the war gave her a upper hand. Her economic output, gold reserve, balance of trade was such that it turned out that no country in Europe could achieve reconstruction without American aid. This economic dependence of Europe upon the United States gave her the political primacy.

The political consequences of the war were immense. The immediate consequence was the disappearance of the German state. Germany was divided into four zones, to be occupied and administered by Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States in accordance with the decisions reached at Yalta. In each zone the authority was vested in the military commander of the occupying power and the four commanders together would constitute a 'Control Council' for Germany as a whole.

Russia emerged from the war with enlarged territory. Apart from retaining all the territory Karelia and the Baltic Countries like (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) Polish White Russia, Bessarbia and Northern Bukovina were acquired as a result of the German-Soviet Pact. She also added East Prussia, Ruthenia, East Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, South Sakhalin, Dairen and Port Arthur. Russia showed tremendous resilience after the war.

The Second World War diminished Britain's strength and crippled her economic resources. With huge overseas debts Britain had no financial means for reconstruction. The position of France also weakened because of Nazi occupation. Their situation was made worse by the existence of various political groups and also the activities of Communists. As a matter of fact French politics after the Second World War continued to appear as 'an interregnum of dissent between spell of chaos'.

The Second World War shifted the balance of power. Two great world powers emerged out of the war i.e the United States and Soviet Russia. Both had been strong states before the war but after the following years they became the arbiters of International events. In the struggle

between the two ideologies- Democracy and Communism the latter emerged with remarkable strength. During 1946-47 the governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were converted step by step into communist dictatorships. Democratic monarchies were restored in Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The destructive output of the Second World War opened the eyes of many countries. They understood the fact that peace and harmony could only be established with mutual trust, cooperation and friendship. They also realized that war was not an ultimate means for the solution of the problems. After the First World War same feelings had arisen and League of Nations was established on the basis of mutual cooperation. Although this organization attempted to bring idealism to bear upon practical politics but this idealism evaporated before selfish motives of different nations. Hence in the field of politics international cooperation failed and Second World War broke out. After the end of Second World War the countries again realized the necessity of mutual cooperation and therefore they decided to solve their issues through peaceful discussions. The United Nations Organization (U.N.O) which was established in 1945 was solely based upon this idea. Its fundamental aim was to maintain international peace and security in order to develop friendly relations and international cooperation.

The war brought drastic change in the male-female ratio of world population. Millions of youth particularly male, who were in their productive age lost their lives on the battlefield and it created an imbalance in the male-female ratio.

The Second World War resulted in the growth of socialist principle particularly in African and Asian Countries. A sense of disapproval against imperialism colonialism and capitalism developed in these countries. They realized that the exploitation of their resources by other nations was hampering their development. Countries like South Africa, Tunicia, Libya, Sudan and Algeria started national movements for independence from

colonialism. Likewise a Asian countries like India, Celyon and Burma demonstrated examples of becoming independent through nationalist movements which inspired Malaya, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia and other countries. Thus the hold of imperial powers in Asia and Africa gradually reduced.

The destruction left by the war created an environment suitable for anti-social elements and criminals. In many countries there arose law and order problems. Crimes like smuggling, hoarding and black-marketing began to increase. As the people were economically affected many of them resorted to such illegal activities. Moreover the acute shortage of essential commodities added fuel to the fire. Prices of commodities skyrocketed and many of the commodities were only available in black-markets which increased corruption. The countries found it difficult to start developmental activities as most of the resources were spent to reconstruct destroyed properties.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: The Second World War was called a Total War. True or False.

.....

Q.5: The Nazis believed in the Master Race Theory. True or false.

.....

Q.6: Which country adopted the Blitzkrieg warfare?

.....

Q.7: The Cassablanaca Conference was held in which year?

.....

Q.8: In which year the U.N.O was established?

.....

Q.9: Which Conference decided to divide Germany into four zones after the war?

.....

Q.10: Which two countries emerged as World Powers after the Second World War?

.....

.....



8.5 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The Second World War by far the most destructive war ever fought in the history of human kind.
- The main cause of the Second World War was the imperialist attitude of Germany, Italy and Japan and the policy of appeasement initially adopted by other European powers. Germany, under the leadership of Hitler re-strengthened her after the humiliating defeat in the First World War. Germany had kept a grudge against the allied forces as she was compelled to sign the humiliating Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Hitler wanted to dominate the world by his aggressive policy and he was supported by Benito Mussolini, the Dictator of Italy.
- The Second World War began after Hitler attacked Poland in 1939. Great Britain and France declared war against Germany following that. Soon the countries of the world were divided into two distinct groups- Allied Power led by Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and the USA and the Axis Power, led by Germany, Italy and Japan.
- The Second World War was fought all over the world, resulting in destruction of property and loss of human lives in an unprecedented manner.
- After many battles, the Second World War ended in 1945. The world realized the destructive nature of wars and efforts were made to create a warless world. It resulted in the formation of the United Nations Organization.



8.6 FURTHER READING

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2. Mukherjee, L. (1976) *A Study of Modern Europe and the World (1815-1950),* M.L Mukherjee, Calcutta.
3. Briggs Asa and Calvin Patricia (2009) *Modern Europe, 1789-Present,* Pearson Education Limited, New Delhi.
4. Lowe Norman (2011) *Mastering Modern World History*, Macmillan Publishers India Limited, Chennai.
5. Ketelbey, C.D.M (2009) *A History of Modern Times from 1789*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.



8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: September 1, 1939

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Hitler's Invasion of Poland

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Mussolini

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Germany

Ans. to Q. No. 7: 1943

Ans. to Q. No. 8: 1945

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Yalta Conference

Ans. to Q. No. 10: United States and Soviet Russia



8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What was the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis?

Q. 2: Why Hitler invaded Poland?

Q. 3: Which Countries fought in World War II?

Q. 4: Why did England and France adopt the policy of appeasement towards Germany?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: How did the rise of Nazism and Fascism become one of the causes of the Second World War?

Q. 2: To what extent the treaty of Versailles was responsible for the outbreak of Second World War?

Q. 3: What was the immediate cause of Second World War?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the factors responsible for the outbreak of Second World War.

Q. 2: Elaborate the major consequences of the Second World War.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 9: UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Formation

- 9.3.1 Different Bodies
- 9.3.2 Activities

9.4 Let Us Sum Up

9.5 Further Readings

9.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.7 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the concept of United Nations Organisation (UNO).
- Discuss its origin and how it was formed.
- Discuss the different organs or bodies of the UNO.
- Explain the various activities of UNO.
- Explain the role of UNO in maintaining world peace and security.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the origin, nature and consequences of the Second World War II. In this Unit, we shall discuss the formation of United Nations Organisation, its aims and objectives, different bodies of UNO and the activities of each of these bodies.

The 20th century is a critical period in the human history. Before it ran half its course it saw two world wars which in their progressive brutality and destructiveness portended a crisis to all that human civilisation stands for. But crisis whether individual or international has a sobering effect and man is led to think of higher things to avert its recurrence. The horrors of the Napoleonic wars stimulated the piety of Czar Alexander I who evolved

a scheme for a holy alliance of Christian powers. The First World War produced the League of Nations which embodied President Wilson's effort to bring idealism to bear upon practical politics. But as has been already noticed this, idealism evaporated before the selfish consideration of individualistic diplomacy. International co-operation in the field in the field of politics failed and the Second World War raised its hydra-headed hood. But in spite of past failures man's optimism is irrepressible and he has looked forward even in the midst of mortal perils of this hideous war, to the prospect of realising the ideal of one 'world state' in which all nations may dwell together in peace and amity. It is this ideal which gave birth to the United Nations Organisation (UNO).

9.3 FORMATION

With a view to maintaining balance of power, the big powers reverted to the pre-war policy of alliances and regional pacts. The Second World War broke out in 1939. For the second time the intensity of the war, the use of new types of destructive weapons, the vast scale of casualties and destruction of property had made the people all over the world anxious for peace and security and they felt the necessity of establishing a well organised and more powerful world organisation. Some people had thought of the revival of the League of Nations. But most of the statesmen of the world resolved to form such organisation which would be able to infuse new hopes and confidence in the teeming millions for ever lasting peace and security. The United Nations was born out of such anxiety and determination.

Attempts of establishing an international organisation in the name of United Nations had already begun a few years before the end of the Second World War. In June 1941, the representatives of Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa proposed for the first time in the London Declaration the establishment of an international organisation in lieu of regional pacts as the means of enduring permanent peace and security. On August 14, 1941, in a dramatic mid-ocean meeting on board a ship, President Roosevelt and Churchill drew up what came to be known

as the 'Atlantic Charter' containing a declaration of aims on which they "based their hopes for a better future for the world". The objectives of this charter were to maintain international peace and security; to encourage international co-operation in the sphere of social, economic and cultural development of the world; to develop friendly relations among nations on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to recognise the fundamental rights and status of all people. In order to achieve these purposes it was declared in the charter that;

- All the signatories to the charter will recognise sovereignty and equality of all states big and small
- Will peacefully settle all sorts of disputes instead of war or threats of war
- Will help the UNO against a state violating treaties or engagement
- In the case of determining the frontiers of a foreign country the signatories will not dishonour the opinion of the people of that state.
- The people of each state will enjoy the right of drafting their constitution according to their own desire
- In the sphere of trade and commerce and economy equal rights of all countries will be recognised
- All will try to create a favourable condition for all nations so that after the fall of Nazi Germany they can devote themselves to the task of internal reconstruction in freedom from fear and want
- All nations will equally try to preserve peace and security in the world by reducing armaments and ammunition.

In January 1942 representatives of 26 nations signed the United Nations Declaration at Washington. The Declaration subscribed to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. The signatories to this Declaration pledged to continue war against the enemy collectively and not to conclude separately any armistice with the enemy.

In the Moscow Declaration of 1943, the Foreign ministers of Britain, USA, Russia and China confirmed the necessity of forming a general international organisation based on the principle of the sovereign equality

of all peace loving nations for the preservation of international peace and security. The Moscow communique declared for the first time that "they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security".

Next in 1945 the US President, the British Prime Minister Churchill and the Soviet Prime Minister Stalin met at the Yalta Conference and resolved to convene a session of the United Nations. The nature of its organisation was also settled at this conference.

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) officially came into existence in 24th of October 1945 after the Second World War. It was formed to replace the League of Nations, which had proved incapable of restraining aggressive dictators like Hitler and Mussolini. In setting up the UNO the great powers tried to eliminate some of the weaknesses which had handicapped the League. The UN Charter was drawn up in San Francisco in 1945 and was based on proposals made at an earlier meeting between the USSR, the USA, China and Britain held at Dumbarton Oaks (USA) in 1944.

The aims of the UNO are as follows;

- Preserve peace and eliminate war
- Remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in underdeveloped countries
- Safeguard the rights of all individual human beings and the rights of people and nations.

The first 51 nations who have signed the UN Charter are called the 'Charter members'. The admission of a state to the United Nations is effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The condition for membership are that a state must be peaceful and must agree to obey and follow the terms and obligations contained in the UN Charter. It should however be noted that the five chef

members of the Security Council- USA, Britain, France, Soviet Union and Kuomintang China have the right of veto. It is not possible to admit a new member without the unanimous support of these five permanent members. The chief reason of depriving Communist China of its membership is the opposition of the USA. In October 1962 Communist China made an aggression upon India by violating international law. Hence she can never be called a peace-loving state according to one of the chief conditions of the UN Charter. However, after the Chinese nuclear blast (October 1964), it would not be possible for long to keep Communist China away from the UN.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: . When did the UN came into existence?

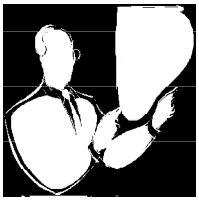
.....

Q.2: . Where is the Headquarter of UN situated?

.....

Q.3: . Who were called as the 'Charter Members'?

.....



LET US KNOW

United Nations Charter: The Charter of the United Nations is the founding document of the United Nations. It was signed on 26th of June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24th of October 1945.

9.3.1 Different Bodies

The United Nations Organisation has six main organs or bodies, these are;

a. The General Assembly

b. The Security Council

c. The Secretariat

d. The International Court of Justice

e. The Trusteeship Council, and

f. The Economic and Social Council.

The original members were those states who had signed the United Nations Declarations or taken part in the San Francisco Conference. New membership has been thrown open to all other peace loving states. Admission is effected by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. Applicants must accept the obligations contained in the Charter and must satisfy the organisation that they are capable of carrying out these obligations. Any one of the Big Five can veto an application and so there is ample room for dispute and diplomatic bargaining.

The role of the six organs or bodies of the UNO are as follows-

a. The General Assembly: The General Assembly is composed of all the members of the UN each represented by five delegates. Apart from this each member may have advisers and experts as may be required. The assembly meets in regular annual sessions and for each session one President and seven Vice Presidents are elected. Special sessions may be convoked at the request of the majority of the members or of the Security Council. Each member of the General Assembly has one vote. The Assembly may discuss any matter falling within the scope of the UN Charter. Any member of the Assembly or the Security Council or a non-member may initiate a discussion regarding international peace and security in the Assembly. The assembly has no legislative power and the execution of its recommendations is not binding. The general assembly may attract the attention of the Security Council towards a situation disturbing international peace and security. The non-permanent members of the Security Council and all members of the Trusteeship Council and those of the Economic and Social Council are all elected by the General Assembly. This is the meeting together of the representatives

from all the member nations; each member can send up to five representatives, though there is only one vote per nation. Its function is to make discuss and make decisions about international problems, to consider the UN budget and what amount each member should pay, to elect the Security Council members and to supervise the work of the many other UN bodies. It also includes decisions about admitting new members or expelling existing members and about actions to be taken to maintain peace. All speeches and debates are translated into the six official UN language- English, French, Russian, Chinese, Spanish and Arabic.

b. The Security Council: The Security Council is the executive body of the UN. This sits in permanent session and its function is to deal with crises as they arise, by whatever actions seems appropriate and if necessary, by calling on members to take economic or military action against an aggressor. The Council began with eleven members, five of them permanent (China, France, USA, USSR, and Britain) and the other six elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. In 1965, the number of the non-permanent members was increased to ten. The permanent members have the right of veto. By an application of this right a permanent member may reject any decision of the Security Council. The presidency of the Security Council is held in turn by the members of the Security Council. Each president holds for office for one month. The Security Council is the organ entrusted with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". It is entrusted with the responsibility of investigating any dispute or any situation which may disturb the world peace and security and to execute its decisions to that effect. Legal disputes are usually referred to the International Court of Justice. According to the charter the members of the UN are under obligation to make effective any decision adopted by the Council. If any

state disturbs international peace and security the Security Council at the first instance may call upon the UN members to impose economic sanction or to sever diplomatic relations with the aggressor. If and when these measures fail, it may call upon the UN members to help it with army, navy and air force. It takes the advice of the Military Staff Committee in regard to military aspects of enforcement action. The responsibility of conducting military operations is entrusted with the Military Staff Committee. If a member is attack by an enemy state then the aggrieved state may form regional military pact for her own security until a decision is taken by the Security Council. Apart from this the Security Council may recommend to the General Assembly for the expulsion of any member of the UN from it or for the admission of a new one.

c. **The Secretariat**: The UNO has a secretariat. It is instituted on the model of the League Secretariat. The UN Charter has attached special significance to the secretariat. For, upon its efficiency depends on the better functioning of the whole organisation. It is composed of a Security General, a number of assistant secretariats and a large number of international officials. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He acts as the Secretary General in all the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Trusteeship Council and of the Economic Council. He is authorised to bring to the attention of the Security Council any event or situation which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. The Secretary and all the Assistant Secretary Generals enjoy diplomatic immunities of all kinds. This is the 'office-staff' of the UN and it consists of over 50,000 employees. They look after the administrative work, preparing minutes of meetings, translations and information. It is headed by the Secretary General who is appointed for a five year term by the Assembly on the

recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary General acts as the main spokesperson for the UN and is always at the forefront of international affairs, trying to sort out the world's problems.

d. **The International Court of Justice**: The International Court of Justice has been constituted on the model of the earlier world court. Practically all members of the UN are its members. Any non-member of UN may join it on conditions to be set up by the General Assembly upon Security Council's recommendations. Each member of the UN undertakes to comply with the decision of the court in any case to which it is a party. The court has jurisdiction over all international legal disputes and the legal cases of the member states. The international court is composed of 15 judges. Not more than two of the judges shall be of the same nationality. The judges are elected for 9 years by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The International Court of Justice at the Hague (in Holland) has fifteen judges, all of different nationalities, elected for nine-year terms (five retiring every third year) by the Assembly and the Security Council jointly. It has dealt successfully with a number of disputes, including a frontier dispute between Holland and Belgium and a disagreement between Britain and Norway over fishing limits.

e. **The Trusteeship Council**: The Trusteeship Council is entrusted with the administration of the mandated territories and of the territories which will remain thereunder by subsequent agreements. The main purpose of the Trusteeship system is to maintain international peace and security, to promote political, social, economic and cultural advancement of the people of the trust territories. And to lead them towards self-government or independence. The trusteeship council is composed of the members elected by the permanent members of the Security Council and by the General Assembly. Each member has

one vote. The first session of the Trusteeship Council was held in Lake Success in March 1947. This Council replaced the League of Nations Mandates Commission which had originally come into existence in 1919 to keep an eye on the territories taken away from Germany and Turkey at the end of the First World War. Some of these areas had been handed over to the victorious powers and their job was to govern the territories and prepare them for independence. It marks a new stage in the relationship of colonial powers to dependent peoples.

f. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC): International peace and security depends not merely upon the execution of the obligations outlined by the UN Charter. It depends really upon the economic and social progress of the world. For that purpose, the United Nations has formed an economic and social council, under the supervision of the General Assembly. In the sphere of international economic and social co-operation the council is an important agency. The chief functions of the Council are-

- To collect data in respect of economic, social, educational, health and such other related matters and to submit reports thereon to the General Assembly
- To make recommendation with a view to promote respect for and observance of fundamental human rights, fundamental freedom and improvement of the standard of living etc. for all
- To convene international conference from time to time on matters falling within its jurisdiction. Many organisations have been set up under the Economic and Social Council.

This Council has twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly, with one-third retiring each year. It organizes projects concerned with health, education and other social and economic matters. ECOSOC also co-

ordinates the work of an astonishing array of other commissions and specialized agencies, around thirty in all. Among the best known are the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). It is organising a great drive against illiteracy in many parts of the world.

