

# **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1939**

**M.A. History**

**Semester - I**

**MAHIS - 103**



**SHRI VENKATESHWARA UNIVERSITY**

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## International Relations Since 1939

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## INTRODUCTION

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International relations refer to the study of the relationships between various nations. The 20th century witnessed massive changes in the global arena. The Second World War ended with the emergence of two superpowers in world politics—USA and USSR. In the subsequent decades, ideological rivalry between the superpowers and tactics used by them provided one of the crucial dynamics in world affairs, and one which affected—directly or indirectly—every part of the globe. Aspiration of the superpowers to establish supremacy over the world led to a hostile competition resulting in a situation described as ‘Cold War’. For a very long time, the two countries were engaged not in any direct military warfare but in an ideological, economic struggle for power in which they condemned each other for both causing and perpetuating the conflict. The Cold War largely shaped international politics in the post Second World War period until the disintegration of USSR into 15 separate countries in 1991.

While the Cold War between the two super powers generated threat to the entire human race, the other countries desperately needed development and peace. Their collective aspirations were reflected through the emergence of a number of international organizations which were established during this period.

Aspirations of ‘self determination’ and ‘independence’ initiated the process of decolonization, which was accelerated after the end of the Second World War. The process of decolonization brought in a large number of new factors in international politics. A large number of countries in Africa and Asia along with many countries of Latin America which had been suffering under the colonial rule emerged as independent nations.

This book, *International Relations Since 1939*, has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode format and follows a simple pattern, wherein, each unit of the book begins with an *Introduction* to the topic followed by the *Objectives*. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the reader’s understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions* and *Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The *Summing Up* and *Key Terms* section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

## NOTES





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# UNIT 1 WAR TIME CONFERENCES AND THE COLD WAR

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## NOTES

### STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Wartime Conferences
- 1.3 Cold War and Detente
  - 1.3.1 Causes of the Cold War
  - 1.3.2 Events Responsible for the Rise of the Cold War
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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

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During the Second World War, a number of conferences were held between the Allied powers to discuss various political issues and to devise a strategy to deal with the Axis powers. The United States and Soviet Union, who were wartime allies, were involved in a long ideological, political, economic struggle known as the Cold War. Although explanations of the origins of the Cold War in academic discussions are diverse, many schools of thought on the subject can be identified. Historians generally have three differing approaches to the study of the Cold War: orthodox interpretation, revisionism and post-revisionism. The Cold War ended in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The world witnessed a period of peace and economic boom for ten years when the incident of 9/11 shook United States and the world. From then onwards, global terrorism has taken centre stage in international affairs.

In this unit, we will discuss the various wartime conferences, the conflicting aims and policies of the rival powers which led to the Cold War and its end. We will also discuss the period of detente, disarmament and arms control undertaken by the superpowers to preserve peace. In addition, we will also discuss one of the most important event of the 21st century—the 9/11 attack and its implications.

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## 1.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the wartime conferences
- Evaluate the causes and the events that led to the outbreak of the Cold War

- Discuss the significance of disarmament and arms control
- Describe the events leading to the end of Cold War
- Analyse the incident of 9/11 and its implications

## NOTES

### 1.2 WARTIME CONFERENCES

The Second World War came to an end in 1945 with the surrender of Germany and Japan. This war proved to be longer, costlier and more destructive than the First World War. The nature and extent of the two world wars were different. During the course of the Second World War, many conferences were held and agreements were concluded between the Allied powers. Together, these powers hoped to create a new world order based on international understanding and cooperation. The conferences held between 1941 to 1945 primarily focused on military issues as the Allied nations wanted to come up with a unified strategic plan to defeat the Axis power. However, there was a shift in focus from military to post war issues in the conferences held between 1944 and 1945.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now discuss some of the important wartime conferences.

#### 1. Atlantic Conference (1941)

The President of America, from 1940, had believed that the interest of United States lay in supporting Britain in the war against the Axis power. By the summer of 1941, German politician Adolf Hitler knew that the United States was an undeclared enemy. It was also testified by the American Lend-Lease Act, which provided production and services to the Allied powers without payment. Soon afterwards, the United States extended naval patrols and the protection of its shipping further eastward into the Atlantic. After the invasion of Russia by Germany, a conference called the Atlantic Conference (code named *Riviera*) was convened in 1941 at Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, which was attended by the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The two leaders made a declaration at the conference known as the Atlantic Charter. This was an important document, although it did not imply any direct military commitment of the United States to participate in the war. It defined the goals and aims of the Allied powers concerning the war and the post-war world 'after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny'.

According to the Charter, both Britain and United States declared that they would not seek aggrandizement, territorial or other, or any changes which are not in consonance with the wishes of the people concerned. The Charter also stated that both the countries would respect the right of people to choose the form of government under whom they wish to be ruled. The Charter also called for the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny. It also envisaged global economic cooperation and advancement of social welfare measures. The policy of disarmament of aggressor nations would be followed. Later on, Russia also became a party to the Atlantic Charter.

The Atlantic Charter was quickly and widely approved by the Allied nations and leading organizations. Later on, in the meeting of the Inter-Allied Council in London on 24 September 1941, the governments-in-exile of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia, as well as the Soviet Union, and representatives of the Free French Forces, collectively decided to adhere to the common policies as envisaged in the Atlantic Charter. The Axis powers construed these diplomatic agreements as a potential alliance against them.

Britain dropped pamphlets over Germany to alleviate fears of a punitive peace that would destroy Germany. It mentioned the Charter as the authoritative statement of the joint commitment of Britain and the United States 'not to admit any economical discrimination of those defeated' and promised that 'Germany and the other states can again achieve enduring peace and prosperity'.

The most striking feature of the conference was that an agreement was concluded between different countries that held diverse opinions. The Atlantic Charter set goals for the post-war world and stimulated many of the international agreements that shaped the world later. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), post-war independence of European colonies, and much more have been derived from the Atlantic Charter. The agreement also proved to be one of the first steps towards the formation of the United Nations.

## 2. Casablanca Conference (1943)

A major development took place in January 1943 when F. D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, along with their military chiefs and aides, met at Casablanca on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. This conference was code named *Symbol*. It was held from 14–24 January 1943 to plan the Allied European strategy for the next phase of Second World War. Though Soviet Union was also invited to the conference, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin declined to attend. The conference dealt with mainly military issues—deciding on the invasion of Sicily (after completion of the North African campaign) rather than an immediate invasion of western Europe, assigning forces for the Pacific and demarcating major lines of attack in the Far East, and agreeing on the concentrated bombing of Germany.

There were some differences between United States and Britain regarding the terms of armistice to be offered to the fascist powers. The conference produced a unified statement of purpose that the Allies would accept nothing less than 'unconditional surrender' of the Axis powers. According to Roosevelt, 'unconditional surrender' meant not harming the common populace of Axis powers but imposing punishment and retribution upon their guilty and barbaric leaders.

The policy of 'unconditional surrender' was severely condemned after the war. The conference at Casablanca created friction between Churchill, Roosevelt and the Free French. Charles de Gaulle, the accepted leader of the Free French, was unaware of the meeting in Casablanca, even though it was being held on French territory. He also raised objection to not receiving an invitation to the conference as it was being held in part of France; he felt that he had an automatic right to be there. It is to be noted that Gaulle was not informed about the planning for the conference because it would have increased the security risk if more and more people knew about the conference.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Cairo Conference (1943)

The Cairo Conference (code named *Sextant*) was held in Cairo, Egypt in November–December 1943. It outlined the position of Allied powers against Japan during the Second World War and reorganization of post-war Asia. The conference was attended by F. D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China. Joseph Stalin refused to attend the conference because Chiang was attending, which would have caused friction between the Soviet Union and Japan. The conference took place in two phases.

## NOTES

## NOTES

In the first phase from 22–26 November, Winston Churchill and Roosevelt discussed plans for the Normandy Invasion. They issued a declaration which was mainly concerned with Japan and the countries it occupied. It called for Japan's 'unconditional surrender' and return of all conquests made by it after 1894.<sup>3</sup>

After the first phase of talks, Churchill and Roosevelt went to Iran for attending the Tehran Conference with Joseph Stalin. The two leaders then returned to Cairo for the second phase of the Cairo conference from 2–7 December. At Tehran, they failed to persuade the Turkish President to align with the allied powers. At this meeting, Roosevelt also informed Churchill of his choice of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as the supreme commander of the Normandy Invasion.

### 4. Teheran Conference (1943)

The Tehran Conference (code named *Eureka*) was a strategy meeting of the three Allied powers at Teheran, in Iran, from 28 November to 2 December, 1943. It was attended by the 'Big Three' leaders—Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt. The following agreements were reached by the three leaders at the end of the conference:

- The Yugoslav partisans should be supported by supplies and equipment, and also by commando operations.
- It would be desirable if Turkey joins the war on the side of the Allies before the end of the year.
- The leaders took note of Stalin's statement that if Turkey fought against Germany, and Bulgaria declared war on Turkey, then the Soviet Union would immediately declare war against Bulgaria. The invasion of France (Operation Overlord) would be launched during May 1944, in conjunction with an operation against southern France.
- The leaders agreed that the military staffs of the Allied Powers should keep in close touch with each other in the wake of the looming operations in Europe.

At this conference, Roosevelt and Churchill approved the landing of a million Anglo-American troops in France in May 1944, the long awaited Second Front. The Soviet Union agreed to join the war against Japan once Germany was defeated. The issue of Poland's post-war frontiers was also discussed at the meeting. When the Polish government in London did not agree to the terms on which a broad consensus was reached at the Teheran conference, a Polish National Council dominated by the Communists was established with the assistance of the Soviet government. This marked a split in the Polish resistance and a rift between the Soviet Union and Poland's government-in-exile in London.

Although all three leaders at the conference arrived with conflicting objectives, the main upshot of the Tehran conference was the commitment to the opening of a Second Front against Nazi Germany by the Western Allies. The conference also dealt with relations between the Allies and Turkey and Iran, operations in Yugoslavia and against Japan, as well as the visualized post-war settlement. A separate protocol signed at the conference vowed the 'Big Three's' recognition of the independence of Iran.

### 5. Bretton Woods Conference (1944)

By July 1944, there were bright chances of victory of the Allied nations in the war. Consequently, the 730 delegates of the 44 Allied nations held a meeting at the Mount Washington Hotel, located in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, United States, in July 1944.

## NOTES

The conference was formerly known as the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. It was decided to establish an International Monetary Fund (IMF) to help the reconstruction and development of the world after the war. It also led to the setting up of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to help establish political stability and foster peace. The main points of agreement were the formation of the IMF and IBRD, which today are a part of the World Bank.

### 6. Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944)

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference or the Washington Conversations on International Peace and Security Organization was an international conference. It was held by representatives of Britain, Soviet Union and the United States to discuss the formation of United Nations Organization (UNO). The conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington in United States from 21 August to 7 October, 1944.

This conference constituted the first important step taken for a post-war international organization to succeed the League of Nations. At the conference, the delegates deliberated over proposals for the establishment of an organization to maintain peace and security in the world. The plan envisaged the establishment of a new eleven member body known as the Security Council, which would have at its disposal, armed forces for maintaining world peace. Ninety percent of the UN Charter was drafted at this conference. Representatives at the conference comprised the British Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Alexander Cadogan; Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Andrei Gromyko; Chinese Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Wellington Koo; and United States Undersecretary of State.

The discussions were held in two phases, since the Soviets were reluctant to meet the Chinese directly. In the first phase, representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States convened between 21 August and 28 September, 1944. In the second, representatives of the Republic of China, United Kingdom and the United States held discussions between 29 September and 7 October, 1944.

The objectives of the proposed international organization were as follows:

- Maintenance of international peace and security
- Development of friendly relations among nations
- Achievement of international cooperation in solving economic, social and other humanitarian problems
- Harmonizing the actions of nations in the fulfilment of these common ends

On 7 October 1944, the delegates agreed on a tentative set of proposals for the formation of an international organization for meeting these goals. It was also decided to hold a meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco in May–June 1945 to draft the United Nations Charter.

### 7. Quebec Conference (1944)

Quebec Conference, also called the Second Quebec Conference (code named *Octagen*), was a high level military conference held in September 1944 at Quebec City (Canada) between the British and American governments. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the combined Chiefs of Staff were the chief representatives. In this conference, they worked out the details of the occupied zones in defeated Germany, the Morgenthau Plan to demilitarize Germany, continue the United Land-Lease support to Britain, and the task of Royal Navy in the war against Japan.

## NOTES

### 8. Moscow Conference (1944)

Moscow conference, also known as the Tolstoy Conference, for its code name *Tolstoy*, was held between Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin at Moscow in October 1944. In the anticipation of the defeat of Germany, the two countries decided to divide the spoils of victory among themselves in Eastern Europe. It was agreed that Rumania and Bulgaria would be under the Soviet influence and Greece would be within Britain's sphere of influence. Britain also agreed to give back to Soviet Union all its former citizens without exception of those who had been liberated from the Germans.

### 9. Yalta Conference (1945)

The Yalta conference, (code named the *Argonaut Conference*), also called the Crimea Conference, was held at the Livadia Palace near Yalta in Crimea, from 4–11 February, 1945. Regardless of the problems faced by the League of Nations in mediating conflict and ensuring international peace and security before the Second World War, the major Allied powers agreed to establish a new global organization to handle international affairs. The conference was attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin for the purpose of discussing Europe's post-war reorganization. The meeting was deliberated chiefly to discuss the re-establishment of the nations of war-torn Europe.

Many important decisions were taken at the conference. The attainment of Germany's unconditional surrender was declared as the common aim of the three nations. The conference declared that the objective of the Allied powers was the destruction of Nazism and to ensure that Germany will not disturb world peace in future. It was decided that after the surrender of Germany, she would be divided into four zones to be occupied by each of the allied powers, one each under Britain, France, Soviet Union and the United States. The territorial gains of Germany would also be confiscated. A consensus was developed on the frontiers of Poland, for the inclusion of non-communist Poles from London in the Provisional Government of Poland and to hold free elections there immediately. The three countries also signed a declaration known as the 'Declaration on Liberated Europe', whereby, they pledged to assist the European countries in the establishment of democratic institutions. The Soviet Union gave its consent to enter war against Japan, within three months of Germany's defeat.

Significant decisions were arrived at regarding the establishment of United Nations Organization. On 1 March 1945, it was decided to open to all the countries, at war with Germany, the membership of UNO, to enable them to attend the meeting at San Francisco fixed on 25 April 1945, for drafting the Charter. There was also an agreement concerning the structure of the Security Council of the United Nations on the permanent members of the Security Council, and the principle of unanimity of these members regarding decisions affecting peace and security.<sup>4</sup> However, within a few years, the conference at Yalta became a subject of intense controversy. Some historians put forward the view that Roosevelt failed to understand the threat posed by the Soviet Union and adopted a policy of 'appeasement' towards Stalin. They held that Stalin was emboldened to dominate Eastern Europe after the Yalta Conference. However, this view was rejected by other historians.

### 10. San Francisco Conference (1945)

The San Francisco conference, also known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO), was the meeting of delegates from the Allied nations

that took place in April 1945 at San Francisco in the United States. This conference was convened in accordance with the decision of the Yalta Conference to adopt the Charter of the United Nations. At this convention, the delegates reviewed the agreements arrived at the Dumbarton Oaks conference. The war was in the final stages when the conference was being convened. The German capital of Berlin was attacked and Hitler committed suicide on 30 April 1945. This conference was to be inaugurated by Roosevelt, but he died just a few days before the commencement of the conference. So it was inaugurated by the new incumbent President of United States, Harry S. Truman. The conference was attended by 50 member states. They adopted the Charter of the United Nations on 26 June 1945.

### 11. Postdam Conference (1945)

After the surrender of Germany, the three leading Allies in the Second World War (the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain) wanted to spell out and implement agreements arrived at the Yalta conference. The conference was held from 17 July to 2 August, 1945 at Cecilienhof Palace in Potsdam, just outside Berlin, and was attended by Harry S. Truman, Churchill and Stalin. From 28 July, the conference was attended by British Labour Party Politician Clement Attlee in place of Churchill, who had become the British Prime Minister when the Labour party came to power. The three leaders were trying to establish an agenda for governing post-war Europe.

The chief concern at the conference was Germany. The declaration made by the conference stated that, 'German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated, and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world.' An agreement was reached at the conference on Poland's western border and the transfer of the northern part of East Prussia to the Soviet Union and the southern part to Poland. It was agreed to reorganize the communist Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland that had been established by the Soviet Union 'on a broader democratic basis'.

It was also agreed to ban fascist organizations, reorganize German economy by abolishing cartels and controlling industries used for producing war materials, payment of reparations by Germany and the division of Germany into four zones of occupation. They also consented on giving France a zone of occupation, carved out of the United States and Britain zones. German reparations were partly to be in the form of forced labour, which was to be used to repair damage that Germany caused on its victims.

It was also decided to bring Nazi war criminals to trial. These trials were conducted at Nuremberg, in Germany, and lasted for one year. Some of the criminals were sentenced to death and others were sentenced to imprisonment. The 'Big Three' also agreed that all original governments would be restored to the invaded countries.

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## 1.3 COLD WAR AND DETENTE

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When the leaders of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union met at the Teheran, Yalta and Postdam conferences, they reached agreements on many issues regarding the future of the liberated European countries. At the Postdam Conference, the council of foreign ministers discussed the terms of the peace treaties with the axis powers and their allies. By 1947, agreements were reached and treaties were signed with Romania,

## NOTES

### Check Your Progress

1. When was the Atlantic Conference convened?
2. Which conference constituted the first important step taken for a post-War international organization to succeed the League of Nations?
3. State the main purpose of convening the Yalta Conference.
4. What was the chief point of concern at the Postdam Conference?

## NOTES

Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary and Finland. However, no agreement could be arrived at on the question of Japan and Germany. While the Western countries signed a treaty with Japan in spite of the objection of the Soviet Union, the differences over Germany became a major source of conflict between the Western bloc led by the United States and the Soviet Union led Eastern bloc. Gradually, after the Second World War, the wartime alliances had began to wear out and a period of Cold War had set in. It remained a dominant issue in international relations during the second half of the 20th century. For a very long time, the two countries were engaged not in any direct military warfare but in an ideological, economic struggle for power in which they condemned each other for causing and perpetuating the conflict.

After the success of Nazism in Germany, the Allied powers hoped that Germany's aggression would be directed against the Soviet Union. Consequently, they followed a policy of appeasement towards the Axis powers and denied any alliance with the Soviet Union. A Soviet-US-British alliance was formed during the war which led to the defeat of Germany and other Axis powers. However, Britain and the United States conducted their military operations jointly and took their own decisions. As a result, differences emerged during the war over the future of Europe. Although most of the differences had been resolved during the wartime conferences, yet the suspicions of the Western powers of the Soviet Union continued. The defeat of Germany by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe had made Western nations restless. Let us now discuss the causes and the events that led to the beginning of the Cold War.

### 1.3.1 Causes of the Cold War

Many causes have been attributed to the rise of the Cold War. Some scholars prefer to depend on theories based on the investigation of numerous wars and peace settlements, while others rely on the events during the course of the war and after it, and the causes behind the resulting tension.

- 1. Unavoidability of conflicts:** International relations depend upon conflicts among countries. Clashes often take place and are resolved, but conflicts continue to exist. Sometimes nations cooperate with each other to face a powerful threat from one or more countries. When the threat is averted, the cooperation also comes to end. It is in this outlook that the basic causes of the Cold War are analysed and explained. The cooperation witnessed between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Second World War was an inevitable response to the common threat from fascist Germany and Italy. Once the enemy was defeated, the conflicts re-emerged.
- 2. Theory of vacuum:** The theory of vacuum is also a significant explanation for the origin of the Cold War. Germany and Japan was defeated in the Second World War which created a vacuum that had to be filled. According to Louis Halle, in his book, *The Cold War as History*, the decision to eliminate German power from Europe instead of concluding peace was the basic cause of the Cold War. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were capable of filling the vacuum in Europe and Asia. Since they could not cooperate with each other in doing this, the conflict resulted in Cold War.
- 3. Ideological factor:** The ideological differences between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were mainly responsible for the Cold War. Liberal democracy based on capitalism propagated by the United States was contradictory to the socialist system based on Marxism followed by the



Soviet Union. The two powers denounced each other's system. The United States declined to recognize the Soviet Union till 1933. It was only because of the threat from Germany and Japan that the two powers buried their differences and started cooperating with each other. However, this cooperation was only temporary in nature. The conflict remerged in the shape of Cold War. Thus, ideological conflict became the major cause of the Cold War.

## NOTES

- 4. Mutual suspicion:** The Soviet Union and the Western countries were aligned against the Axis powers in the Second World War. However, they were mutually suspicious of each other. The Soviet Union remembered the US intervention in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War that followed. Britain and the USA also did not forget that in 1917, the Soviet government made peace with Germany, the enemy of the Western powers. When the Second World War was nearing its end, both the sides attempted to remove suspicion, but could not succeed.
- 5. Differences in post-war aims:** The post-war aims of the Soviet Union and the United States were different. The Soviet Union aimed to establish the domination over the Eastern European nations after liberating them from Germany. Thus, the Soviet Union wished to set up communist governments in these countries. At the same time, the USA and Britain wanted to hold free elections in the newly liberated countries and establish democratic governments. At the Yalta conference in 1945, the USSR and the USA agreed on holding free elections in these countries but Stalin broke the promise. The Soviet Union established communist governments in these countries without conducting free elections. This turned out to be the major cause of the Cold War.
- 6. Intermittent wartime conflicts:** During the war, there were many incidences of conflicts between the US and the Soviet Union. For example, in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union supported Yugoslav revolutionary and statesman Marshal Tito, whereas, Britain wanted to establish monarchy in the country. There was an agreement between Stalin and Churchill that Greece would be under the British influence and Rumania and Bulgaria would be under Soviet's sphere of influence. However, Britain encouraged anti-communist monarchies in Greece.

Thus, we see that various factors responsible for the origin of the Cold War have been propagated. One cannot, however, fix the responsibility on any one country as both the sides were equally responsible for the unprecedented tension. Both the nations found their security endangered and the result was the Cold War.

### 1.3.2 Events Responsible for the Rise of the Cold War

In this section, we will discuss the various events that led to the rise of the Cold War.

#### 1. Formation of Communist governments in Eastern Europe

The developments in Eastern Europe also created a feeling of uneasiness among the Western powers. As discussed earlier, at the Yalta conference, the three Allied powers were to assist the liberated European countries in the creation of democratic institutions by holding free elections. Initially, in the countries liberated by the Soviet Union, coalition governments were established which comprised Communists as well as other parties. However, within a short span of three years, these countries came under the exclusive control of the Communist parties, which aroused the indignation of Britain and the United States, particularly, on the question of Poland and Czechoslovakia. It was perceived as betrayal of the declaration made by Soviet Union at the Yalta conference. Similar

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developments occurred in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. In Albania and Yugoslavia, the Communists had attained power. Thus, seven European countries had governments dominated by the Communist party, and this became an issue of concern for Britain and the United States.

### 2. Developments in Germany

The developments in Germany further deteriorated the relations between the Western countries and the Soviet Union. At the Postdam conference, it was decided to divide Germany into four zones to be occupied by the USA, the USSR, Britain and France, and that it would be treated as a single economic zone with a common currency. Gradually, Germany was divided into two parts—western and eastern. The three zones under Britain, the United States and France were combined to form a single unit, while the western part and the Soviet occupied zone becoming the eastern part. Apart from this, the economic unity of Germany was also shattered with the western part stopping the dispatch of industrial machinery to the eastern part and the eastern part stopping the supply of agricultural goods to the western part. Germany was divided into two distinct economic and political parts. The eastern part experienced seizure of large landholdings and their reallocation among the peasants, nationalization of mines and industries, and exiled German Communists were encouraged to return. The western part witnessed the development of the economy on capitalist lines, massively aided by the United States. Parties and groups opposed to the Communists and the Soviet Union dominated the political scene in this part.

### 3. Civil war in Greece

Greece was occupied by the German troops after the debacle of the Italians in 1940. The resistance against Germany was led by the Greek Communists and other anti-fascist groups. They were successful in liberating many parts of Greece from the Germans. However, the British troops which were sent to Greece wanted to restore monarchy. This situation led to the civil war in Greece. The British troops fought against the Greek Communist in the war. However, soon, Britain decided to withdraw military and financial support to Greece as it could no longer bear the burden of supporting the Greek government in the civil war. The US government stepped in to provide financial and military aid to the government in Greece. In fact, the USA also supported Turkey which was threatened by the Soviet Union.

### 4. Containment of the Soviet Union and the Truman Doctrine

The period between 1945–47 is generally considered to mark the beginning of the Cold War. Harassed by the Communists, who were creating disturbances to capture power, Greece, Turkey and Persia turned to the United States for military and economic aid, and the US was keen as well to take advantage of the opportunity of containing communism.<sup>5</sup> The first shot in the Cold War was fired by Winston Churchill in a speech in which he said, 'From the Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent.' By 'Iron Curtain', he meant the division of Europe into Soviet Union, and the countries under its control and the rest of Europe. This division meant that the countries behind the 'Iron Curtain'—the Soviet Union and the Communist-ruled states of Eastern Europe—were isolated from the rest of the world and lived under strict censorship and rigid control.<sup>6</sup> By 1947, the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, was urged to take immediate steps to contain the influence of the Soviet Union, citing Stalin's efforts to undermine the United States by encouraging rivalries

among capitalists that could lead to another war. In February 1947, the British government declared its inability to finance the Greek monarchical military regime in its civil war against Communist-led insurgents.

The US government's response to this declaration was the adoption of the policy of 'Containment' whose purpose was to stop the spread of Communism. The decision of the US to intervene in the Greek civil war may be considered as formally ushering in the Cold War. Truman delivered a speech that called for the allocation of \$400 million as military and economic aid to the Greek government. This policy statement was known as the Truman's Doctrine. According to Truman, any hesitation on the part of the United States to help countries, which were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressure, was sure to jeopardize the welfare of the United States itself.

This doctrine asserted that Communism was a menace to the 'Free World' which the United States, as the leader of the 'Free World', would not allow to succeed anywhere in the world. During that period, every revolution was seen as being the result of Soviet expansionism, which had to be curtailed by all means. Thus, the Truman Doctrine became the basis of the foreign policy of the United States for a very long period of time, and every conflict in the world was seen in terms of a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

## 5. The Berlin crisis and division of Germany

By early 1948, the Western powers had started the process of creation of a separate state of West Germany by merging the occupied zones of the United States, France and Britain. The city of Berlin, which came within the zone of the Soviet Union, was also divided into four zones. The three Western powers considered West Berlin as a part of West Germany, which was created as a separate state. Apart from this, in accordance to the Marshall Plan, they began to re-industrialize and rebuild the German economy, including the introduction of a new Deutsche Mark currency to replace the old Reich Mark currency, which the Soviet Union had debased.

The Soviet Union was closely watching these developments. Consequently, in June 1948, Stalin instituted the Berlin blockade, one of the first major crises of the Cold War, preventing food, materials and supplies from arriving in West Berlin. The blockade of West Berlin was intended to force the Western powers to accept the position of Soviet Union in Berlin. War, thus, seemed imminent as the Western powers were unwilling to move away from West Berlin, but at the same time, they could not hold on to West Berlin without supplies from outside. As a result the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and several other countries conducted a massive airlift, supplying West Berlin with food and other provisions. The blockade continued for about 11 months (24 June 1948 and 12 May 1949), and the danger of war was averted. In May 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) was formed with the capital at Bonn. A few months later, the Soviet zone of Germany became an independent state—the German Democratic Republic. Thus, by the end of 1949, the division of Germany (see Figure 1.1) had been formalized, and two separate and confronting states emerged. This division of Germany continued for more than forty years when, on 3 October 1990, it was reunited.