9.3.2 Activities

The responsibility of the UN is very wide as its ideals. Maintenance of world peace and security, settlement of disputes among the nations through mediation and peaceful means, conclusion of armistice among the warring nations, codification of international laws and their amendments, advancement of the human society etc. come within its purview. During the first decade of its creation, the UN did not achieve much by intervening in the international disputes. Yet it cannot be denied that the UN has earned credit in the midst of adverse situation immediately after the Second World War. It was proved in the case of the League of Nations that no international organisations could achieve success unless the members particularly the major members of an international organisation display an attitude of patience and co-operation. This norm is no exception with the UN also.

All important activities of the UN are being operated by the Security Council either independently or in collaboration with the General Assembly. The chief obstacle in the better functioning of the Security Council is its members' right of veto. At the beginning Soviet Russia created obstacles in the way of smooth functioning of the Security Council by exercising the right of veto indiscriminately.

By 1954 Soviet Russia had exercised this right in 57 cases. Whereas, during that period France had exercised this right only on two occasions.

The United Nations' responsibility is not merely confined to maintaining peace by averting war. To help in the tasks of economic and social reconstruction of different states and to promote cooperation and understanding among the nations of the world in the economic and social sphere in general are as well the chief purpose of the UN. It has various specialised agencies viz. WHO, FAO, UNESCO, ILO, World Bank, etc. The UN is helping the member-states with various sorts of technical aids, without which the economic reconstruction of the under developed nations, is well-nigh impossible. Besides the UN has been encouraging the developed and wealthy countries of the world to invest their capital in the under-developed countries.

The UN activities in the promotion of international trade is praiseworthy. The UN keeps a careful watch to ensure free trade among the nations of the world. An agreement was concluded to that effect in 1947. About 40 nations subscribed to that agreement. Under the auspices of the UN there has been considerable progress in the sphere of education, science and technology. In this respect the UNESCO has been playing a great role. The UNICEF and WHO of the UN are working on various plans to improve the public health of the world. The UN has also played great role in protecting human rights and interests and fundamental rights of the minorities in many countries.

The importance of the UNO as an organ for preserving international peace cannot be under estimated. Right from 1947, the United Nations has been playing the role of a peace preserving organ in the international sphere. The cases of Palestine, Syria, Indo- China, Kashmir, Suez Canal, Morocco, Tunisia, the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Berlin and Indonesia may be cited. In each case, the

UN has succeeded in enforcing negotiated settlement. In the case of Korea, the collective security measures were enforced. Like the League of Nations, the UN has not been able so far to build up an international army. But it has succeeded in creating the UN Emergency Force in 1956. This force has rendered great service as a peace-organ in the Middle East in 1956, in the Congo in 1960 and in Cyprus since 1964. This emergency force is composed of contingents from the small and neutral states. To the credit of the UN it should be admitted that it has wielded these diverse contingents into a united organ inspired with the high ideal of humanism. In Cyprus this force is doing meritorious work by preventing communal conflicts between the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of the island in such a way as not to hamper the final solution of the political future of the island. There is a demand for posting UN peace keeping force in the sensitive areas. Doubtless, the posting of UN peace-keeping force in the sensitive areas has checked the spread of the cold war.

The United Nations responsibility is not merely confined to maintaining peace by averting war. To help in the task of economic and social reconstruction of different states and to promote co-operation and understanding among the nations of the world in the economic and the social sphere in general are as well the chief purpose of the UN. It has various specialised agencies viz., WHO, FAO, UNESCO, ILO, World Bank, etc.

The FAO, ILO, World Bank, the fiscal Commission, Economic Development Commission have been endeavouring to improve the economic standard of the World. The World Bank has been trying its best to improve the economic condition of the member-states by offering them both short term and long term loans. The UN is helping the member-states with various sorts of technical aids, without which the economic reconstruction of the under-developed nations, is well-nigh impossible. Besides the UN has been encouraging the

developed and wealthy countries of the world to invest their capital in the under-developed countries.

The UN activities in the promotion of international trade is praiseworthy. The UN keeps a careful watch to ensure free trade among the nations of the world. An agreement was concluded to that effect in 1947. About 40 nations subscribed to that agreement. Under the auspices of the UN there has been considerable progress in the sphere of education, science and technology. In respect the UNESCO has been playing a great role. The UNICEF and WHO of the UN are working on various plans to improve the public health of the world. The UN has also played great role in protecting human rights and interests and fundamental rights of the minorities in many countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What are the languages into which the speeches and debates of the General Assembly were translated?

.....

Q.5: Which organ is referred to as 'office-staff' of the UN?

.....

Q.6: What was the main ambition of the Security Council?

.....



9.4 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The origin and formation of the United Nations Organisation.
- The role of the United Nations Organisation in maintaining world peace and security.
- Different roles played by various organs or bodies of the UN.

- Various activities performed by the United Nations.
- Role of UNO in maintaining world peace and security.



9.5 FURTHER READING

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2. Mukherjee, L; 2009; *A Study of Modern Europe And The World (1815-1950)*, Five Star Printing Works; Kolkata-700009
3. Roy, A.C.; 2010; *International Relations since 1919*, World Press; Calcutta-700073



9.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1:

Ans. to Q. No. 2:

Ans. to Q. No. 3:

Ans. to Q. No. 4:

Ans. to Q. No. 5:

Ans. to Q. No. 6:



8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Name the member-states of the United Nations?

Q. 2: Who was the first Secretary General of UNO?

Q. 3: "Collective Security is the main purpose of the United Nations". What are the provisions of the Charter towards that end?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Describe the aims and objectives of the United Nations

Organisations.

Q. 2: What led to the formation of UNO?

Q. 3: What was the objectives of UNICEF?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Describe the composition and functions of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Q. 2: How successful has the United Nations been as a peace-keeping organisation?

*** ***** ***

UNIT 10: COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Communist Revolution in China

10.3.1 Impact in world politics

10.4 Let Us Sum Up

10.5 Further Readings

10.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.7 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the background of the Communist Revolution in China.
- Discuss the events of the Communist Revolution.
- Analyse the impact of the Communist Revolution of China in the world politics.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the formation and the roles and responsibilities of the UNO in executing its actions. In this Unit, we will discuss the Communist Revolution. The Communist Revolution in China was one of the epoch making events of the 20th century. China, one of the oldest empires of the world went under a terrible civil war following the downfall of the Manchu dynasty. Many Chinese intellectuals were looking for an alternative political and economic system that could stabilise their country which was diverse in so many ways. When the communist rule was established in Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, many Chinese intellectuals inclined towards Marxism. A systematic study of Marxism began under the guidance of the Comintern agents of Russia. The ideologies of communism attracted many intellectuals and many groups

were formed in Peking (Beijing) and Shanghai. These groups ultimately merged to form the Chinese Communist party in 1921. The Communists started to gather public support by offering land rights to the peasants. At that time China was ruled by the Kuomintang Party under Dr. Sun Yat- sen. The communists supported the KMT in suppressing the warlords of different provinces. Though they did not have fighting powers, they offered intellectual support. However Dr. Sen's successor General Chiang Kai-shek was sceptical about the communists and he started suppressing the communists violently. The leader of the CCP Mao Zedong started military training for the members and liberated lands from the landlords. These lands were redistributed among the peasants which helped them to gain mass support. The KMT and the CCP fought a long battle which culminated in the year 1949 when the communists formulated the People's Republic of China.

10.3 COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA

China was a monarchy since the ancient times up to the early 20th century. The country had a long history of national unity particularly from the mid 17th century when the Manchu or Ch'ing dynasty came into power. However with the arrival of European colonizers in the 1840s China moved into a troubled period with rampant civil war. In 1911 the last emperor was overthrown and a republic was established with a new constitution. However peace could not be established as different generals took control of different provinces of the vast country. In this scenario the Kuomintang (KMT) also called the nationalists was trying to control the administration and the generals. The KMT was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who brought the ideas of nationalism and democracy. After his death General Chiang Kai-Shek became the leader of the KMT who continued the struggle against the warlords.

In the meantime the success of the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent formation a communist government in Russia inspired a few intellectuals of China to follow the path of communism. The anti-imperialist attitude of communalism attracted many Chinese leaders. In 1921 the

Chinese Communist Party was officially founded with Mao Zedong and Li-Li San as the prominent leaders. In the initial period it was consisted mostly of intellectuals and it worked along with the KMT to establish peace in China. Interestingly the new Soviet-Russian government offered help and guidance to the KMT. The Chinese communists supported the KMT with the hope of winning it over to their ideology. Even the KMT was proposed to be reorganised on the model of the Russian communist party. But the supporters of the right wing opposed it and even wanted to end the relation with the Soviet-Union. Chiang Kai-Shek was also a right-wing ideologist and favoured businessmen and landowners. He tried to remove the communist influence from the KMT. He removed the communists from the key posts of the KMT. However with the help of communists the KMT captured Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow and Peking (Beijing). The peasants offered their support to the KMT because they expected land rights. But Chiang realised that where the communists were strong, landlords were attacked and their lands were seized and the communists were becoming too powerful. He compelled the communists to leave Shanghai and instructed the KMT members to cut off all relations with the communists. Thereafter he launched a purification movement by expelling the communists from the KMT and thousands of communist members were massacred. Thus by dominating the communists, Chiang became the military and political leader of China.

The communist leaders and members had to concentrate on survival because the KMT carried out 'extermination campaigns' against them. At that point they were led by Mao Zedong, a teacher and a skilful peasant association and trade union organizer. Mao reorganized the Communist Party's strategy after the fall out with the KMT. He worked hard to earn mass support from the peasants and labourers. In 1931 Mao became the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Party and he became the real leader of Chinese communism. He realised that the communist should have strong military to fight against the KMT. He instructed the members to take shelter in the mountains between Hunan and Kiangsi provinces. There the Red Army was formed and the soldiers were trained

in the hills. But in 1934 the base area of the Chinese Communist Party was surrounded by the KMT army with the target of destroying Chinese communism. Mao realised that in order to survive, the base should be establish somewhere else. Thus began the historic Long March in October 1934 and almost 1,00,000 communists set out to cover a distance of 6000 miles in 368 days. They had to cross 24 rivers and 18 mountain ranges scattered in 12 provinces. They had to fight with the armies of ten warlords apart from government troops. Ultimately 20,000 surviving communists found shelter at Yenan in Shensi province. They established the new base of the Chinese Communist party there. Mao was able to attract popular support for the communists.

There were certain factors that helped the communists to gain mass support.

a) The KMT failed to reform the organisation. They favoured the industrialists, landowners and bankers. There was no strategy in the KMT to garnish popular support. On top of that the administration was inefficient and corruption prevailed to a large extent.

b) The conditions of the factories did not improve contrary to the expectations of the workers. Though some steps were taken like abolishment of child labour in textiles industries, the overall condition of the workers was far from better. Most of the laws were never implemented and there was widespread corruption where factory inspectors were bribed. Chiang himself favoured the industrialists and did not want to offend them.

c) China was hit by droughts and bad harvests in the early 1930s resulting in wide spread famine. The rural areas were hit hard and the merchants hoarded plenty of rice and wheat in the cities, depriving the peasants. On top of that the KMT government imposed high taxes and forced labour. On the other hand the peasants were attracted by the land policy of the communist. In areas of South China where the communist had power, estates

of landlords were seized which were redistributed among the peasants. During the war with Japan the communists made sure that even the poorest labourers got a small piece of land. Because of these policies the communists won the support of the peasants.

d) The KMT failed to stop the imperialist aggression of Japan. In 1931 Japan occupied Manchuria and planned to bring many Northern Chinese provinces under control. But instead of resist the Japanese Chiang went to the South to fight against the communists. This infuriated even many KMT followers. Chiang was held prisoner by some of his troops who demanded that Chiang should fight against the external enemy. Chiang was compelled to forge an alliance with the Chinese Communist Party in 1936 to fight against Japan.

This alliance brought relief to the communists as the KMT put a hold in the 'extermination campaigns'. During the war with Japan the KMT forces were defeated and many parts of Eastern China were occupied by the Japanese. On the contrary the communists remained undefeated in Shensi. It established them as patriotic nationalists and they started effective guerrilla warfare against Japan in the North. This enabled them to win massive support from the middle classes and peasants. By 1945 the communists were able to hold 19 bases, controlling a hundred million people. After Japan was defeated in the Second World War, a finale struggle for power began between the KMT and the Communists. Foreign powers like the USA supported Chiang and on the other hand the USSR allowed the communists to capture Manchuria. By 1948 the communist army became large enough to challenge the KMT army directly. The overwhelming pace of the Red Army compelled the KMT army to disintegrate. The communists took over Beijing in January 1949. Chiang fled away to the island of Taiwan. Mao Zedong became the commander of mainland China. The Chinese communist party proclaimed the People's Republic of China on 1 October, 1949 with Mao Zedong as Chairman and Zhou Enlai as the Premiere. The USSR immediately recognised the new government of China. Thus the communist revolution in China became successful.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When was the Chinese Communist Party established?

.....

Q.2: In which year did the Long March began?

.....

Q.3: Who became the first Chairman of the People's Republic of China?

.....

Q.4: What is the full form of KMT?

.....

Communist Government in China:

The People's Republic of China had manifold problems. The long civil war and the war with Japan had a disastrous impact on the country. Almost all the railways, roads, canals and dykes had been devastated. On top of that there was shortage of food because agriculture was inefficient. Industries remained backward and inflation was out of control. In this scenario Mao set out to rebuild China with the support of the people. A new constitution was framed in 1950 according to which the National People's Congress was formed. The members of the Congress were elected for four years by people over the age of 18. The Chairman of the Republic and the State Council would be elected by the Congress. The main decisions were to be taken by the Political Bureau (Politburo) which would be chosen by the state council. Only members of the communist party were allowed to stand for elections. This constitution provided China with a strong central government after many years.

To reform agriculture land from the large landowners were seized and redistributed among the peasants. According to some sources this involved violence resulting in the death of thousands of people. However peasants who had lands were persuaded to join together in co-operative farms to increase agricultural production. About 95 percent of peasants

were in cooperatives where they owned the farms and the equipments. In the PRC most businesses were nationalised. A Five Year Plan was initiated in 1953 with an aim to develop heavy industries like coal, steel, iron and chemicals. In this process the USSR helped with fund, experts and equipments. The government was able to restore communications and to control inflation making the economy much healthier. However with the growing the pace of industrialization a new class of technicians and engineers emerged. There were groups within the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) called cadres who organised and trained the masses politically and worked for the collectivization of the agricultural lands. These cadres felt threatened with the emergence of the technically advanced group. They also were sceptical about the industrial progress. Mao initiated the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1957 with an aim to garnish constructive criticism. He declared "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." However there were criticisms for the over-centralization of the government, the incompetence and over enthusiasm of the cadres and for the undemocratic nature of the communist party. Some demanded that opposition parties should be allowed. Mao realised the failure of the Campaign and discarded the criticisms. He called off the Hundreds Flowers Campaign but it showed that there were still opposition to communism and to the methods of the cadres. Mao understood that there was a need to consolidate socialism in China. Therefore he launched the Great Leap Forward in 1958.

The Politburo realised that there should be certain distinct feature in Chinese Communism than the Russian model because both the countries had different social demographic and economic features. The Great Leap Forward aimed to develop industry and agriculture alike in order to increase production and to adapt industry to Chinese conditions. Larger units than collective farms were introduced, which were called communes. It contained up to 75,000 people and it was divided into brigades. An elected council controlled the commune. Each family were given a share of the profit and a small private plot of land. Small factories were set up in the rural areas with an aim to provide machinery for agriculture. The

communes also undertook public works like building roads, dams, reservoirs, canals and irrigation channels. The Great Leap Forward was expected to be a failure initially because of bad harvests in 1959-61, opposition to the communes and the withdrawal of Russian help. During the period between 1959 and 1963 some 20 million people had premature death due to the hardship caused by the Great Leap. However, in the long run the Great Leap Forward became successful. Agriculture and industrial production increased gradually and China could feed its massive population without any famine. The communes brought positive result and they became efficient unit of local government. With the aid of the commune the central government was able to run a vast country with decentralization. The establishment of small scale industries created employment opportunities and gradually unemployment problems disappeared from China. Education and other welfare services were spread throughout the country and there was improvement in the position of women in the society.

The character of Chinese communism was different from that of Russia in many aspects. Since China was an agriculturalist country therefore Mao wanted to mobilise the peasants and therefore incited them to rise against the landlords. The movement was therefore labelled as agrarian revolution compared to Russia where it seem to be guided by proletariat dictatorship. Therefore in China the communists were regarded as a party of agrarian reforms within the existing system of common proprietorship. They tried to distribute the land equally among the tillers of the soil and tried not to base their land policy on the Soviet system of collective lands at the cost of private holdings. The Chinese communists tried not to shut down the business of bourgeoise and private capitalists. However they placed few restrictions on private business but they also tolerated private capital. Mao envisaged political cooperation and coalition with progressive bourgeoise parties. There by indicating that the communist regime in china would not be a dictatorship of the proletariat. Chinese communism thus became a modification of orthodox Marxism with the ultimate aim of Marxism at its core.

LET US KNOW



The Comintern is the short form for the Communist International. It was an international organization founded by Vladimir Lenin in 1919. Also known as the Third International, the Comintern advocated world communism which was to be led and controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

10.3.1 Impact of Communist Revolution in World Politics

The Communist Revolution in China had profound impact on world politics. The establishment of communist rule in the world's most populous and one of the territorially largest countries astonished the world. Even before the formation of the PRC, the two superpowers of the world the USA and the USSR interfered in china's internal politics with a hope to establish their influence. The Second World War opened the path for the Cold War. The Communist Revolution in China further contributed to the dynamics of the Cold War. The CCP aligned itself with the Soviet Union whereas the USA offered its support to Chiang Kai-shek. Thus there was a shadow of polarisation that emerged with the Cold War. The alignment of CCP and the Soviet Union further intensified the strategic and ideological rivalry between the USA and the USSR. The Sino-Soviet Alliance had its impact on global power dynamics as it turned the Cold War into a tripartite struggle. The alliance between the China and Soviet Union influenced international relations to a great extent. It created a separate block of socialist states. The polarisation of global political order had adverse effect on the functioning of the United Nations and other international institutions. Moreover there grew a sense of conflict between the west and the east led by the USA and China respectively. During the Korean War of 1950-53 Chinese troops fought on behalf of North Korea which made it clear that there were tensions between the west and the east. North Korea was inspired

by the success of the communists in China and therefore China took their side which established China as a key player in global affairs.