Meanwhile, a new alliance was formed by the Western powers at Washington on 4 April 1949, called NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), for the integration of Western Europe under the leadership of the USA. Britain France, the United States, Canada, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Iceland, Italy and the

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Netherlands were the founding members of this organization. With the help of this alliance, the Western powers launched a massive programme of rearmament to contain Soviet expansionism and Communism in Europe. The lion's share of the NATO's contribution to the individual and joint development of military forces to fight armed (Communist) attack was of the United States. The Soviet Union condemned the NATO as an alliance for aggressive activities by the Western powers. Greece and Turkey became members of NATO in 1952. The Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) was made a formal member of NATO only in 1955. As a result, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries ruled by the Communists formed their military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact.



*Fig. 1.1 Division of Germany and the Berlin Wall*

## 6. Formation of Cominform

An important result of the US offer of help under the Marshall Plan and Soviet rejection was deepening of the East-West crisis. Without delay, the Soviet Union proceeded to bind East European nations more closely by means of trade treaties and warning them against the Marshall Plan. The Soviet Union formed an organization called the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) on 5 October 1947 with its headquarters at Belgrade. This organization aimed to consolidate Eastern Europe into a powerful bloc. It was the Soviet's reply to the Marshall Plan. As a result of this, the Cold War was intensified.

## 7. Emergence of Soviet Union as a nuclear power

Some historians were of the opinion that the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not so much the last act of the Second World War but a demonstration of the supremacy of the United States in the post-war world. According to this view, the possession of atomic weapons by the United States was aimed at terrorizing the rest of the world into submission. However, the monopoly of the USA in atomic weapons was broken when in 1949, the Soviet Union conducted an atomic test. This was a blow to the military supremacy of the US. From then onwards, the development of more deadly weapons became a major consequence of the Cold War, which in turn, further intensified international conflicts and tensions. In the United States, there developed a 'paranoiac obsession with godless communism'. The US government, members of the US Congress and people from mass media added to the panic by spreading stories of Soviet agents

threatening US security by infiltrating the US administration. The success of the Soviet Union in conducting the atomic test was ascribed solely to the leaking out of the US and British atomic secrets by spies to the Soviet Union. Many suspected scientists and other officials associated with atomic projects were punished. Some of the leading scientists of those times, however, believed that the leakage of atomic secrets would not have made much difference to the Soviet scientific and technological capability as the Soviet scientists were already working on it. Moreover, many public figures opined that Britain and the Soviet Union had been allies during the Second World War and sharing of secrets could not be held subversive. The spy scare was, however, whipped up and used to further aggravate the climate of fear and hostility towards the Soviet Union.

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### 8. Chinese civil war

The United States and her allies received another shock when the People's Republic of China was established on 1 October 1949. Chiang Kai-shek's United States-backed Kuomintang (KMT) Nationalist Government in China was defeated by Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army, and the Soviet Union quickly created an alliance with the newly formed People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek along with the remnants of his forces fled to the island of Taiwan (Formosa), which had been freed from Japan after the Second World War.

The victory of the Communists in China further intensified the fear of communism in the Western bloc. The overthrow of the Communist rule in China and the restoration of Chiang Kai-shek's government became a major objective of the foreign policy of the United States. The US refused to recognize the government of China. In the United Nations, China had a permanent seat at the Security Council and enjoyed veto power. The Chinese Communists claimed that their government represented the real China, as Chiang had been driven out by the people. Backed by the United States, Britain and France, Chiang's Taiwan continued to represent China in the United Nations. President Truman's government, which was passionately anti-communist, assumed the unreasonable posture of supporting Taiwan and denying a seat to Communist China in the United Nations.

Confronted with the Communist revolution in China and the end of the US atomic monopoly in 1949, the Truman administration decided to escalate and expand the 'containment' policy. The fear of communism led the US officials to expand 'containment' into Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in order to counter revolutionary nationalist movements, often led by Communist parties financed by the Soviet Union. In the early 1950s (a period sometimes known as the 'Pactomania'), the United States formed a series of alliances with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines, thereby, guaranteeing the United States a number of long-term military bases. The United States also entered into conflicts with anti-colonial nationalist struggles for freedom with many independent nations, which were trying to strengthen their national independence and to assert their independent role in the world affairs.

### 9. Korean War

The most serious conflict between communist and non-communist forces occurred in Korea in 1950.<sup>7</sup> Korea, which was formerly under the Japanese control, was occupied by the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union, after the Second World War. It was divided into two occupation zones—the northern zone under the Soviet Union and the southern zone under the United States. This division was along the 38th parallel (see Figure 1.2). Japan, which had surrendered unconditionally in 1945,

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was ousted from Korea. In August 1948, South Korea proclaimed itself as the Republic of Korea, and in September 1948, North Korea declared itself as People's Democratic Republic of Korea. The government of North Korea was headed by Kim Il Sung, leader of the Communist Party of Korea, and of South Korea by Syngman Rhee, a right-wing leader. Neither of the government accepted the division of Korea and both claimed reunification of the country as their goal.

In June 1950, a war broke out between North Korea and South Korea with each side blaming the other for the war. However, it is generally accepted that the war was initiated by North Korea when it crossed the 38th parallel. The United Nations named North Korea as the aggressor and the UN Security Council called upon its members to provide aid to South Korea. Within two months, the North Korean armies had swept across the entire South Korea. However, the US forces intervened in the war and pushed back the North Korean troops. At this point, the Chinese troops moved in and pushed back the US forces. From mid-1951, the war entered a stalemate. Even though the Chinese and North Koreans were exhausted by the war and wanted to culminate it by late 1952, Stalin insisted that they continue fighting, and an armistice was approved only in July 1953, after Stalin's death. The armistice restored the position that existed before the war.



**Fig. 1.2** A Convoy of US Army crosses the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel during the Korean War

Truman's government was ready to pour millions of dollars and thousands of troops in any country for 'containing' communism. During the Korean War, General Mac Arthur posing as a champion of democracy planned to strike hard at Communist China. While Truman had taken the world to the brink of a Third World War as far as Korean War was concerned, he was not prepared to undertake the costly risk of fighting against the Chinese communist giant. Therefore, when Mac Arthur attempted to have his own way, flouting President's orders, Truman dismissed him.

### 10. Theories of Brinkmanship and Deterrence

The Cold War had begun to intensify resulting in conflicts. During this period, the foreign policy of the United States was dominated by US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. He regarded the US policy of 'containment of communism' as inadequate and advocated a more aggressive policy of rolling back Communism by liberating people from the tyranny of Communism. He propagated some dangerous doctrines. One of these was massive retaliation, which implied the use of nuclear weapons. The other was the 'theory

of brinkmanship', which meant pushing the Soviet Union on the brink of war to force her to grant concessions. It was the policy of approaching a 'on the verge of war' situation in order to persuade one's opposition to retreat.

The race for armaments had reached a new stage during this period. Major European powers were engaged in hoarding of nuclear weapons which were many times more destructive than the ones that were used against Japan in the Second World War. The theory of brinkmanship was very dangerous for the very survival of humanity. However, the development of these weapons was sought to be justified by the doctrines of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and Nuclear Deterrence. MAD meant that the countries having these weapons would not go to war because they knew that even if they succeeded in destroying the opponent by using these weapons, the other side would also succeed in destroying its enemy country. Nuclear Deterrence is a strategy according to which the possession of nuclear weapons by a country was a deterrent to any possible invasion by another.

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### 11. Military alliances in Asia

For the 'containment of communism', the United States also started forming military alliances in different parts of the world, and establishing her military bases for encircling China and the Soviet Union. In 1954, South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed to implement the South-East Asia Collective Defense Treaty also known as the Manila Pact. It comprised Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines and the United States. A little later in 1955, a pro-Western defense alliance, popularly known as the Baghdad Pact, was signed which brought Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan into a military alliance with the United States. However, Iraq left the Baghdad Pact as there was a revolution which overthrew the monarchical regime and the new government opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and adopted a non-aligned stance. The organization, thus, dropped the name Baghdad Pact in favour of Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). These military pacts were used to preserve many autocratic regimes in Asia. However, the massive hoarding of arms in these countries resulted in tension between the member nations and their neighbouring countries which declined to join these alliances. The latter countries viewed these alliances as causes of tension in their region and as threats to their independence. The Non-Aligned Movement was born in this context.

### 12. Role of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The United States made use of the major instrument of subversion; the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was established in 1947 to curb the nationalist forces in the Asian countries and to support allied ones. The CIA had massive funds at its disposal. It had the dual function of collecting information through a vast network of spies and carrying out undercover paramilitary operations against other countries. In 1953, under the order of the US President, Eisenhower, the CIA implemented 'Operation Ajax' which tried to overthrow of the Prime Minister of Iran, Mohammad Mussadeq. The popularly elected and non-aligned Mussadeq had been a Middle-Eastern opponent of Britain since nationalizing the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951. The United States was convinced that Mussadeq was inclined towards the Soviet Union. The government of Mussadeq was overthrown in a coup which was supported by the CIA. The Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, assumed control of Iran as an autocrat monarch with the support of the United States. He gave various concessions to the US oil companies

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to develop oil reserves in Iran. His policies included banning of the Communist Tudeh Party and general suppression of political dissent. He ruled for twenty-five years, until it was ended by the Islamic revolution in 1979. Similarly, in Guatemala, a CIA-supported military coup overthrew the left-wing President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in 1954. CIA also backed the anti-communists in Indonesia and Republic of Congo.

### 13. The Vietnam war

By the end of the 19th century, Indo-China comprising Vietnam and other areas was mainly under the French control. However, the French foolishly and recklessly crushed the nationalists in the region which left the field open to the Communists. Here, the Communists had organized themselves under the dynamic leadership of Ho Chi Minh. He proclaimed the independence of Vietnam and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 2 September 1945. The French wanted to restore their rule. They were aided by Britain and the United States in this venture. The Vietnamese forces led by Ho Chi Minh were backed by Soviet Union and China. The French forces were defeated and an agreement was signed in 1954 which ended the French rule in Vietnam. Subsequently, Vietnam was divided into Communist ruled North Vietnam and pro-western South Vietnam, separated by the 17th parallel, which was to be reunited after two years. It was decided that elections would be held after which the country would be united. However, elections were never held, and during the next few years, North and South Vietnam failed to achieve a stable regime.

The policy of 'containment of communism' involved the United States in a war in Vietnam. The US started building South Vietnam as an independent state under the leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem, a corrupt and ruthless dictator. Ho Chi Minh was sure to win the elections but Diem's government refused to comply with the decision to hold elections in Vietnam. The US started building the South Vietnamese army to tackle the guerilla warfare launched against Diem's government by the North Vietnamese army. The United States was fully committed to the establishment of an anti-communist regime in South Vietnam. The policy makers advocated a theory called the 'Domino Theory'. According to this theory, if South Vietnam fell to Communists, then all other South-east Asian nations would also come under the Communist rule, and this would lead to the expansion of Communism all over Asia.

The Communist regime of North Vietnam was determined to unify the whole country by overrunning South Vietnam. The US troops withdrew from Vietnam in 1973. South Vietnam surrendered unconditionally to the Communist army in April 1975. The United States had to quit Vietnam in utter disgrace after losing all prestige and goodwill. It proved to be the most unpopular war in the US history. Due to its unwise entanglement in the Vietnam war, the US lost around 58,000 lives and 150 billion dollars. The Vietnamese casualties were much higher. In June 1976, the whole of Vietnam was unified.

### 14. The Arab World

After the Second World War, there were conflicts in the Arab world due to the hostility of the United States and her allies to the spread of Arab nationalism. This was done to avert the spread of Communism and the influence of the Soviet Union in that region. In addition, the Western nations were also resolute to retain their control over the oil resources of this region. The US ally, Israel, was also a major source of tension in this area. There was a clash between Britain and Arab nationalism over the question of the immigration of the Jews to Palestine and the creation of a Jewish 'national home' there. The UN



agreed to divide Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states in 1947. However, in May 1948, Britain, which held Palestine as a mandate, withdrew before the partition. Consequently, the Jewish state of Israel was proclaimed and it was promptly recognized by the United States. Soon, a war broke out between Arab and Israel in which the Arabs suffered defeat. The Palestinian Arabs were deprived of their lands and homes, and a large number of them took refuge in other Arabian countries. Jordan became an independent kingdom in 1946. It occupied the territory of Palestine called the West Bank. Israel, backed by the United States, started building its technical and military power and emerged as the most powerful state in the region. The Arabian states declined to recognize the state of Israel and the Arab nationalists viewed Israel as an instrument to curtail the rise of Arab nationalism.

In the 1950s and the 60s, there was rise of nationalism in Egypt under the leadership of General Gamal Abdel Nasser (the second President of Egypt). The United States offered to assist Egypt in building the Aswan dam across river Nile. However, when Egypt started receiving arms from the Soviet Union, the US withdrew the promised aid. In 1956, Nasser boldly retaliated by condemning the US betrayal by announcing the nationalization of the Suez Canal. It decided that Egypt would use the profits from the Canal for building the Aswan dam. Britain and France, which had heavily invested in the Suez Canal, decided to bully Egypt as Suez Canal was strategically important to them. On 29 October 1956, Israel invaded Egypt, followed by the landing of British and French troops to occupy the Suez Canal. This invasion of Egypt led to worldwide protests. The UN also condemned the invasion. On 5 November 1956, the Soviet Union issued an ultimatum to the invaders to vacate Egypt and threatened to use missiles to defend Egypt. On 7 November 1956, the British-French military operations in Egypt came to an end and their troops were withdrawn. Israel and Egypt agreed to a cease-fire. It was seen as the victory of Arab nationalism.

Egypt now turned to Soviet Union for help in the construction of the Aswan dam. General Nasser also tried to consolidate the Arab unity by uniting various Arabian states. Alarmed at these developments, US President Eisenhower sought authority from the Congress in January 1957 to use American forces to aid any Middle-Eastern country desiring help against aggression from any nation controlled by Communism, as well as to allot funds to strengthen the economy of these countries. This extension of American leadership to a new region came to be known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. In July 1958, however, the pro-Western government in Iraq was removed from power. The US and British troops were sent to Lebanon and Jordan to prevent the overthrow of pro-Western governments of these countries.

Another war known as the 'Six Day War' broke out in 1967 between Israel on one side and Egypt, Jordan and Syria on the other. The Arabs were defeated and Israel got hold of some parts of Egypt and Palestine. They also occupied Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and Jerusalem. In 1973, another Arab-Israel war broke out. During this war, the oil-producing Arab states declared that they would stop shipment of oil to countries which were backing Israel. This announcement was aimed at mainly the United States and her NATO allies. The European members of NATO declined to align them with the US in her support to Israel and US herself was constrained to convince Israel to agree to a truce.

## 15. Cuban missile crisis

A revolution broke out in Cuba in January 1959 under the leadership of Cuban politician and revolutionary Fidel Castro. In 1961, Castro announced himself a 'Marxist-Leninist'.

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As a result, the United States turned hostile to Cuba. Alarmed at the prospect of losses to investors if foreign holdings were nationalized, the United States severed relations with Cuba and imposed trade embargo. Another reason was the development of friendly relations of the Cuban government with the Soviet Union and China. The United States landed 2,000 Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba to invade Cuba, but this was a total failure. Even though the entire world condemned the US for this action but the US government was unwilling to give up its intention of overthrowing the Cuban government. J. F. Kennedy, the US President at that time, declared that the US had no intention to leave Cuba in the hands of the Communists. This was the background to the crisis which occurred in 1962.

The United States had established the missiles against Soviet targets in different parts of the world. However, the Soviet Union had no bases and her missile sites were within her own territory. In October 1962, the US U-2 spy planes photographed the intermediate-range ballistic missile sites that were set up by the Soviet Union in Cuba. This was the beginning of the Cuban Missile Crisis that brought the world to the brink of a Third World War. The installation of missiles in Cuba would bring the US within an easy range of attack. The photographs led to the conclusion that the missiles were offensive in nature and posed immediate nuclear threat to the United States. This situation put Kennedy in a dilemma. If the sites were attacked by the United States, it might result in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, if the US did not take any steps it would have to face an increased threat from close range nuclear weapons.

Consequently, in October 1962, the United States decided that the entire navy that arrived in Cuba would be stopped and inspected by the US navy. Kennedy made it clear that any attack from Cuba would be the responsibility of the Soviet Union and threatened to retaliate. However, Kennedy and Soviet Premier, Khrushchev reached a compromise where Soviet Union agreed to remove missiles from Cuba in exchange for the US removing its missiles from Southern Italy and Turkey. Thus, the crisis was ultimately averted.

### 1.3.3 Detente

The word detente is a French word meaning 'release from tension'. It may be described as a condition of reduced international tension. The term was used for relaxation in the East-West conflict. During the period of detente, the Cold War continued, but it had gone down considerably and there were indications of understanding between the two superpowers. Coral Bell, in his book, *The Diplomacy of Detente: The Kissinger Era*, opines that detente presumed a conscious and intentional reduction of tension between the two opposite camps. The idea is that reduced tension is a deliberately achieved condition and is not accidental. Thus, detente is the result of conscious attempts to reduce tensions.

According to D. K. Skimes, since defense was the basic need of the Soviet Union, it used both cooperation and conflict as instruments of security. This is the core of detente as practiced during the reduced tension phase of the Cold War. US President Richard Nixon has been considered as the author of detente. It was Nixon who ensured expulsion of the Republic of China (Taiwan) from the United Nations and secured the representation of the People's Republic in the world body. It was he who sought an end to the Vietnam War.<sup>8</sup>

After 1945, the bi-polar politics escalated the intensity of Cold War to such an extent that a Third World war seemed imminent. The Cuban Crisis of 1962 marked the

zenith of the Cold War. The term, *detente*, is often used in context to the general easing of the geo-political tensions between the two superpowers, which started tentatively in 1971. It took a decisive form when the US President Richard M. Nixon visited the Secretary-General of the Soviet Communist party, Leonid I. Brezhnev, in Moscow in May 1972. The period was characterized by the signing of treaties such as the SALT<sup>9</sup> and the Helsinki Accords. However, the historians still debate regarding the extent of the success of *detente* in achieving peace.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, both the US and the Soviet Union decided to install a direct *hotline* (also called red telephone) between Washington and Moscow, which would enable leaders of both the countries to quickly interact with each other in times of urgency, and lessen the chances of crises that could escalate into an all-out war. In 1963, both countries agreed to only use underground tests for nuclear explosions. The policy of *detente* was presented as an applied extension of that thinking. In 1969, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) started. The Helsinki Accords, in which the Soviets promised to grant free elections in Europe, has been called a major concession to ensure peace by the Soviet Union.

*Detente* came to an end after the intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, which led to the United States boycotting the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. Ronald Reagan's election as the President of the United States in 1980, based largely on an anti-*detente* campaign, marked the end of *detente* and a return to Cold War tensions. After 1985, *detente* was re-established as a result of the internal reforms and diplomatic initiatives taken by former Soviet statesman Mikhail Gorbachev. By 1989, the Soviet Union had relinquished its control over Eastern Europe, and by 1990, the need for the Warsaw Pact itself had been called into question.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3.4 Debate on the Cold War

The Cold War has also been a subject of intense debate among historians. During the Cold War period, the writings of Soviet historians were strictly banned and they could express only the official version of the events. Although Western European scholars have also significantly contributed to the debate, historical research and publication on the Cold War has chiefly been conducted by historians from the United States. Consequently, the American viewpoint, placing the United States at the centre of events, has dominated the historical writings on the topic. Moreover, the Cold War era coincided with the emergence of the USA as the world's leading superpower. Historians have debated considerably over the exact timing of the beginning of the Cold War. Many historians trace the origins of the Cold War to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. Many Western countries had deployed their troops in Russia with the purpose of overthrowing the new Soviet government established after the revolution. The foreign interventions to restore the imperial regime had failed and ended by 1920. The Soviet Union was boycotted by majority of the Western nations, and it took them a very long time to recognize the Soviet government and establish diplomatic relations with it.

#### Orthodox or traditionalist interpretation

During the 1920s and 1930s, the United States or the Soviet Union never seriously considered going to war with each other. Hence, their ideological differences did not threaten world peace. While acknowledging the background of unfriendly relations from 1917 onwards, most historical findings on the origins of the Cold War give prime importance to the events that occurred in Europe during the second half of the 1940s. The US politicians and diplomats at the time thought that the Soviet Union wanted to establish

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their hegemony. Stalin was suspected of leading a communist conspiracy by imposing communist control throughout Eastern Europe. In response to this, the United States followed the policy of 'containment' of communist expansionism. 'Containment' was demonstrated in the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and the formation of the NATO. According to many western historians, Stalin's aggressiveness was directly responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War. This view is known as the 'orthodox' or 'traditional' interpretation of the Cold War. The traditionalist historians hold the Soviet Union primarily responsible for the Cold War. Some of the historians belonging to this school of thought include Herbert Feis, William Mc Neill and Arthur M Schlesinger Jr. The term, 'Cold War', first emerged in the West in a book written by the influential American journalist, Walter Lippmann in 1947. Soviet historians, on the other hand, regarded American imperialism as the reason behind the outbreak of the Cold War, which was the official version as well.

### Revisionism

In the United States, the orthodox view remained unchallenged until the emergence of the 'Revisionist' school of American historians during the 1960s. The writings of revisionist historians were sharply critical of the American foreign policy and questioned many of the pro-American and anti-Soviet postulations underlying the orthodox view of the origins of the Cold War. A prominent revisionist theme is the adoption of a markedly sympathetic view of Soviet behaviour and the contention that the policies followed by Stalin were seriously misunderstood by the Truman administration. Revisionists emphasized that Stalin had proved himself a reliable wartime ally of the United States. They were of the opinion that the Soviet Union was never a great military threat to the United States, for this they drew attention to the military and economic weakness of the Soviet Union in the late 1940s. Incidence of previous invasions from the West was instrumental in making Stalin insist on establishing friendly governments in neighbouring countries. Stalin always feared an external military attack from the West and was concerned about Soviet's security. The revisionist opines that it was the action of the United States that goaded him into hostility towards the West and was directly responsible for the Cold War. These historians put the blame exclusively on the United States for the Cold War. Some of the prominent revisionist historians include W. A. Williams, Gabriel Kolko and Llyod Garner. They are also known as 'New Left'.

This school of historians approves the policies followed by Roosevelt as he cultivated good relations with Stalin, whereas Truman was always very suspicious of the Soviet Union. They were of the opinion that Truman ordered the dropping of the atomic bomb in 1945 not so much to defeat Japan but to scare the Soviet Union into making concessions to the United States on Eastern Europe.

### Economic explanations

Historians have also offered economic explanations for the Cold War. It is argued by some historians that the US diplomacy has served the needs of capitalism by seeking an 'open door' into overseas markets. Furthermore, in 1945, American officials were apprehensive of the recurrence of the Great Depression of the 1930s after the Second World War. They believed in the theory that that American prosperity and even the survival of capitalism depended upon the creation of a liberal international economic order that would secure and guarantee the principle of the 'open door'. This aim clashed not so much with the economic needs of the Soviet Union as with the security concerns

of Stalin. His desire for protection from external military attack resulted in the creation of a Soviet closed sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. The Cold War started because the Truman administration applied diplomatic and economic pressure in order to keep the region open.

### Post-revisionism

Post-revisionists (John Gaddis, Deniel Yergin, George Herring, Ernst Nolte and Geir Lundestad) argue that both the USA and the USSR pursued pragmatic policies and are to be equally blamed for the Cold War. Stalin was not prepared to engage in another full-scale war in Europe, even though he was eager to extend Soviet borders at the expense of the West. While Truman was opposed to Communist aggression, he lacked a systematic US strategy to control the perceived threat.

Historians belonging to this school of thought scrutinized the role of countries outside Europe. The hostility over Iran in 1946 actually predated the Truman Doctrine and can be viewed as the first real test of strength between Stalin and Truman. Similarly, the establishment of Communist governments in China and North Korea confirmed the suspicions of the Truman administration of the global nature of the threat from Communism.

After the Second World War, the conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union took a peculiar form of 'Cold War' which stressed propaganda rather than bullets. Each side also built up systems of alliances which extended all over the world and openly started the arms race.

## 1.4 DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

Disarmament is the term used for reducing, restraining or abolishing weapons. It generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of the weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms. Arms control refers to treaties signed between potential opponents that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability. Although disarmament always involves the reduction of military forces or weapons, arms control does not. In fact, arms control agreements sometimes allow for the increase of weapons by one or more parties to a treaty. The founders of United Nations hoped that the maintenance of international peace and security would lead to the control and eventual reduction of weapons. Consequently, the UN Charter authorized the General Assembly to consider principles for arms control and disarmament and to make recommendations to member states and the Security Council. The Charter also bestowed upon the Security Council the job of devising plans for arms control and disarmament.

Even though the objective of arms control and disarmament has proved to be elusive, the UN has facilitated the negotiation of a number of multilateral arms control treaties. Consequent of mass destruction and use of atomic weapons during the Second World War, the General Assembly created the Atomic Energy Commission in 1946 to assist in the urgent consideration of the control of atomic energy and in the reduction of atomic weapons. The Baruch Plan propagated by the United States proposed the removal of the existing stock of atomic bombs only after a system of international control was established and prohibited veto power in the Security Council on the Commission's decisions. The Soviet Union proposed the Gromyko Plan to ensure the destruction of

### NOTES

#### Check Your Progress

5. State the purpose of the policy of Containment.
6. Which countries formed the Warsaw Pact?
7. When was the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) formed?
8. When was the SEATO formed?
9. State the 'Domino theory'.
10. What was detente?

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stockpiles before agreeing to an international supervisory scheme and sought to retain Security Council veto power over the Commission. The contradictory stance of the two superpowers prevented agreement on the international control of atomic weapons and energy.

The UN Security Council organized the Commission for Conventional Armaments in 1947 to deal with armaments other than weapons of mass destruction. However, progress on this issue also was blocked by disagreement between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. Consequently, the General Assembly voted to replace both of these commissions with a new Disarmament Commission in 1952. This Commission comprised the members of the Security Council and Canada. It was directed to prepare proposals that would regulate, limit, and balance reduction of all armed forces and armaments; eliminate all weapons of mass destruction; and guarantee international control and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. After five years of dynamic efforts, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established in 1952 to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In 1961, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which declared the use of nuclear or thermonuclear weapons to be contrary to international law, to the UN Charter, and to the laws of humanity. On 5 August 1963, the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (NTBT) was signed by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States. This treaty prohibited nuclear tests or explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater. In 1966, the General Assembly collectively approved a treaty which prohibited the placement of weapons of mass destruction in orbit, on the Moon or on other celestial bodies, and recognizing the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

In June 1968, the General Assembly approved the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of Nuclear Weapons, which debarred the spread of nuclear weapons from nuclear to non-nuclear powers; enjoined signatory non-nuclear powers, in exchange for technical aid in developing nuclear power for 'peaceful purposes', not to develop or install nuclear weapons; and committed the nuclear powers to involved in measures of disarmament. The treaty, which had about 185 signatory powers, became effective in 1970, was not approved by major nuclear powers (including China and France) and many 'near-nuclear' states (including Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa). A few of these states signed the treaty in the early 1990s; South Africa signed in 1991, followed by France and China in 1992.

The United Nations has been active in its endeavour to eliminate other weapons of mass destruction of different types and in a variety of contexts. The UN General Assembly ratified a treaty in 1970 which banned the placement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed. A convention which prohibited the manufacture, stockpiling and use of biological weapons was approved by the Assembly in 1971, which became effective only in 1975. In 1991, the General Assembly approved a resolution on the registration of conventional arms by which the states were required to submit information on transfers of major international arms. In 1993, the Chemical Weapons Convention was opened for signature, which prohibited the development, production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons and called for the destruction of existing stockpiles within ten years. In 1996, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), which prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons, was signed, though it had not yet become effective. In 1998, a treaty was concluded which banned the production and export of antipersonnel land mines. Regardless of international pressure, the United States declined to sign both the test ban treaties and the land mine agreements.

A number of meetings on disarmament have been held in Geneva. Negotiations have been carried out by the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1960); the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962–68); the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (1969–78); and the Disarmament Commission (1979), which now has more than 65 countries as members. The UN General Assembly has organized three special sessions on disarmament. Although these sessions have not yielded much in the way of substantive agreements, they have served to focus public attention on this important matter. In other meetings, considerable progress has been made on limiting specific types of armaments, such as nuclear, biological, chemical and other toxic weapons.

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### 1.5 END OF THE COLD WAR

After 1990, the world entered a period known as the post-Cold War era. Many efforts were made since the 1950s to ease tensions, and on a number of occasions, it appeared as if the two power blocs had entered the period of detente. A significant role was played by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in promoting peaceful environment. Since its inception, NAM stressed on disarmament so that the vast resources released could be utilized for development and for eradication of poverty in the world. There was increasing realization that an all-out war is not the basis of conducting international relations. Various researches by scientists revealed the harmful effects of the use of nuclear weapons. Protests against armaments and arms race played a significant role in creating an atmosphere of peace.

Since 1956, the leaders of Soviet Union started laying emphasis on peaceful co-existence. The fear of Communist expansionism also died down due to the split in the Communist movement in the late 1950s. Apart from this, the hostility between China and Soviet Union also destroyed the fear of the spread of Communism. Albania relinquished the Warsaw Pact in 1961 and Romania started playing an independent role in international politics away from the shadow of the USSR. Relations between China and the United States improved in the early 1970s and China was admitted to the United Nations in 1971. France withdrew her military deputations from NATO in 1966. In the early 1970s, SEATO also ceased to exist as a military alliance.

The ending of Cold War was not an easy process. A number of events made a nuclear war seem imminent. There was an uprising in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia witnessed a change in government in 1968 which meant a deviation from the Soviet variant of socialism. As a result, both these countries were invaded by the Soviet forces. In 1961, East Germany constructed a wall between East and West Berlin to prevent East Germans from escaping to West Berlin. This caused widespread resentment in the West. In 1979, the Soviet Union deployed her troops in Afghanistan to aid the Afghan government in crushing the rebels who were backed by the US and Pakistan. The United States intervened in many countries, particularly in Latin America. A similar policy was followed by the United States in Africa where it aided rebels against Communist governments or those who were pro-Soviet.

The existence of nuclear weapons was a major source of tension in the world. Though disarmament remains a far cry, some positive steps were initiated in this direction. However, the negotiations for disarmament were hampered in the 1980s when the United States started working on a new system of weaponry called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), popularly known as the 'Star Wars' programme. It carried the arms

#### Check Your Progress

11. What is meant by disarmament?
12. What does arms control refer to?
13. When and between which countries was NTBT signed?

## NOTES

race to a new height by extending it to outer space. However, there was some advancement in eliminating some categories of missiles and in cutting down others. There were many signatories to the NPT, although it was considered as discriminatory by some countries.

Some significant events brought the Cold War to an end. The monopoly of the Communist parties in the Eastern European nations came to an end as a result of the new policies followed by Mikhail Gorbachev<sup>11</sup> who assumed the reins of power in the Soviet Union in 1985. The control of Soviet Union on the governments of Eastern European countries was loosened and new governments were established after conducting free elections in these countries. Germany was reunited in 1990. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991. In 1991, the control of Communist Party in Soviet Union came to an end and it was divided into 15 independent republics. The Cold War came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War meant the end of confrontation and rivalry between Soviet Union and United States. However, it didn't mean the end of tensions, conflicts and wars.

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## 1.6 9/11 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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On 11 September 2001, 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group, Al-Qaeda, hijacked four airliners and carried out suicide attacks in the United States. Two of the planes were flown into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, a third plane hit the Pentagon just outside Washington, D.C. and the fourth plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Often referred to as 9/11, the attacks resulted in extensive death and destruction, triggering major US initiatives to combat terrorism (see Figure 1.3). At first, an American Airlines, Boeing 767, crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. The impact instantly killed hundreds of people and trapped many more. As the evacuation of the tower got underway, a second Boeing 767-United Airlines Flight 175, sliced into the south tower near the 60th floor, 18 minutes after the first plane hit. The collision caused a massive explosion that showered burning debris over surrounding buildings and the streets below. It has been estimated that around 3,000 people died and over 6,000 were injured. Only six people in the World Trade Center towers at the time of their collapse were lucky enough to survive.

The attackers were Islamic terrorists from Saudi Arabia and several other Arab nations. It is believed that the terrorists were financed by Saudi fugitive, Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda terrorist organization. The motive behind the attack was that they sought revenge for the United States' support of Israel, its involvement in the Persian Gulf War and its continued military presence in the Middle-East.

With the purpose of overthrowing the Taliban rule in Afghanistan and destroying the terrorist group Al-Qaeda, a US-led international effort called 'Operation Enduring Freedom' was launched on 7 October 2001. The US troops were joined by troops from Britain and some other NATO countries. The military operations mainly comprised air strikes against Al-Qaeda training camps and Taliban holdings. They were supported on the ground by Northern Alliance which was an anti-Taliban group in Afghanistan. Within two months, the American forces had effectively removed the Taliban from operational power, but the war continued, as American and coalition forces attempted to defeat a Taliban insurgency campaign based in neighbouring Pakistan.

### Check Your Progress

14. Why were the negotiations for disarmament hampered in the 1980s?
15. When did the Cold War come to an end?





**Fig. 1.3** 9/11Attack

Osama bin Laden, the brains behind the 9/11 attacks, absconding remained at large until 2 May 2011, when he was finally tracked down and killed by US forces at a hideout in Abbottabad, Pakistan. In June 2011, the US President Barack Obama announced the beginning of large-scale troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, with a final withdrawal of US forces tentatively scheduled for 2014.

### **Implications**

The 9/11 attacks severely jolted the USA. It came as a shock not only for the United States, but also for the world. It had far reaching implications. The 9/11 attacks precipitated a focus on domestic security issues and the creation of a new cabinet-level federal agency, the Department of Homeland Security. An Act called the USA Patriot Act of 2001 was passed shortly after the attack, which gave law enforcement agencies extensive search and surveillance powers over US citizens without a warrant. This led to the creation in 2002 of the Information Awareness Office (IAO), which initiated a programme called Total Information Awareness, amended in May 2003 to Terrorist Information Awareness (TIA), with the objective of developing technology that would enable it to collect and process massive amounts of information about every individual in the United States, and trace patterns of behaviour that could help predict terrorist activities.

Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, the United States and other countries around the world were placed on a high state of alert against potential follow-up attacks. Air traffic across the US and Canada was almost completely suspended for three days and other countries followed the suit.

The 9/11 attacks had major wide-reaching political effects. After the events of 9/11, the conflict between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue faded into the background with the focus almost completely shifting to Afghanistan. Many countries initiated tough anti-terrorism legislation. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies cooperated with each other to arrest terrorist suspects and break up suspected terrorist organizations around the world.

After 2001, many Al-Qaeda fighters found refuge in the tribal areas of Pakistan. They played a major role in radicalizing the people of that area. It was the pressure by

### **NOTES**

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the US administration that made Pakistan army launch an offensive in the tribal areas in June 2014. Consequently, terrorist activities have increased in present times.

The attacks also had immediate and overwhelming effect upon the American population. People chanted the slogan, 'United We Stand', in hopes of being resilient in the face of a demoralizing attack. The majority of the Americans rallied behind President Bush and the Federal government. There was a rise in incidents of harassment and hate crimes against South Asians, Middle-Easterners and anyone thought to be from the Middle East. These attacks were particularly targeted against the Sikhs because Sikh males usually wear turbans, which are stereotypically associated with Muslims by many Americans. In many cities, there were reports of destruction of mosques and other Islamic institutions, including some cases of arson.

The 9/11 attacks had noteworthy economic consequences for the United States and the world. The New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange and NASDAQ remained closed until 17 September 2001. The stock markets reopened with a decline in the sensitive index. The attacks had serious health effects too. The voluminous toxic debris resulting from the collapse of the Twin Towers contained more than 2,500 contaminants, including carcinogens. Consequent illnesses among rescue and recovery workers are said to be linked to the exposure to these carcinogens. Around 18,000 people have been estimated to have developed illnesses as a result of the toxic dust. The Bush administration directed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to issue reassuring statements regarding air quality in the aftermath of the attacks, citing national security. The attacks were regarded as particularly disturbing to children, in part because of the frequency with which the images were replayed on television.

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## 1.7 SUMMING UP

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- During the course of the Second World War, many conferences were held and agreements were concluded between the Allied powers.
- When the leaders of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union met at the Teheran, Yalta and Postdam conferences, they reached agreements on many issues regarding the future of the liberated European countries.
- Gradually after the Second World War, the wartime alliances had began to wear out and a period of Cold War had set in.
- For a very long time, both the USA and the USSR were engaged not in any direct military warfare but in an ideological, economic struggle for power in which they condemned each other for both causing and perpetuating the conflict.
- The Cold War is also seen as a confrontation for the world domination by two opposing political, economic and social systems—capitalists led by United States and communist led by the Soviet Union.
- Although explanations of the origins of the Cold War in academic discussions are complex and diverse, many schools of thought on the subject can be identified—orthodox interpretation, revisionism and post-revisionism.
- The term, detente, is often used in context to the general easing of the geo-political tensions between the two superpowers which started tentatively in 1971.
- One of the major efforts to preserve international peace and security in the 21st century has been to control or limit the number of weapons and their use.

### Check Your Progress

16. Name the terrorist organization which carried out the 9/11 attack.
17. When was the Operation Enduring Freedom launched?

- Disarmament is the reduction of the number of weapons and troops maintained by a state.
- Arms control refers to treaties made between potential opponents that reduce the probability and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability.
- Many efforts were made since the 1950s to ease tensions and on a number of occasions it appeared as if the two powers blocs had entered the period of detente.
- The ending of Cold War was not an easy process.
- The Cold War came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union.
- Many serious developments had occurred during the recent years with the United States, the most important being the 9/11 attacks in 2001.

## NOTES

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### 1.8 KEY TERMS

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- **Containment:** The policy of restricting communist expansion, a key element of the Truman Doctrine.
- **Detente:** A state of improved relations after a period of conflict or tension.
- **Domino Theory:** It was an anti-communist theory which propagated that the rise of communism in one country would inevitably lead to it spreading to neighbouring countries, particularly in Asia.
- **Disarmament:** Disarmament is the term used for reducing, restraining, or abolishing weapons.
- **Arms control:** Arms control refers to treaties signed between potential opponents that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability.

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### 1.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

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1. The Atlantic Conference (codenamed *Riviera*) was convened in 1941.
2. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference constituted the first important step taken for a post-War international organization to succeed the League of Nations.
3. The Yalta conference was deliberated chiefly to discuss the re-establishment of the nations of War-torn Europe.
4. The chief concern at the Postdam conference was Germany.
5. The purpose of the policy of Containment was to stop the spread of Communism.
6. The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries ruled by the Communists formed their military alliance known as the Warsaw Pact.
7. The Soviet Union formed an organization called the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) on October 5, 1947.
8. The South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in 1954.
9. According to the Domino theory, if South Vietnam fell to Communists, then all other South-east Asian nations would also come under the Communist rule and this would lead to the expansion of Communism all over Asia.

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10. Detente may be described as a condition of reduced international tension. The term was used for relaxation the in East-West conflict.
11. Disarmament is the term used for reducing, restraining, or abolishing weapons. It generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry. It is often taken to mean total elimination of the weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms.
12. Arms control refers to treaties signed between potential opponents that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability.
13. The Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (NTBT) was signed by the Soviet Union, the Britain, and the United States on 5 August, 1963.
14. The negotiations for disarmament were hampered in the 1980s when the United States started working on a new system of weaponry called as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), popularly known as the Star Wars programme.
15. The Cold War came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.
16. The terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda, carried out the 9/11 attack.
17. Operation Enduring Freedom was launched on 7 October, 2001.

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## 1.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. What did the Allies decide about Germany at the Postdam Conference in 1945?
2. Write a short note on the Yalta conference.
3. Briefly explain why Stalin decided to blockade Berlin in 1948.
4. Why was there a crisis in Cuba in 1962?
5. Write short notes on:
  - (a) Truman Doctrine
  - (b) NATO
  - (c) Detente
  - (d) Theories of brinkmanship and deterrence
  - (e) Operation Enduring Freedom

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the role the wartime conferences played in the rise of the Cold War.
2. Explain the causes and events that led to the Cold War.
3. Discuss the various schools of thought with reference to the Cold War.
4. Write an essay on disarmament and arms control.
5. How did the Cold War come to an end?
6. Discuss the events of 9/11 and their implications.

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- 8 V.N Khanna, 2013, pp.373-4.
- 9 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
- 10 Stephen J. Lee, 1982, “*Aspects of European History (1789-1980)*,” Routledge (London & New York), p.292.
- 11 He was the recipient of Nobel Peace Prize in 1990 for helping in bringing about the end of the 40 years Cold War. He brought about dramatic changes in Soviet during the 1980s.

### NOTES



# UNIT 2 EUROPE: POST-COLD WAR

## STRUCTURE

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Germany till Re-Unification
- 2.3 Western Europe
- 2.4 Soviet Policy towards Eastern Europe
  - 2.4.1 Fall of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe
- 2.5 Break-up of the Soviet Union
  - 2.5.1 Historical Debate
- 2.6 Break-up of Yugoslavia and Its Aftermath
  - 2.6.1 Kosovo Crisis
- 2.7 Summing Up
- 2.8 Key Terms
- 2.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.10 Questions and Exercises
- 2.11 References and Suggested Readings

## NOTES

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

Cold War dominated international politics for almost forty years after the end of the Second World War. The period of Cold War has already been discussed in Unit1. It posed a danger to the very survival of mankind. The break-up of Soviet Union and fall of the Communist governments in Eastern Europe has been a major factor for the culmination of the Cold War. The changes that took place in Eastern and Central Europe were not without economic and political problems. The division of Germany into East and West had been a source of tension and a major cause of the Cold War. However, in October 1990, the division of Germany ended and a unified Germany came into existence.

In Western Europe, on the other hand, fears of Soviet expansionism led to the creation of a military alliance called NATO. In addition, European unity was also sought by the creation of European Union. It aimed at establishing Europe without borders, with a common currency and unrestricted movements of goods and people and, ultimately, a political union with a common parliament.

In this unit, we will discuss the events that led to the re-unification of Germany, the origin, growth and structure of NATO and European Union. We will also discuss the fall of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the break-up of the Soviet Union. The civil war in Bosnia and the conflict in Kosovo will be discussed in detail in this unit.

## 2.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the reunification of Germany
- Analyse the efforts at attaining European unity

- Describe the policy of Soviet Union towards Eastern Europe and the fall of communist governments in Eastern Europe
- Analyze the collapse of the Soviet Union
- Discuss the break-up of Yugoslavia and its aftermath

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### 2.2 GERMANY TILL RE-UNIFICATION

Germany was defeated by the Allied forces in the Second World War. In 1945, Germany was divided into two separate states, with East Germany under the Soviet bloc and West Germany associated with capitalist Europe. The capital city of Berlin was further divided into four occupied zones, each under Soviet Union, United States, United Kingdom and France. A wall was erected through the city of Berlin in 1961 to stop East Germans from escaping to West Germany and in the process forming East and West Berlin. The wall became a symbol of the partition between the free-market West and the Communist East.<sup>1</sup>

The Western powers recognized West Germany as the only legitimate German government. The West German Basic Law was approved on 8 May 1949, with the signature of the Western powers and came into effect on 23 May. In 1989-90, the Germans wanted to assert their autonomy and re-establish a united Germany. In the 1980s, the intervention of the Soviet Union in the Eastern bloc decreased. In 1989, a wave of revolutions swept through the Eastern bloc. In May 1989, Hungary removed their border fence and thousands of East Germans escaped to the West. It was a turning point in the history of Germany known as *Die Wende* (meaning end of division), and was manifested by a peaceful revolution leading to the collapse of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989. Consequently, East and West Germany entered into negotiations for eliminating the division and creating a single, united German state.

The powers that emerged victorious in the Second World War i.e., the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, and France retained their authority over Berlin. The Soviet Union wanted to use reunification as a means to push Germany out of NATO into a neutral zone, removing nuclear weapons from its territory. On 28 November 1989, the Chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Kohl, announced a 'Ten-Point Plan', urging the two Germanys to cooperate with each other with the ultimate objective of an eventual reunification. Initially, no time frame was projected regarding the reunification. The plan proposed to build cooperation with East Germany, transforming it into a liberal, capitalist system and creating joint institutions, which would lead to a single federation.<sup>2</sup>

However, United Kingdom and France became concerned about the future potential supremacy of Germany in Europe. Prior to the fall of the Berlin wall, British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher told Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev that neither the United Kingdom nor Western Europe approved the reunification of Germany. The US did not share historical fears of the Western European nations and Russia regarding German expansionism and continued to support Helmut Kohl. It wanted to ensure that Germany stay within NATO. In December 1989, the administration of President George Bush made a united Germany's continued NATO membership a requirement for supporting reunification.

However, events rapidly came to a head in early 1990. The first free elections of East Germany were held in March and the Democratic Socialist Party suffered a heavy defeat receiving only 22 per cent votes. The Communists who had ruled the country for



forty years received only 16 percent votes. The election results were seen as the vote for reunification. A new Christian Democrat dominated grand coalition was formed in mid-April under Lothar de Maizière. The economy and infrastructure of East Germany experienced a swift and a near total collapse. East Germany had long been considered as having a strong economy in the Soviet bloc; however, the removal of Communist supremacy exposed the decrepit foundations of the system.

The danger of the economic collapse of East Germany led to negotiations for an emergency merger of the two German economies. In May 1990, the two German states signed a treaty which established a monetary, economic and social union between the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). It became operational on 1 July 1990, with the Deutsche Mark replacing the East German Mark as the official currency of East Germany. As East Germany transferred its financial policy and sovereignty to West Germany, the West started conceding subsidies for the budget and social security system of East Germany. Simultaneously, many West German laws became operational in East Germany. This facilitated a political union by narrowing the huge gap between the two existing social, economic and political systems.

On 23 August 1990, *Volkskammer*, the Parliament of East Germany, passed a resolution seeking the accession of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) under Article 23 of the West German Basic Law, which became effective on 3 October 1990. Negotiations regarding re-unification started between the GDR and FRG, which concluded in a Unification Treaty on 31 August 1990, while talks between the GDR and FRG and the four occupying powers created the so-called 'Two plus Four Treaty' granting full independence to a unified German state. The Unification Treaty was ratified by a huge majority in the legislative chambers of both countries on 20 September 1990. The amendments to the Federal Republic's Basic Law that were foreseen in the Unification Treaty were adopted by the Federal Statute of September 23, 1990. The five re-established federal states (*Bundesländer*) of East Germany—Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia formally joined the Federal Republic of Germany.

In accordance with Article 1 of the Treaty, Germany was officially reunited on 3 October 1990; West Germany effectively absorbed East Germany. Thus, on the 'Unification Day', the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and five new Federal states of the former East Germany joined the Federal Republic of Germany. East and West Berlin were reunited and joined the Federal Republic as a full-fledged federal city-state. The Federal Republic of Germany now expanded to include the five states of the former German Democratic Republic plus the reunified Berlin. Consequently, the expanded Federal Republic of Germany continued to be a party to all the treaties it had signed before the reunification, and thus, inherited old West Germany's seats at the UN, NATO, and various European Communities. In addition to this, the laws that were operational in the Federal Republic continued to function and expanded to the newly added territories. After reunification, elections were held in Germany and Helmut Kohl became the first chancellor of the reunified Germany.

The expenditure on reunification put a heavy burden on the economy and contributed to the slow economic growth of Germany. The basic cause of this was that the economy of East Germany was very weak as compared to that of West Germany. After reunification, most of the former GDR was de-industrialized, resulting in unemployment. Since then, millions of former East Germans had migrated to West Germany in search of

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jobs, resulting in loss of significant portions of population, especially in highly trained professions.

The West had enjoyed democracy for four decades while the East had experienced forty years of authoritarian rule. In reality, the East was administered as a police state. In addition to the economic reconstruction of the East, social reconstruction was also required. The reunified Germany remained a member of the European Community (later the European Union) and NATO.

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## **2.3 WESTERN EUROPE**

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A significant development which helped in the rise of Western Europe as a world power was the emergence of a movement which aimed to attain its unification. Fears of Soviet expansionism led to the creation of a military alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. This organization was to play a significant role in the subsequent years and is still relevant today. Apart from this, there were other efforts for achieving European unity. However, the concept of European unity excluded all the East European countries and some others.

### **1. NATO**

After the Second World War, the Western Allied powers were very suspicious of the Soviet Union and feared the expansion of Communism against their will. The way in which the Soviet Union blockaded West Berlin and deprived the Eastern European countries of the promised democratic governments, made the threat a reality. Fears of Soviet expansionism grew further when Soviet Union supported an attempted Communist uprising in Greece and later in Czechoslovakia. In response to the threat from Soviet Union, the Western European nations (Britain, France and the Benelux nations) signed the Brussels Treaty, in 1948, which assured mutual assistance in the event of any of these countries being attacked. This treaty is considered as the precursor to the NATO agreement.

On 4 April 1949, the Western Allies formed NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) also called the Washington Treaty. NATO was thought to be a viable military deterrent against the Soviet Union. The heart of NATO beat around the military and financial muscle of the United States. Later, US President, Truman proposed a military assistance programme known as the Mutual Defense Assistance Programme, which was ratified by the US Congress in October, 1949, allocating 1.4 billion dollars for the purpose of building Western European defenses. Since the post-war Soviet threat seemed to be directed against Western Europe, the headquarters of NATO was based in Brussels, Belgium.<sup>3</sup> France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, and the United States were the original members of NATO. Joining the original signatories were Greece and Turkey (1952); West Germany (1955; from 1990 as Germany); Spain (1982); Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland (1999); Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia (2004); and Albania and Croatia (2009). France pulled out from the integrated military command of NATO in 1966 but remained a member of the organization; it resumed its position in NATO's military command in 2009.

The principal part of NATO is Article 5, promising collective security. It states that, 'an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be

#### **Check Your Progress**

1. Why was the Berlin Wall erected?
2. When was the Unification Treaty concluded between the GDR and FRG?
3. In which year was Germany officially reunited?
4. Name the first Chancellor of reunified Germany.

considered an attack against them all; and consequently, they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.' This agreement did not bind a member state down to a military response but a response, during an emergency period was expected.

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**Fig. 2.1** Map showing NATO Membership

The important event that convinced the world that NATO was still relevant in the post-Cold War period was the Gulf War of 1991. NATO itself, was not involved in the war but US, British, and French forces drew on NATO operational resources. In response to the terrible European performance during the Gulf War, at the Maastricht Summit, in late 1991, the European Community countries decided to further develop the Western European Union with the purpose of building up a Common Foreign and Security Policy. In 1992, France and Germany created 'Eurocorps' (initially called the Franco-German corps) which was meant to be the core of a new European army. This caused anxieties in US about whether or not the European Union was in the process of building up a serious rival to NATO. It also seemed to challenge the future of US engagement in the European continent. However, it was soon realized that the European role in the wars in former Yugoslavia was often characterized by military incompetence and political disunity, as well as financial and political reluctance to assume a more important role in the region. Thus, the activities of NATO in former Yugoslavia relied on US resources.

After the Cold War, NATO assumed the role of a cooperative-security organization whose mandate was to include two main objectives— to encourage dialogue and cooperation with former rivals in the Warsaw Pact and to manage clashes in areas on the European border, such as the Balkans. In order to fulfill the first objective, NATO set up the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1991 (later substituted by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) with a view to present a platform for the exchange of views on political and security issues, in addition to the Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme (1994) to boost European security and stability through joint military training exercises between NATO and non-NATO states. Under this programme, ex-Warsaw Pact

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members, ex-Soviet republics, and neutral countries could engage in military cooperation agreements with NATO, for short of full membership.<sup>4</sup>

The second objective involved NATO's first use of military force, when it got involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 by conducting air strikes against Bosnian Serb around the capital city of Sarajevo. The subsequent Dayton Accords of November-December 1995, which were signed by representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Yugoslavia, committed each state to respect the sovereignty of each other and to settle disputes amicably. It also laid the foundation for the deployment NATO peacekeeping force in the region. In March 1999, NATO launched massive air strikes against Serbia in an effort to force the Yugoslav government of Slobodan Milošević to agree to diplomatic provisions designed to protect the chiefly Muslim Albanian population in the province of Kosovo. As per the terms of a negotiated settlement, NATO deployed a peacekeeping force called the Kosovo Force (KFOR).<sup>5</sup>

The Kosovo crisis and the subsequent war gave renewed momentum to efforts of the European Union (EU) to construct a new crisis-intervention force, which would make the EU less dependent on NATO and US military resources in conflict management. These efforts incited significant debates on the question whether increasing the EU's defensive capabilities would strengthen or weaken NATO. At the same time, there was much discussion on the relevance of NATO in the post-Cold War era. Some argued in favour of disbanding it as they thought that it was created to tackle an enemy that no longer existed. Others advocated a broad expansion of NATO membership to include Russia. Many others suggested alternative roles, including peacekeeping.

During the tenure of Bill Clinton (1993–2001) as President, the United States took an initiative to expand NATO membership gradually to incorporate some of the former Soviet allies. In a debate over expansion, supporters of the initiative argued that expanding NATO membership was the best way to begin the long process of integrating these states into regional economic and political institutions such as the EU. Some also feared future Russian aggression and recommended that NATO membership would guarantee freedom and security for the newly established democratic governments. Opponents to the expansion drew attention to the enormous cost of modernizing the military forces of new members. They also argued that expansion would hinder democracy in the new government in Russia. Regardless of these disagreements, many countries were admitted to NATO.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Russia and NATO had formed a strategic partnership. Russia, had cemented a new cooperative bond with NATO in 2001 to concentrate on such common issues as nuclear non-proliferation, international terrorism, and arms control. Events following the 9/11 terrorist attacks led to the development of new dynamics within the alliance, one that increasingly favoured the military engagement of members outside Europe. Initially, it began with a mission against Taliban forces in Afghanistan in 2003 and then with air strikes against the regime of Muammar al-qaddafi in Libya in 2011. As a result of the increased pace of military operations undertaken by the alliance, the long-standing issue of 'burden sharing' was rejuvenated.

NATO not only survived the Cold War, it proved to be more effective in the Bosnian War than any other organization and even expanded its membership to former communist states. It was considered to be 'the most successful defensive alliance in history' by its own leaders.

## 2. European Union

The European Union (EU) is an international organization comprising 28 European countries governing common economic, social, and security policies. The EU's member states comprise Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and Britain.

### Origin, growth and structure

Europe was decimated by the Second World War. In the next decade, Europe was rebuilding itself with the help of the Marshall Plan from the United States. The Hague Congress of 1948 was a pivotal moment in European federal history, as it led to the formation of the European Movement International and also the College of Europe, a place where Europe's future leaders would live and study together. The Council of Europe was founded in 1949 to bring about greater European unity and cooperation, and to stimulate democracy and human rights.

The EU had its origin in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman and French political and economic adviser, Jean Monnet, devised a plan for France and Germany to pool their coal and steel production under joint authority. They envisioned that Europe could be saved from future wars by creating common economic linkages that would eventually bind the countries together. Coal and steel were considered as key elements to the recovery and growth of Europe. Hence, on 18 April 1951, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands signed a treaty for setting up the ECSC. The Schuman Plan became a reality when ECSC was constituted in 1952. The founders of this new community hoped that it would sow the seeds for further political integration of Europe in future. Thus, the six countries belonging to ECSC agreed to reduce trade barriers in coal and steel to coordinate their policies in this respect.



Fig. 2.2 Map showing the European Union Member Countries

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In October 1950, the French gave the idea of European Defense Community in view of the Korean War to contain Communism. However, the French National Assembly voted down EDC which was a blow to the efforts for attaining political integration of Europe. Consequently, fresh initiative was taken and a committee headed by Belgian Foreign Minister, Paul-Henri Spaak, was appointed. In March 1957, the Treaty of Rome was signed by the members of ECSC which led to the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC), and established a Customs Union. They also signed another treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) for attaining co-operation in developing nuclear energy. Both treaties came into force on January 1, 1958. For the purpose of managing the ECSC, a group of ‘supranational’<sup>6</sup> bodies—a Council of Ministers, a Common Assembly, a High Authority and a Court of Justice, were created to legislate, develop ideas and resolve disputes.