The Chinese Communist Revolution influenced many countries ideologically. It inspired anti-colonial movements in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The teachings of Mao Zedong, his thoughts and the guerrilla warfare influenced anti-colonial struggles. The guerrilla warfare tactics which emphasised on rural mobilisation encouraged anti-colonial movements where freedom fighters were opposing powerful colonial forces. The concept of mobilising the masses and identifying the importance of a strong rural base was significantly influential. Moreover China became an alternative model to western democracy by presenting socialism as a feasible path for post-colonial nations. The CCP was successful in overthrowing a long established regime and it inspired revolutionary movements in different paths of the world. Anti-colonial leaders like Ho Chi Minh and the leaders of the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia drew inspiration from China in their struggle for independence. The communist government of China offered support to different national liberation movements and gave financial military and diplomatic support. The Chinese Communist Revolution led to the growth of the third world as a political force. This created a geo-political counter balance to the dominant influence of the socialist bloc and western bloc. China played a key role in the Bandung Conference held in 1955 where many newly sovereign nations refused to join both superpower blocks. China declared support for the newly independent nations and expressed anti-colonial sentiments.

The amicable relation between China and the USSR did not last long. In the early 1960s there were ideological and strategic differences between the two nations which resulted in the Sino-Soviet split. It led to a realignment of global politics which opened a new phase in the Cold War. China began to pursue an independent foreign policy separating itself from Moscow. It had repercussions

on regional issues. For example in the Vietnam War China and the USSR supported different fractions which further complicated the issue. Simultaneously there was easiness in the Sino-American relations form the early 1970s. It was a noteworthy turning point in global politics. To counter balance the Soviet-Union the USA tried to normalise the relations with China because China was becoming a dominant power in Asian politics. On the other hand to minimise Soviet influence in Asia China required the support of another global power like the USA. This development reshaped the geopolitical landscape and the triangular diplomacy among China, the USA and the USSR changed the dynamic of the Cold War.

China's entrance into global economy had its impact on world politics. The Great Leap Forward resulted in a boon in Chinese economy and the market oriented policies along with foreign investments turned China into an economic powerhouse. China became a major player in international diplomacy, finance, trade and commerce. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 cleared the path for China's dominance. Though the USA remained as the sole superpower, China's economic growth and diplomatic initiatives ensured her position as a key player in shaping global governance structures.

The Communist Revolution in China became a beacon of hope and inspiration for freedom movements worldwide. It not only impacted military strategies but also influenced ideological, political and diplomatic dimensions. China's help to different national liberation movements influenced in shaping the narrative of the 20th century's struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Communist Revolution in China had multifaceted impact on world politics from the initial years marked by internal conflict to the establishment of the PRC, the revolution influenced the dynamics of the Cold War, inspired revolutionary movements globally and reshaped the position of China in international relations. The

subsequent rise of China as a major nation in the 21st century owed to the Chinese communist revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What was the Great Leap Forward?

.....

Q.6: In which year the Hundred Flowers Campaign was launched?

.....

Q.7: What is the full form of CCP?

.....



10.4 LET US SUM UP

After the completion of the unit, you have learnt that-

- The downfall of the Manchu dynasty heralded a new era in the history of China. On one hand it led to nationalism and democracy in the country but on the other hand it created a civil war.
- The Kuomintang Party tried to dominate the warlords and to liberate different provinces from them.
- Some Chinese intellectuals were inspired by Marxist ideologies. They were influenced to a great extent by Russian Communism and in 1921 the Chinese Communist Party was formed.
- The communists initially supported the KMT but there was a rift between the two. Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the KMT oppressed the communists. In return the communists launched a movement which later became the Chinese Communist Revolution.
- The Chinese Communist Revolution was a massive movement joined by millions of people. In 1949 the revolution ended successfully with the establishment of the People's Republic of China.
- The Communist Revolution left profound impact on world politics. It inspired anti-colonial struggles in different countries; it also gave a

new dimension to the Cold War by establishing China as a major world power thereby creating a dis-balance in global politics.



10.5 FURTHER READING

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2. Mukherjee, L. (1976) *A Study of Modern Europe and the World (1815-1950),* M.L Mukherjee, Calcutta.
3. Lowe Norman (2011) *Mastering Modern World History*, Macmillan Publishers India Limited, Chennai.
4. Calvocoressi, Peter. (2010) *World Politics 1945-2000*, Pearson Education Limited, New Delhi.
5. Clyde, Paul.H and Beers, Burton. F (1991) *The Far East: A History of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses,* Waveland Press Inc, United States.
6. McWilliams, Wayne C. and Piotrowski Harry (2008) *The World Since 1945*, Viva Books Pvt. Limited, New Delhi.



10.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: 1921

Ans. to Q. No. 2: October 1934

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Mao Zedong

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Kuomintang

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The Great Leap Forward aimed to develop industry and agriculture alike in order to increase production and to adapt industry to Chinese conditions.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: 1957

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Chinese Communist Party



10.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: Who was Dr. Sun Yat sen?

Q. 2: What was the Long March?

Q. 3: What were the communes?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Discuss about Mao Zedong's role in the Communist Revolution.

Q. 2: What were the major reforms undertook by the Communist Government of China?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the impact of Communist Revolution of China in world politics.

Q. 2: Discuss about the struggle between the KMT and the CCP during the Communist Revolution.

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UNIT 11: NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Nationalist Movement and Decolonisation

- Asia
- Africa

11.4 Decolonisation

- Asia
- Africa

11.5 Let Us Sum Up

11.6 Further Reading

11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.8 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the idea of Nationalism,
- Trace the spread of colonization and emergence of national movements in the 20th century world, and
- Discuss the process of decolonization and emergence of independent states in Asia and Africa.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Communist Revolution in China in details. In this Unit, we shall discuss the nationalist movements that spread across the globe in the twentieth century and decolonisation process that took place with prime focus on Asia and Africa. The world order of 1901 is most obviously different from both that of 1801and that of our own day because during this period its fate either was or appeared

to be in the hands of what were called 'white peoples'. Most of the globe's land coverage was in that year in the outright physical and legal possession of European nations, the process which better known as European colonization.

The European colonization and exploitation that assumably started from the 1500, have profoundly shaped the cultural, social and geographic contours of the present world. Even at the end of the second world war in 1945, the nations of Europe still claimed ownership of vast areas of the rest of the world, specifically in Asia and Africa. But the 20th century world witnessed a new historical process, the decline and fall of Europe as an imperialist power. Between 1945 and 1960, numerous nations in Asia and Africa attained self-governance or complete independence, breaking away from the control of their European colonial rulers. Thus he loss of authority over the colonies marks the historic process of decolonization. The Democratization of politics of Asian and African countries and the major mass participation in politics was one of the significant parts of these national movements.

11.3 NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND DECOLONISATION

The emergence of the movements in many of Europe's overseas colonies, especially those in Asia and Africa, for many years before the World War II is recognised as nationalist movements intrigued with the idea of national consciousness. The term nationalist movements have different attributes, but it may be considered that nationalist movement is a political movement for obtaining national identity among a group of people that is the members of the nation.

The western civilization claimed to bring the prosperity and pursuance in the so called 'uncivilized colonies' as a responsibility of the European people while propagated the idea of 'white men's burden'. However, the colonized people rejected this notion. They shared a common feeling that for centuries, they were being exploited by European powers.

As a result of this oppression, a general flow of union to overthrow the imperial powers in different colonies emerged which is called as national movement. Although the prevalence of nationalism and national movement which ultimately presented the joy of freedom to the colonies was not equally strong in different colonies. There was not one single process of decolonization as well. In certain nations, the attainment of independence was relatively orderly and peaceful, while in others, it was only achieved after a prolonged period of revolution. The development and influence of nationalism have taken various paths in the modern world. Indian and Vietnamese nationalist movement were, however, very significant in this nature. Apart from all these the progress towards independence would have been much slower without the boost provided by the Second World War.

- **Asia**
- **India**

In the 19th Century, the emergence of national identity in India was closely tied to the anti-colonial movement against British rule. The social, economic, and political factors inspired people to define and pursue their national identity. Oppression under colonial rule created a shared bond among various groups, despite differences in their experiences and ideas of freedom. The uniformity of British laws across regions contributed to political and administrative unity, strengthening the concept of national consciousness in India.

The economic exploitation by the British, particularly in terms of land and livelihood, led to widespread discontent and resistance, as seen in popular movements like those of peasants and tribals. Social and religious reform movements in the 19th century, led by figures like Swami Vivekananda and Annie Besant, played a role in fostering nationalism. These reformers revitalized the pride in ancient Indian culture and religion, promoting love for the motherland.

Intellectuals such as Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and Aurobindo Ghosh expressed the intellectual and spiritual

aspects of nationalism. Bankim Chandra's hymn "Vande Matram" became a rallying cry for patriots, inspiring self-sacrifice and instilling fear in the British, who eventually banned the song. Swami Vivekananda's call to "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached" resonated with Indians, becoming a powerful force during Indian nationalism.

The entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the Indian political landscape marked a significant turning point and provided a distinctive momentum to the development of mass nationalism. His strategic approach of "Ahimsa" (non-violence) and "Satyagraha" (civil disobedience) became powerful tools for mobilizing the masses and advocating for India's national struggle for independence. Gandhi's non-cooperation movement and civil disobedience movements stand out as landmarks in the history of the Indian national movement.

In addition to Gandhi's influence, the role of extremists and revolutionary groups also played a crucial part in igniting the national movement. These groups, seeking more radical and immediate measures to achieve independence, advocated for armed resistance against the British. While they differed in their approaches from Gandhi's non-violent methods, their efforts contributed to the overall fervour and momentum of the nationalist movement.

The Quit India Movement of 1942 indeed marked a pivotal moment in India's struggle for independence and is often considered a significant turning point in the quest to end colonial rule. This mass national movement was characterized by its widespread participation across various sections of society and its call for an immediate end to British rule in India.

The movement saw large-scale protests, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience across the country. The people's demand for independence was clear, and their collective action created immense pressure on the British colonial administration. The British responded with a heavy-handed crackdown, arresting thousands of Indians, including leaders of the Indian National Congress.

While the Quit India Movement did not immediately lead to India's independence, it significantly intensified the struggle and demonstrated the unity and determination of the Indian people against colonial rule. The events of 1942 and the subsequent years played a crucial role in shaping the political landscape, ultimately leading to India gaining independence in 1947. Therefore, the Quit India Movement is considered by many as a decisive blow to colonialism in India, setting the stage for the end of British rule.

- **Vietnam**

Nationalism in Indo-China again developed in a colonial context. Indo-China comprises of the modern-day Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The early history of this region speaks about the presence of different group of people in this area under the protection of powerful empire of China. Even after establishing as an independent country was what is now northern and central Vietnam, its rulers continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture. However, the creating of a modern Vietnamese nation that united and brought the various communities together was considered as a result of the struggle against the colonization.

The French colonisation of Vietnam brought the people of the country into direct confrontation with the colonisers in all the spheres of life. Like the British counterpart in India, the exploitative nature of the French imperial power also got reflected in economic, military and cultural domination. The nationalism in Vietnam emerged because of the united efforts and participation of different sections of society who fought against the French imperial force. Landing in Vietnam in 1858, the French troops started establishing their authority over the northern region by the mid-1880s. After the Franco-Chinese war the French assumed control of Tonkin and Anaam and, in 1887, French Indochina was formed. In the following decades the French sought to consolidate their position, and people in Vietnam began reflecting on the nature of the loss that Vietnam was suffering. Nationalist resistance developed out of this reflection.

Amidst the revolutionary momentum of August 1945, the people of Vietnam received independence and the process of modernization started while overthrowing the French colonial power. Though Vietnam gained formal independence in 1945, before India, but it took another three decades of struggle when the Republic of Vietnam was formed. Ho Chi Minh, being the face of Vietnamese war of independence, pleaded for this freedom long before the World War II but it was continuously rejected by colonial authority.

In many cases religion played significant role while spreading colonialism and on the other hand it also helped in rise of new ways of resistance in Vietnam. Vietnam's religious beliefs were a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism and local practices. The easy-going attitude on religion of the people of Vietnam, was looked down upon by Christian missionaries. As a result of that from the eighteenth century onwards, many religious movements were hostile to the Western presence. An early movement of such was the Scholars Revolt of 1868 led by the officials at the imperial court angered by the spread of Catholicism and French power. They led a general uprising in Ngu An and Ha Tien provinces where over a thousand Catholics were killed. Catholic missionaries had been active in winning converts since the early seventeenth century, and by the middle of the eighteenth century had converted some 300,000. Though the French crushed the movement, but this uprising served to inspire other patriots to revolt against them.

The Great Depression of the 1930s had a significant impact on Vietnam. The felling price of rubber and rice, led to the rise of numerable rural debts, unemployment and eventually led to the rural uprisings, in some provinces such as Ha Tinh and Nghe An. Being called as 'electrical fuses' of Vietnam these provinces were among the poorest, had an old radical tradition because when the system was under pressure, they were the first to blow against the imperial power. Though French put down this movement with an iron hand, but these movements initiated the early zeal of the nationalist movement.

In 1940, Vietnam was occupied by Japan, as part of Japan's imperial drive to control Southeast Asia which increased the level of pressure on Vietnam's side which then had to deal with two major imperial powers of French and Japan. The League for the independence of Vietnam (Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh) or Vietminh fought against the Japanese occupation and recaptured Hanoi in September 1945. Thus, The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed, and Ho Chi Minh became the chairman. However, the New Republic faced several challenges. The French tried to reestablish their control over Vietnam by using the emperor Bao Dai, as a puppet king. Faced with the French offensive, the Vietminh were forced to retreat to the hills and after 8 years of fighting the Vietnamese finally defeated the imperial power in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. After that as per the Geneva negotiations, the Vietnamese were persuaded to accept the division of the country.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Quit India Movement took place in the year_____.

Q.2: _____is considered as the face of Vietnamese Nationalist Movement.

Q.3: Vietnam got total independence from French imperial power on _____.

- **Africa**

The history of Africa in the first half of the 20th century is a history of colonialism. The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the colonization of almost the whole of Africa, except for Liberia and Ethiopia. However, the history of Africa during this period is also considered as the history of intense struggles against colonialism, of decolonization and of course of national movements that directed this process. Appeared across the cities in Africa, these nationalist movements were mostly taking place in the period between the two World Wars. Primarily started in the important urban centres in the colonies, these movements soon received

popularization in other towns and even in the hinterlands, where they succeeded in bringing different Africans together to join the movement for national liberation.

Key factors behind the African Nationalism

Like many of the other counterparts of the subcontinent, the African nationalism also emerged in the first half of the 20th century as a resistance movement against colonialism, one of the major fonts of imperialism. The major goal to be achieved through these movements was to regenerate the idea of African identity, from earlier focus on isolated ethnicities to a racial identification or identity based on territory occupied by colonial powers. Edward Wilmot Blyden, (1832-1912) an educator, writer and politician, was regarded as the founder of African nationalism. In response to colonial and missionary projection of African cultures as uncivilised, Blyden led the call for a revival of African cultures and traditions. Later nationalist figures like James Africanus Horton (1835-83) from Sierra Leone and S.R.B. Attoh-Ahuma (1863-1921) from the Gold Coast (today's Ghana) followed in his footsteps. The rapid growth of national movements in Africa after the 1940s resulted from a variety of factors. Most of these factors were caused by, or resulted in, resentment against colonial rule. The oppressive and discriminatory colonial regimes across Africa led to a feeling of curtailed freedoms and loss of dignity, as well as economic hardships for the people.

However, it would be a mistake to view many acts of rebellion and resistance that occurred during the interval of wars. The conditions that led African peoples to resist colonial rule often emerged from longstanding grievances against colonial labour exploitation, taxation, racist and paternalist practices, arbitrary violence, and political illegitimacy.

Historical explanations of resistance during the war prioritize colonial fears about losing control of their colonies during war. But the roots of the often-violent expressions of outrage that occurred between 1914 and 1918 are in the diverse local and regional priorities of those. Who undertook actions later cast as "anti-colonial."

Wartime acts of resistance are best viewed as flashpoints in a longer history of imperial incursions. On the continent, with harsh wartime conditions catalysing action. They cannot be explained by single causal factors, as they frequently drew on multiple discontents. Some polities took up arms with the intent of overthrowing colonial rule or reconfiguring existing political arrangements between African polities. Others refused recruitment into colonial armies or labour forces. Still others refused to pay taxes, interrupting colonial revenue streams. As the colonizers' priorities shifted in the face of wartime exigencies, many Africans interpreted the war as a sign of deeper colonial entrenchment and fought back.

They did so by drawing on the specific institutions, processes, and practices that had shaped their everyday lives before the war. Religious networks and complexes provided regional grammars for interpreting meanings of unfolding events. Local and regional socio-economic hierarchies also shaped how Africans viewed the war's outbreak. Colonial state authorities often created the conditions that shaped how Africans experienced the war's onset. But the ways that Africans perceived, negotiated, or challenged these conditions deserve equal attention in interpreting resistance during the war. This essay illustrates how intertwined pressures sparked African resistance, and colonial retaliation, during the war years.

With the access to western education more and more Africans became aware of the racial and cultural discrimination and this awareness, and the sense of nationalism became widespread after 1945. The new British labour governments of 1945-1951, were also in support of the allowing independence to the colonies as they were confident on still pursuing their influence through trade links and so and so forth.

However, though the British intended to move the colonies towards independence very gradually, and the African nationalists had to campaign vigorously and often violently to make them act more quickly.

In just a few years, in about 1960, a wave of struggles for independence swept across Africa. In March 1957 Ghana declared

independence from Britain and in 1962 Algeria got independence from France. Between this period 24 African nations freed themselves from colonial rulers. In most of the English and French colonies independence came relatively peacefully.

But the transition from colonial governments did not always happen in peace full manner. Internal conflicts within the newly liberated countries and the continued resistance from the colonial powers compelled large number of people to flee civil strife and repressive new regimes.

Following World War II, European nations struggled to sustain their African colonies. Some African countries peacefully gained independence, while others resorted to violence. The decolonization of Africa gained momentum, marked by challenges such as the restoration of French rule in north African colonies occupied by British and American forces. Tunisia and Morocco gained independence in 1956, while Algeria faced eight years of civil war before attaining full independence in 1962. Italy's former colonies, Libya and Somalia, became independent nations in 1951 and 1960, respectively. The people of present-day Angola and Mozambique (in southern Africa) freed themselves from Portuguese rule after more than a decade of fighting and heavy loss life among Africans and the occupying Portuguese in 1975.

Sub-Saharan Africa experienced economic challenges post-war, leading to the exploitation of resources, especially in regions with European settler communities resisting independence movements. Despite these obstacles, the Gold Coast gained freedom in 1957, Nigeria in 1960, and Kenya and Tanganyika achieved independence by 1964 following the Mau-Mau rebellion. Central Africa saw the independence of Malawi and Zambia. Belgium withdrew from the Congo in 1960, France relinquished its tropical African possessions between 1958 and 1960, and Britain granted independence to Zimbabwe in 1980, marking the conclusion of its colonial holdings.