For the next ten years, the EEC remained the six-member community which relaxed trade restrictions between them and worked only in the economic sphere. It created a common market among the member states, with no tariffs or barrier to the flow of labour and goods. It aimed at continuing economic growth and avoiding the protectionist policies that prevailed in pre-war Europe. The success of the European integration set the stage for the first expansion with the addition of the Britain, Ireland and Denmark. Between 1965 and 1987, the European Communities experienced many large structural changes and transitions. In 1965, the Brussels Treaty merged leadership positions within the three separate organizations into one large body known as the Council of Ministers. By 1970, there was fivefold increase in trade within the common market. There was also the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which enhanced the agricultural output of the member countries and put an end to monopolies. However, in the early 1970s, new steps were taken for attaining European unity. European Political Cooperation (EPC) was established in 1970 as an instrument of voluntary foreign policy coordination among the member states. In 1974, the European Council was established to establish long-term goals and agendas for political and economic integration between countries. Membership to the EEC also expanded and Greece, Portugal, and Spain were admitted. In 1979, the European Monetary System (EMS) came into being with the purpose of creating a zone of monetary stability, as free as possible from currency fluctuations.<sup>7</sup>

A number of proposals for greater economic cooperation and creation of ‘a people’s Europe’ were made and discussed in 1980s. In this regard, two ad hoc committees were formed. Their reports were discussed in the Milan Summit in 1985. An important step was taken when the Single European Act (SEA) was signed in 1987. The main objective behind the creation of SEA was to resume the dynamic benefits of one large single market for European industry and commerce.<sup>8</sup> A detailed framework for the establishment of single market was laid down by 1992. The preamble of SEA included the aim of the creation of the European Union. SEA also expanded coordination for foreign policy issues as well as funding for economic and social programmes by sorting out the problems with the free-flow of goods, capital, services and labour across European Union (EU) borders. Additionally, cooperation on environment, research and technology was also envisioned.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall and German re-unification prompted the member states to sign Treaty on European Union at Maastricht (Netherlands) on 7 February 1992. This treaty came fully into operation on 1 November 1993 and changed the EEC into the newly named ‘European Union’. It includes the ECSC, Euratom and the EEC. It was an effort to increase coordination between European countries on economic

liberalism, security and defense, and domestic affairs. The Maastricht Treaty provided a framework of the steps needed to initiate a shift from individual national currencies to a single common currency.

In 1995, EU entered into the ‘Barcelona’ partnership with twelve southern Mediterranean countries. The partnership, reinforced by agreements on social, human cooperation, and cultural was intended to lead to a free-trade area. EU membership continued to increase with the inclusion of Austria, Finland and Sweden on January 1, 1995. In May 1998, EU heads of government officially nominated eleven member states to adopt a single currency. Finally, on 1 January 1999, the Euro became the official currency of the EU, and the European Central Bank (ECB) put Euro notes and coins into circulation on 1 January 2002. United Kingdom, Sweden and Denmark decided not to adopt Euro for the time being. Today, eighteen of the twenty-eight EU countries use the Euro. They are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain. Lithuania will be added to this list on 1 January, 2015.

In addition to the common currency, there is free movement of people without any passport in most member countries. A common institutional framework has also been developed. There is a European parliament consisting of members elected from various countries, a European Court of Justice, which hears complaints from individual citizens of member countries of the EU on some specific matters. There are many advisory bodies. There is an Economic and Social Committee comprising 222 members which are divided into three groups—employers, workers and others including farmers and craftsmen. The European Commission is assisted by a staff of five thousand permanent employees or civil servants. These bureaucrats are often called as Eurocrats. They are based at EU headquarters and enjoy the reputation of being ‘colourless bureaucrats’.

After the 9/11 attacks, the EU countries have been working closely together to combat terrorism. The political divisions between east and west Europe was said to be finally over when no fewer than 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004. These include Cyprus, Malta, Poland, and several other Eastern European countries (most of which were former Eastern Bloc or communist countries). They were followed by Bulgaria and Romania, who joined in 2007. Recently, Croatia joined in 2013. Current candidates for membership include Albania, Iceland, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey.

There was worldwide economic depression in the global economy in September 2008, which led to closer economic cooperation between the EU countries. The Treaty of Lisbon was ratified by all EU countries before it came into force on December 1, 2009. It provided the EU with modern institutions and more efficient working methods.

## 2.4 SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS EASTERN EUROPE

Since the end of the Second World War, the primary focus in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union had been the control of Eastern Europe. This region has been of great significance for the Soviet Union for a variety of reasons. Eastern Europe has served as a buffer zone against potential attack from the West. It has provided a base for possible military aggression or assertion of political influence over Western Europe. The Soviet Union has regarded Eastern Europe as a front line of Communist states promoting world revolution. Eastern Europe has also served as the ideological security factor for Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup> Many Eastern European countries were allied to the Soviet Union as members

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### Check Your Progress

5. Where are the headquarters of NATO located?
6. In which year was European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) constituted?
7. When was the Treaty of Rome signed?
8. State the aim of European Economic Community (EEC).
9. What was the main objective behind the creation of Single European Act (SEA)?
10. In which year was the Treaty on European Union at Maastricht (Netherlands) signed?
11. When did Euro become the official currency of the EU?



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of the Warsaw Pact. They have been described as ‘satellites’ of the Soviet Union which frequently imposed its will on the governments of these countries.

These countries were not the beneficiaries of the ‘European Recovery Programme’ and had to rely on its own resources. The Soviet Union was incapable of supporting these countries like United States which gave massive aid to the Western European countries. The type of socialism that developed in these countries was based on the Soviet model. The economy of these countries were closely linked with the Soviet economy and suffered from many defects. Most of these countries had been economically backward.

The policy of Soviet Union towards Eastern Europe changed according to the approach followed by different leaders. Khrushchev differed from Stalin’s approach of total control of the area. He introduced reforms in economic structure, planning and policy. As a result of economic reforms, political changes also took place. The change of old command system of economy tended to promote pluralism in other branches of public life. These developments gathered momentum after Khrushchev’s expulsion in 1964. Brezhnev continued the policy started by Khrushchev. However, it has been argued that Khrushchev desired integration from above by a supra-national body and failed, whereas Brezhnev was more realistic and sought it from below through a systematic interlocking of the basic elements of the Eastern European economies with each other and mainly with that of the Soviet Union.

There were basic changes in Soviet foreign policy after Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power. At home, he was attempting to revitalize the power and prestige of Soviet Union by the policy of ‘glasnost’ (openness) and ‘perestroika’ (economic restructuring). Regarding Eastern Europe, Gorbachev did not fully understand its problems and lacked a clear and detailed plan of action. He wanted to improve the Eastern European economy and transform it from a drain on Soviet resources to an asset in the Soviet modernization drive. He also wished to achieve greater economic coordination among the Eastern European countries.<sup>10</sup> He wanted to introduce considerate political reforms in Poland and Hungary. The political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact held a meeting in Bucharest in July 1989 and implemented a joint communiqué and a political declaration necessitating ‘a stable Europe free from nuclear and chemical weapons and a drastic reduction of armament and military expenses’, appealing to NATO for a positive approach to disarmament.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.4.1 Fall of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe

Socialist ideas had been gaining momentum among the working class citizens of the world since the 19th century. These culminated with the formation of Communist parties in many nations in the early 20th century. In the early stages of the Second World War, Nazi Germany occupied the countries of Eastern Europe. After the war, the Soviet Union brought into power the Communist parties who were loyal to Moscow in the Eastern European countries. The Soviet Union retained troops throughout its occupied territories. During the Cold War era, these states were bound together by the Warsaw Pact which was formed in response to NATO formed by the Western powers. The policy of reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union served to encourage opposition movements in the Communist regimes in the nations belonging to the Soviet bloc. Eastern Europe witnessed significant changes in 1989. Communist regimes fell in one country after the other across this region. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991. Let us now discuss the fall of the Communist governments in Eastern Europe. Poland was the first to witness these changes.



## 1. Poland

In July 1980, the Government of Poland raised the prices of some food commodities by hundred percent. As a consequence, there were strikes across Poland. In August 1980, the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk (formerly, the German city of Danzig) went on strike. Led by an electrician, named Lech Walesa, the workers occupied the yards. They drew up a set of demands which comprised freedom of the press, release of political prisoners and the right to form independent trade unions. The Communists entered into an agreement and accepted the demands of workers. The workers formed the Solidarity Trade Union, which soon became a mass movement. However, the Communists fought back. In December 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski imposed martial law in Poland. The Solidarity was banned and its leaders were arrested. The struggle between the workers and the Communists, however, continued.

The economic crisis of Poland deepened further, debts grew larger and wages did not keep up with the rise in prices. In the meantime, the workers continued to hold strikes. In 1988, the Communists could no longer ignore the situation. In 1989, the negotiations that took place between the communists and Solidarity enabled the gradual creation of the Third Polish Republic. The government agreed to legalize Solidarity and allowed the freedom of the press. The Communists also agreed that the *Sejm* (Polish parliament) should be partly democratically elected. The Polish Communist leaders recognized the movement of Solidarity in April 1989. As a result, Solidarity was able to participate in the first elections since the Second World War. In the elections that were held in June 1989, the Communist party was defeated. Solidarity won 35 percent of the seats in the lower house and 99 percent of the seats in the upper house. Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-Communist head of government in Eastern Europe. In December 1989, Lech Walesa replaced General Jaruzelski as the President of the Polish United Workers' party. Finally, in 1990, Lech Walesa was elected President of Poland. The victory of candidates of the trade unions in the elections prompted peaceful anti-Communist revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe. On October 27, 1991, the first free Polish parliamentary elections since the Second World War were held. The Communist despotism was finally over. This completed Poland's transition from Communist Party rule to a Western-style liberal democratic political system.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. Hungary

Poland was followed by Hungary. During the 1980s, there was inflation in Hungary which particularly upset people belonging to the fixed income groups. Moreover, Hungary's foreign indebtedness was growing each day. Poverty became widespread. In the late 1980s, a wave of discontentment spread and demands for reform grew in Hungary. Demonstrations against the regime increased during the period 1987-88. The opposition became more organized. In June, Imre Nagy, the hero of 1956 uprising was reburied and over a quarter of a million attended the funeral ceremony. On 18 October 1989, the Stalinist Constitution was abandoned, and Hungary adopted political pluralism. Previously, in May 1989, the 'Iron Curtain' separating Hungary from Austria had been dismantled. East Germans flocked to Hungary to make their way to West Germany.

The Hungarian Communist Party renamed itself the Hungarian Socialist Party and changed its policies. Besides this, the Communist paramilitary organization called the Worker's Guard was disbanded. On 23 October, the constitution was amended to allow an orderly transition to democracy and capitalism. Surprisingly, the transition from Communism to Capitalism was achieved peacefully by the Hungarians. In 1990, the first free elections were held in Hungary and Jozsef Antall, a non-Communist became Prime Minister.

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### 3. Czechoslovakia

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In Czechoslovakia, after the armed intervention by the Warsaw Pact nations in 1968, the Communist Party had removed Alexander Dubcek who had initiated political and economic reforms. On November 17, 1989, the police suppressed a peaceful student demonstration in Prague. This sparked a series of popular demonstrations. By November 20, the number of peaceful protesters assembled in Prague had swelled considerably. On November 24, the entire Communist Party leadership resigned. With the collapse of Communist governments in other countries and increasing street protests, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia announced on November 28, 1989 that it would relinquish power and dismantle the single-party state.

The Communist tyrannical rule crumbled as a result of mass demonstrations and strikes. Obstructions such as barbed wire and others were removed from the border with West Germany and Austria in early December. The people were not satisfied and held more demonstrations. As a consequence, President Gustáv Husák resigned on 10 December and appointed the first non-Communist government in Czechoslovakia since 1948. Alexander Dubček was elected speaker of the federal parliament on December 28 and an eminent Czech writer and moral revolutionary, Václav Havel as the President of Czechoslovakia on 29 December 1989. Thus, the bloodless revolution in Czechoslovakia, which saw the overthrow of the Communist government and formation of a democratic government, is popularly known as the 'Velvet Revolution'. In June 1990, Czechoslovakia held its first democratic elections since 1946. On 27 June 1991 the last Soviet troops pulled out of Czechoslovakia.

However, the 'Velvet Revolution' was followed by 'Velvet Divorce'. The Czechs and Slovaks were people belonging to two different people with different histories. In June 1992, the movement for a Democratic Slovakia won the elections and pressed for Slovak independence. The dissolution of Czechoslovakia, which took effect on 1 January 1993, was an event that saw the self-determined divide of the federal state of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which had arisen respectively as the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic in 1969 within the framework of Czechoslovak federalization. The first President of the Czech Republic was Vaclav Havel. In February 2003, he was replaced by Vaclav Klaus.

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**Fig. 2.3** Eastern Europe Countries under Soviet Union

## 4. Bulgaria

In 1989, demonstrations on ecological issues were held in Sofia, where demands for political reforms were also expressed. The demonstrations were suppressed, but a planned *coup* forced Zhivkov to resign after 34 years of rule on 10 November 1989, **the day after the Berlin Wall was breached**. Three days later, he was replaced by a considerably more liberal Communist, former foreign minister, Petar Mladenov. The Soviet Union approved of this change in the leadership as Zhivkov had been opposed to Gorbachev's policies. The new government immediately repealed restrictions on free speech and assembly, which led to the first mass demonstration on 17 November 1989. In addition, a new opposition group, known as the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) was formed. It published a ten-point reform programme which envisaged free elections, freedom of the press, rule of law, free trade unions and a multiparty political system. After a pro-democracy demonstration in Sofia, Mladenov, on 11 December 1989, assured of holding multi-party elections in 1990 and abolition of the monopoly of Communist Party. After a series of round table talks, an agreement was reached on the transition to democracy. The Communist Party abandoned Marxism-Leninism in April 1990 and renamed itself as the Bulgarian Socialist Party. In June 1990, the first free elections since 1939 were held in which the Bulgarian Socialist Party emerged victorious.

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## 5. Romania

All the revolutions discussed above were accomplished by peaceful means. However, this was not the case with Romania. After having survived a rebellion in 1987, Nicolae Ceausescu was re-elected as leader of the Romanian Communist Party in November 1989. He ruled the country with an iron fist in Stalinist style. The disaffection of people who were suppressed for a very long time boiled to the surface and demonstrations spread throughout the country.

When the protest broke out in December 1989, Ceausescu ordered his forces to slaughter the protesters. However, the security forces were defeated. The protesters forced open the doors of the Central Committee building in an effort to capture Ceausescu and his wife, Elena. Both were captured and were shot on Christmas day by the military forces. An interim National Salvation Front Council led by Ion Iliescu took over and announced that elections would be held in April 1990, the first free elections held in Romania since 1937. However, elections were delayed and were finally held on 20 May 1990.

## 6. East Germany

The reunification of Germany has already been discussed in Section 2.2 of this unit. In 1953, there were a number of strikes in East Germany. The Russians responded by sending in tanks and killing many civilians. Many people in East Germany migrated to West Germany in search for better life and opportunities. In 1961, worried at the number of skilled workers leaving East Germany, the government constructed the Berlin Wall. Since then anyone who attempted to leave East Germany was shot. However, the Communist rule collapsed in 1989 due to a chain of events that started in 1989. There was a change in the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party, the ruling party of the German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany), and in the government in 1989. In November 1989, the new leaders of the GDR announced the opening of the Berlin Wall. Soon after, the political parties and organizations which were not controlled by the ruling party of GDR started functioning freely. By 1990, the former communist leaders

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were out of power and free elections were held. Finally, Germany became a unified state on 3 October 1990. A new coalition government assumed power in unified Germany after the elections held in December 1990.

This change from the communist to democratic set up in Eastern European countries has not been without problems. In some countries, the fall of highly centralized economies has not been accompanied by significant economic development based on free enterprise. There has been some aggravation of immediate economic problems in some countries. In the former East Germany, this switch-over had led to the collapse of many industries which in turn led to an increase in unemployment rate. The Communist parties in majority of the countries were reorganized as democratic socialist parties.

## 2.5 BREAK-UP OF THE SOVIET UNION

The collapse of the Soviet Union started in the 1980s and on 26 December 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had ceased to exist and disintegrated into 15 separate countries. This was hailed by the West as a victory of democracy over Communism, and evidence of the superiority of Capitalism over Socialism. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the newly-formed government of Bolsheviks developed a philosophy of Socialism with the gradual transition to Communism. However, the state which was built on the Communist ideology was eventually transformed into a totalitarian state, in which the Communists took complete control over the country. The idea of creating a unified and a centralized socialist state proved to be problematic.

The break-up of Soviet Union can be traced back to the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev, a Communist reformer, as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985. During that period, the economy of Soviet Union was in a bad shape. Gorbachev had inherited a stagnant economic and political structure. Gorbachev decided that reform was essential and at the same time he was optimistic that the Soviet people could handle radical changes. Hence, he initiated two sets of reform policies. The first of these was known as *glasnost*, or 'political openness'. The policy of *glasnost* got rid of traces of Stalinist repression and gave new freedom to the people of Soviet Union. Political prisoners were released. The media and religious groups were given greater freedom and the citizens were allowed to express their views. It also sought to ease the strict social controls imposed by the government on Soviet citizens.

The second vital plank of Gorbachev reforms was known as *perestroika*, or 'economic and political restructuring'. Under this policy, Gorbachev executed political reforms and introduced elements of free market economics. He wanted to bring the Soviet Union at par with the West. According to him, the best way to revive the stagnant economy of Soviet Union is to loosen government's grip on it. He believed that private projects would lead to innovations, hence, individuals and cooperatives were permitted to own businesses. Workers were given the right to strike for better wages and conditions. Foreign investment in Soviet enterprises was also encouraged. In political sphere, he introduced multi-candidate elections within the Communist party in place of single-candidate elections. This reform, called 'democratization' in the Soviet Union, gave people the freedom to elect whom they wanted, although, technically all the candidates were still members of the communist party.

But unfortunately the pace of Gorbachev's reforms was slow to bear fruit. This was undermined by the conservatives within the Communist party and by his own uncertainty about how to carry out the reforms. The laws as envisaged in *Perestroika*

### Check Your Progress

12. When did the Warsaw Pact get dissolved?
13. What was Solidarity Movement?
14. What is Velvet Revolution?

were inadequate to meet the objectives of economic reforms.<sup>13</sup> People grew more frustrated with Gorbachev's government. Gorbachev believed that the economy of Soviet Union depended on its relations with rest of the world, particularly the United States. He vowed to give up on the arms race. He declared that he would pull out Soviet troops from Afghanistan, where they had been engaged in war since 1979, and he reduced the Soviet military presence in the Eastern European nations.

This policy of non-intervention had significant consequences for the Soviet Union. First, it broke the Eastern European alliances. The first revolution of 1989 took place in Poland, where the non-communist trade unionists demanded free elections from the Communist government and emerged successful. As a result, with the exception of Romania, there were peaceful revolutions across Eastern Europe. In November, the East German Berlin Wall fell and a revolution in Czechoslovakia led to the overthrow of the Communist government. The failure of Gorbachev's reforms coupled with Gorbachev's liberal approach to the Soviet satellites inspired a series of independence movements in the republics on the borders of the Soviet Union. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were three Baltic States which were forcibly absorbed into the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1940. Agitation for self-determination started in these three states along with Armenia. Estonia declared its independence in November 1988. Latvia and Lithuania followed the suit.

In January 1990, Gorbachev tried to prevent an immediate break-up of the Soviet Union by promising a Law on Nationalities (later known as 'Union Treaty'), including the right to secede, but at a very slow pace. In March, he sent the Red Army into Lithuania. Soviet forces disarmed the Lithuanian National Guard and arrested young Lithuanians who opposed conscription into the Red Army.<sup>14</sup> Later on, Gorbachev turned to economic blockade. In the meantime, in May 1990, Gorbachev's old rival and former minister, Boris Yeltsin, was elected as President of the Soviet Union. In June, he embarked upon creating an alternative power centre to the Kremlin, declaring the right to sovereignty of the Russian Federation. After few weeks there were mass popular movements for autonomy in Moldova, Ukraine, and Belorussia. The Red Army in Lithuania tried to capture key buildings in the Lithuanian capital. Thirteen people were killed in clashes in neighbouring Latvia, where there was considerable sympathy for the Lithuanian cause.

In August 1991, there was a *coup* by hard-line Communists eager to avert the signature of the Union Treaty. Gorbachev was imprisoned by them but due to lack of confidence they failed to gather support. Consequently, after a few days Gorbachev was set free. Owing to the failure of the *coup*, KGB and the Communist party were suspended. Boris Yeltsin gained from this situation. He now worked with other leaders of the republics to destroy Soviet Union. In early December, the Republic of Belarus, Russian Federation and Ukraine broke away from Soviet Union and created a loose confederation named the 'Commonwealth of Independent States'. After a few weeks, they were followed by eight of the nine remaining republics.

Gorbachev resigned on 25 December 1991. The country was divided and power was handed over to the ethnic majorities in the republics that wanted independence from Russian control. Except Lithuania and parts of the Caucasus, this process had been achieved almost peacefully. Apart from the Russian Federation, new countries appeared not only in Eastern Europe (the Baltic States, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova) and the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), but also in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan). Thus, on 26 December 1991, the Soviet Union was officially split up into fifteen independent republics, thereby, ending the world's largest and most influential Communist state.

## NOTES

## NOTES

Though the monopoly of Communist parties had ended in all these republics, many of them were confronted with grave economic and political problems. In addition, there were problems between the republics even though twelve of them had formed a loose federation called the ‘Commonwealth of Independent States’. The names of the republics changed after gaining independence. The new names are— Russian Federation (formerly RFSFR), Kazakhstan (formerly Kazakh SSR), Estonia (formerly Estonian SSR), Latvia (formerly Latvian SSR), Lithuania (formerly Lithuanian SSR), Ukraine (formerly Ukrainian SSR), Moldova (formerly Moldavian SSR), Armenia (formerly Armenian SSR), Georgia (formerly Georgian SSR), Azerbaijan (formerly Azerbaijan SSR), Turkmenistan (formerly Turkmen SSR), Uzbekistan (formerly Uzbek SSR), Tajikistan (formerly Tajik SSR), Belarus (formerly Byelorussian SSR), Kyrgyzstan (formerly Kirgiz SSR).



Fig. 2.4 Break-up of Soviet Union

### 2.5.1 Historical Debate

The causes of break-up of Soviet Union have been a topic of debate among scholars in different fields. Most scholars, however, tend to focus only on one factor for the collapse of Soviet Union and do not argue with reference to others. Researches which consider economic factors emphasize on crisis-ridden Soviet economy at the time of break-up. Though the economic data forms the basis of research, to a large extent, studies operate at the theoretical level. The study itself is divided into short-term economic factors and long-term economic factors.

Studies conducted by Robert Knight, a political scientist, emphasize on long-term economic factors to explain the collapse of the Soviet Union. It claims that the defects of the Soviet economic system characterized by centralized planning were never overcome and accumulated over decades. As the modern economy demanded higher level of sophistication, the Soviet economy, confined within the rigid centralized structure, could not develop properly. He argued that centralized economic planning is incapable of managing huge economies. This resulted in complete breakdown of the foundational institution of the state.

On the other hand, economist Victor Kuznetsov, propagates short-term economic theory for the collapse. He argues that the socialist economy suffered from many

inefficiencies like low labour productivity, slow progress of science and technology and excessive expenditure on military. However, he claimed that this system would have fared better as according to some estimates, growth in Soviet Union, before the reforms initiated by Gorbachev, were still moderate by world standards. In fact, the most important cause for collapse was the haphazard reforms introduced during *perestroika*, which ultimately clashed with the socialist system of centralized planning resulting in chaos.

Some scholars have propagated ‘nationalities factor’ as a cause for the disintegration of Soviet Union. Proponents of this factor emphasizes on the policies and structure of Soviet federalism in addition to post-1985 political events between the republics and centre. This argument also had short-term and long-term factor explanations. According to one view, the disintegration of Soviet Union was brought about by Soviet ‘ethno-federal’ system and the legitimizing myths of Soviet nationality policy. Thus, the break-up was facilitated by its long-term federative structures and policies. However, according to Z.A Stenkevitch, a political scientist, the disintegration of Soviet Union was the result of various short-term events. He contends that the break-up was the result of specific shortcomings on the part of Soviet government during the late 1980s. He put forward the view that the central authorities were slow to act and failed to subdue the conflict between the Soviet states. This argument was ably supported by historian S.V Cheshko. However, just like scholars who advocates economic causes and ignores the federative aspect of the Soviet collapse, the nationality factor tend to overlook the Soviet socialist regime and the material, economic perspective of the late 1980s.

Some studies have identified political factors as the reasons behind the collapse of the Soviet Union. Political scientist, Nick Bisley, propagated long-term political factors to explain the collapse. He argued the Soviet Union collapsed because of its own structure. He advocated that the gradual abandonment of international confrontation created political problems in Soviet Union since confrontation provided legitimation to the state, a sense of purpose and a source of prestige. However, this view was contested by the short-term political perspective. This view emphasizes on the policies of specific political leaders after 1985 which brought about the disintegration. Yegor Ligachev, a Soviet politician who was a high-ranking official in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), believes that radical-democratic forces and Gorbachev’s style of leadership was responsible for the collapse.<sup>15</sup>

## 2.6 BREAK-UP OF YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS AFTERMATH

A major development in the recent past has been the break-up of Yugoslavia and the tragic violence that followed. Yugoslavia emerged as an independent state after the First World War when Croatian, Slovenian and Bosnian territories that had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire united with the Serbian kingdom. During the Second World War, the people of Yugoslavia had fought bravely against the Nazi occupation. After the victory of the Communists in the war, Yugoslavia was set up as a federation of six republics, with borders drawn along ethnic and historical lines: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Additionally, two autonomous provinces were set up within Serbia: Vojvodina and Kosovo. Though ruled by the Communist Party, Yugoslavia had rejected the control of the Soviet Union. Each of the republics had a separate branch of the Communist party and the ruling elite, and any tensions were solved at the federal level.

## NOTES

### Check Your Progress

15. When did the Soviet Union cease to exist?
16. What was perestroika?
17. Name the loose federation formed by the republics after seceding from the Soviet Union.

## NOTES

The Yugoslav model of state organization worked fairly well and the country experienced a period of strong economic growth and relative political stability up to the 1980s, under firm rule of President Josip Broz Tito, who had earlier led the Yugoslav resistance against the Nazi occupation. Although Yugoslavia seemed united and stable, deep ethnic tensions always existed underlying the political system.<sup>16</sup> The Croats and the Slovenes who lived in northern Yugoslavia were well-off and more educated than the Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians and the Macedonians who resided in the south. Besides, Yugoslavia was also divided on religious lines. The Serbs were Eastern Orthodox while the Croats and Slovenes were Roman Catholic, and the Albanians and Bosnians comprised many Muslims. Though Tito tried his best, but he could not prevent the growing sense of division. Economic problems aggravated the problem. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) also intervened in 1983 to reschedule the country's debt and providing radical solutions to their problems. Towards the end of 1980s, there was a demand for ending the control of the Communists. After Tito's death in 1980, the weakened system of federal government was unable to cope with rising economic and political challenges.

In the 1980s, Kosovo Albanians demanded their autonomy. There were ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs for almost a decade. In 1987, Slobodan Milosević came to power in Serbia, and acquired de-facto control over Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro, garnering a high level of support among the Serbs for his unionist policies. Milošević faced opposition from party leaders of western republics of Slovenia and Croatia, who demanded greater democratization of the country as a result of weakening of Communism in Eastern Europe. League of Communists of Yugoslavia dissolved in 1990 along the federal lines.

In 1990, the Communist party lost its power in four out of the six republics. The Communists managed to retain only Serbia and Montenegro, where Milosevic and his allies emerged victorious. These two republics remained a part of the federation in the 1990s still calling itself Yugoslavia while the other republics proclaimed independence. After a series of efforts to attain loose confederation failed, Slovenia and Croatia finally declared independence from Yugoslavia on 25 June 1991. Milosevic tried to suppress their independence. He, however, failed in his attempts to suppress independence of Slovenians. Fighting continued for a very long time in Croatia where, in 1990, the Croats had elected their President Franjo Tudjman and were not in the mood to withdraw their declaration of independence. Fearing war, the United Nations intervened and introduced an arms embargo all over Yugoslavia in September 1991. The European Community (EC) recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia on 15 January 1992.

In the mid 1990s, a majority of the EC members wanted to hold Yugoslavia together but gradually realized that its disintegration was inevitable. It did not recognize the independence of Macedonia on account of objection by Greece. Initially, the EC also didn't recognize the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina where President Alija Izetbegovic (elected in November 1990) wanted to emulate Slovenia and Croatia for seeking independence. Nearly 45 per cent of the population was Muslims and they had no wish to live under Serbian domination. The nationalist parties representing Muslims, Serbs and Croats had won the elections held in November 1990. They were anti-communists and championed the cause of market economy, but gradually they found that they could no longer work together. In September 1992, the Bosnian Serbs declared their independence as the Bosnian Serb Republic. The Croats who were about 18 per cent of the population followed on similar lines. Tudjman supported the creation of Bosnian-Croat state named Herzeg-Bosnia under Mate Boban's leadership.



Thus, in early 1992, Bosnia was on the verge of a civil war between Serbia and Croatia. The various ethnic groups were against the idea of a multi-cultural independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>17</sup> Efforts to prevent a war failed and a bloody war ensued in April 1992 between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in spite of the presence of UN Peace Keeping Force. The war was typified by what came to be called as a war for 'ethnic cleansing',<sup>18</sup> The Serb regulars aided by forces of Milosevic captured about half of Bosnia and besieged the capital Sarajevo. Towards the end of 1992, millions of Bosnians had either been killed, jailed or many of them took refuge in neighbouring countries.

These incidents pressurized EC to find a solution to the problem. The United States fearing another Vietnam wanted EC to play a decisive role in Bosnia. The creation of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) under the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 raised hopes for a concerted effort by the better equipped West Europeans. UN responded by sending troops to protect food supplies to Sarajevo and imposed sanctions against Serbia. However, these efforts had limited impact. There were various efforts by EC member states to broker a ceasefire but they proved to be futile. Another bid to stop the conflict on the basis of an ethnically divided Bosnia within a single decentralized state came with the Vance-Owen Plan of January 1993. It received international support; however, it led to a scramble for territories between the Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The Bosnian Serbs rejected the plan and chose to continue their fight. Throughout 1993, convinced that the UN, United States and the EC would not take militarily action, Serbs in Bosnia freely committed genocide against the Muslim population. Bosnian Serbs operated under the local leadership of Radovan Karadzic, President of the illegitimate Bosnian Serb Republic. In early 1994, the war seemed never-ending, with Sarajevo still under blockade. On 6 February 1994, a marketplace in Sarajevo was struck by a Serb mortar shell killing 68 persons and wounding nearly 200. This incident of the bloody carnage was broadcasted globally by the international news media and soon resulted in calls for military intervention against the Serbs. The newly elected US President, Bill Clinton, who had promised during his election campaign in 1992 to stop the 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, issued an ultimatum through the NATO demanding that the Serbs withdraw their artillery from Sarajevo. NATO enforced a 'no fly zone' over Bosnia. Clinton administration adopted 'lift and strike' policy. It was the policy of lifting arms embargo to enable the Bosnians to attain equipments and use NATO for air strikes on Bosnian Serbs. NATO was now geared to use its air force to protect the Bosnian Muslims and to force the withdrawal of Serbs from Sarajevo. These strikes on Serbia killed hundreds and thousands of people. The Serbs quickly submitted and a NATO-imposed ceasefire in Sarajevo was declared.

Pressure for action brought the US back into the negotiating scene. It launched diplomatic efforts with the objective of unifying Bosnian Muslims and the Croats against the Serbs. However, this new Muslim-Croat alliance failed to curb the Serbs from attacking Muslim towns in Bosnia which had been declared 'Safe Havens' by the UN. NATO forces responded by initiating limited air strikes against Serb ground positions. The Serbs struck back by taking hundreds of UN peacekeepers as hostages.

Some of the worst genocidal acts took place in Srebrenica, a 'Safe Haven', as the Serbs, under the command of General Ratko Mladic, systematically selected and slaughtered nearly 8,000 Muslim men and boys between the ages of twelve and sixty. This was the worst mass murder in Europe since the Second World War. The Serbs also continued to engage in mass rapes of Muslim females. In 1995, US responded by a massive NATO bombing campaign targeting Serbian artillery positions throughout Bosnia.

## NOTES

## NOTES

Serb forces also lost ground to Bosnian Muslims who had received arms shipments from the Islamic world. As a result, half of Bosnia was reclaimed by Muslim-Croat troops.

The Serb leader, Milosevic, was now ready to negotiate for a peace settlement. On 1 November 1995, leaders of the warring factions including Milosevic and Tudjman travelled to the United States for peace talks at Dayton in Ohio. Milosevic was portrayed more favourably in the US media than any other leader who attended the peace talks and at home, he was credited for bringing about the end to the war.<sup>19</sup> In April 1994, there was formation of a 'Contact Group' between Russia and the major Western powers (including USA, Britain, France, and later Germany), who played a major role in peace attempts. The Group launched a plan for a two-fold partition of Bosnia, between the Bosnian Serbs and the Muslim-Croat Federation. Milošević supported the plan, but it was rejected by the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadžić, who wanted more concessions. The negotiations took place with US officials as the mediators between the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia: there was no place for the Bosnian Serb leader, Karadžić, who was forced to accept the settlement by pressure from Belgrade.<sup>20</sup>

The Dayton Peace Accords were finalized on 21 November 1995. The accords formed a decentralized Bosnian government, with 51 per cent of the country within the Bosnian-Serb Federation, the rest under the Bosnian Serbs. This was indeed far less area than what the Serbs had hoped for. Terms of the agreement included partitioning Bosnia into two main portions known as the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation. The settlement, which involved military withdrawals by all sides, a return of refugees to their homes and free elections, was to be policed by a 60,000 NATO-led, 'Implementation Force.' This would include the Russian and US forces who would be independent of NATO. This force was to remain in Bosnia for a fixed period but in 1997 President Bill Clinton increased its period indefinitely as the renewal of war became a possibility. This was the background for the crisis in Kosovo which was another trouble spot.

### 2.6.1 Kosovo Crisis

Even after the Dayton Accords, tensions still existed in former Yugoslavia. Kosovo has been the disputed borderland between Serbia and Albania. About 90 per cent of its two million inhabitants are Kosovo Albanians (Kosovars). However, the Serbs considered Kosovo as the 'cradle of the Serb nation'. Serbian nationalists dispute Albanian claims in the region. In May 1998, there was a US-sponsored meeting between Milošević and the ethnic Albanian politician, Ibrahim Rugova. However, Albanians feared that Rugova was too moderate. A small Kosovan Liberation Army (KLA) had already been formed against the Serbs. The region finally erupted into armed conflict in 1998 with Serb atrocities against the ethnic Albanians, creating tens of thousands of refugees. Pressurized by the public, NATO began its plans for air strikes against the Serbs.

Meanwhile, all efforts for establishing peace failed. NATO initiated a series of bombing attacks known as 'Operation Allied Force', against Serb military targets, communications systems, and fuel stores in Kosovo and in Serbia mainland. Economic sanctions against Serbia were also reinforced. Ignoring this, Milošević intensified the 'ethnic cleansing' and even tried to drive the ethnic Albanians out of Kosovo. In June 1998, Milošević seemed inclined towards a peace settlement and started pulling his army out of Kosovo. This led NATO to suspend its air strikes.

Tensions between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo persisted in the 21st century as well. By 2000, Serbia and Montenegro remained as the successor states of Yugoslavia.

In 2001, the government of Serbia handed over Milosevic, to the UN War Crime Tribunal at Hague, to stand trial for the war crimes alleged to have been committed by him during the Bosnian war. The trial continued for five years, when he died in custody in 2006. Anti-Serb riots that broke out in March 2004 in numerous cities and towns in the Kosovo region were marred by sporadic violence. The riots took a toll of 30 lives and resulted in the displacement of more than 4,000 Serbs and other minorities. In February 2008, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia (Yugoslavia had ceased to exist in 2003, giving way to the federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which itself dissolved in 2006). Although the United States and several influential members of the European Union chose to recognize Kosovo's independence, Serbia did not. Albanians had established their army and a large number of Serbs had to leave their homes. A NATO-led peace-keeping force was deployed for the purpose of preserving the autonomy of Kosovo as a province of Serbia. However, in 2008, the ethnic Albanian-led government declared Kosovo's independence which was recognized by the United States and some other European powers. This escalated the tensions between the countries that supported Kosovo's independence and others who were opposed to it. In July 2008 Karadzic, a leader of Kosovo Serbs, was extradited to Hague to stand trial.

## NOTES



Fig. 2.5 Map of Kosovo

## 2.7 SUMMING UP

- The capital city of Berlin was divided into four occupied zones, each under Soviet Union, United States, United Kingdom and France.
- A wall was erected through the city of Berlin in 1961 to stop East Germans from escaping to West Germany and in the process forming East and West Berlin.
- In May 1990, the two German states signed a treaty which established a monetary, economic and social union between the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

### Check Your Progress

18. What was the provision of the Vance-Owen Plan of January 1993?
19. Explain the term ethnic cleansing.
20. When was the Dayton Peace Accords finalized?

## NOTES

- Germany was officially reunited on October 3, 1990.
- On the 'Unification Day', the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and five new Federal states of the former East Germany joined the Federal Republic of Germany.
- On April 4, 1949, the Western Allies formed NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) also called the Washington Treaty; it was thought to be a viable military deterrent against the Soviet Union.
- The principal part of NATO is Article 5, promising collective security.
- The important event that convinced the world that NATO was still relevant in the post-Cold War period was the Gulf War of 1991.
- After the Cold War, NATO assumed the role of a cooperative-security organization whose mandate was to include two main objectives— to encourage dialogue and cooperation with former rivals in the Warsaw Pact and to manage clashes in areas on the European border, such as the Balkans.
- The European Union (EU) is an international organization comprising 28 European countries governing common economic, social, and security policies.
- The EU had its origin in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).
- In March 1957, the Treaty of Rome was signed by the members of ECSC which led to the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC), and established a Customs Union.
- The EEC created a common market among the member states, with no tariffs or barrier to the flow of labour and goods, aimed at continuing economic growth and avoiding the protectionist policies that prevailed in pre-war Europe.
- The main objective behind the creation of SEA was to resume the dynamic benefits of one large single market for European industry and commerce.
- The collapse of the Berlin Wall and German re-unification prompted the member states to sign Treaty on European Union at Maastricht (Netherlands) on February 7, 1992, which fully into operation on November 1, 1993 and changed the EEC into the newly named 'European Union'.
- On January 1, 1999, the Euro became the official currency of the EU.
- The Treaty of Lisbon was ratified by all EU countries before it came into force on December 1, 2009.
- Eastern Europe has served as a buffer zone for Russia against potential attack from the West.
- The Soviet Union has regarded Eastern Europe as a front line of Communist states promoting world revolution. Eastern Europe has also served as the ideological security factor for Soviet Union.
- The policy of Soviet Union towards Eastern Europe changed according to the approach followed by different leaders.
- There were basic changes in Soviet foreign policy after Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power.

- The policy of reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union served to encourage opposition movements in the Communist regimes in the nations belonging to the Soviet bloc.
- Eastern Europe witnessed significant changes in 1989. Communist regimes fell in one country after the other across this region.
- The Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991.
- The collapse of the Soviet Union started in the 1980s and on December 26, 1991 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had ceased to exist and disintegrated into 15 separate countries.
- Gorbachev initiated two sets of reform policies *glasnost*, or ‘political openness’ and *perestroika*, or ‘economic and political restructuring’.
- The first revolution of 1989 took place in Poland, with the exception of Romania; there were peaceful revolutions across Eastern Europe.
- The failure of Gorbachev’s reforms coupled with Gorbachev’s liberal approach to the Soviet satellites inspired a series of independence movements in the republics on the borders of the Soviet Union.
- A major development in the recent past has been the break-up of Yugoslavia and the tragic violence that followed.
- Yugoslavia broke up into five independent states-Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- A bloody war ensued in April 1992 between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in spite of the presence of UN Peace Keeping Force which was typified by what came to be called as a war for ‘ethnic cleansing’.
- In February 2008, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia.
- In 2008, the ethnic Albanian-led government declared Kosovo’s independence which was recognized by the United States and some other European powers.

## NOTES

## 2.8 KEY TERMS

- **Die Wende:** It refers to the time immediately after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.
- **Glasnost:** The policy of glasnost or political openness got rid of traces of Stalinist repression and gave new freedom to the people of Soviet Union.
- **Perestroika:** It means ‘economic and political restructuring’, under which political reforms were executed and elements of free market economics were introduced.
- **Ethnic cleansing:** It is the term used to describe systematic removal of all Bosnian Muslims by Serbia from the Bosnian territory which started in 1992.

## 2.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. A wall was erected through the city of Berlin in 1961 to stop East Germans from escaping to West Germany.

## NOTES

2. The Unification Treaty was concluded between the GDR and FRG on August 31, 1990.
3. Germany was officially reunited on October 3, 1990.
4. Helmut Kohl was the first Chancellor of reunified Germany.
5. The headquarters of NATO were based in Brussels, Belgium.
6. European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was constituted in 1952.
7. In March 1957, the Treaty of Rome was signed by the members of ECSC.
8. European Economic Community (EEC) aimed at continuing economic growth and avoiding the protectionist policies that prevailed in pre-war Europe.
9. The main objective behind the creation of SEA was to resume the dynamic benefits of one large single market for European industry and commerce.
10. The Treaty on European Union at Maastricht (Netherlands) was signed on February 7, 1992.
11. On January 1, 1999, the Euro became the official currency of the EU.
12. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991.
13. In Poland, the workers formed the Solidarity trade union, which soon became a mass movement.
14. The bloodless revolution in Czechoslovakia, which saw the overthrow of the Communist government and formation of a democratic government, is popularly known as the Velvet Revolution.
15. The Soviet Union ceased to exist on December 26, 1991.
16. The second vital plank of Gorbachev reforms was known as perestroika, or 'economic and political restructuring'. Under this policy, Gorbachev executed political reforms and introduced elements of free market economics.
17. The loose federation formed by the republics after seceding from the Soviet Union was known as Commonwealth of Independent States.
18. Vance-Owen Plan of January 1993 was an attempt to stop the conflict on the basis of an ethnically divided Bosnia within a single decentralized state.
19. Ethnic cleansing is the term used to describe systematic removal of all Bosnian Muslims by Serbia from the Bosnian territory which started in 1992.
20. The Dayton Peace Accords were finalized on November 21, 1995.

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## 2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a brief note on the structure of European Union (EU).
2. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Single European Act (SEA)
  - (b) Euro

- (c) Velvet Revolution
- (d) Glasnost and Perestroika
- 3. Write a short note on the end of Communist rule in East Germany.
- 4. What was the policy of the Soviet government towards East European countries?
- 5. Why was there a crisis in Kosovo?

**NOTES****Long-Answer Questions**

- 1. Discuss the events that brought about the reunification of Germany.
- 2. How far do you think that NATO was relevant in the Post Cold War era? Explain with suitable examples.
- 3. Discuss the origins and growth of European Union.
- 4. Describe the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe.
- 5. Analyze the break-up of Soviet Union. Discuss it with special reference to the historiography of the event.
- 6. Discuss the causes and events leading to the break-up of Yugoslavia.

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# UNIT 3 MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA

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*Major Developments  
in Asia*

## NOTES

### STRUCTURE

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Korean War
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### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

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There was an upsurge for freedom in Asia immediately after the Second World War. This coincided with the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union. After the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Korea was divided into two zones—North and South Korea. A war broke out between North and South Korea in 1950 which turned into a Sino-US conflict. In the 1960s, China and the Soviet Union were the two largest Communist nations in the world. However, relations between the two countries deteriorated during the period from 1960 to 1989 on the question of the leadership of world Communism.

One of the most heroic battles for freedom was fought by the people of Vietnam against the French, Japanese and American forces. It was one of the most disastrous conflicts of the twentieth century.

In 1954, South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed with the purpose of creating alliances that would contain Communist powers. However, it proved to be ineffective and was dissolved. Another organization known as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 to speed up the economic development, social progress and cultural activities in South-east Asian region.

There was a struggle for independence in West Asia after the Second World War. There was an upsurge in all the Arab countries and the 1950s saw their emergence as independent nations. However, the creation of the independent state of Israel became a source of tension in West Asia for a very long period of time. A long struggle ensued between Israel and Palestine. After the Second World War, Afghanistan also became a bone of contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. The involvement of these powers in Afghanistan led to insurgency movements and the problem still persists today.

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In this unit, we will discuss the major developments that took place in Asia after the Second World War. These were the Korean War, Vietnam War, the Sino-Soviet split, Israel-Palestine conflict and the situation in Afghanistan. We will also discuss the objectives and accomplishments of SEATO and ASEAN.

### 3.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the causes, events and implications of the Korean War
- Trace the origins of the Sino-Soviet split
- Analyze the causes and effects of the Vietnam War
- Describe the establishment, aims, objectives and accomplishments of SEATO and ASEAN
- Discuss the problems of West Asia and Afghanistan after the Second World War

### 3.2 KOREAN WAR

The Korean War was fought between North and South Korea, in which a UN force led by the United States fought for the South, and China and Soviet Union backed the North. The war was a direct consequence of the Cold War. It was one of the most serious clashes between the communist and non-communist forces in the first post-war decade.



*Fig. 3.1 Map of North and South Korea*

Let us now trace the background of the Korean War. Japan turned its attention towards neighbouring Korea and wanted to end the century-old Chinese suzerainty. Japan destroyed the influence of China over Korea in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–96). A decade later, after defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), Japan annexed Korea by a treaty in 1910.

Many Korean nationalists fled the country and formed the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in 1919 in Nationalist China. However, it failed to achieve international recognition, could not unite nationalist groups, and had a fractious relationship with its US-based President, Syngman Rhee. From 1919 onwards, Korean Communists primarily led internal and external warfare against the Japanese.

In China, the Nationalist Revolutionary Army and the Communist People's Liberation Army mobilized refugee Korean patriots and independence fighters against the Japanese military, which had also occupied parts of China. During the Second World War, Japan used Korea's resources for their war effort. Japanese forces in Korea increased substantially. By January 1945, Koreans made up 32 per cent of Japan's labour force. At the end of the war, other world powers did not recognize Japanese rule in Korea and Taiwan. At the Cairo Conference (1943), China, Britain and the United States decided to make Korea a free and independent state.

At the Tehran (1943) and the Yalta Conference (1945), the Soviet Union had promised to join its allies in the war against Japan and accordingly, declared war on 9 August 1945. By 10 August, the allied forces had begun to occupy the northern part of the Korean peninsula. In Washington, American Colonels Dean Rusk and Charles H. Bonesteel III were assigned the task of dividing the Korean peninsula into Soviet and US occupation zones and proposed the 38th parallel. The Soviets agreed to the US occupation zone demarcation to improve their negotiating position regarding the occupation zones in Eastern Europe.

On 8 September 1945, US Lt. General, John R. Hodge appointed as military governor, directly controlled South Korea as head of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK). He established control by restoring to power the key Japanese colonial administrators, but notwithstanding the Korean protests, he quickly reversed himself. The USAMGIK declined to recognize the provisional government of the short-lived People's Republic of Korea (PRK) because they suspected it to be Communist.

As per the agreement arrived at the Moscow Conference (1945), in December 1945, Korea was administered by a US-Soviet Union Joint Commission with the intention of granting independence after a five-year trusteeship. However, the idea was not supported by the Koreans and riots broke out. The USAMGIK banned strikes and the PRK was declared illegal. The right-wing representative, Democratic Council led by Syngman Rhee, who had arrived with the US military, opposed the trusteeship, arguing that Korea had already suffered from foreign occupation for a very long time. General Hodge began to distance himself from the proposal, albeit its origins with his government.

On 23 September 1946, there was a railroad worker strike in Pusan. Civil disorder spread throughout the Korea and it came to be known as the 'Autumn uprising'. There were many instances of violence and as a result, the USAMGIK declared martial law. The US government declaring the inability of the Joint Commission to make progress, decided to hold an election under the patronage of United Nations with the intention of creating an independent Korea. The Soviet government and the Korean Communists

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refused to cooperate on the grounds it would not be fair, and many South Korean politicians also boycotted it. A general election held in South Korea on 10 May 1948, was marred by terrorism and sabotage resulting in 600 deaths. North Korea held parliamentary elections on 25 August.

The South Korean government formed as a result of elections, promulgated a national political constitution and elected Syngman Rhee as President on 20 July 1948. The Republic of Korea (ROK) was established on 15 August 1948. In the Russian zone of occupation, the Soviet Union established a Communist North Korean government led by Kim Il-Sung. President Rhee's government expelled communists and leftists from southern politics. They fled to prepare for a guerrilla war against the US-sponsored ROK government. In the meantime, there was 'Jeju Uprising' on 3 April 1948, which demonstrated the Korean resistance to Japanese rule and resulted in deaths of thousands of people. South Korean soldiers carried out large scale atrocities during the suppression of the uprising. The Soviet Union withdrew from Korea in 1948, and US withdrew its troops in 1949.

In June 1950, the North Korean troops crossed the 38th Parallel and attacked the South with Stalin's approval. Within two days, US President Truman sent American forces to counter them in the name of the United Nations. The UN Security Council had voted to resist the aggression, and as the Soviet Union at that time were boycotting it, they could not veto the UN action.<sup>1</sup> Within a few months it seemed that North Korea would be overthrown by the UN forces. However, when the fighting drew near the Manchurian border, the Communist forces of China intervened and drove back the UN army (Americans comprised the majority section in the army). There was a danger of a much bigger clash and possibly a nuclear war between US and China. A stalemate followed, Truman and his advisors were unwilling to engage in a conflict with China. After two years of military and diplomatic deadlock, an armistice was signed in July 1953, recognizing the existence of both North and South Korea and abandoning any scheme for their reunion.

The Korean War, unparalleled in its savagery, revealed the disastrous effect of open conflict between the superpowers. By 1952, about 50 per cent of South Koreans had been driven from their homes. There were millions of casualties of military personnel and civilians. One-third of the South Korean population was left impoverished. The war adversely affected the relationship between the United States and far-east nations. While Japan had welcomed the US intervention in Korea as a sign of its determination to stop the spread of Communism, other nations had looked on the role of US with suspicion. The US, however, claimed that it was acting according to the principles of United Nations. The Third World countries saw the war as a neo-colonialist intrusion by US on behalf of its client state, South Korea. China's determination to understand the war in this light contributed greatly to the deep hostility that characterized Sino-American relations during the next two decades.<sup>2</sup> Explaining the impact of the Korean War, Peter Calvocoressi, a British historian, lawyer and publisher, commented, 'It forced the Chinese to look to their defenses when they should have been concentrating on their internal affairs; it raised questions concerning consultation and cooperation between the principal communist powers; it threatened to import a Cold War into Asia, boosted Indian neutralism and caused Americans for a while to equate neutralism and pacifism with indifference and moral perversion.'<sup>3</sup>

### Check Your Progress

1. When was the Republic of Korea (ROK) established?
2. Who was the leader of the Communist-led government in North Korea?
3. When was the armistice signed between North and South Korea?

### 3.3 SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

The Sino-Soviet split (1960–1989) denotes the worsening of relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In the 1960s, China and the Soviet Union were the two largest Communist nations in the world. The split occurred as a result of the battle for the leadership of world Communism. The Soviet Union had a network of communist parties it supported; China now created its own rival network for local control of the countries which were still not under the influence of Communism. The Sino-Soviet split was one of the most important events of the Cold War. The divide paralyzed the international Communist movement at that time and paved the way for cordial relations between the United States and China under US President Richard Nixon in 1971. Relations between Soviet Union and China remained tense until the visit of Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev to Beijing in 1989.

The ideological roots of the Sino-Soviet split originated in the 1940s, when the Communist Party of China (CCP), led by Mao Zedong, fought the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), while simultaneously engaged in a civil war against the Nationalist Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek. In fighting the two wars, Mao ignored Stalin's advice because of the practical difficulty in applying the traditional Leninist revolutionary theory in China. During the Second World War, Stalin had insisted Mao into a joint, anti-Japanese coalition with Chiang Kai-shek. Furthermore, Stalin advised Mao against seizing power after the war, and to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek because Stalin had signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with the Nationalists in mid-1945; Mao had followed Stalin's lead, calling him 'the only leader of our party'.

Chiang Kai-shek opposed the Soviet annexation of Tannu Uriankhai, a former province of the Qing Empire. Consequently, Stalin broke the treaty requiring Soviet withdrawal from Manchuria three months after Japan's surrender, and gave Manchuria to Mao. Chiang Kai-shek did not receive any aid during the Berlin Blockade in 1948 as US was preoccupied in Europe. After the victory of CCP over the KMT, Mao visited Moscow which culminated in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance in 1950.

However, Mao believed that the Communist movements all over the world should follow China's model of peasant revolution and not the Soviet model of urban revolution. In this way Mao intended to displace Soviet Union as the ideological leader of world Communism. During the 1950s, China, guided by Soviet Union, followed the Soviet model of centralized economic development, which laid more emphasis on heavy industry, and giving secondary priority to consumer goods. By the late 1950s, however, Mao had developed ideas for direct advances to the communist stage of socialism through the mobilization of China's workers. These ideas became the basis for the 'Great Leap Forward' (1958–61).

After the death of Stalin in March 1953, there was a momentary restoration of Sino-Soviet friendship. In 1954, the Soviets placated Mao with an official visit by Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev that featured the formal handover of a naval base to China. The Soviets also provided technical aid and loans to China. However, Khrushchev denounced Stalin in a speech and restored relations with Yugoslavia, led by Josip Broz Tito, whom Stalin had denounced in 1948. These episodes shocked Mao, who had supported Stalin ideologically and politically. Khrushchev also advocated the idea of 'Peaceful Coexistence', between communist and capitalist nations which undermined the core Marxist-Leninist thesis of the inevitable war between capitalism and socialism.

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The onset of the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1958 coincided with Mao's 'Great Leap Forward' as a two-sided ideological and military assault against the United States. The 'Great Leap Forward' was itself a result of traditional Marxist-Leninist ideals and opposed Khrushchev's less aggressive and more appeasing Soviet policy towards the US. Mao's hopes for the 'Great Leap Forward' were intended to change the military, industrial, and political status of China. The Second Taiwan Strait Crisis surprised Khrushchev, as he was not informed about the bombing. Mao took an aggressive stance toward US interference in Taiwanese waters. The renewed threat of nuclear war frightened Khrushchev, who attempted to reaffirm Soviet power by giving military aid to Mao. However, he soon grew uncomfortable with Mao's impulsiveness as this crisis brought US and Soviet Union on the brink of a nuclear war.

Mao had intended to liberate China from Soviet model of socialism. The Soviet model of development, that had inspired China's economic growth and policy, was dragged down by internal problems such as slow, bureaucratic government with emphasis on heavy industry. This had resulted in less agricultural production, which required to be changed as per the policies of the 'Great Leap Forward'. However, this led to a paradoxical policy of development regarding China's relationship with Soviet Union, with Mao challenging the Soviet power in one aspect and requesting Soviet industrial aid on the other hand. Mao's hopes of boosting the PRC into superpower status challenged Khrushchev's power directly, which led to a worsening of Sino-Soviet relations.

In 'de-Stalinizing' the Soviet Union, Khrushchev was dissolving the condition that had made the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship (1950) attractive to China. The retreat of Soviet, both ideologically and militarily from Marxism-Leninism and the struggle to achieve global Communism no longer guaranteed Soviet support to China in case of a Sino-American war. The roots of the Sino-Soviet ideological split were established by 1959. Khrushchev met US President Eisenhower in 1959 to decrease Soviet-US tensions. Apart from this, as a result of the policy of the 'Great Leap Forward', Soviet Union had abandoned helping China in her nuclear weapons development programmes, and refused to support them in the Sino-Indian War (1962).