11.4 DECOLONISATION

The second half of the 20th century witnessed unprecedented political transformations, with the process of decolonisation standing out as one of the most significant global phenomena. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the decline of European imperial powers and the rise of nationalist movements in Africa and Asia led to the creation of more than 50 new independent nations.

Decolonisation is the gradual process by which colonial rule is undone. It primarily refers to the post-World War II era, a 20-year period during which most African and Asian nations gained independence, marking the decline of European colonial powers. The First World War and the Great Depression had weakened imperial nations such as France and Britain, but it was the exhaustion caused by the Second World War that compelled these powers to reassess their ability to maintain colonial possessions.

- **Decolonisation in Asia:**

The decolonisation process in Asia unfolded soon after the Second World War. The withdrawal of Japanese forces left a power vacuum in several areas, enabling local nationalist groups to seize the opportunity before European powers could regroup. The British experience in India exemplifies a more measured approach, with active preparations for a peaceful transfer of power. However, the partition in 1947 led to post-independence conflicts and chaos.

Malaya faced a different scenario, marked by a violent communist insurrection in the 1950s. The British, aiming to control the threat, ultimately granted independence in 1957. In contrast, the French struggled vehemently to retain Indo-china but were forced to concede after the disastrous Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The Dutch faced a similar fate in Indonesia, unable to suppress the emerging Indonesian republic.

The United States, despite supporting the idea of decolonisation, maintained influence in Asia during the Cold War. The US actively aided some countries in their colonial pursuits, such as Indonesia's actions in East Timor. By 1960, Asia's decolonisation process was largely complete, except for Hong Kong, which remained leased to Britain from China.

- **Decolonisation in Africa:**

Decolonisation in Africa occurred later than in Asia. The continent, largely unoccupied by enemy forces during the war, saw the reaffirmation of colonial rule by European powers. Ethnic rivalries sometimes hindered large-scale resistance to European dominance.

The decolonisation processes varied based on imperial rulers' determination to retain control, the perceived readiness of African nations for self-administration, and the actions of nationalist groups. In British West Africa, effective leadership and the absence of significant settler populations facilitated peaceful decolonisation in Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. Conversely, the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya led to a ferocious war and hastened the independence movement.

France faced a more tumultuous experience, particularly in Algeria, where a disastrous eight-year war ensued from 1954 to 1962. Algeria, considered part of metropolitan France, proved challenging to surrender. Belgium's hasty withdrawal from the Congo in 1960 highlighted the unpreparedness of the colony for independence, leading to ethnic rivalry, chaos, and civil war.

Portugal stubbornly held onto its African colonies, experiencing a prolonged and bloody resistance. It took a revolution in Portugal and a change in government to acknowledge the inevitability of decolonisation. Angola and Mozambique gained independence in 1975.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: When did the Battle of Dien Bien Phu take place?

.....

Q.5: When did Angola and Mozambique gain independence?

.....



11.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that historians have long debated the degree to which decolonisation occurred from 'above' or 'below' - whether it was granted voluntarily by colonial powers or achieved through the actions of nationalist movements. In India, for instance, both factors played a role. The Indian National Congress and leaders like Mahatma Gandhi contributed to independence, but colonial powers also implemented reforms like the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and the Government of India Act of 1919.

The interplay between top-down and bottom-up initiatives varied across colonial powers and nations. In many cases, it was a combination of both. However, the intentions behind colonial powers' actions remain a subject of debate. Whether they aimed to shape independence or merely delay it adds complexity to the understanding of decolonisation dynamics.

Decolonisation in the mid-20th century was a complex and transformative process that reshaped the geopolitical landscape. The decline of European colonial powers, the rise of nationalist movements, and the interplay of global events shaped the destinies of newly independent nations in Asia and Africa. Understanding this pivotal period is crucial for comprehending the present socio-political realities of former colonies and appreciating the enduring impacts of decolonisation on the contemporary world.



11.6 FURTHER READING

1. Anderson, Benedict. (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, Verso Books.
2. Beinart, William. (2001) *Twentieth-Century South Africa*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

3. Lowe, Norman (2013*). Mastering Modern World History.* UK, Palgrave Macmillan.

11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: 1942

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Ho Chi Minh

Ans. to Q. No. 3: 1954

Ans. to Q. No. 4: 1954

Ans. to Q. No. 5: 1975

10.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What do you understand by National Movement?

Q. 2: What are the meanings of 'Ahimsa' and 'Satyagraha'?

Q. 3: Which two provinces of Vietnam were considered as the 'Electrical Fuses'?

Q. 4: Mention one important factor behind the African Nationalist Movement.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Write a short note on Indian Nationalist Movement.

Q. 2: Discuss the main factors behind Vietnamese Nationalist Movement.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Write an essay on Nationalist Movements in Africa.

Q. 2: Discuss the process of Decolonization in Asia and Africa.

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UNIT 12: CULTURAL CHANGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Changing Notions of Culture

12.4 Making of ideologies - Class, Race and Gender

12.5 Creation of Public Space

12.6 Creation of new cultural forms - Romanticism to Abstract Art

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Readings

12.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.10 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the changes in culture in the 20th century and how it was influenced by different factors.
- Explore how ideas like class, race and gender were formulated into ideologies in the later part of the 20th century.
- Discuss the importance of public space in transforming culture throughout the world.
- Analyse the shift in art which was characterised by different artistic movements.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the nationalist movements and the decolonisation that took place in Asis and Africa. In this Unit, we shall discuss the cultural changes and the shift in the perspective towards art and culture. Culture is the reflection of a society. It is not static; it changes with time, adapting itself with the environment. The world saw many events and incidents in the 20th century with far reaching

consequences. There was a rapid development in technology. These affected culture, which had to change and adapt new mediums. The 20th century saw new trends in society. Ideologies of race, class and gender emerged due to several factors. European countries tried to culturally dominate the Asian and African colonies to maintain their supremacy. Race emerged as a cultural concept which was used to justify social, economic and political order of colonialism. Intellectual deliberations around race and racial classification changed the mindset of the people in a big way. In the same way, the ideology of class and gender was the outcome of the changing socio-economic environment following industrialization. Women who worked in the industries raised their voices for equal rights with men in the society. People started using various public spaces to gather and discuss their issues, thereby creating public opinions. The socio-economic and political changes were reflected in art and literature, creating new artistic movements and trends.

12.3 CHANGING NOTIONS OF CULTURE

Culture, which can be defined as the whole way of life is certainly not a static thing. With time it changes according to the need of the people. In this regard the 20th century was certainly a period of cultural transformation. The world witnessed certain landmark events like the World Wars, Decolonisation of Asian and African Nations, the Bolshevik Revolution, rise and fall of Fascism and numerous scientific and technological inventions that changed people's lifestyles and perspectives. These developments certainly left an impact on culture which was bound to be changed. The political events resulted in a change in the social structural relation or relation between social groups throughout the world. Similarly there were changes in people's values, attitudes, artistic tastes etc which resulted in cultural transformation.

The 20th century saw an unprecedented growth in science and technology. It affected and transformed different aspects of life, from education to transport and communication and from health to entertainment rapidly. The advancement in transport and communication with the arrival

of cars, airplanes, radio, telephone, satellites, mobile phones, internet virtually made the world a global village. There were various integrate developments in scientific disciplines such as genetic and molecular biology, atomic physics and space research. Scientists like Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, Richard P. Feynman, C.V Raman, Homi J. Bhabha, J. Robert Oppenheimer etc. made some major discoveries in different fields of science. These discoveries and inventions were certainly beneficial to people. However there grew certain fear of science amongst the people particularly after the destruction unleashed during the World Wars. However governments and international organisations monitored and guided scientific research and ensured social accountability and responsibility of scientists. The large scale production and distribution of different products influenced the way people interacted with art, music, literature and information. The traditional modes of communication were overtaken by more advanced and accessible mediums. It had a transformative impact on cultural expressions.

There was a considerable growth in art forms like painting, music and literature in the 20th century. The period also witnessed the emergence of new art forms like recorded music and cinema. The 20th century was characterised by several art movements which influenced creative work across the globe. Modernism, postmodernism and socialist realism were some of the major art movements that developed in the 20th century. Art in Europe was particularly influenced by modernism since the last decades of the 19th century which reached other parts of the world in the 20th century. The main characteristic of modernism was to bring out the sub conscious thoughts and feelings instead of procuring objects and persons as they appeared. Artists tried new and bold experiments. Modernism had several streams like symbolism, impressionism and surrealism which were popularised by different artists in different countries. Some modernists evolved their own styles like the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso who introduced Cubism meaning multi-dimensional view of figures in paintings. In literature James Joyce introduced the technique of 'the streams of consciousness' in his creation Ulysses. Similarly Gabriel Garcia Marquez

popularised 'magic realism' in literature. Artists and writers became extremely bold and vocal in their social and political outlook. Litterateurs like Bertolt Brecht, George Bernard Shaw, Maxim Gorki, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Taslima Nasrin etc expressed a hopeful vision of social transformation in their works through socialist realism. The bloom of art and literature in the 20th century can be considered one of the most significant developments of recent times. The nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America found expression in the works of their artists to show the nationalist aspirations. The political and social aspirations of the underdeveloped countries produced some of the finest literary and artistic creations of the 20th century. The traditional notions of representations and aesthetic values were questioned by the artistic movements which were further deconstructed by post modernism. It resulted in diversity in cultural expression. The 20th century saw the emergence of new social norms which challenged racial segregation, advocating for equality. Similarly gender disparities were addressed by the feminist movement. These changes impacted social structure and influenced cultural narratives, leading to a more inclusive cultural landscape.

Like art and literature there were transformations in the entertainment industry during the 20th century. Television emerged as a powerful medium for cultural expression. Cinema became an attractive medium of entertainment which portrayed different aspects of the society. Hollywood, the cinema industry of the USA became a worldwide cultural influencer as it exported American values and lifestyles through cinema. The music industry also underwent swift changes with the rise of genres like hip-hop, rock, metal and pop. These genres were accepted globally and music became an integral part of youth culture.

The changing notion of culture in the 20th century demonstrates a dynamic inter-relation of societal, technological and global factors. Cultural production and consumption were influenced by technological advancements. Moreover the emergence of globalisation increased connectivity leading to a more diverse global culture.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Which Spanish painter introduced Cubism?

.....

.....

Q.1: Name a literary figure who was influenced by socialist realism?

.....

.....

Q.1: What was the literary genre introduced by Gabriel Garcia Marquez?

.....

.....

12.4 MAKING OF IDEOLOGIES - CLASS, RACE AND GENDER

- **Class**

The 19th century world was characterized by colonialism and imperialism by the Western nations. The Europeans scrambled for parts of Asia and Africa with the belief that they had the right to rule over the people of those two continents. Propaganda was run that it was the 'white man's burden' to civilize the black and brown skinned people of the colonized countries. Asian and African people were categorized into race and ethnicity through population census. Thus grew the racist belief which became deeply rooted among the colonial peoples. Gradually the racist ideology emerged and became a part of general beliefs of descent.

French anthropologist Joseph Arthur Count de Gobineau developed the ideology of race in Europe. He boasted of his noble race and explained the rise and fall of civilizations in terms of race. He argued in his essay 'An Essay on the Inequality of Human Races' that a superior race takes a civilization to its zenith, but mixing with inferior races ultimately leads to its downfall. He considered the white race to be the most intelligent and among the whites, he held the Aryans as the superior race. He placed the yellow and black races at the bottom of the races. His division of people on the

basis of skin colour led to the categorization of races into Europeans, Asians and Africans. The supporters of the slavery system used his idea of white superiority. Charles Darwin explained the diversity of species through the theory of evolution in his magnum opus 'On the Origin of Species'. He argued that the differentiation in species was factored by different response to environmental changes. His theory was used to justify racial difference by later intellectuals. It led to the development of physical anthropology as a new discipline of science which classifies races. Herbert Spencer developed the idea of biological evolution and social progress. He popularised the term 'survival of the fittest'. The believers of the concept argue that the powerful in society are naturally better than the weak which proves their racial superiority. It was used to justify the control of the Europeans over the non Europeans. Supporters of imperialism argued that a nation was powerful because it was the fittest in the struggle for survival. The European nations believed that as superior nations, they had the right to rule over and control inferior races. The theory of Darwin provided an argument on behalf of the civilizing missions of Europeans in non European countries. Colonialists created sharp divisions of power, prestige and economic status between them and the people of the colonies they ruled. These divisions were coincided with differences in colour and other physical attributes between whites and the Asian and African people and thus racism provided a powerful legitimization of imperialism. The racial ideology of white supremacy was effectively used in the institution of slavery. White plantation owners retained their control over slaves and economically exploited them using the racial ideology. The western powers used the ideology of race as an instrument to maintain their dominance. In some countries like Germany, the rise of radical nationalism gave further impetus to racist thought. Voices against racist ideology and racism were raised in the anti-colonial movements and democratic struggles in Asian and African countries.

- **Class**

Till the first half of the 19th century, society was described in terms of rank and orders in Europe. Social ranking was also defined on that basis. However, due to economic, political and cultural factors in the second

half of the 19th century led to the emergence of class and class relations. Gradually, a variety of social classes emerged with changing relationships among them. Class concept originated in the highly hierarchal feudal social system. In the feudal social order, the positions of the monarchs, aristocrats, gentry, peasants, tenant farmers were determined by the ownership of lands. Moreover, it was believed that social positions were determined by the divine order.

The advent of industrialization changed the notion of social hierarchy. Wealth, education and professions became the determinant factors in signifying social position instead of birth. New ideas of social equality on the basis of individual natural rights gained recognition. Social positions used to shift from upward to downward and vice versa. Karl Marx categorized the society into two distinct classes- the owners of the means of production and the workers. The owners controlled the workers by paying wages. Marx argued that both the classes were aware of their rights and positions, which he called class consciousness. He also mentioned about the existence of a third category, the bourgeoisie. He explained that distribution of work and wealth was the basis of the class structure. Marx held the economic system of capitalism responsible for the class differences. Capitalism put different classes in an adversarial relationship and class division was the most important source of social conflict. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serfs, guild-masters and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of contending classes."

In this regard, Max Weber opined that social status contributed in social differences. He introduced the concept of power and status in determining the position of individuals in a society. Whereas Marx talked about the existence of two classes- the haves and the have nots, Weber

identified another class, the middle class. He opined that people's market position led to the rise of the middle class. However he discarded the idea that social stratification leads to class consciousness and eventually a revolution.

Social scientists generally agree that there are three major social classes- upper class, middle class and working class. The aristocrats and the capitalists who own land, wealth and inherit huge amount of property represent the upper class. They have considerable power in political and economic decision making. Those who work in technical and professional occupation, who have white collar jobs, small business persons etc. form the middle class. The manual workers, skilled or unskilled workers comprise the working class. They are described as the main driving force of the society. They work for the rich to make them richer. They were exploited and they became conscious of their rights and got organized to fight for their rights. In England workers mobilized themselves for more wages and started mass protests and strikes between 1829 and 1834. This was the starting of mobilization of the working class against the upper class. It reflected the progress of political consciousness among the working class. The development of industrial society in Europe created new social system and new classes. Society became more fluid and created opportunities for mobility within classes. Possibilities opened up for those at the bottom of the society o climb up through employment, education and wealth.

- **Gender**

Gender is a constitutive element of social relationship based on perceived differences between the sexes. It refers to the manner in which social and cultural roles are placed upon members of either sex. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a society. Therefore the term gender doesn't only refer to women. Gender is a primary way of signifying relations of power. However, it was perceived that social or sexual roles associated with men and women were cultural construction by men to dominate women in the society. Even before the advent of feminism, struggle for women's rights started. Many activists

and intellectuals became vocal regarding the issue. Marry Wollstonecraft talked about how women were oppressed and denied rightful place in society in the 18th century. William Thompson also advocated for women's rights. He also demanded political rights for women in order to give them the rightful place in the society. In his essay, 'The Subjection of Women', John Stuart Mill argued for legal and social equality between men and women. He also suggested reform to change the existing social structures and opposed subjugating women as second class citizens only because they were born as women. The 20th century saw the development of women's studies which was gradually complemented by gender studies and studies of men and masculinities. Gender history became part of the discipline as a result of the second wave feminism in the western countries. It has initiated the rethinking and rewriting of all previous histories in particular and social sciences in general. All disciplines are now studied through the lens of gender. Gender is used as a tool for historical analysis. It is about the evaluating the roles of both men and women in shaping history.

The feminist movement of the 1970s provided the context and impetus for the emergence of gender studies. Many feminist scholars were involved in the vigorous movements against oppression towards women like dowry, rape and domestic violence. Gradually the multiple forms and structures of patriarchies and the Cultural practices associated with them began to be outlined through the experiences of women on the ground. During the hay day of an explicitly political women's movement, the insights derived therein provided feminist scholars with the experiential material which were used to formulate gender as an ideology. The last part of the 20th century witnessed other political movements of peasants, workers and tribals that turned the attention of the academicians towards the marginalized and the oppressive conditions under which they lived and struggled. History writing was forced to broaden its ambit. History as a discipline moved towards a broader social, economic and cultural analysis of society. History from below has overtaken the traditional style of writing history from above. However it was, for a long time perceived

that if the affairs of men were studied, the whole society was analysed. The development of gender history has changed that convention. Gender as an ideology advocates for the study of the role played by the either sex in the progress and advancement of human civilization. In the 1970s the United Nations focussed world attention on the status of women. The year 1975 was declared as International Women's Year and the decade between 1975 and 1985 was declared as Women's Decade.

Gender history aims to bring the role of women in history into the pages of history. The lack of gender sensitivity demands that almost all history written so far have to be rewritten in this perspective in order to have a holistic and meaningful history. Gender history advocates the re-examination of the conventional sources of history and also to consult the unconventional sources like diaries, letters, photographs etc. Gender studies therefore gives priority to oral history as an important tool. Thus how historians interpret gender and which stories about women and men's past get to be told become crucial in providing a well-balanced and accurate picture of the human past.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who developed the ideology of race in Europe?

.....

Q.5: Who was the author of 'On the Origin of Species'?

.....

Q.6: What are the two classes of society according to Karl Marx?

.....

Q.7: Who authored the essay 'The Subjection of Women'?

.....

12.5 CREATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

The 20th century heralded in a new chapter in the history of the world. Many new ideas and concept emerged. Rapid urbanization,

industrialization and growth in population led to more assimilation among the people. The political changes made people more vocal and demanding regarding their rights. Cities became the centres of intellectual and creative fields. People wanted spaces to interact, to express their ideas and to share their thoughts. Public spaces thus emerged as centres of discussions, deliberations, debates and cultural exchanges. Public spaces were required for cultural expressions, community building and political discourse. In the early part of the 20th century saw the rise of city parks as important public spaces. The parks also added to the beauty of the cities and therefore they became an integrate part of city planning. Parks offered respite from the industrialised environment with greenery and freshness.

Political and social movements increased throughout the world in the 20th century. Public spaces played an important role as gathering points and to form public opinions. In the labour protests and suffrage rallies the Hyde Park of London became a hot spot. Organisations started using public squares as platforms for delivering speeches because they had more access to the common people.

After the Second World War there were certain architectural innovations which included modern plazas. For example the Daley Plaza of Chicago has ample open space for public use. Plazas were used by various organisations to express and propagate their ideologies among a wider audience. Gradually there was a growth of commercialized public space. For example shopping malls provided amenities and at the same time they give space for community gathering. Simultaneously, public art installations became prominent as expressions of culture and community identity. The murals and sculptures installed in cities not only added aesthetic value but also created a sense of unity and pride. From city parks to the commercialized landscapes public spaces have played a crucial role in shaping the 20th century societies. Various movements throughout the world gained mass support whenever the ideas were shared among the people in public platforms. For example Martin Luther King delivered his famous speech ‘I have a dream’ in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington.

Thus public spaces served as important centres for community engagement and cultural expression.

12.6 CREATION OF NEW CULTURAL FORMS - ROMANTICISM TO ABSTRACT ART

An intellectual and artistic movement emerged in Europe between the late 18th and mid 19th centuries. This movement called Romanticism was characterized by emotion and it stressed on the importance of sensitivity and individual subjectivity. As reason was the most important factor of Enlightenment, imagination became the most important creative factor for romantics. Romanticism influenced literature, music and painting. The followers and preachers of Romanticism went against social conventions and gave importance to the natural world and the life of the ordinary men. European countries like Germany, France and England were greatly influenced by the movement of Romanticism. The Romanticists dealt with themes like romance, natural beauty and freedom of thought. In literature romanticism popularized novel as a literary form, whereas in music it helped in the development of theatres for musical activity. The Romantic Movement saw the development of a new artistic aesthetic where the presence of nature in art increased. The artists began to portray the natural world, particularly landscapes. Nature was depicted as powerful, unpredictable and yet beautiful. Painters like Louis David, Theodore Gericault, John Constable and J.N.W. Turner were some notable painters of the Romantic School.

The 20th century began with political and social changes. The destruction during the First World War created a feeling of despair. It affected culture as well and a new trend emerged as a reaction to religious, social and political traditions. This new trend called modernism rejected realism and emphasized on subjectivism. Growing urbanization, industrial societies and the terror of world war influenced modernism. New artistic forms and ideas emerged which inspired architecture,

literature, painting and other cultural domains. Writers like James Joyce, Virginia Wolf, Marcel Proust, and Franz Kafka created literary works which dealt with issues like mental illness, homosexuality and feminism. Wolf in her work To The Light House explored the impact of war in a comprehensive manner. In poetry also new trends emerged which was influenced by spiritualism, philosophy and socio- cultural despair. The modernist painters started portraying a wide range of personal visions. They depicted the world according to their perceptions instead of traditional methods of using colour and composition. They preferred depicting an abstract portrayal of their perceived world. They tried to reflect a critical examination of the art. They used innovative ways to represent their idea of modern life. Modern art movement began with Avant Garde. The term Avant Garde was used to mean the art that was radical in nature which reflected originality of vision. The term itself was derived from the French word vanguard which meant the leading division of an army going into battle. Most of the modern artists were avant garde and their aim was to advance the practices and ideas of art, challenging acceptable artistic forms. Among the prominent artists Paul Cezanne was often called the father of Modernism. Pablo Picasso also was a modernist in style.

In the USA abstract expressionism emerged as a reaction to the trauma of the Second World War. Artists like Jackson Pollock embraced spontaneous abstraction in their works in depicting the complexity of human experience and emotions. Abstract expressionism gave more priority to the internal exploration of the artist than external representation. Similarly Minimalism emerged from the 1950s led by painters like Donald Judd and Agnes Martin. Minimalist artist reduced the use of artistic elements and emphasized on simplicity. The later part of the 20th century saw the rise of various forms of abstraction like Op Art and Kinetic Art which were characterized by optical illusions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Where is the Hyde Park located?

.....

Q.8: Who delivered the famous 'I have a dream' speech?

.....

Q.8: Which artist was called as the father of Modernism?

.....



12.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The social, economic changes and the political events of the 20th century affected culture, leading to the emergence of new trends in art, literature, music and cinema.
- Technological advancement also contributed towards the changing notions of culture, resulting in fast communication and developments of new mediums of culture.
- Race as an ideology was propagated by the western colonizers to establish political and cultural supremacy over Asian and African countries.
- Class ideology emerged after industrialization in Europe.
- Gender was formed as an ideology for giving equal rights to women in the society.
- Public spaces emerged as centres of gathering, debate and discussions in the 20th century.
- Art forms witnessed the rise of new movement in the changing landscape of human society. Romanticism gave way to realism and later to abstract art.



12.8 FURTHER READING

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12.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Pablo Picasso

Ans. to Q. No. 2: George Bernard Shaw

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Magic realism

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Joseph Arthur Count de Gobineau

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Charles Darwin

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Haves and Have nots

Ans. to Q. No. 7: John Stuart Mill

Ans. to Q. No. 8: New York

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Martin Luther King

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Paul Cezanne



12.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: How technology affected the changing notion of culture in the 20th century?

Q. 2: What is the importance of public space?

Q. 3: What are the salient features of romanticism?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Discuss how did the colonizers use the ideology of race to justify colonialism?

Q. 2: Discuss about the growth of gender ideology.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss about the development of other art movements that replaced romanticism.

Q. 2: How class ideology was formed in Europe? Elucidate.

Q. 3: Analyse the changes in cultural norms in the 20th century world.

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UNIT 13: COLD WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Ideological and Political basis of Cold War

- Pacts and Treaties
- Tensions and Rivalry

13.4 NAM

13.5 Third World- Regional Tensions

- Kashmir
- Korea
- Vietnam

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Further Readings

13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.9 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the post-Second World War bipolar international politics dominated by two ideologically different powers, the USA and the USSR.
- Discuss how the Cold War the whole world politics under its fold led by two Super Powers, the USA and the USSR till the collapse of the USSR in 1991
- Discuss the role of NAM,
- Explain the Importance of regional tensions in the Third World

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the shift in Culture and the change in the perspectives. In this Unit, we will specifically discuss

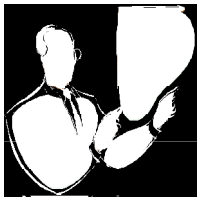
the Cold War and the causes and consequences of the War for Russia as well as the impact in the rest of the World. We will also discuss the Non Alignment Movement and the regional tensions across the Third World.

13.3 IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL BASIS OF COLD WAR

The term cold war can be generally defined as a state of tension between two countries, in which each sides adopts policies to strengthen itself and weaker the others. The cold war is a situation of a very high critical relation between two countries, where tension remains high and there is a fear of war always. It is therefore a situation of neither peace nor war. In international relations cold war indicates a state of constant conflict and strife, suspicion and mistrust, antagonism and hostility maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed confrontation between the adversaries. Cold war is not a state of armed struggle but such a state in which the rivals, while keeping their peace time diplomatic relations intact continue their hostility. Both the antagonists adopt all means other than the war to weaken each other. It is not an armed war but a diplomatic and an ideological war. It is fought by means of political propaganda that is why it is called 'propaganda war'. The cold war is not an actual war but the danger of such as a 'hot war' is always imminent. In short it can be defined as a state of intense diplomatic, political, economic and ideological struggle short of armed belligerency and clash. Actually cold war means the period of tension between the two super powers, the USA and USSR.

Regarding the origin of the cold war there are different opinions. The term cold war was for the first time used by Bernard Bruch, an American statesman but war popularized by Prof. Lippmann. He used it for describing the tension between the USA and USSSR. It generally believed that the cold war started after the Russian revolution of 1971. However some scholars believed that the cold war actually started after the Second World War. The main reason of the cold war has been attribute the ideological different between the two super power, where the USA tried to the pursued

its policy of cheeking the communist expansion of USSR. USA took the help of democracy to check, the soviet expansion on the other hand the USSR considered the USA as the leader of the capitalist world. The USSR believed that, the USA was all set to disturbed the very existence of the USSR. Thus military suspension between the two super power teds to a situation when both these countries tried to a situation when both these countries tried to expand their base by making the alliances and at the same time rapidly important expanding their military capability. The cold war didn't arise all of a sudden, it progressed gradually. This entire progressed can several phases and situations.



LET US KNOW

The Cold War was a period of geopolitical tension between US and Soviet Union and their respective allies, the Western Bloc and Eastern Bloc, started from 12th March 1947 to 26th December 1991.

- **Causes**

Regarding the causes of the cold war scholars and historians are not unanimous. These causes are broadly divided into two groups. That is orthodox and revisionist. According to orthodox view soviet-union is squarely responsible for the initiations of the cold war as it forcibly established communist regime in East Europe countries in the post-world war II period in violation of its agreement with the western allied powers. Whereas revisionist argues that among the western nation was responsible for the cold war.

As per the Orthodox viewpoint, Russia was responsible for the War. The causes are-

- Russian unwillingness to allow democratic elections in the territories liberated from the Nazis and super imposing communist governments there was especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and east Germany.

- Russia's refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran whereas Britain and the USA withdrew their forces.
- Soviet Union's pressure on Greece and turkey by supporting subversive activities of communist there.
- The Soviet Union destroyed German industries and transferred costly German machine to Russia as reparation, adversely affecting already ruined German economy. Their maintenance of an unnecessarily large post war armed force.
- Discontinuation of supplies from soviet areas of occupation. Their selfish and often obstructive behaviour in the new born international organisations.
- Refusal by soviet leaders to help in post-war reconstruction in regimes outside soviet control.

While the revisionist school of thought accuses America more than the USSR. The following actions of the USA displeased the Soviet Union.

- The American military intervention in Russia in 1918-19 which was aimed at overthrowing of the Bolshevik revolution was still fresh in the memory of the soviets.
- The American refused to inform the soviet of the Manhattan project to develop the atomic bomb.
- The soviet suspicion was further deepened by certain acts of America in post war years. For example the united states supported previous Nazi collaborations in American occupied countries, notably Italy, and pressurised the soviet to abide by its promise to permit free elections in areas vital to soviet national security notably Poland.
- During talks at Yalta president Roosevelt agreed that the Soviet Union can install friendly governments on her western boundaries. Therefore it is inappropriate to control that the Soviet Union expanded in the east Europe in violation of any agreement.

- Regarding activities of the USSR in Greece, turkey, and Persia the contention held by the orthodox that Russia wanted to impose communist governments in these countries was also baseless. Because in Persia, the soviet union only wanted some.
- The revisionists hold President Truman largely responsible for the cold war. Had Roosevelt continued to be the president in the post war period the cold war could not have come to such a pass.

According to objective view both the super powers are responsible for the origin of the cold war. There are certain objective reasons that culminate into cold war. These are -

- **Misperceptions:** the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union was rooted not in conflicting interests but in mutual misunderstanding. The cold war is described in terms of a property of each party to consider their own actions as virtuous and those of others of malicious. This is called as mirror images, of course resulted in conflict and distrust.
- **Mutual Antagonism:** the cold war is also seen as a product of mutual antagonism. The history of the origins of the cold war indicates that mistrust and consequent fear were the very bases of the conflict. Stalin was as cautious of the Americans as they were of him.
- **Ideological Incompatibilities:** another reason for the soviet American conflict was ideological incompatibilities. Many Americans were apprehensive of soviet communist doctrine. There was a particular apprehensive that communism as was an expansionist, crusading ideology intent on bringing world revolution. Soviet Union was believed in communism where as USA believed in capitalism.
- **Economic Interests:** while the western bloc USA favoured capitalist economy promoting individual initiative and enterprise, where as the eastern bloc (USSR) favoured for the socialist planned economy control by the state the western nations are developed countries but their development is nourished by the explanation of poor countries of the third world.

- **Objective Law:** many historians are of the opinion that it is the law of nature that victorious powers are always fought after the victory. After the Napoleonic war the victorious fought among themselves over the distribution of spoils of war.

- **Evolution of the Cold War**

  Preponderance of the cold war characterises the international relations in the post-world war-II period. The evolution of cold war in this period has not proceeded in consistent manner. It has been marked by varying degrees of intensity. There are many phase of cold war.

  1. **Truman Doctrine:** in march 1947 US president Truman announced a new doctrine- the Truman doctrine in which he pledged full US support for "free people who were resisting attempted subjection by armed minorities and outsides pressures" by armed minorities and outside pressures. Its real purpose was to announce the decision that the USA will provide all help to such state as were resisting the soviet pressure.
  2. **The Marshall Plan:** a little latter, the USA formulated and announced the European Recovery Programme Marshall Plan, for helping the socio-economic reconstruction of Europe. In reality, it was also an attempt to win over the states of Western Europe and to keep them away from communism and soviet advances.
  3. **The USSR Sponsored:** The USSR reacted strongly against the Truman doctrine and Marshall Plan. These were seemed as US attempts at establishing its power in the international relations, as well as for isolating the USSR against the Marshall Plan, the USSR was established the council of Mutual Economic Assistance for helping the economic condition of socialist states.

- **Effects of the War**

  The rivalry between giants had produced endless friction. The alternative to world-wide collective security had produced world-wide chain of alliances and counter alliances. The intensification of the cold war politics had enhanced the problem and difficulty of all the countries directly or indirectly whether or not they were a party to it.

The competition among giants resulted in more freedom of action of the small and middle powers. The influence of neutrals, mostly Afro-Asian states was increasingly applied for fanning the cause of peace. The tension among great powers caused indeed conflict but did not result in global war. The influence of world opinion reflected in the UN had prevented either USA or USSR to take action short of war. Thus, even the Cuban crisis of 1962 averted tensions but did not produce any major conflict.

The disadvantages of cold war outweigh any advantage that has resulted from any international conflict. The military alliances like NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact and other such alliances created a sort of 'alliance like situation'. It resulted in competition for armaments- conventional and nuclear.

The diversion of human labour and resources for manufacturing destructive weapons has adversely affected economic development of the world. The advanced countries of the world, exploited backward areas for their own not due to their backwardness but also due to the deliberate policy pursued by the advanced countries. Had they diverted their resources for economic development it could have fed the world. If civilization was to survive such competition should have given way to cooperation. This war of nerves should have been stopped in the interest of world peace.

- **Pacts and Treaties**

SETO And Warsaw Pact: During 1953-63 the USA continued its policy of military and economic offensive on the pattern of NATO, it organised the SEATO and MEDO. These organisations were meant to check the spread of communism into South East, Asia and Middle East. Whereas the USSR on 4th may, 1955 was successful in organising a communist defence pact-the Warsaw pact involving eastern European socialist states. It was designed to "resist the attacks of the imperialists and capitalists".

Moscow Ban Treaty (1963): The Moscow Ban Treaty of 1963 which became a sort of light that poured into the darkness of the cold war and became a beacon of hope to guide the ship of human civilization, tossing up and down in the tumultuous sea of cold war. This treaty signed by USSR,

USA and UK which postulated the prohibition of the nuclear tests, aimed at the achievement of an agreement on the general and complete disarmament and prohibited the nuclear test explosion in atmosphere or outer space or the ocean, but not underground.

Seven Points Plan (1966): Seven Points Plan was presented by President Johnson of USA at the Geneva Conference in February 1966 which called for a treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear countries and demanded international safeguards over peaceful nuclear activities. It suggested the strengthening of the international security organization and the establishment of a system of inspection. It gave a call for freezing all "offensive and defensive" strategic bombers and missiles designed to carry nuclear weapons. However, the plan was not favorably received by other powers and was abandoned. The progress of disarmament suffered a further setback following nuclear tests by France.

Outer Space Treaty (1967): This treaty was formally signed on 27 January 1967 and came into force on 10 October 1967. It laid down the principles governing peaceful activities of the state in outer space and prohibited nuclear weapons and their landing on the moon and other celestial bodies for military bases. Under the treaty the signatory states agreed not to place in orbit around the earth any objectives carrying nuclear weapons or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. It also forbade the use of military personnel for scientific research of peaceful purposes. It was agreed that all stations, installations, equipment and space vehicles on the moon and other celestial bodies shall be open to the representatives of other states parties to the Treaty on the basis of reciprocity. The treaty was thrown open to other states for signatures, who could accede to it.

Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968): The treaty on the Non-Proliferation of the Nuclear weapons was simultaneously signed at London, Moscow and Washington on July 1, 1968 and actually came into force on 5 March 1970. The treaty based on the draft submitted by the Seventeen Nations Disarmament Committee, prohibited the transfer by nuclear weapon states to any recipient whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive

devices or of control over them. The signatory states were not to encourage or induce any non-nuclear weapon state to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons. The non-nuclear states acceding to the treaty were also not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. However, the treaty granted the right to the member states to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without disorientation. However, this left the issue of inspection and control unresolved.

Sea-Bed Treaty (1971): In February 1971, the treaties on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, was concluded by UK, USA and Soviet Union. The treaty actually came into force on 18 May, 1972 and the treaty provided that the signatory states would not implant or emplace on the seabed and the ocean-floor and in the subsoil thereof, beyond the outer limit of a seabed zone, any nuclear weapons or any other type of weapons of mass destruction as well as structures. The members were also given the right to verify through observations, the activities of other states.

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (Salt) - I (1972): The SALT-I was formally signed on 26 May 1972 to curb the race in nuclear arms between the two super powers. In order to achieve the objective of disarmament attention was also paid to the limitation of the strategic arms. The two Super Powers - USA and USSR held prolonged negotiations at Geneva and finally agreed to meet at *Helsinki*. This was indeed a significant step in the direction of disarmament because the two powers agreed in principle to restrain and put a stop to the fierce competition for the acquisition of sophisticated weapons. Though the talks did not prove fruitful, they indicated the willingness of the two Super Powers to reduce armaments and other hazards without jeopardizing their security and prestige. The negotiations continued for nearly four years before the conclusion of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1972. It is said that the two countries held as many as 127 plenary meetings before the conclusion of the above treaty.