Mao had expected that Khrushchev would react more aggressively to the American U-2 spy plane incident. Both Mao and Khrushchev insulted one another at the Bucharest Conference of the World Communist and Workers' Parties, attacking each other's ideologies with heated arguments. At first, the Sino-Soviet split manifested itself indirectly, as criticism towards each other's client states but, by 1960, the split had come out in the open.

Khrushchev withdrew about 1,400 Soviet experts and technicians from China, leading to the subsequent cancellation of more than 200 scientific projects which aimed at fostering cooperation between the two nations. It had a profound effect on China's economy. However, both the PRC and the Soviet Union preferred unity over a formal diplomatic break. Mao needed to carry on economic relations with Khrushchev in order to ameliorate China's famine and border crisis with India; Khrushchev, on his part, had lost significant ground in his policy of détente with the US.

In December 1961, the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, escalating the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute from the level of political parties to that of nation-states. In 1962, the PRC and the Soviet Union broke relations owing to their international actions. Mao criticized Khrushchev for withdrawing from fighting the US in the Cuban missile crisis (1962). In an attempt to check the production of nuclear weapons by other nations, the Soviet Union, Britain, and

the United States signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty on 5 August 1963. Mao saw this as an attempt to monopolize nuclear weaponry and slow down China's advancement as a superpower since at that time, China was developing nuclear weapons. Thus, the Sino-Soviet alliance completely collapsed. Mao then turned his interests to other Asian, African, and Latin American countries to develop newer, stronger alliances and further PRC's economic and ideological development.

By 1964, Mao declared that a counter-revolution in Soviet Union had re-established capitalism there. The Chinese and Soviet Communist parties ended their ties, and the Warsaw Pact Communist parties followed the suit of Soviet Union. China blamed the Soviet Union for plotting with the United States against her.

In the meantime, Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) in China to rid himself of internal enemies and to restore his sole leadership over the party and the country and to prevent the development of Soviet-style Communism. Since 1956, the Sino-Soviet ideological split had escalated into a small-scale warfare between Soviet Union and China; thereby, in January 1967, the Red Guards attacked the Soviet embassy in Beijing. Then, in 1968, the Red Guard purges meant to re-establish doctrinal orthodoxy in China had provoked civil war in parts of the country.

Meanwhile, during 1968, the Soviet Army had captured territory along the 4,380 km border with China and by March 1969, China and Soviet Union were involved in a border conflict. Earlier, the US administration had attempted to destroy the Chinese nuclear programme before it succeeded, but the Soviet Union had refused to cooperate. During the border conflict with China, the Soviet Union was warned by the US that a nuclear attack against China would lead to a world-wide war, and the Soviet Union conceded. In October 1969, the PRC and the Soviet Union initiated talks on border-demarcation. Even though they did not resolve the border conflicts, the meetings restored diplomatic communications. By 1970, Mao understood that the PRC could not simultaneously fight the Soviet Union and the US, whilst suppressing internal disorder. Additionally, as the Vietnam War continued, Mao perceived Soviet Union as the greater threat, and thus, sought rapprochement with the US, in confronting Soviet Union.

In July 1971, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger secretly visited China to prepare the head-of-state visit to China by US President Richard Nixon in February 1972. Soviet Union also held a meeting with Richard Nixon, thereby, establishing the Washington-Beijing-Moscow diplomatic relationship, which emphasized the tri-polar nature of the Cold War. In the 1970s, Sino-Soviet ideological rivalry extended to Africa and the Middle East, where the Soviet Union and China funded and supported rival political parties, militias, and states. In 1971, the failed *coup d'état* and death of Lin Biao, Mao's executive officer, completed the radical phase of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). Afterwards, China resumed political normality after Mao's death in September 1976.

The restoration of Chinese domestic tranquility ended armed confrontation with the Soviet Union, but it failed to improve diplomatic relations, because, in 1973, the Soviet Army garrisons at the Soviet-Chinese border were twice as large as the 1969 garrisons. The Chinese Communist Party appointed Deng Xiaoping as the head of the internal modernization programmes in 1977. While repealing Mao's policies, Deng's moderate political and economic reforms began China's transition from a planned economy to a semi-capitalist mixed economy, which he strengthened further with commercial and diplomatic relations with the West. In 1979, on the occasion of 30th anniversary of the foundation of the PRC, the Deng Xiaoping government denounced the Great Proletarian

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Cultural Revolution as a national failure. In the 1980s, they followed pragmatic policies such as ‘seeking truth from facts’ and the ‘Chinese road to socialism’, which pulled out the PRC from the high-level abstractions of ideology, polemic, and Soviet Marxist revisionism.

After Mao’s regime, Sino-Soviet proxy war occurred in Indo-China. In 1975, the Communist victory of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) in the thirty-year Vietnam War, produced a post-colonial Indo-China that featured pro-Soviet régimes in Vietnam, Laos, and a pro-Chinese régime in Cambodia. In the beginning, Vietnam ignored the Khmer Rouge domestic reorganization of Cambodia, by the Pol Pot régime (1975–79), as an internal matter, until the Khmer Rouge attacked the ethnic Vietnamese populace of Cambodia, and the border with Vietnam. The counter-attack resulted in the Cambodian-Vietnamese War (1975–79) that deposed Pol Pot in 1978. In response, the PRC denounced the Vietnamese deposition of their Maoist client-leader, and retaliated by invading northern Vietnam culminating in the Sino-Vietnamese War (1979). In turn the Soviet Union denounced the PRC’s invasion of Vietnam.

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to sustain the Communist government in Afghanistan. It was viewed by PRC as a local skirmish, within Soviet Union’s greater geo-political encirclement of China. In response, the PRC entered a tripartite alliance with the US and Pakistan, to sponsor Islamist Afghan armed resistance to the Soviet Occupation (1979–89). Meanwhile, the Sino-Soviet split manifested itself when the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, demanded the removal of ‘three obstacles’ for the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations:

- Deployment of Soviet army at the Sino-Soviet border, and in Mongolia.
- Soviet support of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.
- The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

In March 1982, in Tashkent, Soviet Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev gave a pacifying speech towards the PRC, and the Sino-Soviet relations seemed to be resumed towards normalcy. When Mikhail Gorbachev became President of the Soviet Union in 1985, he tried to restore political relations with China. However, the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan remained unsettled, hence, the Sino-Soviet relation remained cool, which allowed the Reagan government to sell American weapons to China and so, geo-politically counter Soviet Union in the wake of three-fold Cold War.

The relation between China and Afghanistan was always neutral. However, when the pro-Soviet Afghan Communists captured power in Afghanistan in 1978, relations between China and the Afghanistan quickly turned hostile. The Afghan pro-Soviet Communists supported China’s enemies in Vietnam and held China responsible for supporting Afghan anti communist militants. China countered to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by supporting the Afghan Mujahidin and acquired military equipment from United States to guard itself from a Soviet attack. The Chinese People’s Liberation Army trained and supported the Afghan *Mujahidin* during the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

In May 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev paid his visit the People’s Republic of China, where the government doubted the practical effectiveness of perestroika and glasnost. Since the PRC did not officially recognize Soviet Union as a socialist state, there was no official opinion about Gorbachev’s reformation of Soviet socialism. The Chinese standpoint was derived from how Deng Xiaoping affected economic reforms with a semi-capitalist mixed economy, while the political power remained with the Chinese Communist Party.

### Check Your Progress

4. In which year was the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed?
5. Why did Mao initiate the Cultural Revolution?
6. Who was appointed as the head of the internal modernization programmes in 1977 by the Chinese communist Party?



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### 3.4 VIETNAM WAR

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The Vietnam war (1954–75) was a prolonged conflict that pitted the Communist government of North Vietnam and its allies in South Vietnam, known as the Viet Cong, against the government of South Vietnam and its major ally, the United States. It was also termed the Second Indo-China War or the 'American War' in Vietnam or 'War against the Americans to Save the Nation'. The war was also part of a larger regional conflict and a manifestation of the Cold War.

The origins of the Vietnam War can be traced back to the end of the Second World War. Immediately after the Second World War, tensions between the United States and Soviet Union escalated, as Soviet forces occupied nearly all of Eastern Europe and set up Communist governments as buffer states between the Soviet Union and the capitalist West. The cause of the Vietnam War revolves around the simple belief held by United States that Communism was threatening to expand all over South-East Asia. Both Soviet Union and the United States could not risk an all-out war against each other. However, both had client states that could carry on the fight for them. In Vietnam, the United States actually fought the Cold War 'game', which the Soviet Union could not. However, to support the cause of Communists, the Soviet Union armed its fellow Communist state of China, who, in turn, armed and equipped the North Vietnamese forces against the United States.

Before the Second World War, Indo-China (Comprising Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) had been a French colony. During the war, the country was occupied by the Japanese. In 1941, the Communist revolutionary, Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), established a Vietnamese Independence League or the **Viet Minh**, to resist the Japanese. He waged guerrilla warfare against the Japanese with US support. Towards the end of the Second World War, the Japanese began to promote Vietnamese nationalism and ultimately granted the country nominal independence. The Japanese imperialists planned to proclaim Bao Dai, and Indo-Chinese prince of the Nguyen dynasty as the Emperor of Indo-China. The idea behind this was to make the Vietnamese feel that their country had been emancipated from imperialists. But the Vietnamese could not be won over by such a stunt, as Bao Dai was a mere puppet in the hands of the Japanese. The Japanese position became untenable as they sustained multiple defeats towards the end of the war. The Japanese were driven out of Vietnam, and the Allied armies as well as the local guerillas occupied the country.

After the retreat of Japan from Vietnam, it was expected that the French army would occupy the country. But the French were not able to do so, as they didn't possess adequate military forces to be spared for controlling Vietnam. In these circumstances, the Vietnamese army (who were fighting against the Axis powers) occupied North Vietnam and the armies of Britain occupied South Vietnam. But after sometime, when France was in a position to have adequate forces at her disposal, the forces of Britain permitted them to occupy South Vietnam. The policy of the French to continue her imperialistic domination prepared North Vietnam and South Vietnam for a fierce civil war, which even attracted the direct or indirect intervention of superpowers like the United States and the Soviet Union.

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**Fig. 3.2** Map of Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh was elected by the Viet Minh congress as the President of the Vietnam People's Liberation Committee. The Chinese permitted him to rule over North Vietnam as the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) with Hanoi as the capital. In September 1945, the Viet Minh proclaimed the complete independence of the DRV. Ho Chi Minh was popular even among the people of South Vietnam owing to his good administrative skills, stature and charismatic leadership. The French rulers were alarmed at his growing popularity and formulated certain constitutional proposals. These aimed at setting up former Indo-China into a federation in which DRV (including North Vietnam and Annam) would be an autonomous unit. South Vietnam could settle its own future by a plebiscite. It was free to join the proposed federation, if it wished. Regarding Laos and Cambodia, the French proposed to make them separate protectorates. The French thought that the Vietnamese subjects would favourably react when their status was raised to the members of the French Union. However, the Vietnamese did not react favourably to the French proposal and were determined to fight against the French.

Ho Chi Minh and DRV rejected the French proposals and launched guerilla warfare to oust the French from the country. However, the French changed their tactics and recognized Bao Dai as the ruler of Vietnam. Bao Dai's French-supported government came to be known as the Provisional Government of Vietnam. DRV was determined to

remove Bao Dai from the scene. Ho Chi Minh turned to Soviet Union and China for help and France expected help from the United States.

The situation was further complicated by the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-53). In April 1954, the world powers held the International Geneva Conference to solve the Korean problem but the talks proved to be futile. A meeting to find a solution to the problem of Vietnam was also scheduled. On the eve of this, Viet Minh made a fierce attack on the French fortress of Dien Bien Phu, to the west of Hanoi, and captured it. The world was taken by surprise by the defeat of a big power like France at the hands of Viet Minh. In the meantime, public opinion in France went against the continuation of the exhaustive Vietnam War. As a result of its spectacular victory, Viet Minh acquired a better position at the Geneva Conference (1954). The talks enabled to reach an agreement known as the Geneva Accords whose main terms are mentioned below:

- The French army was to evacuate North Vietnam.
- The Viet Minh army was to relinquish South Vietnam including Laos and Cambodia.
- France would recognize the independence of Laos and Cambodia.
- Vietnam was to be divided into two zones—North Vietnam and South Vietnam divided along the 17th Parallel.
- Elections would be held in 1956 to determine the future government of the entire country.

In the elections that were held, Ho Chi Minh became the President of North Vietnam and established his capital at Hanoi. Had the elections been held as provided by the Geneva Accord, Ho Chi Minh would have probably been elected the President of the whole Vietnam. But the South Vietnamese government, supported by the United States declined to give permission for conducting the elections.

From then onwards, the involvement of US in the Vietnamese civil war steadily increased. US President John F. Kennedy was convinced that Communism would soon spread its tentacles all over South-East Asia. The US policy makers advocated the ‘domino theory’ which has already been discussed in Unit I. The US government was struck by an awful anti-communist phobia and were prepared to do anything to contain Communism in the world and Vietnam in particular. It was felt by the US policy makers that the vacuum created by the exit of France in Vietnam should be filled by the US. The US feared that if the whole of Vietnam went under the Communist control, then China would have an upper hand in the region.

Hence, the US was involved in an extremely costly, futile and unjustifiable war. In Vietnam, the Americans were disliked by all and sundry whether they were Communists of North Vietnam, the Viet Cong or neutrals. In South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front (NLF) was formed by the Communists and non-communists to expel the Americans. The US army committed the worst type of atrocities and indulged in large-scale destruction. The whole world stood aghast at the excesses committed by the US troops, who wiped out the entire population in certain areas, razed towns and cities to the ground and converted forests into plains by continuous warfare in jungles. The US army was accused of large-scale war crimes including the use of chemical weapons like Agent Orange.

Ngo Dinh Diem was appointed the Prime Minister of South Vietnam by Bao Dai. Diem was fully supported by United States. His only qualification for US aid was his anti-communist stand. Diem did not hold elections in 1956 on the plea that South Vietnam

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had not verbally agreed to the Geneva Accords. US President Dwight D. Eisenhower supported his stand, when he unilaterally declared South Vietnam as a separate republic. His anti-democratic regime was absolutely inefficient and corrupt. The NLF formed in 1960 was determined to overthrow him and expel his patron from Vietnam, the USA.

The people of Vietnam fought bravely against the United States for upholding their freedom and national honour. With their patriotic and national fervour, the Vietnamese put to their best use the weapons they had acquired from China and Soviet Union. The policy of United States with regard to Vietnam was a disastrous failure. By the end of 1967, the number of US troops fighting in Vietnam had gone up to 500,000. By 1967, the number of bombs dropped on Vietnam by the US exceeded the total number of bombs dropped all over Europe during the entire period of the Second World War. All calculations of the US went wrong as China did not occupy the territories of the South-East Asia as she had feared. Ultimately, the world was taken by surprise when the United States extended olive branch to China and opened diplomatic channels of communication. In 1972, US President Richard Nixon paid a visit to China. It was the first instance when the US Head of the State had set foot on the Chinese soil. The US troops withdrew from Vietnam in 1973.

The Communist regime of North Vietnam was determined to unify the whole country by overrunning South Vietnam. After endless fighting, South Vietnam surrendered unconditionally to the Communist army in Saigon on 30 April 1975. The US had to quit Vietnam in utter disgrace. In this war, around 58,000 US soldiers were killed and about 300,000 injured. The Vietnamese casualties, both military and civilian, were much higher. The entire country had been ravaged. However, Vietnam soon emerged as a united country in June 1976. The Vietnamese National Assembly was inaugurated in Hanoi, which was proclaimed as the capital of united Vietnam. The new state was to be called the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Saigon was renamed as Ho Chi Minh City. The defeat of the greatest military power in the world by a small country in Asia was an event of great significance in history.

The Vietnam War had also spread to Cambodia. In 1970, the government of Prince Narodom Sihanouk was overthrown and a puppet government was established there. United States and South Vietnamese troops had carried the war to Cambodia on the ground that the Vietnamese were receiving their supply from bases in Cambodia. By the time US withdrew from the war in 1975, the Khmer Rouge Party had taken up control of Cambodia under the leadership of Pol Pot. The government of Pol Pot established a regime of terror in Cambodia and started following a policy of genocide against its own people. In 1979, Pol Pot's government was overthrown with the help of Vietnamese forces. However, the war in Cambodia continued as the Khmer Rouge still had some areas under its control. It also operated from across the border with Thailand. Meanwhile, three groups, including the Khmer Rouge and the group led by Narodom Sihanouk, came together and received the support of Vietnam.

Finally, peace was restored in Cambodia by the intervention of United Nations which brought various warring factions together and an agreement was signed. The Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia. Elections were held in 1993 and a coalition government was formed. However, the Khmer Rouge Party remained outside the government and its troops continued their armed attacks in some parts of the country.

To conclude, we can say that the Vietnam War turned out to be disastrous for the United States. The Geneva Agreement of 1954 assured the expulsion of the French from the whole of Indo-China. It resulted in the creation of two Vietnams, but peace

was never restored between them. The elections scheduled to be held in 1956 were never held. Instead the war ensued which lasted for about twenty years and finally led to the creation of single unified Vietnam under the Communist rule.

The US foreign policy committed many blunders and became responsible for a protracted war which caused lot of casualties on both sides. The decision of US President Eisenhower to provide military and economic assistance to Ngo Dinh Diem's government was inconsistent with the US policy of free elections to decide the controversial issues. Due to failure to hold elections, Viet Cong emerged in 1957 and war ensued. When President Kennedy assumed office in 1961, Vietnam was already America's costliest venture. He should have ended that but he did not. French President De Gaulle warned Kennedy to withdraw from Vietnam. However, Kennedy ignored the warning, though he was aware of the uselessness of US involvement in Vietnam.

Kennedy was succeeded by Lyndon B. Johnson as the President of United States. He continued the US involvement in Vietnam. Though he had contested the elections on a peace platform but during the election campaign when the North Vietnamese attacked the US destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, he took vigorous measures to protect the US interests. He ordered the bombing of North Vietnam. President Richard Nixon also failed to change the situation although he worked hard for establishing peace between East and West. The Nixon administration could not stop the Vietnam War. It came to an end under Ford's Presidency.

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### 3.5 SEATO

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On 8 September 1954, at Manila (Philippines), the United States, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan formed an international organization for collective defense in South-east Asia called the South-east Asia Treaty Organization, or **SEATO** or **Manila Pact**. A separate protocol to SEATO designated Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam as also areas subject to the provisions of the treaty. It was formally established on 19 February 1955 at a meeting of the partners of the treaty in Bangkok, Thailand. The headquarters of this organization were in Bangkok. This treaty was a part of the Truman Doctrine of creating anti-communist bilateral and collective defense treaties. These treaties and agreements were made with the purpose of creating alliances that would contain the Communist powers. This policy was considered to have been largely developed by US diplomat George F. Kennan. US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is considered to be the primary force behind the creation of SEATO, and then-Vice President Richard Nixon advocated an Asian equivalent of NATO after returning from his trip to Asia in 1953.

Although called the 'Southeast Asia Treaty Organization', only three of its eight members were Asian states (Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines). Philippines joined the organization partly because of its close ties with the United States and partly due to the Communist threat to its government. Thailand became signatory because of her concern about the potential for Chinese communist subversion on its own soil. Pakistan joined with the hope of receiving support in its struggles against India. The rest of the region was far less concerned about the threat of Communism to internal stability. The terms of the Geneva Accords of 1954 signed after the fall of French Indo-China prevented Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos from joining any international military alliance, though these countries were ultimately included in the area protected under SEATO and granted 'observers' status.

### NOTES

#### Check Your Progress

7. Who established the Vietnamese Independence League or the Viet Minh?
8. How was Vietnam divided as per the Geneva Accord?
9. When did the US withdraw its troops from Vietnam?
10. When did Vietnam emerge as a united country?

## NOTES

It is noteworthy that five out of the eight SEATO member states were countries located elsewhere but with an interest in the region or the organization. Australia and New Zealand were interested in Asian affairs because of their geographic location in the Pacific. To them, SEATO seemed to be as a more satisfying organization than ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and United States) —a collective defense organization with the US. France and Britain had long been maintaining colonies in the region and were showing interest in the developments in the greater Indo-china region. Both the United States and Australia cited the alliance as a justification for the involvement in Vietnam. US officials believed South-east Asia to be a crucial frontier in the fight against Communist expansion, so it viewed SEATO as essential to its global Cold War policy of containment of Communism.

SEATO was intended to be a South-east Asian version of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in which the military forces of each member states would be coordinated to provide for the collective defense of the members countries. In organizational structure, SEATO was headed by the Secretary General with a council of representatives from member nations and an international staff. There were also committees for economics, security, and information. The member states of SEATO worked on improving mutual social and economic issues. These activities were supervised by SEATO's Committee of Information, Culture, Education, and Labour Activities, and proved to be some of SEATO's greatest successes. In 1959, SEATO's first Secretary General, Pote Sarasin<sup>4</sup>, created the SEATO Graduate School of Engineering (currently the Asian Institute of Technology) in Thailand to provide training to engineers. SEATO also sponsored the creation of the Teacher Development Center in Bangkok, as well as the Thai Military Technical Training School, which offered technical programmes for supervisors and workmen. SEATO's Skilled Labour Project (SLP) provided training facilities to the artisans. Apart from this, SEATO also provided research funding and grants in agriculture and medical fields. In 1959, a Cholera Research Laboratory was established by SEATO in Bangkok and later on in Dhaka. SEATO was also showed interest in literature and a SEATO Literature Award was given away to writers from member states.

However, soon after its creation, SEATO quickly became insignificant militarily since most of the member states contributed very little to the alliance. The organization had a number of weaknesses. While SEATO military forces held joint military training, they suffered from internal disagreements. To tackle the problems concerned with the guerrilla movements and local insurrections that plagued the region in the post-colonial years, SEATO called only for consultation, leaving each individual nation to deal with its internal threats alone. Unlike the NATO, SEATO had no independent mechanism for obtaining intelligence or deploying military forces, so the possibility of collective action was confined. Moreover, because it comprised only three Asian states, SEATO faced charges of being a new form of Western colonialism. Linguistic and cultural differences between the member states also added to its problems, making it difficult for SEATO to accomplish many of its goals.

The organization was never popular and effective. By the early 1970s, members began to withdraw from the organization. Neither Pakistan nor France supported the US intervention in Vietnam. France virtually withdrew from the alliance in 1967. Pakistan formally left SEATO in 1972. When the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the most prominent reason for SEATO's existence disappeared. In June 1977 what remained of SEATO was quietly laid to rest with a brief ceremony in Bangkok.

Thus, SEATO is generally considered a failure because internal conflicts and disputes mired the general use of the SEATO military. Though John Foster Dulles regarded SEATO an essential element in US foreign policy in Asia, historians have considered this a failure and it is rarely mentioned in history books. In his book, titled, *The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*, Sir James Cable, a diplomat and naval strategist, described SEATO as ‘a fig leaf for the nakedness of American policy’, referring to the Manila Pact as a ‘zoo of paper tiger’s. However, SEATO-funded cultural and educational programmes had long-standing effects in Southeast Asia. The Southeast Asian nations looked towards ASEAN as an association more suitable for promoting their common interests.

## NOTES

### 3.6 ASEAN

The Association of South-east Asian Nations is a political and economic organization of ten countries located in South-east Asia, which was formed on 8 August 1967, with the signing of ASEAN declaration by five leaders—the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The five Foreign Ministers who signed it were Adam Malik of Indonesia, Narciso R. Ramos of Philippines, Tun Abdul Razak of Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam of Singapore, and Thanat Khoman of Thailand. They were the founding fathers of probably the most successful inter-governmental organization in the developing world today. Ever since, the membership of ASEAN has expanded to include Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam. Brunei became the sixth ASEAN member in 1984, followed by Vietnam in 1995 and Laos and Myanmar in 1997. Cambodia became its member in 1999. From the original five member countries, ASEAN has expanded to ten members covering more than 1.7 million square miles and a population of 626 million with an economy valued at \$2.4 trillion.<sup>5</sup> The organization from the beginning sought to win recognition of South-east Asia as a ‘zone of peace, freedom and neutrality’.<sup>6</sup>

#### Aims

The ASEAN Declaration also known as the Bangkok Declaration was a short and simple document containing five operative paragraphs. The Declaration laid down seven aims and purposes of the organization as given below:

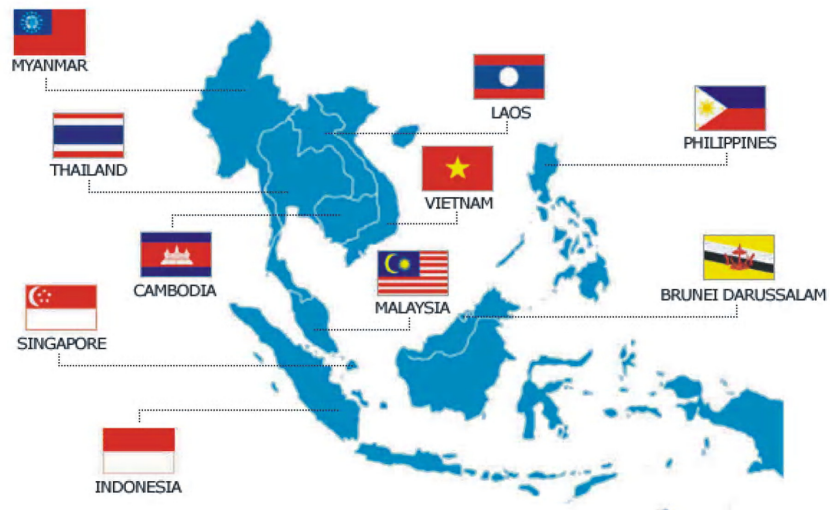
- To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development among the members through joint endeavours
- Maintenance of regional peace and stability
- Social, economic, cultural, scientific, technical and administrative collaboration
- Mutual assistance in training and research
- Collaboration in trade, industry, agriculture, transportation and communication and improvement of living standards
- Promotion of South-east Asian studies
- Cooperation with regional and international organizations

The founding members also pledged to prevent disputes between them and settle issues in a peaceful manner.<sup>7</sup>

#### Check Your Progress

11. When was SEATO formed?
12. Name the member states of SEATO.

## NOTES



*Fig. 3.3 ASEAN Member Countries*

### Structure

The ASEAN Charter also describes the structure of the organization, laying down the mandate and function of the various organs of ASEAN. These are discussed in detail below.

#### 1. ASEAN Summit

ASEAN Summit is the ultimate policy-making body of ASEAN. This organ deliberates, provides policy guidance and takes decisions on important issues pertaining to the realization of the objectives of ASEAN, important matters of interest to member states and all issues referred to it by the ASEAN Coordinating Council, the ASEAN Community Councils and ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies. The ASEAN Summit also instructs the relevant ministers in each of the councils concerned to organize ad hoc inter-ministerial meetings and address important issues concerning ASEAN that cut across the community councils. It authorizes the establishment and the dissolution of sectoral ministerial bodies and other ASEAN institutions. It also performs the function of appointing the Secretary-General of ASEAN and addresses emergency situations affecting ASEAN by taking appropriate actions. The First ASEAN Summit was held in February 1976 in Bali. The 25<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit was held in November, 2014 at Naypyidaw in Myanmar.

#### 2. ASEAN Coordinating Council

This organ organizes the meetings of the ASEAN Summit, coordinate with the ASEAN Community Councils to enhance policy coherence, efficiency and cooperation among them, coordinate the reports of the ASEAN Community Councils to the ASEAN Summit, and consider the report of the Secretary General on the functions and operations of the ASEAN Secretariat and other relevant bodies. It also approves the appointment and termination of the Deputy Secretaries General upon the recommendation of the Secretary General, and last but not least, takes on the tasks provided in the ASEAN Charter or such other functions as may be assigned by the ASEAN Summit.

#### 3. ASEAN Community Councils

This organ includes the ASEAN political-security Community Council, ASEAN economic Community Council, and ASEAN socio-cultural Community Council. In every ASEAN Community Council meeting, each member state of ASEAN delegates its national



representation. As per Article 9 of the ASEAN Charter, this organ ensures the implementation of the relevant decisions of the ASEAN Summit, coordinate the work of different sectors under its purview and on issues which cut across other Community Councils, and finally submit reports and recommendations to the ASEAN Summit on matters under its purview.

#### **4. ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Body**

Each ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Body performs the function of implementing the agreements and decisions of the ASEAN Summit under their respective purviews, strengthening cooperation in their relevant fields in support of ASEAN integration and community building and submits reports and recommendations to their respective Community Councils.

#### **5. Secretary-General of ASEAN and ASEAN Secretariat**

ASEAN Secretariat includes the Secretary General and staff. The Secretary General and the staff have the responsibility of abstaining from any action which might reflect on their position as ASEAN Secretariat officials responsible only to ASEAN. They are not supposed to seek or receive instruction from any government or external party outside of ASEAN and maintain the highest standards of integrity, efficiency, and competence in the performance of their duties. The ASEAN Summit appoints the Secretary General of ASEAN for a non-renewable term of office of five-years. He/she will be assisted by four Deputy Secretary Generals, who will be accountable to the Secretary General in carrying out their functions. At present, Le Luong Minh of Vietnam is the Secretary General of ASEAN for the term 2013 to 2017.

#### **6. Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN**

Each ASEAN member state appoints a Permanent Representative to ASEAN, with rank of Ambassador based in Jakarta. Together, they make up a Committee of Permanent Representatives, who will support the work of the ASEAN Community Councils and ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies. They coordinate with the Secretary General of ASEAN and the ASEAN Secretariat on all subjects related to its work, and facilitates ASEAN cooperation with external partners. They also coordinate with ASEAN National Secretariats and other ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies and perform such other functions as may be determined by the ASEAN Coordinating Council.

#### **7. ASEAN National Secretariats**

As per the provisions in the ASEAN Charter, each ASEAN member state shall establish an ASEAN National Secretariat which will serve as the national focal points, be the repository of information on all ASEAN matters at the national level, coordinate the implementation of ASEAN decisions at the national level, and contribute to ASEAN community building. Apart from this, they also coordinate and support the national preparations of ASEAN meetings and promote ASEAN identity and awareness at the national level.

#### **8. ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)**

The ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) is the 'human rights body' authorized to be established under Article 14 of the ASEAN Charter. The primary purpose of this organ is the promotion and protection of human rights in conformity with the purpose and principles of the Charter.

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### 9. ASEAN Foundation

This body will assist the Secretary General of ASEAN and work together with the relevant ASEAN bodies to support ASEAN community building by promoting greater awareness of the ASEAN identity, people-to-people interaction, and close collaboration among the business sector, civil society, academia and other stakeholders in ASEAN. This body will be answerable to the Secretary General of ASEAN, who will submit report about this body to the ASEAN Summit through the ASEAN Coordinating Council.

Besides these, ASEAN also has other organs that are associated with human rights. This comprises the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) and the ASEAN Committee on the Implementation of the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers (ACMW).<sup>8</sup>

#### Accomplishments of ASEAN

Since its foundation, ASEAN has successfully promoted cooperation and dialogue in the South-east Asian region and had become a 'bridge builder' among countries in the greater scope of East Asia. It has been an instrumental figure behind the group's struggle for economic, socio-culture and political integration. Some of the major accomplishments of ASEAN are explained below:

- Recognising the importance of food security for stability, and prosperity of the region, the ASEAN member states signed the Agreement on ASEAN Food Security Reserve (AFSRB) in 1979. Under the Agreement, each ASEAN member state should set up an ASEAN Emergency Rice Reserve (AERR), a sum total of the basic food stock (rice) maintained by each member country within its national border.
- ASEAN also established the 'ASEAN General Guidelines on the Preparation and Handling of *Halal* Food' with the objective of expanding intra-ASEAN trade in meat and meat-based products. These guidelines serve as a practical reference for food industry in the production and handling of *halal* food for more effective presence in the regional and international market. Additionally, a Food Safety Network website was developed to provide useful information on food safety. Food safety measures encouraged ASEAN to give due attention on the use of pesticides in agricultural products that are traded in the region. A further step forward in the regional effort to control the use of pesticide to improve marketability of agricultural products and prevent environmental degradation is the setting up of pesticide database and network among ASEAN member states.
- The major obstacles to the development of the industry in the region are the presence of infectious diseases in animals. Several animal diseases still afflict some ASEAN member countries resulting in economic loss. Recognizing the need for vaccination as the practical method of controlling the spread of these infectious diseases, ASEAN embarked on establishing standards for vaccines used in the livestock industry in the region to ensure that only vaccines which meet international standards for safety, efficacy, and quality are being used to prevent animal diseases in the region. With a view to promote international trade in livestock, especially among the member countries, a number of ASEAN Criteria for Accreditation of Livestock and Livestock Products Establishment have been developed.

- A number of cooperative projects and activities in fisheries have been implemented. To encourage sustainable aquaculture, ASEAN developed the Manual on Good Shrimp Farm Management Practices. As part of the ASEAN efforts to promote regional and international trade of fish products, a guide to the Identification and Control of Food Safety Hazards in the Production of Fish and Fisheries Products has been compiled to act as reference and provide detailed guidance on fish and fish products related hazards, hazards control and food safety programmes.
- The ASEAN established the Cooperative Business Forum (CBF) in 2006 with the purpose of promoting business linkages and trading among the potential agricultural cooperatives within ASEAN member states, and to empower farmers, farmers groups and farmer organizations. The capacity of farmers to select, adapt and apply technologies plays a very important role in increasing agricultural production. To educate the farmers, ASEAN has promoted and intensified the application of Integrated Pest Management (IPM), especially on fruits and vegetables as a wide-ranging approach to improve crop quality and reduce crops losses.
- With a view to help national governments and non-governments organizations in ASEAN to improve the effectiveness of the implementation of their national IPM programme, ASEAN set up the ASEAN IPM Knowledge Network. It is an initiative to accumulate the vast collection of knowledge capital on IPM that can be reused and shared by national IPM programmes in the ASEAN region.
- Collaboration among member states of ASEAN in the area of research and development in agriculture was started in 2005. A number of activities have been initiated including the establishment of the ASEAN Agricultural Research and Development Information System (ASEAN ARDIS), development of the ASEAN Directory of Agricultural Research and Development Centres in ASEAN, and the Guidelines for the Use of the Digital Information System.
- The ASEAN also acknowledged the importance of agricultural biotechnology as a tool to increase food productivity sustainably. It adopted the Guidelines on the Risk Assessment of Agriculture-related Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) which serve to provide ASEAN member states with a common understanding and approach when conducting scientific evaluations for the release of agriculture-related GMOs. A number of workshops have been organized to enhance and strengthen the capacity building in collaboration with the International Life Sciences Institute (ILSI) South-east Asia on the use of the ASEAN Guidelines on Risk-Assessment of Agriculture-related GMOs for the regulators and decision makers.
- In order to promote trade in agriculture and forest products, ASEAN extended the implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on ASEAN Cooperation in Agriculture and Forest Products Promotion Scheme for another five years i.e. from 2004 to 2009. The MOU is used as a basis to pursue cooperation with the private sector and to coordinate joint positions on issues related to trade in ASEAN agriculture and forest products.
- ASEAN considers forest as a vital natural resource in terms of economic, environmental and socio-cultural benefits. The promotion of sustainable forest management (SFM) is of the utmost interest and priority to ASEAN member states. This has led to the formulation of guidelines where it can be used as references for member states in developing their respective country-specific national criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management.<sup>9</sup>

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- ASEAN has focused on getting the economics right. The ASEAN Free Trade Area, for example, has been a reality since 2003. ASEAN community-building efforts in the socio-cultural field include collective measures to reduce poverty, raising the standards of education, stress on empowering women and youth, and ensuring efficient and effective health systems. There have also been efforts to halt the loss of environmental resources and promote a strong sense of community.
- ASEAN has two regional human rights agencies. They are the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, and ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children. These two bodies provide platforms to address human rights issues common to the ASEAN countries, such as people trafficking, gender discrimination, child protection, migration, and responsible corporate behaviour.
- The implementation of the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response in December 2009, and the launch of the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance in 2011, has enabled the organization to respond more effectively to disasters and humanitarian emergencies. ASEAN have also made efforts on disaster risk reduction, climate change, and energy.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.7 PROBLEMS OF WEST ASIA

West Asia can geographically be divided into two regions—the Arabian Peninsula which comprises Yemen and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates; and the Mashriq, which comprises Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) and Syria.



Fig. 3.4 Map of West Asia

#### Check Your Progress

13. When was ASEAN formed?
14. Name the main policy-making body of ASEAN.
15. When was the first ASEAN Summit held?

## NOTES

Like other parts of Asia, there was an upsurge for freedom in West Asia immediately after the Second World War. The United Nations recommended the partition of Palestine into two states and the internationalization of Jerusalem after the war. In 1948, the independent Jewish Israel state was formed with the support of UN. Palestine was partitioned which paved the way for creation of an independent Jewish state of Israel. As per the UN partition plan, Israel was allotted 55 per cent of Palestinian territory, but it occupied 77 per cent. During the Arab-Israel war of 1967, Israel occupied the remaining territory as well. As a result, the Palestinians were driven out from the new Israel and fled to refugee camps in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and other regions. Many Jews were also expelled from the surrounding Arab countries. Many Jews immigrated to Israel. Like the Palestinians, expelled Jews often had their land and/or bank accounts and other properties seized. Soon, Israel started establishing Jewish settlements in Gaza, West bank and East Jerusalem which rendered millions of Palestinians homeless. These factors embittered the relationship between Israel-Palestine on one hand and between Israel and the Arab world on the other. In July 1956, Israel in cooperation with French and British troops attacked the Sinai Peninsula after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal which was a major trade route entry point for the West to the rest of the Middle East. Israel was forced to withdraw from Egypt. Another war broke out again in 1967. The Jews, this time hit hard, inflicting the most humiliating defeat on the Arabs. Israel captured important areas such as the strategic Golan Heights from Syria, West Bank from Jordan and the Gaza strip from Egypt. The UN intervened and arranged for a ceasefire. In spite of UN resolutions, Israel refused to vacate Arab territories and restore the rights of the Palestinian Arabs many of whom live as refugees in various Arab states. In 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed under the leadership of Yasser Arafat to fight for the establishment of a Palestinian state. Subsequently, the PLO proclaimed the setting up of a government of Palestine which was recognized by many countries.

In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur in an attempt to regain their lost land, but failed. In 1978, United States made an effort to resolve the West Asian crisis. An agreement was signed in the presence of President Carter at Camp David between Israel, Egypt and the United States. Israel returned Sinai back to Egypt in return for peace between them. In the Arab world it was viewed that Egypt had succumbed to US pressure. From US and Israel's viewpoint, this was a great achievement. It opened the doors for normalization of the relations. It enabled the two hostile neighbours to work towards attaining peace. Previously, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat had taken an unusual step of visiting Israel in an effort to put an end to unnecessary enmity. In the aftermath of the agreement, many hardliners both in Egypt and Israel opposed the propositions vehemently. Anwar Sadat himself was assassinated.

Irritated with the terrorists attacks carried out from southern Lebanon, Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982. It turned out to be the longest and costliest war in Israel's brief history.<sup>11</sup> (Edward McNall Burns, Philip Lee Ralph, Robert E.Lerner, Standish Meacham, p. 1394)

Israel went as far up as Beirut reducing much of this 'Paris of the Middle East' to rubble. Bloody exchanges followed between Israeli attempts to bomb Yasser Arafat's PLO locations, and Hezbollah retaliations. In 1985, Israel declared a strip of South Lebanon to be a Security Zone. Many civilians were killed on both sides. After 22 years, Israel withdrew in May 2000.

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In the late 1980s, there was a Palestinian uprising called the *Intifada*. Young Palestinians dealt with Israeli troops with nothing more than sling shots and stones. Thousands were killed by the Israeli military. Many suicide activists killed Israeli soldiers and caused damages. The Israel-Palestine conflict assumed new dimensions in 1990s. Important factors like the Gulf War, disintegration of Soviet Union and Palestinian uprising charged up the situation in West Asia. After the end of Cold War, United States emerged as the only superpower and took upon itself the responsibility of pursuing the peace process in West Asia.

The victory of United States in the Gulf war opened up new vistas for US role in the region. Moreover, the US was showing her interest in West Asia as it had been a region possessing vast oil resources. On the initiative of US, Madrid Peace talk was organized on 31 October 1991, which brought Israel and Palestine across the table for the first time since the partition of Palestine. However, the talk was not a success.

After a long period of hostility, both Israel and PLO realized the need for peace. In 1993, the Oslo Peace Accord took place, whereby Israel recognized the PLO and gave them limited autonomy in return for peace and an end to Palestinian claims on Israeli territory. It resulted in Israeli control of land, water, roads and other resources. In 1994, Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho, ending twenty seven years of occupation. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994, along with Yasser Arafat and Shimon Peres, then foreign minister of Israel, for his role in starting the peace process in which the Oslo Agreements were viewed as a major step. In 1995, Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli Jewish extremist. In April 1996, Israeli forces bombed Lebanon for 17 days, with Hezbollah retaliating by firing upon populated areas of Northern Israel. The Camp David summit in 2000 also failed to solve the problem of Jerusalem.

In September, 2000, Israel leader Ariel Sharon, along with by 1000 soldiers, visited a holy Muslim site, called the Temple Mount by the Israelis, and Haram al Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) by the Muslims and proclaimed it as an eternal Israeli territory which infuriated the Palestinians. They saw it as an extreme act of provocation. It led to a series of protests and violence and another major uprising or *intifada*. The Palestinian National Authority headed by Arafat was itself condemned for not serving the full interests of the Palestinian people. For a very long period, the Palestinian people have been without any nation, and have had limited rights. Yasser Arafat was replaced by Mahmoud Abbas as the head of Palestinian Authority in 2004. However, no progress was achieved in the creation of a separate state of Palestine. Israel continued to increase and expand their settlements especially in the West Bank. It withdrew from Gaza Strip in 2005 but it remains a virtually occupied territory. Many Palestinians residing in Israel do not have the right to vote, or have limited rights, while paying full taxes at the same time. For over thirty years, the Palestinian people have been living under a military occupation.

The Israeli stance on the status of Jerusalem is another stumbling block to any peaceful settlement. An independent Palestine state had been declared in 1988 and is recognized by over hundred countries. However, this is nothing more than symbolic. A new factor has been the rise of a new organization known as the Hamas. It has emerged as the leading force among the Palestinians and has gained popularity. It presently controls the Gaza Strip. Palestinian independence is the most important issue for the Arabs. The seeds of peace in West Asia lie in the solution to the problem of Palestine. The frustration and injustice of the treatment of Palestinians has angered many citizens in the Arab world against US and Israel. Islamic terrorists legitimize their activities citing the continuous injustice done on Palestinians.



*Fig. 3.5 Israel-Palestine Map*

The involvement of United States in the Middle East has also been seen as a critical issue. The US and West's interests in this region has generally been due to its vast oil reserves. Israel is their staunchest ally in the region. It is believed that Israel is in possession of nuclear weapons and had adopted threatening postures, along with United States, towards Iran. This has further escalated the tensions in this region.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.7.1 Creation of Israel and Balfour Declaration

In 1948 the creation of the State of Israel was preceded by struggle of more than five decades to set up a sovereign state as a homeland for Jews. Theodore Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement initiated these efforts, and these were given added impetus by the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which declared the British government's support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the British assumed control of Palestine. The British government issued the Balfour Declaration in November 1917, announcing its intention to facilitate the 'establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'. In 1922, a mandate was granted to Britain over Palestine by the League of Nations which included, among other things, provisions calling for the establishment of homeland for Jews, facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging their settlement on the land.

The Arabs opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine and increased their attacks against the Jews. Following this, in 1936 the British appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the Palestine situation and circumstances. According to the Peel Commission partition of the country should be made between Arabs and Jews. This idea was rejected by the Arabs while the Jews accepted the principle of partition.

At the end of the Second World War, 'the British persisted in their immigration restrictions and Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were violently turned away from the shores of Palestine. Underground cells of Jews, most notably the Irgun and Lehi, engaged

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in open warfare against the British and their installations. The British realized that they could no longer manage Palestine and handed the issue over to the United Nations.' On 29 November 1947, after much debate and discussion, the UN recommended for Palestine partition into two states—one Jewish and one Arab. The UN resolution was accepted by the Jews while the Arabs rejected it.

In the meantime, since the time of the British Mandate, the political, social and economic institutions that governed daily life in Palestine was formed by the Jewish community in Palestine and served as a pre-state infrastructure. Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion worked as head of the pre-state government. On 14 May 1948, the British mandate over Palestine officially terminated and David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the formation of the State of Israel, and became its first prime minister. On 15 May, the United States recognised the State of Israel and the Soviet Union soon followed it. Soon after the State of Israel was proclaimed, armies from neighbouring Arab states who had not accepted the UN partition plan invaded it. In 1949 this conflict, Israel's War of Independence, was concluded by an armistice between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

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### 3.8 CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN

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When the Second World War ended, Afghanistan found itself in the middle of a zone of conflict. It tried to maintain equal distance from Soviet Union and United States. However, it was more inclined towards Soviet Union since the United States was backing Pakistan which was supporting the Pashtuns and their demands for independence.<sup>13</sup> The Soviet Union imparted military training to many young Afghans. The King of Afghanistan, Zahir Khan, had become unpopular among his subjects. He was deposed by his cousin Mohammad Daud in 1973 and he became the President of the new Republic. He pursued the policy of non-alignment, but witnessing the continued US military assistance to Pakistan, decided to seek weapons from Soviet Union with a view to restore the balance of power in the region. Daud was helped by the Communist People's Democratic Party (PDP).

The party soon split into two factions—one led by Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin known as the Khalq, and the other led by Babrak Karmal, called Parcham. Mohammad Daud also sought help from the Shah of Iran. Having strengthened his position, he persecuted both the factions of PDP and imprisoned many of their leaders. However, he was ousted from power in 1978 by Khalq. The leaders of other faction of the PDP were exiled. The *Khalq* was, however, unable to improve the country's economy situation and this resulted in riots. Muhammad Taraki remained the President for some time until he was replaced by Hafizullah Amin in 1979. Amin asserted that Afghanistan was a non-aligned country. Amin was persuaded to seek help from Soviet Union to curb disorder. Forces of Soviet Union entered Afghanistan in large numbers towards the end of 1979. Amin was assassinated in December 1979 in a coup backed by Soviet troops. Babrak Karmal returned from Soviet Union and was declared as the new President.<sup>14</sup> The new government of Babrak Karmal faced increasing internal problems from *mujahidin* or Islamic guerillas.

A large contingent of Soviet army stayed in Afghanistan for almost nine years. Mikhail Gorbachev, in 1988, realized the futility of deployment of such a huge army and continued occupation. During the period of occupation, millions of Afghans sought refuge in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran where they were trained as guerillas. The *mujahedin* were divided into factions who were backed by Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and United

#### Check Your Progress

16. Name the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries.
17. Name the leader who established the PLO.
18. When did the Oslo Peace Accord take place?



States. When the Soviet Union decided to withdraw from Afghanistan, the power was transferred to non-communist leadership which had been fighting for the removal of Soviet forces. In 1986, a pro-Soviet Mohammad Najibullah replaced Babrak Karmal as President. He announced a ceasefire in 1987 but the *mujahedin* continued to fight. After a long period of negotiation, an Afghan-Pakistani accord assured the voluntary return of refugees. Najibullah agreed to the transfer of power in accordance to the Geneva Agreement concluded between various parties interested in ending the crisis in Afghanistan. The Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989.

Rebel groups, however, increased in numbers and fought with each other to dominate Afghanistan. Many of these groups had earlier been provided sophisticated weapons by the US to wage a 'holy war' against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The government declared its unwillingness to negotiate with them. The moderate Muslim groups formed an alliance, while the government re-imposed Islamic law. They banned use of alcohol, imposed restrictions on women and tightened up the dress codes. The armed Taliban was formed in 1995 by Mullah Mohammad Omar. Taliban, (literally meaning 'students') had been trained in religious schools which belonged to a particular theology in Pakistan. The students and guerillas of Taliban aimed to create a united Islamic government in Afghanistan. In 1996, the Taliban set up their rule over most parts of Afghanistan.

The fanatical Taliban government was recognized by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. In the name of implementing their version of Islamic law, the Taliban government indulged in oppression and gross violation of human rights. Women were prohibited to work outside home, attend school, or appear in public without a father, brother, or husband. They were supposed to be clad in the *burqa*, covering them from head to toe. Men were expected to grow beards and attend religious services. Movies, TV, and music were also banned. The American troops along with British troops and some other troops from NATO countries invaded Afghanistan on 7 October 2001, through an operation codenamed 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. The objective of invasion included the capture of Osama bin Laden, the person responsible for 9/11 attacks on US, and the destruction caused by Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. On 13 November 2001, the Afghan capital of Kabul was seized. Many other parts of Afghanistan were freed from Taliban rule. Mohammed Hamid Karzai, a US-backed leader assumed power in December 2001 after the collapse of Taliban. However, fighting continued between different factions of the Taliban.

Most of Afghanistan was ruled by the warlords and the rule of Karzai was confined to the capital and the surrounding areas. Attacks continued and Karzai survived many assassination attempts. In 2003, NATO launched a peace mission and was given the charge of International Assistance Security Force under the supervision of the United Nations. United States faced criticisms regarding its treatment of Afghan detainees. There had been many cases of human rights violation and torture of prisoners in the special jails established in Afghanistan to question suspected Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters.

The major objective of Afghanistan government after the 2001 war has been to bring stability to the country, but at the same time it has also faced challenges of extensive drug trafficking and poppy cultivation. After 2003, when US invaded Iraq, the focus of US foreign policy and military operations shifted to Iraq. However, there was renewal of Taliban insurgency in 2006 which prompted NATO to assume the leadership of military operations.

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After the 9/11 attacks, the Taliban were defeated by the US-led invasion of Afghanistan. Later it recovered as an insurgency movement to fight the US-backed Karzai administration and the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The Taliban have been charged of using terrorism as a ploy to further their ideological and political goals. As per a report of the United Nations, the Taliban and their allies were responsible for 75 percent of Afghan civilian casualties in 2010, 80 percent in 2011, and 80 percent in 2012.

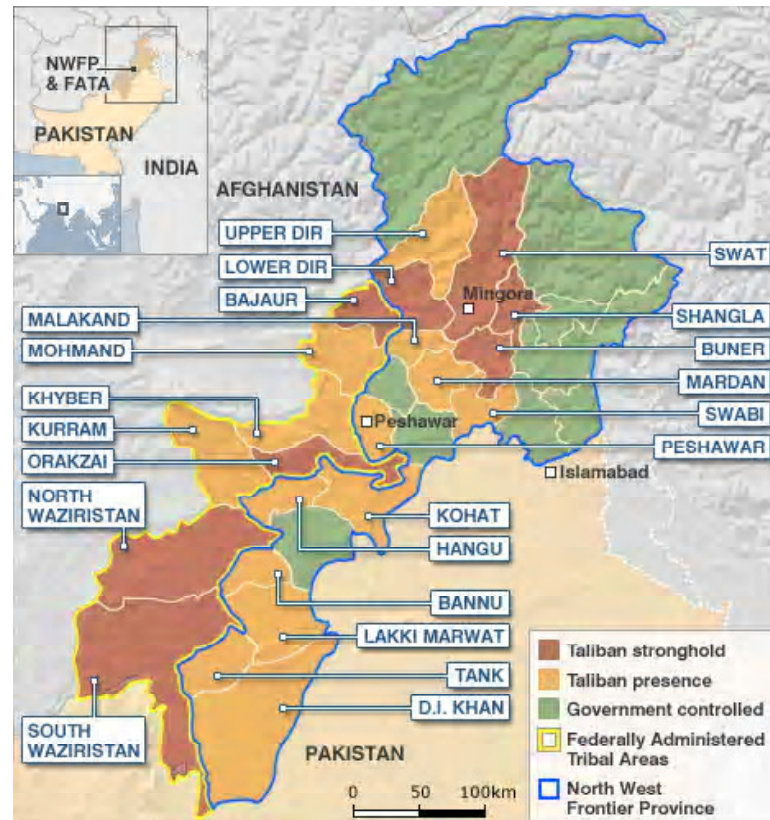


Fig. 3.6 Map Showing Taliban Strongholds

## 3.9 SUMMING UP

- The Korean War was fought between North and South Korea, in which a UN force led by the United States fought for the South, and China and Soviet Union backed the North.
- The Korean War was one of the most serious clashes between the communist and non-communist forces in the first post-war decade.
- In June 1950, the North Korean troops crossed the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel and attacked the South with Stalin's approval.
- After two years of military and diplomatic deadlock, an armistice was signed in July 1953, recognizing the existence of both North and South Korea and abandoning any scheme for their reunion.
- The Sino-Soviet split (1960–1989) denotes the worsening of relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

### Check Your Progress

19. When did the Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan?
20. State the aim of the students and guerrillas of Taliban.

- The Sino-Soviet split was one of the most important events of the Cold War.
- The Sino-Soviet divide paralyzed the international Communist movement at that time and paved the way for cordial relations between the United States and China under US President Richard Nixon in 1971.
- The 'Great Leap Forward' was itself a result of traditional Marxist-Leninist ideals and opposed Khrushchev's less aggressive and more appeasing Soviet policy towards the US.
- Mao had intended to liberate China from Soviet model of socialism.
- At first, the Sino-Soviet split manifested itself indirectly, as criticism towards each other's client states but, by 1960, the split had come out in the open.
- In March 1982, in Tashkent, Soviet Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev gave a pacifying speech towards the PRC, and the Sino-Soviet relations seemed to be resumed towards normalcy.
- The Vietnam war (1954–75) was a prolonged conflict that pitted the Communist government of North Vietnam and its allies in South Vietnam, known as the Viet Cong, against the government of South Vietnam and its major ally, the United States.
- The US troops withdrew from Vietnam in 1973.
- The US had to quit Vietnam in utter disgrace.
- The US foreign policy committed many blunders and became responsible for a protracted war which caused lot of casualties on both sides.
- On September 8, 1954, at Manila (Philippines), the United States, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan formed an international organization for collective defense in South-east Asia called the South-east Asia Treaty Organization, or SEATO or Manila Pact.
- SEATO quickly became insignificant militarily since most of the member states contributed very little to the alliance.
- In June 1977 what remained of SEATO was quietly laid to rest with a brief ceremony in Bangkok.
- The Association of South-east Asian Nations is a political and economic organization of ten countries located in South-east Asia, which was formed on August 8, 1967.
- Palestine was partitioned which paved the way for creation of an independent Jewish state of Israel.
- In 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed under the leadership of Yasser Arafat to fight for the establishment of a Palestinian state.
- In 1993, the Oslo Peace Accord took place, whereby Israel recognized the PLO and gave them limited autonomy in return for peace and an end to Palestinian claims on Israeli territory.
- The seeds of peace in West Asia lie in the solution to the problem of Palestine.
- When the Second World War ended, Afghanistan found itself in the middle of a zone of conflict.
- Rebel groups increased in numbers and fought with each other to dominate Afghanistan.

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- The armed Taliban was formed in 1995 by Mullah Mohammad Omar.
- In 1996, the Taliban set up their rule over most parts of Afghanistan.
- Mohammed Hamid Karzai, a US backed leader assumed power in December 2001 after the collapse of Taliban.

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### 3.10 KEY TERMS

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- **Seventeenth parallel:** Vietnam was divided into a Communist North Vietnam and a non-communist South Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel at the Geneva Conference in 1954.
- **Thirty-eighth Parallel:** The thirty-eight parallel is the line that divides Korea into North and South Korea.
- **Viet Cong:** Viet Cong were the Communist rebels in South Vietnam who fought against the pro-US government established in South Vietnam.