US-Soviet Accord on Limitation Of Arms (1973): A further accord for checking the armament race was reached between USA and Soviet Union in 1973 when they concluded a formal agreement regarding permanent limitation of nuclear weapons by the end of 1974. They emphasized that an effort by either of the two powers to obtain a nuclear advantage would be inconsistent with the peaceful relations between the two countries. They agreed to adequate verification measures. The significance of this accord lies in the fact that it made an effort to control nuclear fission as well as research on the fundamental properties of physical matter.

Salt-II (1979): The SALT II signed by USA and USSR lapsed in October 1977. Both the powers continued to observe its provisions and continued efforts for a new agreement. After prolonged negotiations they signed at Vienna on June 1, 1979 the SALT II treaty to limit the strategic offensive weapons for period up to 31 December 1985. While concluding this treaty both the powers reaffirmed their desire to take further measure for further limitations and reduction of strategic arms with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. As this agreement was in the nature of a treaty, it was sent to the US Senate for ratification as required under the constitution. But before the senate could ratify the same the cordial atmosphere was disturbed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan which jeopardized the ratification of SALT II.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (Start): On July 31, 1991, President Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush signed the historic Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) to reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals by about 30 percent and hailed it as a signal dispelling five decades of mutual mistrust. This treaty was the result of nearly a decade's efforts and it effected the first real cuts in long range nuclear weapons.

- **Tensions and Rivalry**

Germany as the Centre Of Cold War: In respect of Germany, the USSR came to adopt a policy which was strongly opposed by the western powers. The division of Germany into federal Republic of the Germany (Pro west) and Germany Democratic Republic (Pro USSR) was affected in the process

of attempts made by the USSR and the western powers to maintain their powers in their respective occupation zones.

Berlin Issue and Cold War: In 1948 the cold war got manifested in the form of Berlin Blockade with a view to check western economic intervention in Berlin, The USSR decided to introduce its own economic reforms immediately. The USSR decided to apply the new East Zone currency and goods to Berlin.

Organisation of NATO and Division of Germany: The immediate fall out of such policies came in the form of the establishment of NATO on4 4th April, 1949 by the USA and her allies and the subsequent establishment of federal republic of Germany on 21st September, 194. The soviet counter move came on 7 October, 1949 when soviet occupation zone in East Germany was declared to be the state of German Democratic Republic.

Rise of Communist China and Cold War: In 1949 rise of Mao's communist party to power in China gave a big boost to soviet influence in the world politics and its produced a reaction in the form of the US commitment to follow containment to follow of communism more vigorously. The USA then entered into a security treaty with Formosa China and declared it to be the real China.

Korean Crisis and Cold War: In 1950, the Korean War provided the ground for the pursuance of cold war politics in Far East. The situation created by the North Korea provided the USA and the western powers an opportunity to attempt containment of communism by helping democratic South Korea against communist North Korea.

Nuclear Arms Race and Cold War: Further the emergence of nuclear armament race between the USA and the USSR followed by the space race further made the cold war graver. This Nuclear weapons race created a highly dangerous situation in the periods of Cold War.

Cold War towards Hot War- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962): In October 1962 the Cuban missile crisis came to be developed between the USA and USSR. It brought them to the threshold of a war, when the soviet missile carrying ships were on their way to Cuba, the USA in ordered the

blocked of Cuba. The American govt declared that it would regard any missile launched from Cuba against any nation as an attack by the USSR on the USA requiring a full retaliatory response. On 23 October.1962 the USA decided to take all necessary steps for ending the threat to peace and security of the American continent. On 24th October 1962 the U.S Blocked of Cuban ports become effects.

In 1985 when Gorbachev came to power he presented a new political thinking to the world. Initially America was sceptical about Gorbachev's sincerity of purpose. The summit level talks between the presidents of two superpowers that were disconnected in the wake of Afghanistan crisis in 1979 were resumed in November 1985. Even since there has been a series of such summits as an annual features creating conducive atmosphere favouring cordial Soviet-American relations and reducing armed race. Geneva accord on Afghanistan was signed in 1987 and subsequently soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. The same year with the signing of INF treaty between the two superpower détentes was revived. With the collapse of communist regimes in east Europe in 1989 the East Bloc withered away. In July 1991, the historic Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) was signed between President Gorbachev and President Bush to reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals by about 30 percent and marked the end of fifty-year long cold war. In December 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist as it was disintegrated and its successor Russian Federation was badly mauled by internal problems. In February, 1992 President Bush and Russian Federation President Yeltsin made a formal declaration regarding the end of cold war.

13.4 NAM (NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT)

The Non-Aligned Movement was formed during the Cold War as an organization of States that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union, but sought to remain independent or neutral.

- The basic concept for the group originated in 1955 during discussions that took place at the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference held in Indonesia.
- The first NAM Summit Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961.
- It has 120 members as on April 2018 comprising 53 countries from Africa, 39 from Asia, 26 from Latin America and the Caribbean and 2 from Europe (Belarus, Azerbaijan). There are 17 countries and 10 international organizations that are Observers at NAM.
- The Non-Aligned Movement was founded and held its first conference (the Belgrade Conference) in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel
- Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia.
- The purpose of the organization was enumerated in Havana Declaration of 1979 to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation.
- During the cold war era the NAM played a vital role in stabilizing the world order and preserving peace and security. Non alignment of NAM doesn't mean the neutrality of state on global issues, it was always a peaceful intervention in world politics.

NAM in Cold War Era

- **Against Apartheid:** The evil of apartheid was massively prevalent in African countries like South Africa, its was on the agenda of NAM right from first conference. During 2nd NAM conference at Cairo the government of South Africa was warned against the discriminatory practices of apartheid.
- **Disarmament:** The Non-aligned Movement repeatedly comes out for maintenance of peace,'the cessation of arms race and the peaceful coexistence of all States. In the General Assembly, India

submitted a draft resolution declaring that the use of nuclear weapons would be against the charter of the United Nations and crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited.

- **UNSC reforms:** Right from its inception NAM was in the favour of UNSC reforms, it was against the domination of US and USSR. It wanted the representation of third world countries to make UNSC more democratic. Members echoed with same demand at 17th NAM conference at Venezuela.
- **Failed to resolve regional tensions:** In the era of cold war the tension in South Asia escalated due to regional conflict between India- China and India-Pakistan. NAM failed to avoid tensions in the region, that further led to the the nuclearisation of the region.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Most historians agree that SALT-I effectively addressed the issue of MIRV`s. True/False.

.....

Q.2: Warsaw Pact is often also referred to as the Eastern Bloc. True/ False

.....

Q.3: _____ is opposed to any kind of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact, etc.

.....

Q.4: Who had introduced the policy of Non- Alignment?

.....

13.5 THIRD WORLD - REGIONAL TENSIONS

The demise of the Socialist Superpower, the USSR made many a Third World nation vulnerable to external interference, especially from the west. The developing countries had in the past looked at the Soviet Union for succour and moral support in times of need. The policies of new Republics especially the more prosperous ones like Russia and Ukraine

became less sympathetic towards the Third World because their primary concern was to attain national progress without ideological blinkers. The fall of the USSR added a whole new dimension to the question of separatism that had been plaguing many nations including a good number of developing countries. The thrust all across the globe soon concentrated on establishing bilateral contacts to gain maximum economic leverage. Many west European Governments started already courting Republics of Russia and Ukraine because these Republics could form an excellent market for their products and also a rich source for the supply of raw materials like coal, oil, timber and gas which these Slavic Republics have in abundance.

Both models – **unipolar** and **interdependent** World usually tend to reduce the importance of the Third World to the status of a subordinated entity in world affairs. The reluctance to accept necessary changes in the world's economy as well as the heated discussion on prevention of immigration from Third World countries illustrates that clearly. In the emerging pattern and centres of power Third World countries do only count if they serve direct and vital strategic interests of one of the centres of power. This relates not primarily to military interests but many very well served economic considerations, like controlling the oil-producing areas of the Middle East in order to put economic interests of the European Community (EC) and especially Japan to size without being dependent on the oil- like the USA made clear during the Gulf War.

The first ever summit meeting of the **Security Council** held on 31st January, 1992 to assign a new role and importance to the world organization. Although non-permanent members in the Council, including India and Zimbabwe, went along with the Summit declaration, there is no denying the fact that there is apprehension among many Third World countries that the pendulum of the Security Council may swing from one extreme of inaction witnessed in the Cold War days to the other extreme of excessive intervention.

The transformation of the third world into the neo-colonial appendage of the US could only be intensified if the strongest anti-neo liberal force was dismembered. Let us look at the case of the World Bank and the IMF's

structural adjustment programmes as they have been propagated after the Cold War. One would find that there is a great increase in the sheer number of cases of structural adjustment within the third world and as a consequence there has been a drastic rise in inequality within the same.

- **Kashmir**

Kashmir suffered the most because of cold war alignments of Pakistan and India. During the cold war period, Moscow, on the behest of India, had always scuttled the possibility of a peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute at UNSC by vetoing different resolutions on various occasions. The end of the cold war with the break-up of the Soviet Union literally marginalized Pakistan in the US power corridors. Islamabad thus lost its strategic edge. In the meanwhile, nuclear proliferation rose high on the American agenda and Pak-US differences surfaced with new complexities. Excepting the period of joint campaign against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan (till 1989), US at every stage tried to prevent Pakistan from acquiring the nuclear technology. Islamabad was shaken by the US administration's decision to impose complete ban on sale of military hardware and release of economic aid on October 1, 1990. This time, the US administration refused to issue a certificate saying that Pakistan did not have atomic bomb that had previously been issued as a pre-requisite under the Pressler amendment.

The fall of Soviet Union gave US more room to focus on economic development and venture for new investments and markets overseas. With this new mindset United States quickly entered in a new phase of cooperation and trade relations with its old rivals such as Russia, India and even China in 1990. Interestingly enough, the Indian government ignored the past allegiances and jumped into the American bandwagon. New Delhi even abandoned its traditional anti-capitalism stance and adopted an open market policy. Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao initiated a set of revolutionary economic reforms, which were very well received in Washington. The then Indian army chief said in Washington in July 1991, "In the new era, the Indian and US interests have converged'. Above all, India also provided fuel to the American Air Force from Bombay Air Base

during the first Gulf War in January 1991 besides supporting all resolutions against Iraq on UN forum. This 'new world order' scenario thus marginalized traditional international backing and support for Islamabad.

In this changed global atmosphere, the Kashmiris started mass movement and the youth took up arms against the Indian rule in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. Being a legitimate and recognized party to the Kashmir dispute, Pakistani people are emotionally attached with the Kashmiris' 'right of self-determination' from day one. Understandably so, it was impossible for Islamabad to stay indifferent from the Kashmir struggle. The government and civil society extended their full support to the Kashmiris' resistance movement, much to the chagrin of India and partly to Washington's rage.

Meanwhile, the Kashmiri Diaspora, especially residing in the United Kingdom and the North America, got fully involved in the struggle. They formed lobbying groups and brought forth regional ethnic newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) – a nationalist outfit – led the Kashmiri struggle in early 1990s, transforming the traditional outlook of Kashmir from a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan to a struggle for a Kashmiri self-rule with a sense of pride. Therefore, international community not only saw this struggle as indigenous but also offered media coverage enhancing popular interest in 'whats and whys' of the crisis.

- **Korea and Vietnam**

Following the end of World War-II, the Korean peninsula was split into two territories with the northern portion administered by the Soviet Union and the southern portion administered by the United States and other United Nations governments. Both the northern and southern governments continued to believe they were the rightful government for the whole of the Korean peninsula. The Korean war began on June 25, 1950, when North Korean troops drove into South Korea, seen as an act of invasion. In response, the United Nations mustered a defensive force to counter the invading forces of North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union. The two sides fought until July 27, 1953 when the Korean armistice was

signed establishing the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) and perpetuating the two-state status quo. In the end, this war saw some of the heaviest civilian casualties as cities across the peninsula, but particularly in the north, faced extensive bombing.

Shortly after the signing of the Korean armistice, war broke out in Vietnam between two factions, the North Vietnamese (supported by the Soviet Union, China, and other communist governments) and the South Vietnamese (supported by the United States and other anti-communist governments). Initially, the United States sent only military advisors and financial aid to the South Vietnamese forces, but that escalated to over half a million troops at its peak and 2.7 million in total. North Korean troops were aided by guerilla forces in the neighboring countries, Cambodia and Laos, as well as the Viet Cong in the southern regions. On the United States home front, many were strongly opposed to this war and held anti-war demonstrations. Following pressure by the American public, President Nixon oversaw the withdrawal of American forces from the region by March of 1973. The war continued across Vietnam until the fall of Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, on April 30, 1975 to North Vietnamese forces.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: _____ was the Prime Minister of India during Indo-Pak war in 1965?

Q.6: India and Pakistan had signed the _____, under which the two countries agreed to sort out differences and disputes bilaterally.

Q.7: The Geneva Accords that divided Vietnam into north and south was concluded in 1954.True/False.

Q.8: The first major war in which the US got directly involved was the war in _____



13.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The post-Second World War rivalry between the two Super Powers produced endless friction. The alternative to world-wide collective security produced world-wide chain of alliances and counter alliances. The intensification of the cold war politics enhanced the problem and difficulty of all the countries directly or indirectly whether or not they were a party to it. The dream of creating 'one world' with all nations living in peace under the protection of one international system of collective security got faded. The UNO was the first casualty of the 'cold war'.
- After the World War II the peace- loving humanity lived in a constant fear of another global war. The introduction of "star war weapons" escalated the arms race to an unprecedented degree..
- The post war Western European countries were in a state of physical and economic collapse, to which was added the fear of Russian dominance by frontal attack or subversion. The shattered economy of the countries of Europe resulted in political instability in the continent and encouraged USA and USSR to get involved to cover the power vacuum.



13.7 FURTHER READING

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13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Jawaharlal Nehru

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Jawaharlal Nehru

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Lal Bahadur Shastri

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Simla Pact

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Korea



13.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: State the revisionist viewpoint on the Cold War.

Q. 2: What is the full form of NAM.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the causes of end of Cold War?

Q. 2: Discuss the tensions and rivalries during Cold War?

Q. 3: After the end of the cold war, there was a unipolar moment in the world?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: What sides were involved in the Cold War and what major event almost triggered a third World War between them?

Q. 2: Write a note on Korea and Vietnam War.

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UNIT 14: AGE OF PROGRESS

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Cultural Revolution

14.4 Civil Rights Movements

- Apartheid
- Feminism

14.5 Science and Technology

14.6 Let Us Sum Up

14.7 Further Reading

14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.9 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the Cultural Revolution of the 20th Century in China,
- Discuss the different aspects of Civil Rights Movements in the USA,
- Explain apartheid and its impact on South Africa,
- Discuss the rise of Feminism and its different stages, and
- Discuss the progress of Science and Technology in the 20th Century.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Cold War and its impact. In this Unit, we shall discuss the developments that mark the age of Progress through an in-dept study of civil rights movement, apartheid, feminism and the cultural shift that sets apart this age. The 20th century was a remarkable time in the history of the humankind. It witnessed two world wars and numerous socio-political changes

throughout the world. At one hand there was the decolonization of Asian and African nations and on the other hand there was the wave of the Cold War. In China the Communists Revolution was successful but the intra party difference resulted in the chaotic Cultural Revolution. The 20th Century also marked a growth in the anti-racial movements which was evident in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States of America. Similar movement took place in the South Africa against the controversial and inhumane apartheid system. The growing demand for equal rights for men and women resulted in the growth of feminism which was considered as a distinguish feature of the 20th century. There were unprecedented development in science and technology in the 20th century which advanced the progress of humankind.

14.3 CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Cultural Revolution was initiated by the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Mau Zedong to renew the spirit of the Chinese revolution. It was an attempt to distinguish Chinese communism from that of the Soviet Union. In the early 1960s many members of the Chinese Communist party began to doubt about the efficiency of communism under Mao's leadership. They speculated that more industrialization on the Russian model should be started in China and incentives like greater wage, differentials and larger private plots were necessary. But Mao and his followers were not ready to accept this. Mao even criticized the Russians for taking the 'capitalist road'. He discouraged the emergence of a privileged class within the party and urged for the importance of keeping in touch with the masses. However leaders like Liu Shaoqui and Deng Xiaoping continued to opposed Mao. In return, Mao as the chairman of the party launched a campaign to encourage the young people. He called it the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Maoists, Red Guards and supporters visited the length and breadth of the country to support Mao's case. During the process schools and factories were shut down. Thus it became a propaganda exercise which attempted to renew revolutionary commitment.

Mao desired to achieve certain policy changes in order to make education, health care and cultural systems accessible for all the sections of the society. Moreover he wanted to mobilise the country's youths and to provide revolutionary experiences to them. The youths were organised into groups called the Red Guards. The army was instructed not to suppress the movement. However the Cultural Revolution created a chaotic situation and the country was on the verge of a civil war. The students became aggressive and they denounced the critics of Mao and also physically attacked them. Service providers, local party officials, teachers and other professionals were targeted. Because of these atrocities thousands of people were disgraced and their lives were ruined. The Chinese premier Zhau Enlai tried to keep the country running but the Red Guards did not even spare elderly people and intellectuals. Many people lost their lives because of the atrocities of the Red Guards. The terror and anarchy disrupted Chinese economy and because of that industrial production of 1968 dropped down by 12 percent than that of 1966. Many important leaders were removed from power and armed clashes between fractions of the Red Guards were taking place throughout the country.

In 1967 Mao realized his mistake and he called in the army under Lin Biao to restore order. He rebuilt the Chinese Communist Party and the military took over schools and factories. Millions of the Red Guards were shifted to rural areas thereby weakening their forces. Many of them were given death sentence for committing violence. The Cultural Revolution was formally ended at the party conference in April 1969. The Cultural Revolution disrupted the economy of the country and delayed development by ten years. Because of the revolution the lives of millions of people were ruined. The Cultural Revolution increased factionalism in the Chinese Communist Party. It damaged the system profoundly, yet Mao could not achieve his desired gaols.

14.4 CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

The Civil Right Movements was one of the most significant mass movements of the later part of the 20th century. It began against racial segregation and discrimination in the United States of America. The

Movement rose into prominence during the mid 1950s and it had its roots in the long efforts of Africans to resist racial operation. Slavery was abolished in the U.S.A in 1863. It was expected that the black people would have similar rights as the whites like the right to own land, the right to education and the right to vote. However in many states particularly in the South white people deprived the blacks from voting and did not allow the black children to attend the same educational institutions like the white children. Moreover the blacks were not allowed to mix with the whites socially and there were separate restaurants, clubs and transportation facilities for them. The blacks were financially deprived and they were compelled to do the worst paid jobs. In 1910 the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) was formed for black people's rights. But the organization did not achieve much success and till the Second World War the blacks were treated as second-class citizens.

After the Second World War President H.S Truman constituted a committee to look into the civil rights of the blacks. Following that many laws were passed by the government and the Supreme Court for racial equality but these laws were not executed. Even federal troops had to escort black children into the Little Rock High School at Arkansans because the governor had refused to accept a Supreme Court order. In the mid 1950s there developed a mass civil rights movements. There were certain factors that led to the movement.

a) By the 1950s almost 50 percent of the black population resided in North America where they became more aware of their rights and political issues. A middle class of their population formed and many talented leaders were produced.

b) By that time countries like Ghana and India became independent meaning a dignified position for the people of those countries. On the other hand the black Americans were still in an inferior position of the society. The decolonization of many countries inspired the black Americans to fight for their rights.

c) Truman's majors gave hope to the blacks regarding their rights. But the slow pace and small amount of change made them impatient. Moreover the hostility of the Sothern Whites, anti black organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the banning of NACP by some southern states made them realize that only a nation-wide mass movement would achieve their demands.

In 1955 a Baptist minister named Dr. Martin Luther King emerged as the leader of a non violent civil rights movement. On 1 December, 1955 a black lady named Rosa Parks was arrested for occupying a bus seat reserved for whites in Montgomery, Alabama. To protest this inhuman act Martin Luther organized a boycott of all Montgomery buses. Due to the overwhelming support to his boycott separate sitting on Montgomery buses was abolished. This success encouraged Martin Luther King to organize peaceful disobedient movements. He led a massive rally of a quarter of a million people in Washington in 1963. There he delivered the famous speech about his dream of a future America where every human being would be equal. For his effort King was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1967. But tragically he was assassinated in April 1968 in Tennessee.

The Civil Right Movement was not always non-violent. There were certain militant organizations like the Black Panthers and Black Power Movement. They resorted to violent methods like arson, beating and murders against the whites like the Ku Klux Klan head used against the Blacks. Many riots also took place like the Watts district of Los Angeles Riot of 1965 where 35 people were killed and more than a thousand were injured. Even many black people discarded Christianity as according to them it was the religion of the racist whites and they converted into Islam.

The government went under pressure due to the growing intensity of the movement. Moreover the democrat President John F. Kennedy was sympathetic to the blacks. He in an attempt to demonstrate good will appointed the first black ambassador of the U.S.A. He also presented a Civil Rights Bill to Congress. After a long debate of 736 hours the bill was

passed in 1964. It was a milestone in the civil rights movement. The act guaranteed voting rights for blacks and made racial discrimination illegal in jobs and other public facilities. However in the south the black people were still deprived of many rights. The next president Lyndon B. Johnson introduced Voting Rights Act in 1965 in order to ensure that the blacks exercised their voting rights. In 1968 he implemented another Civil Rights Act. This act made it illegal to discriminate racially in property selling and letting accommodation. But due to hostility from a section of the whites, it became difficult to carry out these acts.

Gradually progress was visible, particularly in voting. Number of black members in the congress and state governments increased to a satisfactory extent. By 1975 there were 120 black mayors elected. However without financial improvement, full equality could never be achieved. The black people always suffered from unemployment and they had to reside in over-crowded slum areas called ghetto in the big cities. Minor incidents of racial abuse and riots continued despite governments efforts to bring equality in the society.

- **Apartheid**

Apartheid meaning apartness was a policy introduced to regulate relations between the white minority and the non-white majority of South Africa in the 20th century. Since the 17th century there had always been racial separation in South Africa. After the British occupied South Africa from the Dutch in the early 20th century racial discrimination became worse. The aboriginal were deprived of political and economic rights and even their movements were controlled by the government by a system of pass laws. After the Second World War many Africans and Asian countries gained independence which ensured racial equality within the Commonwealth. The whites of South Africa were keen to preserve their supremacy. The Afrikaner Nationalist party which was at the power was against racial equality. To tighten up control over blacks Prime Minister Dr. Malan introduced the policy called Apartheid in 1948. The main features of Apartheid were –

1. Whites and Blacks were completely separated at all levels. The blacks were compelled to reside in special reserves in the rural areas and special towns were built for them in the urban areas. The 'black towns' were located at a suitable distance from the residential areas of the whites. Black people had to use separate trains, buses, cafes, toilets, beaches, hospitals and even churches. There were separate schools with inferior education for the black children.
2. Strict pass laws were issued to black Africans which was required whenever they were travelling to a white area to work. Without the pass they were not allowed to travel.
3. Marriages between whites and non-whites were forbidden in order to preserve the purity of the white race.
4. According to the Bantu Self Government Act of 1959 seven regions called Bantustans were created for the non-whites. It was declared that they would eventually attain self government. But in practice the whites continued to dominate the non-whites politically. Africans had no political rights and even their representation in parliament by white MPs was abolished.

Thus the systematic oppression by the whites caused further misery in the lives of the non-whites. Africans were not allowed to strike and their only political party the African National Congress became helpless. However there were opposition to Apartheid. In 1952 many Africans tried to enter places reserved for whites in an attempt to breach the laws. More than 8000 Africans were imprisoned and many of them were flogged. The ANC leader Albert Luthuli was stripped off his chieftaincy and was imprisoned. Gradually there arose demands for equality before the law, the right to vote, freedom of speech, movement, assembly, religion, right to work with equal wage, 40 hour working week, unemployment benefits, free medical care and free and equal education. The ANC organised protests and demonstrations all over the country. In one of such demonstrations held in

1960 at Sharpeville near Johannesburg 67 Africans were killed by police fire with many others injured. The ANC was banned and more than 15,000 Africans were arrested. This became a turning point in the anti-apartheid campaign. Many violent incidents occurred and police brutality increased. Many black leaders were arrested among which Nelson Mandela was the most prominent name who was sentenced to life imprisonment. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity vehemently condemned Apartheid. An economic boycott on South Africa was proposed but proved useless as it did not gain support. However Britain, Italy, West Germany and France publically criticised Apartheid. In 1979 the new Prime Minister P.W Botha realised that the Apartheid system should be reformed. Mostly pressures from the Commonwealth, the U.N.O and the O.A.U and economic problems following a recession compelled him to adopt certain changes accordingly the blacks were allowed to elect their local townships council. They could now join trade unions and they could organize strikes. According to a new constitution two new houses of parliament were set up, one for the coloureds and the other for the Asians. However Africans were not allowed to become the Member of Parliament. Marriage relations between people of different races were allowed. Most importantly the pass laws for non-whites were abolished. But no voting rights were given to the blacks and therefore protests and violence escalated. The Black councillors and police who allegedly supported Apartheid were murdered by the ANC mercilessly.

In August 1986 there was an economic sanction on South Africa imposed by the Commonwealth except Britain. The USA also joined the sanction and stopped imports of iron, coal, textiles and uranium from South Africa. Following this international pressure President F.W.de Klerk released Nelson Mandela in 1990 after 27 years in prison. Mandela was elected as the leader of the ANC which was declared legal. Gradually many Apartheid laws were dropped. In 1993 a general election was held where the ANC won 2/3rd of the votes. Nelson Mandela became the first black president of South Africa. This was a momentous achievement as South Africa moved from Apartheid to black majority rule.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When was the Cultural Revolution launched?

.....

Q.2: Who were the Red Guards?

.....

Q.3: Who was the Chinese Premiere during the time of Cultural Revolution?

.....

Q.4: In which year slavery was abolished in the U.S.A?

.....

Q.5: What is the full form of NACP?

.....

Q.6: In which year Martin Luther was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace?

.....

Q.7: What does the word 'Apartheid' mean?

.....

Q.8: Which Prime Minister introduced Apartheid?

.....

Q.9: What was the Pass law?

.....

- **Feminism**

The definition of feminism encompasses the ideological, political and socially-driven movements proposed to establish equality between the sexes on all basis of human life. The main features of feminism as social movement includes equal pay in workplace, women's suffrage, the right to own property, reproductive rights, protection against sexual harassment and assault and also right to education etc. The global idea of feminism refers to the belief that men and women deserve equal treatment, opportunities, respect and social rights. The history of feminism has been divided into four waves by feminist scholars. Each deals with different aspects of the same feminist issues. The history, events and structure of

the feminist movement is closely related to the individuals at the time, specific protest that took place and the broader transformation taking place in American culture. The first wave of feminism started early in 20th century and it dealt mainly with the voting rights. In the first wave writers like Virginia Wolf in her book 'A Room of One's Own' described how men socially and physically dominate women. However early feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Anne Bradstreet were promoting feminism in the 1600s and 1700s. Similarly in the U.S Judith Murray in 1790 published an essay entitled 'On Equality of the Sexes'. In the U.S the first wave feminism is considered to have ended with the passage of the 19th amendment to the U.S constitution granting women the right to vote. The first wave was also considered as first real political movement for the western world. The second wave of feminism took place in 1960s and 1970s and it was concerned with traditional gender and family roles. It was built on first wave feminism and challenged the role of women in the society. The second wave of feminism includes radical and Marxist feminists. The movement encouraged women to understand their lives as deeply politicized and reflective of a sexist structure of power. The second wave feminism was largely concerned with issues of equality and wanted to put an end to discrimination. Some of the famous activists from this wave were Helene Cixous, Monique Wittig and Donna Harraway. In short the second wave of feminism was defined by women's liberation and sexual freedom. The third wave of feminism took place in 1990s where women enjoyed more rights and power. The phrase 'third wave feminism' was coined in 1992 by Rebecca Walker. It had a greater focus on developing the different achievements of women in America. The third wave was both a continuation and a response to the perceived failures of the second wave. The uniqueness of the third wave was the participation of young feminist workers who organized meetings and rallies. This phase saw feminism becoming more conscious of race. It was defined by diversity and inter-sectionality of identity. Kimberle Crenshaw coined the phrase 'inter-sectionality' in 1989. The term refers to how different kinds of oppression like those based on gender and race intersect with each other. The fourth wave feminism continues to reckon with inter-sectionality. According to few scholars the fourth wave feminism

was continuity to the third wave feminism. However with the Me Too Movement and a resurgence of attacks on women's rights many scholars believe that present day feminism is fourth wave feminism. With the advancement of technology the fourth wave feminism have also gained popularity through social media activism. The fourth wave feminism pertains to seek questions regarding transgender rights.

The social impact of feminism across the globe is immense. In the 21st Century serious changes were seen against sexual harassment and violence in the United States. Similarly in some areas of Latin America women's rights have made advances politically. Feminism as a political movement have gained success as women won protection from employment discrimination, abortion law reforms, greater representation in media and equal access to school athletics etc.

14.5 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The world witnessed unprecedented advancement in science and technology in the second half of the 20th century. During the Second World War itself there was tremendous technological progress, particularly in warfare. After the world war ended leaders of the countries realized the necessity of technology for the progress of human kind. There were inventions in different areas like communication, transportation and computers.

Communication and the spreading of information rapidly developed in the second half of the 20th century. Upto the 1950s radio was chiefly used for communication. After the 1950s the television, invented by John Logi Baird, became popular as it allowed people to watch important events in real time. With the arrival of colour television in the 1970s and other accessories like video cassette recorders made television a household item ensuring faster communication. The emergence of television as a medium of mass communication was a noteworthy phenomenon. Along with that the invention of mobile phones in 1973 enabled people to communicate faster. The advent of computers and internet revolutionised communication

throughout the world. The development of the internal-combustion engine improved road vehicles and airplanes. Aircrafts were made jet powered which further developed combat aircrafts.

One of the most notable achievements of science and technology was the expansion of electrical power. Large units of electrical power productions were set up which reduced the price of electricity. Therefore number of consumers increased. Apart from electricity atomic power became a major source of energy in the 20th century. After the USA produced atomic bombs many develop countries started using nuclear power for defence and other purposes. Development in technology had great impact upon industrial production. By using improved techniques countries tried to increase their productivity. Iron had been the mostly used metal but the spread of materials such as glass and concrete and arrival of new materials like plastic reduced the dependency on iron. Moreover with new technology iron was mixed with other metals to create alloys like steel to use in industries like buildings. Synthetic fibre, synthetic rubber etc became popular during this period.

The growth in chemical knowledge can be seen in the expansion of the pharmaceutical industry. There was a remarkable development in the science of pharmacy in the 20th century. Many important medicines like Penicillin (by Alexander Fleming in 1928) and other life saving drugs improved the health sector. In other branches of medical technology there were significant progress as well like examination by x-rays, orthopaedic surgery, radiation therapy etc. many diseases were cured by effective vaccines. In agriculture synthetic fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides became popular. The introduction of DDT in 1944 as an insecticide proved to be a major achievement of chemical technology. With the introduction of dehydration techniques food processing and packaging also advanced.

In regards to transportation the airplane was the most remarkable invention of the 20th century. The Wright brothers flew the first man-made aircraft the Flyer-1 in 1903. The First World War gave impetuous to this technological development which was further developed during the Second

World War. Humankind saw unprecedented progress in space technology. The techniques of rocketry were used to provide launch vehicles for satellites and lunar and planetary probs. The astonishing achievement of Neil Armstrong to become the first man to walk on the moon in 1969 and to return safely inspired many countries to develop space, science and technology. The development of science and technology in the 20th century was a remarkable feature of the history of the period. Progress in scientific and technological aspects had made human life easier but at the same time too much dependency on technology have shown its adverse effects on humankind.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.10: Who was the author of 'A Room of One's Own'?

.....

Q.11: Who coined the term 'inter-sectionality'?

.....

Q.12: Name two activists of Second Wave Feminism.

.....

Q.13: Who invented Penicillin?

.....

Q.14: Who flew the first aircraft?

.....

Q.15: In which year Mobile Phone was invented?

.....



14.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The Cultural Revolution was initiated by Mao Zedong in 1966 to suppress his opposition in the Communist party.

- The Civil Rights Movement was a reaction against the racial discrimination that existed in the US. Martin Luther King was its chief leader who was fighting for equal rights for the black Americans.
- Apartheid meaning apartness was an inhuman system that discriminated the non-whites of South-Africa on the basis of their skin colour. It made them second-class citizens. The system was opposed internally and it was condemned internationally.
- Feminism was an important socio-political movement of the 20th century which attempted to establish equality between the sexes on all basis of human life. The main features of feminism as social movement includes equal pay in workplace, women's suffrage, the right to own property, reproductive rights, protection against sexual harassment and assault and also right to education etc.
- Along with social progress there were developments in science and technology which heralded a new era in the 20th century. Many inventions in science and technology brought drastic changes in the lives of the people.



14.7 FURTHER READING

1. Hill, C.P (1974) *A History of the United States*, Arnold Publishers, London
2. Mc Williams, Wayne and Pitrowski Harry (2008), *The World Since 1945*, Viva Books Private Limited, New Delhi.
3. Catchpole, B. (1972) *A Map History of the United States*, Heinemann, Portsmouth, NH.
4. Zinn, H (1980) *A People's History of the United States*, Longman Publishers, London.
5. Vinacke, H.M (1985) *A History of the Far East in Modern Times*, Kalyani Publishers, Ludhiana.

14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: 1966

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Student led Paramilitary Social Movement

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Zhou Enlai

Ans. to Q. No. 4: 1863

Ans. to Q. No. 5: National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

Ans. to Q. No. 6: 1967

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Apartness

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Dr. Malan

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Pass laws were issued to black Africans which was required whenever they were travelling to a white area for work purpose.

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Virginia Wolf

Ans. to Q. No. 11: Kimberle Crenshaw

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Helene Cixous and Monique Wittig

Ans. to Q. No. 13: Alexander Fleming

Ans. to Q. No. 14: The Wright Brothers

Ans. to Q. No. 15: 1973

14.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What are the different waves of feminism?

Q. 2: Define Cultural Revolution?

Q. 3: Who was Martin Luther King?

Q. 4: How did communication developed in the 20th century?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: What were the causes of the Civil Rights Movement?

Q. 2: How were the non-whites treated in South Africa after Apartheid?

Q. 3: How did the Cultural Revolution develop?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss about the growth of feminist ideologies in the 20th century.

Q. 2: Discuss about the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa.

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UNIT 15: DISINTEGRATION OF SOCIALIST BLOCK AND END OF COLD WAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Genesis and process of disintegration of the Socialist Block

- Impact on society

15.4 Political order from Bipolar to Unipolar World System

15.5 Decline of Socialism

15.6 Globalisation

- Economic and Political impact of Globalisation

15.7 Let Us Sum Up

15.8 Further Readings

15.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.10 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, learners will be able to:

- Explain the disintegration of the Socialist Block in Europe and its impact,
- Explore the ideas on the formation of unipolar world system under the USA,
- Discuss the decline of Socialism, and
- Analyse the concept of globalisation and its economic and political impact.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Progressive Age of 20th century marked by the movements for feminism, civil rights, apartheid etc. In this Unit, we shall discuss the disintegration of the Socialist Block and the end of Cold War. The 20th century was an interesting period

in the history of the world. It went through two World Wars. it saw the decolonization of a vast area of the world and it witnessed the rise and fall of socialism. There were major shifts in global economy aided by technological development in an unprecedented manner. The first part of the 20th century saw the emergence of communism as a political ideology when Russia went under communist rule, leading to the formation of the USSR. Gradually, the Soviet Union emerged as a global superpower, influencing the politics of Eastern Europe. The growth of capitalism under the United States of America was checked by the USSR's socialism with the formation of the Eastern Bloc. The post Second World War period was mainly dominated by the Cold War between these two ideologically different the superpowers. However, with passing time, the loopholes of socialism became evident, leading to disintegration of the Eastern Bloc. The USSR was also dissolved as it failed to keep the system intact. The last decade of the 20th century found globalization to be the new phenomenon. With the influx of neo liberal ideologies and economic reforms, the boundaries of countries were opened for a global economy. Privatization and individualism were embraced in place of centralized control. The late 20th century also saw a fall in socialism. The impact of the decline of socialism and the rise of globalization were visible in the political and economic aspects.

15.3 GENESIS AND PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC

The Socialist bloc was a group of eastern European countries that were aligned politically, economically and culturally with the Soviet Union since 1945. The initial members were Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, Poland and Yugoslavia. The countries together called the Eastern Bloc or the Socialist Bloc created a sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. The military and foreign policy of these countries were similar with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union provided large quantities of economic aid to these countries. All the countries maintained one party socialist governmental system modelled on the USSR. The Communist elites who ruled in these countries were sanctioned by the Soviet Union. The

purpose of the socialist bloc was to protect the military interests of the Soviet Union. In reality these countries formed a buffer zone for the USSR against a possible invasion from the west. The bloc was formalised through the Warsaw Pact of 1955. However Yugoslavia was already expelled from the bloc in 1948. Though the creation of the socialist bloc intensified the Cold War, it had its own weakness. The Soviet Union often interfered in the internal matters of the countries and many leaders felt that the sovereignty of the countries was compromised. Gradually the failure of the socialist bloc became evident when a process of disintegration began within the bloc. There were certain factors that led to the collapse of the socialist bloc:

1. Economic Failure: Communism turned out to be a failure economically in Eastern Europe. The economic systems were over centralised, inefficient and full of restrictions. All the countries were instructed to do their training only within the communist bloc. The problems became rampant by the mid 1980s. The standard of living was below average. There were scarcity of goods and lack of innovation. The economy of the bloc was unsustainable and it failed to compete with the market oriented economy of the west.
2. Policies of Mikhail Gorbachev: Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the USSR in March 1985. He discarded the orthodox communist ideology and recognised that the system was failing. He wanted to save communism by modernising it. With that view he introduced two new policies - glasnost (openness) and perestroika (social and economic reform). He tried to overthrow the old fashioned, hard-line communist leaders in Czechoslovakia. He tried to introduce more progressive leaders to save communism in Russia's satellite states. But Gorbachev aced criticism as the reform went out of control. Criticism turned against the communist party and demands for greater political freedom grew from the satellite states. Rebellions occurred against the communist regimes in the countries of the socialist bloc. Gradually the member countries of the socialist bloc opted out of the Warsaw Pact which led to the disintegration of the socialist bloc.

3. Social Movements: One of the key factors for the disintegration was civil society movements like Solidarity Movement in Poland. These movements posed a challenge to the existing political order. Mass movements, demonstrations and protests took place across the Eastern Bloc where demands for free election and multi-party system increased. The attitude of the people shifted the tide for Communism in Eastern Europe in an adverse way. Moreover revolutions broke out in Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia with an aim to overthrow the communist governments. The Velvet Revolution and the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu in Czechoslovakia and Romania respectively were important instances of popular uprisings against the communist rule.

4. Unification of Germany: Germany was divided after the Second World War into East and West Germany. East Germany was controlled by the communists whereas West Germany was controlled by the west. A wall was erected in Berlin to symbolise the division. On 9 November 1989 the Berlin Wall was opened which mugged the symbolic collapse of the Iron Curtain. The fall of the Berlin Wall also signified the end of communism in Germany. This further contributed to the disintegration of the socialist bloc.

Process of Disintegration:

Poland became the first country to opt out from the Socialist Bloc. In 1981 General Jaruzelski became the leader of Hungary. In the meantime a new trade union movement named Solidarity raised demands for a referendum. Jaruzelski banned Solidarity and many of the activists were arrested. For two years peace prevailed and Jaruzelski released the Solidarity activists. But the failure of the government to improve the economy led into wide spread protests. Ultimately the government held peace talks with Solidarity and other opposition groups. In April 1989 the constitution was reformed according to which two houses of parliament were formed. Solidarity became a political party and could take part in the election. In June 1989 elections were held where Solidarity had clear victory. However as 65 percentage of seats of the lower house were reserved for the

communists Jaruzelski became the President. However a Solidarity leader Mazowiecki became the Prime Minister. Ultimately the guaranteed seats for the communists were removed and in the 1990 elections Lech Walesa became the first non communist President of Poland. Thus Poland left the socialist bloc in a comparatively peaceful way.

After Poland the rest of the Eastern European countries tried to quit the socialist bloc. The living standards had fallen to a large extent in Hungary. In September 1989 the government of Hungary took the decision of opening their borders for the East German citizens who refused to return to their countries. These people wanted to go to West Germany and the decision of Hungary meant that a country of the socialist bloc was declaring its preference for the west. Many considered it as the end of the Soviet Bloc. The Hungarian government also declared to create a multi party system in Hungary. In October the communist party of Hungary called Hungarian Socialist Party abandoned Leninism as its ideology. Finally in the election held in March 1990 the Democratic Forum emerged victorious and its leader Jozsef Antall became the Prime Minister. Hungary became a republic and remained no longer a member of the socialist bloc.

Demonstrations and oppositions also increased in Czechoslovakia. The Velvet Revolution occurred in the capital where thousands of people demonstrated against the government. Soon the movement covered the whole country. The people declared their rejected of the communist rule. On 29 December the Czech Federal Assembly held a special joint session where Vaclav Havel was elected as the first non-communist President since 1948. Similarly communist rule were overthrown in all the countries of the Soviet Bloc. Romania in 1996, Bulgaria in 1990 and Albania in 1992 saw the formation of non-communist governments.

- **Impact**

The disintegration of the socialist bloc left its mark on the society. It certainly resulted in the end of the Cold War and the end of communist regimes. From political point of view the transition of the former socialist countries to multi-party democracy fostered political pluralism. It allowed citizens to become politically active and also to participate in governance

in greater number. There was a change in economic policies as well. The shifting to market oriented economy resulted in privatisation and economic restructuring. This enabled the countries to integrate into global economy. The end of communist authority meant expansion in societal freedom and decrease in political repression. It nurtured greater freedom of expression, assembly and speech. The societies welcomed new ideas and influences from the west which resulted in the influx of new trends in art, literature and popular culture. The dissolution of the USSR resulted in the emergence of sovereign nations, fostering a renewed sense of national identity. However ethnic tensions also grew in some nations. During the transition to market economy some found improvements in living standards whereas others had to face financial hardships. The end of the cold war led to changes in geo-political alliances as the former Eastern Bloc countries started finding new alliances. The impact of the disintegration of the socialist bloc was multi-faceted. It reshaped political landscapes, economic conditions and social order across the affected regions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who introduced Glasnost?

.....

Q.2: Where did the Velvet Revolution take place?

.....

Q.3: Jaruzelski was the President of which country?

.....

15.4 POLITICAL ORDER FROM BIPOLAR TO UNIPOLAR WORLD SYSTEM

The bipolar world system refers to the emergence of the United States of America and the Soviet Union after the Second World War. The rise of these two countries led to the growth of two separate blocks and subsequent Cold War. The bipolarity had profound impact on the evolution of the global system. The existence of two global superpowers with their spheres of influence and with two separate ideologies divided the world. Both of them tried to increase their influence in every part of the world.

However the bipolar world system came to an end after five decades. The dissolution of the Soviet Union left the USA as the sole superpower leading the way to a unipolar world system. However the transition to unipolar from bipolar has been a complex process in global politics. This transition mostly occurring in the 1990s marked a departure from the Cold War dynamics.

In 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed, signalling the end of the bipolar order. It had great implications for global politics. Politically the end of the Cold War saw a reconstruction of alliances. The USA played a central role in shaping international norms and institutions. The disintegration of the Eastern Bloc resulted in the expansion of western liberal democracies. There was emphasis on principles of democracy, free market and human rights with the USA as the champion of these ideologies. The USA as the only superpower exercised considerable influence over international financial institutions and trade agreements. The influx of capitalism and Neo liberal economic policies guided by the USA became the framework for economic reform in different parts of the world. This further strengthens the position of the USA as a world power.

The shift to unipolarity changed the nature of global security dynamics. The disappearance of the Soviet Union as a superpower signified that the constraints of the USA in pursuing its strategic objectives became lesser. However there were concerns regarding unchecked powers and potential for unilateralism. The absence of superpower competition gave way for greater regional autonomy which resulted in the growth in regional conflicts. The concentration of power in a single superpower attracted criticism as it could lead to hegemony. The terrorist attack of 9/11 highlighted the vulnerability. Moreover some nations benefitted from economic liberalisation but many others faced inequalities. Social and political unrest increased in various countries of the world due to the disparity in economic development.

The emergence of China as a major economic power challenged the unipolar narrative. The rapid growth of Chinese economy and increasing assertiveness of China in international affairs has signalled the beginning of a multi-polar shift. Some countries also have tried to assert themselves

questioning the dominance of the USA. The vulnerabilities in the unipolar model were exposed in the global financial crises of 2008. It began in the USA and destabilized the economic order. It demonstrated the need for collective response to tackle systemic challenges. Moreover the military interventions by the USA in Iraq and Afghanistan led to debates about limiting unilateral action. The absence of a similar superpower like the Soviet Union emboldened the USA to exercise military operations in sovereign nations. Signalling a backlash against the access of globalisation populist movement in different parts of the world have increased. National and cultural identity and concerns about employment have fuelled a re-evaluation of the benefits of a unipolar world order. The transition from a bipolar to a unipolar world system is still an ongoing process. The end of the Cold War signified the rise of the USA as a dominant superpower which enabled the country to shape global politics, economy and security. However there have been challenges to the unipolar system making for a multi-polar world. The future trajectory of international relations will perhaps be characterized by a balance of power among multiple nations, each contributing to the dynamics of the global order.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What does Bipolar World Order mean?

.....

Q.5: The Soviet Union was dissolved in 1991. True or false.

.....

Q.6: Name a country where the USA deployed military.

.....

15.5 DECLINE OF SOCIALISM

Socialism as an ideology has evolved since the 19th century. As an ideology it believes in equality, liberty, reason and progress. Socialism was influenced by the ideas propagated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The core idea of socialism was to establish a classless society where there

would be no distinction among the people on the basis of class, caste, creed, religion and economic condition. Socialism envisaged a world where production and profits would be distributed equally. It evolved to be a major political ideology after the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia in 1917. Since then, many countries have adopted socialism as the system of governance and nature of their economy. The 20th century saw the rise of socialism as a major ideology that challenged capitalism. Many newly independent nations were attracted towards socialism. However, socialism began to decline towards the end of the 20th century. The fall of socialism began with the failure of the Soviet Union to maintain the Socialist or Eastern bloc.

The most notable factor responsible for the decline of socialism was the failure of socialist economic models. Socialist countries had an over centralized economy that could not match with the efficient market-oriented economies of the non socialist nations. The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 demonstrated the inherent weakness of over centralized economic system. The Soviet Union, where the first socialist government of the world was established, could not keep the system intact. Therefore China, one of the major communist powers of the 20th century world, had to initiate market-oriented reforms in her economy that resulted in massive economic success. This further highlighted the weakness of traditional socialist principles. As a result, socialist models did not attract countries to adopt it. The later part of the 20th century witnessed the rise of globalization and the growth of neoliberal economic ideas, which contributed to the fall of socialism. The interconnectivity of global markets led to the rise in the principles of free market. Reforms were initiated to minimize government intervention and privatization was promoted. Many countries were attracted to embrace such economic systems which challenged the core ideas of socialist economic principles.

The changes in political landscapes influenced the decline of socialism. Political parties with socialism as its core ideology underwent reforms. They started adopting centrist positions in order to attract voters. Political parties started compromising with socialist principles for electoral profits, which was one of the reasons for the downfall of communism in

Eastern Europe. The Warsaw Pact (1955) formed the Eastern Bloc with the USSR as the leader. But within four decades, the Bloc began to disintegrate as the people of the Eastern European nations were fed up with strict control of the USSR. Moreover the Cold War began to decline in the late 1980s, further reducing the ideological rivalry between capitalism and socialism. The countries of the Eastern Bloc chose progressive democracy, discarding socialism. It led to the disintegration of the socialist bloc. The collapse of socialist regimes in many countries contributed to the perception that socialism was an outdated and failed experiment.

There was a growth in the inclination towards individualism in the late 20th century. The importance of personal freedom grew with the spread of neo-liberal ideas. Socialism emphasized on collective ownership with a centralized control system. Gradually it ceased to attract people because of an authoritative nature. Countries and groups seeking greater autonomy gradually parted ways with socialism. Moreover, the growth in the number of populist movements guided by anti-establishment sentiments marginalized the traditional socialist parties. The economic grievances and dissatisfaction towards socialist political ideologies were visible in the populist movements across the world.

The decline of socialism was an outcome of the ever dynamic nature of the human society. Basically economic failures, global changes, shift in political ideologies and changing social attitude collectively led to the fall of the traditional socialist ideology. It is to be noted that socialism has not disappeared completely, but the traditional socialism that dominated the 20th century has struggled to cope with the challenges of the 21st century. Socialism has continued to influence political discourse, but its influence is gradually diminishing in a fast changing world.

15.6 GLOBALISATION

The term globalisation is used to describe the growing integration of the international economy. It emphasizes on the interdependencies of

economy, culture and population facilitated by inter-border commerce and exchange of technology. The term became popular in the mid 1990s. It was basically a concept of free trade that facilitates the flow of goods and services to all parts of the world. For many it was the new reality. The USA was particularly a supporter of globalisation concept and the US President Bill Clinton became its leading champion. The supporters of globalisation propagated that if all the countries removed barriers to free trade it would facilitate economic growth and it would make more commodities available at cheaper prices which would benefit everyone - consumers as well as businesses, poor countries as well as rich countries. Globalisation was accompanied by a set of recommendations including reduction of government control of the economy, privatisation and trade liberalisation. This formula known as the Washington consensus was adopted by leading financial organisations like the international monetary fund and the World Bank as the basis for their financial assistance programmes. Globalization became a multi-faceted phenomenon increasing inter-connectedness and inter-dependence among countries. Globalisation has resulted in the increasing the exchange of values, ideas and cultural practices. It led to a diffusion of art, literature, music and popular culture across regions. Globalisation had influenced the growth of urbanization and demographic shifts. Migration patterns intensified thereby creating more diverse societies with urban centres as the hubs of cultural diversity. Globalisation has intensified technological revolutions. It has transformed communications and information with the help of internet enabling instant communication and fast spread of information. Though this connectivity has increased global awareness it has also become a cause of misinformation and privacy threats.

- **Economic and Political impact of Globalisation**

Globalisation have contributed and promoted international cooperation. The increasing facilities of transportation and communication have facilitated diplomatic ties between countries. Thus alliances and partnerships have been fostered. This sense of inter-connectedness has resulted in collaborative efforts in addressing global challenges and

programmes like climate change, public health crises and terrorism. Apart from that globalisation has helped in the spread of democratic ideas. The exchange of ideas across regions empowers groups and communities to fight for human rights and democratic governance. The global community has become concerned regarding any event happening in any part of the world as a result of which nations are held accountable for their political practices. However globalisation can become a substantial challenge to the traditional idea of sovereignty. The ability of individual countries in controlling their destinies is being questioned due to the political inter-connectivity with other nations. Supranational organizations and agreements like the NATO, WTO and the European Union have impacted the decision making authority of the member countries. Globalisation can lead to disparities in wealth and education which could result in political unrest. Solving these inequalities becomes a political challenge.

Globalisation has facilitated international trade reducing barriers for the movement of goods and services across borders. It has enabled different countries to become efficient and to become specialised. Resources have been allocated globally which have fostered economic growth raising standard of living for many. One major outcome of globalisation is Foreign Direct Investment which has connected economies of countries. Multi National corporations have contributed to the economic development of countries by investing in them. Because of that technology, knowledge and expertise have been transferred. With the aid of foreign capital local industries have also sprung up creating job opportunities and enhancing economic productivity. As a result of globalisation innovation and technological advancement have accelerated the flow of ideas and information has accelerated research and development. Researchers, scientists and businesses have collaboration on a global scale which fostered progress and economic growth. The quality of the products have improved as the manufacturers have to cater the needs of customers globally.

But globalisation has certain negative impacts as well. It has proved to be curse for many local industries. Particularly in developing countries local industries often face challenges in competing with technologically advanced and more reputed industries. The easy flow of commodities has affected the domestic industries. Apart from that the outsourcing of jobs to countries in lower labour cost has created problems. It has resulted in a growth of unemployment in high cost regions. This can lead to social and economic tensions. There are income inequalities within and between countries which can be a result of globalisation. Some regions may have economic growth and others may face increase poverty. This lack of balance can cause political instability. This possibility highlights the need for the equal distribution of resources.

In the present world, globalization has become a major driving force. It has increased mutual cooperation between countries. It has evolved as a symbol of peace and prosperity. Globalization has benefited human society as a whole but also has harmed certain groups. It has made production of commodities more efficient thereby promoting economic growth with lowering prices of goods and services. Globalization has certainly become the driving factor of the 2st century world.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: The interconnectivity of global markets led to the rise in the principles of _____. Fill in the blanks.

Q.8: The end of the Cold War had its impact on the decline of socialism. True or false?

.....

Q.9: Name one political thinker who influenced the socialist ideology.

.....



15.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The Soviet Union formed the Eastern Bloc or the Socialist Bloc through the Warsaw Pact of 1955. It was formed with an aim to

check the progress of capitalism. The Eastern Bloc was a major component in the Cold War.

- The excessive control of the Soviet Union led to the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc. The Eastern European countries chose more democratic political system instead of socialism.
- After the end of the Second World War the USA and the USSR emerged as two global superpowers. It led to a bipolar world order. However, the disintegration of the Soviet Union left the USA as the sole global superpower, leading to a unipolar world order.
- The breaking of the Soviet Union led to the decline of socialism which was further accelerated by the economic failure of socialism.
- Globalization emerged as a new concept since the 1990s. It contributed to the rise of free economy, global trade and privatization.



15.7 FURTHER READING

1. Mc Williams, Wayne and Pitrowski Harry (2008), *The World Since 1945*, Viva Books Private Limited, New Delhi.
2. Catchpole, B. (1972) *A Map History of the United States*, Heinemann, Portsmouth, NH.
3. Walker, A (1971) *The Modern Commonwealth*, Longman Publishers, London.
4. Calvocoressi, Peter. (2010) *World Politics 1945-2000*, Pearson Education Limited, New Delhi.
5. Laver, J. (1991) *The USSR: 1945 to 1990.* Hodder & Stoughton, London.



15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Mikhail Gorbachev

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Czechoslovakia

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Poland

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Bipolar world order means the existence of two global superpowers, both trying to controlling world politics.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Iraq/ Afghanistan

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Free Market

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Karl Marx



15.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q. 1: What was the Warsaw Pact?

Q. 2: What is the difference between the bipolar and unipolar world order?

Q. 3: What is Globalisation?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q. 1: Discuss why and how Poland left the Socialist Bloc.

Q. 2: Analyse the rise of globalization.

Q. 3: Why did Socialism decline? Elucidate.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the political and social impact of Globalisation.

Q. 2: Discuss about the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc in detail.

Q. 3: Why did the bipolar world order gave way to a unipolar world order system? Explain your answer.

*** ***** ***



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- **Book**

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5. Hobsbawm, Eric (1995), *Age of Extremes*, Abacus
6. Lowe, Norman (1997), *Mastering World History*, Macmillan India
7. Mathur &Jain (2019), *A History of the modern World (1500-2000AD)*, JMP
8. Calvocorressi , Peter (2008), *World Politics since 1945*, Longman Publishing Group

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1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?
.....
.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?
.....
.....

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