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### 3.11 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

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1. The Republic of Korea (ROK) was established on August 15, 1948.
2. Kim Il-Sung was the leader of the Communist-led government in North Korea.
3. An armistice was signed in July 1953.
4. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed in 1950.
5. Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) in China to rid himself of internal enemies and to restore his sole leadership over the party and the country and to prevent the development of Soviet-style Communism.
6. The Chinese Communist Party appointed Deng Xiaoping as the head of the internal modernization programmes in 1977.
7. Ho Chi Minh established the a Vietnamese Independence League or the Viet Minh, to resist the Japanese.
8. As per the Geneva Accords, Vietnam was to be divided into two zones—North Vietnam and South Vietnam divided along the 17<sup>th</sup> Parallel.
9. The US troops withdrew from Vietnam in 1973.
10. Vietnam emerged as a united country in June 1976.
11. On September 8, 1954 an international organization called the South-east Asia Treaty Organization, or SEATO was formed.
12. The United States, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan were the member states of SEATO.
13. ASEAN was formed on August 8, 1967.
14. ASEAN Summit is the ultimate policy-making body of ASEAN.
15. The First ASEAN Summit was held in February 1976 in Bali.
16. The members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries are— Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.

17. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed under the leadership of Yasser Arafat.
18. In 1993, the Oslo Peace Accord took place.
19. The Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989.
20. The students and guerillas of Taliban aimed to create a united Islamic government in Afghanistan.

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### 3.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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#### Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the main terms of the International Geneva Conference of 1954?
2. What were the weaknesses of SEATO?
3. State the seven aims and purposes of the ASEAN.
4. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Ho Chi Minh
  - (b) Unification of Vietnam
  - (c) Yasser Arafat
  - (d) Taliban

#### Long-Answer Questions

1. Was the Korean War an international war or a civil war? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Discuss the circumstances leading to the Sino-Soviet split (1960-89).
3. Examine the role played by United States in the Vietnam War.
4. Describe the structure and organization of ASEAN.
5. Analyze the accomplishments of ASEAN.
6. Explain the causes of Israel-Palestine conflict and the efforts for peace.
7. Describe the crisis in Afghanistan after the Second World War.

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# UNIT 4 POST WORLD WAR II: AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

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*Post World War II:  
Africa and Latin America*

## NOTES

### STRUCTURE

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Africa
  - 4.2.1 Rise of Nationalism in Africa
  - 4.2.2 Decolonization of Northern Africa
  - 4.2.3 Decolonization of Southern Africa
- 4.3 Latin America
  - 4.3.1 Recent Developments in Latin America
- 4.4 Summing Up
- 4.5 Key Terms
- 4.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.7 Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 References and Suggested Readings

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## 4.0 INTRODUCTION

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Prior to the Second World War, imperialism formed the core of global order. However, the world changed dramatically after the Second World War. The influence and domination of European imperialist powers exercised in the pre-war years became a thing of the past. A large number of countries in Africa and Asia along with many countries of Latin America which had been suffering under the colonial rule emerged as independent nations. Together, they played an important role in world politics. After the Second World War, the demand for withdrawal of British troops from North African countries like Egypt, Libya and Algeria gained momentum. The countries of Africa gained independence in the mid-1950s. Within 25 years, almost every country in Africa, with the exception of South Africa and South-West Africa, became independent. In the year 1995, with the exception of small pockets in different parts of the world, every country in the world was free from the direct political control of another country.

The freedom movements in Africa, as in other parts of the world, were the result of growth of nationalism and increasing resentment against exploitation and oppression by the colonial powers. The European imperialist countries were not prepared to give up their empires and, in some cases, got involved in prolonged wars with the nationalist movements. The Second World War shattered the myth of the invincibility of some major colonial powers in Africa such as France and Belgium which had faced defeat during the war. The fall of colonialism in Asia within a few years after the war also had a tremendous impact on the freedom movements in Africa. The question of freedom of Africa gradually became one of the major issues in the world.

The emergence of regimes in the Latin American countries which assured to initiate radical economic and social changes were always considered a threat to the United States and led her to interfere in the political affairs of these countries. These countries were confronted with much the same problems as faced by the Asian and African nations. The United States had vast economic interests in Latin American

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countries. In some countries, US companies almost totally dominated their economy. To maintain their domination, these companies, with the support of the US government, encouraged undemocratic regimes with the use of army. The US also saw these regimes as being Communist inspired or controlled and a potential threat to her security.

In this unit, we will discuss the decolonization process and the developments that took place in African and Latin American countries after the Second World War.

### 4.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Analyze the rise of nationalism in Africa
- Describe the process of decolonization of Northern Africa
- Discuss the decolonization of Southern Africa
- Describe the developments in the Latin American countries after the Second World War

### 4.2 AFRICA

The history of modern Africa, the Dark Continent, makes for a sad account of the most terrible form of imperialism. Like Asia, Africa was overrun by European imperialists. There was a 'Scramble for Africa' in the late nineteenth century. The European powers divided Africa and its resources at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. By 1905, Africa was almost completely controlled by European governments except Liberia and Ethiopia. Britain and France had the maximum holdings; Germany, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal were the other European powers who had colonies. Europeans often justified their exploitation by propagating the concept of the 'White Man's Burden'. However, just like Asia, the imperialists were overthrown and most parts of Africa regained their independence in the twentieth century.

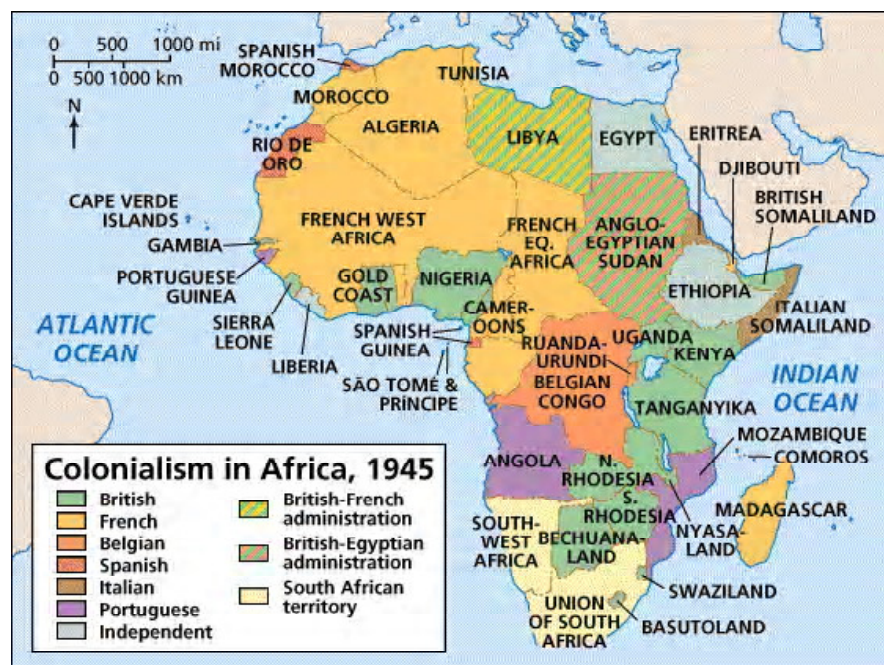


Fig. 4.1 Colonialism in Africa



### 4.2.1 Rise of Nationalism in Africa

In the twentieth century, the people of Africa rose in revolt against the European imperialists and wanted to liberate themselves from their clutches. Many factors were responsible for the awakening and the rise of nationalism among the people of Africa.

- **Impact of western culture**

The impact of western culture on Africa created a sense of awakening among the Africans. Newspapers, magazines, books, films and radio made the Africans realize that they were economically and culturally much backward as compared to the West. Africans were illiterate, ignorant, poor and backward. The awakening brought about by the African intellectuals enthused the people of Africa into action and provoked them to rise in revolt against the imperialists.

- **Principle of self-determination**

The principle of self-determination, which was championed by United States President Woodrow Wilson towards the end of the First World War, brought about the independence of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other European countries and created an appetite for freedom among the Africans. They became conscious that unless they fought for their own rights and freedom, they would continue to live under the foreign domination.

- **Impact of liberal western thinkers and statesmen**

The views of many Western thinkers like J. A. Hobson against imperialist exploitation accelerated the process of decolonization and encouraged the colonized people to launch struggles for independence. They asserted the unjust nature of imperialism. Political parties in countries like France and England took an anti-imperialist stand and strengthened the morale of the struggling Africans.

- **US policy towards Afro-Asian nations**

The stand taken by United States and the aid given by her to the Afro-Asian people proved to be an important factor in loosening imperialist control over the colonies. The US also set an example to European imperialists in granting independence to subject countries. In 1946, the US kept the pre-war promise by granting independence to Philippines. In 1952, Puerto Rico was converted into a self-governing democratic Commonwealth by the US. Between 1946 and 1957, US generously gave fourteen billion dollars to Asian countries as financial grant. Similarly, US gave grants to African countries upto six billion dollars. However, critics argue that the US was interested more in displacing the European imperialists from Afro-Asian countries than helping the Afro-Asian freedom movements.

- **Threat of Communism**

The Soviet Union, which wished to export Communism and build up its strength against the United States, supported independence movements in Africa and Asia. China emerged as a Communist country with the inspiration and active support of the Soviet Union. The International Communist Movement gained momentum and threatened the non-communist regimes in many countries. Russian and Chinese leaders encouraged subversive activities in many Afro-Asian countries. The two Communist giants trained leaders of poor and

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backward countries in the techniques of overthrowing the governments. There was every possibility of the whole of Africa walking into the folds of Communism if Africans secured absolutely no relief from the imperialists. Thus, the fear of the spread of communism prompted the Western imperialists to relinquish their colonies. Where the imperialist did not quit, the freedom struggles took a violent and bloody turn.

- **Bitter memories of exploitation**

The Africans had bitter memories about their relations with the Europeans who for centuries regarded Africa as an inexhaustible reservoir for supplying cheap but loyal slaves to the white masters. The Europeans earned the ill will of the Africans in later years due to the ruthless conquests and exploitation. Unpleasant memories of exploitation and injustice served to stir up antagonism and hatred towards the European imperialists and the feelings of patriotism and nationalism developed among the Africans when they became conscious of their rights.

- **Role of the two World Wars**

The two World Wars served to loosen the imperialist grip over the African continent. Imperialist powers such as England and France emerged victorious but were left totally exhausted and economically weak after the First World War. After the Second World War, these victorious powers became bankrupt and were not in a position to cling to their Asian and African colonies where the subject population had become conscious of their rights. The two global wars shattered the European empires and proved to be blessings in disguise for Africa. After the Second World War, the process of decolonization started and one colony after another was liberated in quick succession.

- **Role of African leaders**

The role of African leaders also created a sense of awakening among the Africans, who cultivated new techniques of fighting against the imperialists. Kwame Nkrumah and his United Gold Coast Convention Party organized boycotts and demonstrations against the imperialists. In 1950, they emulated the technique of passive resistance of Mahatma Gandhi. Nkrumah also inspired people in other parts of Africa to rebel against the imperialists. Jomo was another great leader, who roused Africans to assert their independence. Thus, the leaders such as Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Nyerere, Banda, Sekou Toure and Awolowo assumed the leadership of the independent movements similar to that of Gandhi and Nehru in India. This hastened the departure of colonial powers.<sup>1</sup>

### 4.2.2 Decolonization of Northern Africa

After the Second World War, there was a sharp decline in the influence of traditional colonial powers. Some countries and international organizations like the United Nations promoted the idea of national self-determination. Advocates of national self-determination largely believed that the inhabitants of a region should decide the form of government that would be most suitable for them. This anti-colonial sentiment, coupled with the demand for independence, helped accelerate the process of decolonization.<sup>2</sup> The Second World War brought major changes in North Africa, promoting the cause of national independence. A reaction to years of colonialism had set in and was into strong nationalist tendencies in the countries of this region.

## Revolution in Egypt

Egypt was under British 'protection' after the First World War. However, under the pressure of the nationalist movement, it was granted autonomy in 1922 though the British troops continued to remain there. After the Second World War, the demand for withdrawal of British troops gained strength. There were clashes between the Egyptians and the British soldiers in which hundreds of Egyptians were killed. The resentment of the people was also directed against the king who was installed by the British. The monarchy was overthrown when a group of military officers led by Lt Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser and General Muhammad Naguib seized power in 1952 and declared Egypt a republic. The new government demanded the withdrawal of the British troops which were positioned in the Suez Canal zone in Egypt.

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*Fig. 4.2 Gamal Abdul Nasser (L) and General Muhammad Naguib (R)*

The Egyptian government under the leadership of Colonel Nasser began the economic reconstruction of the country. Egypt declined to be aligned with United States and the latter stopped the sale of arms to Egypt. However, Egypt began to receive military and economic assistance from the Soviet Union. In 1956, Egypt announced the nationalization of Suez Canal which was under the French and British control. In October 1956, the British and French troops invaded Egypt, along with the Israeli troops. This led to worldwide protests. There were huge protest demonstrations against the British government inside Britain as well. The Soviet Union warned the aggressor countries that if they did not withdraw from Egypt, she would send her forces to crush them. At the United Nations, almost every nation of the world including the United States criticized Britain, France and Israel. The universal condemnation of aggression led to the withdrawal of British and French forces from Egypt. This strengthened the unity of Asian and African countries, in general, and of Arab countries, in particular. Nasser became the leading figure of Arab nationalism. The Suez War also added to the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union as a friend of the countries who were trying to assert their independence.

## Independence of Libya

Libya had come under Italian rule in 1911. During the Second World War, many important battles were fought between the German and the Allied troops in Libya. At the end of the war, Libya was occupied by British and French troops. On 24 December 1951, Libya became independent with a monarchical form of government. From 1960, Libya became one of the largest petroleum producing countries in the world and as a result,

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some sections of the Libyan society grew very rich while a major chunk of the population remained extremely backward. The United States built one of its strongest air bases on Libyan territory. In 1969, a group of army officers overthrew the monarchy and Libya was declared a republic. The new government proclaimed that it would give primacy to the unity and solidarity of the Arabs.

### Struggle for freedom in Algeria

The period of 1950s witnessed the emergence of a number of independent nations in North Africa. The independence, however, was preceded by a long drawn out struggle against the imperialist countries which wanted to retain their colonial possessions. Like Indo-China, the French returned to retain their control over Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria after the Second World War. Tunisia and Morocco attained their independence in 1956. One of the longest and hardest struggles for freedom was launched in Algeria. It was also the most violent colonial revolt in Northern Africa. The French occupation of Algeria had begun in 1830 though it had taken France another forty years to fully establish her rule. Like Indo-China, the struggle against French rule in Algeria had a long history behind it.

After the Second World War, France was involved in a long-drawn colonial war to retain control over Algeria. Unlike other French colonies, a large number of French had settled in Algeria. In 1960, they numbered about a million. They controlled the economy and administration of the country and were resolute to hold on to their authority even when the people and French government favoured a settlement. The situation was similar to some other colonies, for example Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, where the white settlers were totally opposed to any kind of settlement for a long period of time which would end their domination.

In 1954, the nationalist organization of the people of Algeria called the FLN (National Liberation Front) gave a call for an armed struggle against the French rule. Soon after, a full-scale war for national liberation commenced in Algeria. The FLN formed its own liberation army comprised of regular armed forces and guerilla units. The French troops in Algeria numbered 8,00,000 resorted to large-scale atrocities. Armed clashes resulted in thousands of casualties on both sides. The FLN established its Provisional Government which was recognized by many countries. The war in Algeria had serious repercussions on France. The Communist Party of France along with many other French leaders supported the cause of Algerian independence.

In 1958, a revolt by the French settlers and the French army in Algeria led to the overthrow of the Fourth Republic. General de Gaulle became the President of France and a new constitution establishing the Fifth Republic became operational. The French settlers and the army in Algeria had hoped that the new government would support the war to maintain the French rule in Algeria. However, the new President conceded to the demands of FLN and opened negotiations with the leaders of FLN in March 1962. This led to a ceasefire in Algeria. An agreement was also reached on Algeria's independence and the total pull out of French forces from Algeria. This policy was opposed by some sections of the French army in Algeria who revolted against General de Gaulle and even attempted to kill him. However, the revolt was suppressed.



*Fig. 4.3 Algerian War of Independence (1954-62)*

A referendum was held in France on the issue of granting independence to Algeria in April 1962 and the people of France voted overwhelmingly in favour of Algeria's independence. On 1 July 1962, a similar referendum was held in Algeria and the people of Algeria voted almost unanimously in favour of complete independence. On 3 July 1962, Algeria's independence was recognized by France and on 4 July 1962, Algeria became an independent republic. The independence of Algeria had been won at the cost of about 140,000 Algerian lives.

### **4.2.3 Decolonization of Southern Africa**

The Southern African countries began to gain independence after the mid-1950s. After the Second World War, nationalist organizations were formed in almost all Southern African countries. The colonial powers realized that they would not be able to continue their rule in Africa for long. Within two decades, almost every country in Africa, with the exception of South Africa and South-West Africa (Namibia), gained independence.

#### **Freedom movements in Ghana and Guinea**

The first country in Southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana (formerly Gold Coast). The British had conquered a part of this region which they named as Gold Coast. Kwame Nkrumah<sup>3</sup> (1909-72), an American-educated former school teacher, was the most prominent leader of the Gold Coast colony. He was an exceptional leader of African nationalism and played an important part in uniting the African people for freedom as well as for asserting their national sovereignty and independent role in world affairs.<sup>4</sup> He was a radical nationalist with left-wing leanings. Though he regarded himself as a Marxist, he denied being a Communist. Yet he admired Lenin and generally looked to Eastern Bloc countries for support rather than to Britain or United States.<sup>5</sup>

In 1949, Nkrumah organized the Convention People's Party which soon wrested the initiative from the United Gold Coast Convention Party (UGCC) campaigning on the slogan of 'self-government now' as distinct from the UGCC slogan 'self-government in the shortest possible time'. A strong trade union movement had also emerged in the Gold

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Coast. The Convention People's Party and the trade unions joined together to demand independence from Britain. However, most of their leaders were arrested and efforts were made to curb the demands for freedom. After 1950, the British government started introducing constitutional reforms in Ghana. The Convention People's Party, which had won more than seventy percent seats in the elections, pressurized the British government for independence. As a result, the British government granted independence to Gold Coast. On 6 March 1957, an independent state calling itself Ghana, named after the old West African kingdom, emerged. The part of Togoland which had been under the British control also joined Ghana.



*Fig. 4.4 United Gold Coast Convention Party*

Guinea was the next country to achieve her independence. It was a French colony in Southern Africa. In 1958, while involved in the war in Algeria, France held a referendum in her colonies which had been grouped together as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The people of Guinea voted for complete independence and on 2 October 1958, Guinea was declared a republic. The attainment of independence by Ghana and Guinea gave impetus to the freedom movements in other parts of Africa and accelerated the pace of achievement of independence by other nations. The promotion of the cause of freedom of the African countries was a major objective of the foreign policy of India after her independence in 1947. India's struggle for freedom had also been a source of inspiration to the African nationalists.

### **The Africa Year**

In 1960, seventeen African countries achieved independence. Hence, the year 1960 is generally regarded as the 'African year'. These seventeen countries comprised all the French colonies in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, Nigeria and Congo. These countries were Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Chad, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroon, Congo (formerly French), Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, it was renamed Zaire until 1997), Central African Republic, Somalia and Madagascar. In countries with only a few white settlers like Nigeria, the process of decolonization was carried out in the same manner as in India. The British introduced constitutional reforms and gave Nigerian people seats in the government and administration. After that parliamentary elections were conducted and Nigeria gained independence in 1960. Between 1961 and 1964, many countries in East and Central Africa also became independent. These were Kenya,

Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Rwanda and Burundi. Apart from these, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) also attained their independence.

*Post World War II:  
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*Fig. 4.5* *Zambians Challenge British Colonial Minister Iain Macleod in Northern Rhodesia*

### **Independence movement in Kenya**

Kenya under British rule had its own problems arising out of racial prejudice and the wide disparity between the Africans and the white minority. The racial conflict between minority white population and the majority black Africans created a lot of bitterness. In Kenya, the national movement was launched in the 1920s by the Jomo Kenyatta. He formed the Kenya African Union which later became Kenya African National Union which was led by Odinga Oginga. In 1952, a powerful movement known as Mau mau rebellion was launched by Kikuyu tribe and directed against the British colonial authorities who had forcibly removed them from their ancestral lands. By the close of the Second World War, the Kikuyu tribe was experiencing a population explosion and they wanted to regain their lost territory. Western writers have portrayed Mau Mau rebels as terrorists who committed inhuman atrocities. The cruel and barbarous methods of the Mau mau took a heavy toll of about 9,000 lives. To suppress the revolt, 15,000 Kenyans were killed and a large number of them were sent to the concentration camps. Jomo Kenyatta was arrested in 1953 and sentenced to seven years imprisonment on the charge of supporting the Mau Mau rebellion. The British were compelled to stop the suppression of the revolt which was condemned all over the world. Unable to suppress the rebellion, Britain freed Kenya in 1961. Kenya became a republic on 12 December 1964 and Jomo Kenyatta became its first President.

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*Fig. 4.6 Jomo Kenyatta*

### Struggle in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) had to undergo a protracted struggle for independence. It had been a British colony but the white settlers there, under the leadership of Ian Smith, captured power in 1965. They were worried at the prospect of the country being granted independence which would result in black majority rule. A minority government of the whites was set up with the support of South Africa and it announced Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). Majority of the countries of world along with the United Nations and the Commonwealth imposed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. There was a powerful guerilla movement in Southern Rhodesia which was supported by the neighbouring African states, the Non-Aligned and the Socialist countries. The white minority government gave up its power. Elections were held in 1980 in Southern Rhodesia in which everyone—black and white—had one vote. The nationalist parties won the elections and the country became independent with a new name, Zimbabwe. Robert Mugabe became the President and the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement at its conference held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe in 1986.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 at the Pan-African Conference held in Addis Ababa. It was one of the most important steps towards the promotion of African unity. It also aimed at safeguarding the independence of African nations and to help the liberation movements of those countries which had not yet attained independence. This organization owed much to the statesmanship of Nkrumah. However, it fell short of his dream of a United States of Africa under a single government. Nationalism proved to be a stronger force than pan-Africanism.<sup>6</sup>

### Independence of Guyana and Angola

The history of Guyana shows that the recognition of the need for the independence of Guyana from the British began with the formation of People's Progressive Party (PPP) in 1950. The party, led by Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham, had been the most important party advocating anti-imperialism and gathered support from all segments of the population, mainly people from the Indian origin and black people. The idea of a struggle to free



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Guyana from British colonialism probably had its origin in Cheddi Jagan's understanding of the writings of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>7</sup> Soon after its formation, the PPP launched a campaign calling for constitutional changes to bring the country to self-determination. It demanded universal adult suffrage, a fully elected single chamber parliament and a ministerial system with the Governor as a titular head of state with no veto powers.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, the Waddington Commission was appointed which visited British Guyana. The delegation comprised Cheddi Jagan, Forbes Burnham, Janet Jagan, Aubrey Fraser and Clinton Wong. The Commission recommended the introduction of universal adult suffrage, a ministerial system of government but the British retained extensive powers in the hands of the Governor and British Government. There was a lower house of 24 elected members and 3 ex-officio members and an upper house, the State Council consisting of 9 members.

In 1953, elections were held in British Guyana (now Guyana) implementing the universal adult franchise for the first time. The PPP won an overwhelming victory winning 18 out of 24 seats. Cheddi Jagan became the Prime Minister and he started implementing a radical, social and economic programme. However, the government was dismissed and the constitution was suspended after a few months. The British forces reached there and arrested Jagan and Burnham in the name of 'containing Communism'. Thereafter, the British instigated ethnic conflicts in Guyana and the PPP split up. In the elections held in 1957, PPP again won and intensified the demand for independence. In the elections held in 1961, Dr Jagan's party again won a majority but the government was denied financial assistance and ethnic disturbances and violence were provoked. In the 1964 elections, one faction of PPP led by Burnham polled less number of votes than the PPP but by a coalition with another party, he became the Prime Minister of Guyana. In 1966, Guyana became independent with Forbes Burnham as the Prime Minister. He later became the President.

In Angola, there was fourteen years of armed resistance from 1961 to 1974 against Portuguese colonial rule. A government headed by Agostinho Neto was formed after independence of Angola. However, the United States and South Africa who were aiding and providing arms to the rival groups of Angolans were determined to overthrow this government. The South African troops entered into Angola and fought against the Angolan troops. Angola sought help from Cuba in resisting the foreign invaders. After a long time, agreements were finally reached on ending the foreign intervention in Angola and pulling out of Cuban troops.



*Fig. 4.7 Agostinho Neto*

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### Revolt in Congo

The most violent revolts in Central Africa took place in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire and much earlier known as the Belgian Congo). The Belgians exploited the Congolese people. The Belgian rulers did not allow the formation of political parties and did not introduce franchise. They also postponed the introduction of reforms as long as they could. In 1960, when the revolt broke out under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba, the Belgians finally realized that could not hold onto Congo much longer. Lumumba established the National Congolese Movement. On 30 June 1960, the Belgians granted independence to Congo and Lumumba became the Prime Minister. This was the signal of the beginning of a series of rebellions and assassinations that continued for more than five years. A major cause of the flaming disorders centered around the south-eastern province of Katanga. This province had vast copper resources that were controlled by the Belgian capitalists. Formerly, the copper mines of Katanga had produced revenues sufficient to settle one-half of the colonial government.

In July 1960, Moïse Tshombe, the Premier of the rich state of Katanga who was supported by the Belgian imperialists, announced the secession of the province from Congo and attempted to gain control of the entire country. A number of mercenaries were employed to support the secession. This gave the Belgian army a pretext to interfere in the name of restoring law and order. The role of Belgian army further aggravated the situation. A civil war broke out in Congo. On the request of the government of Congo, the UN Security Council sent a contingent to restore peace. However, peace proved to be elusive as a series of tragic events occurred. The Cold War participants played their game through proxy players in Congo. Prime Minister Lumumba, a Communist sympathizer was murdered. The UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, who went to Congo to restore peace died in a plane crash in September 1961, which was strongly suspected to be the result of sabotage. The UN troops continued to stay till June 1964.



*Fig. 4.8 Congolese celebrating Independence in 1960*

In 1965, Colonel Mobutu, who headed the Congo army, was placed in power by the United States's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The capital of Leopoldville was renamed as Kinshasa. Mobutu emerged as the dictator and a degree of stability was

ultimately restored. In 1996, a civil war erupted between the Hutu and Tutsis in Rwanda in which Mobutu supported the Hutus. Laurent-Désiré Kabila who was backed by Tutsis and various other opposition groups overthrew President Mobutu in 1997 and replaced him as President of Congo. He had also secured the help of foreign companies by giving them rights over the natural resources of the country. He was murdered in 2001 and was succeeded by his son.

### Struggle in South Africa

Perhaps in no other state of Africa the problems of nation building and racial cooperation proved more complicated than the Republic of South Africa. Racial conflicts have been prevalent in South Africa for a very long time. Before 1870, Britain almost neglected South Africa.<sup>9</sup> However, the discovery of diamonds and gold mines attracted the attention of the world. The Afrikaaner governments increased the restrictions against the foreigners. In October 1899, war broke out between the South African republic and the Britain. The Boer War continued for three years and ended in the victory of British forces. In 1910, Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal were merged into the Union of South Africa.

The government of South Africa was, however, one of the most oppressive governments in the twentieth century world. The system of racial segregation called *apartheid* was established in the country by the government of the white minority led by Daniel Malan, who came to power in 1948. This racial policy was followed by the subsequent governments. Under the system of apartheid, the people were classified and separated on the basis of race. Each group had to reside in a separate area. There were separate schools and universities, separate theatres, shopping centers, even separate coaches in trains for whites and blacks and others. Education was segregated and mixed marriages were declared to be illegal and immoral. Some of the greatest works of world literature were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. There were restrictions on movements of people from one place to another. The best lands in the country were under the control of the whites who enjoyed all economic and political power. The non-whites who comprised over eighty percent of the total population had no right to vote and had no say in the governance of the country. This system, in the name of separation of the races, denied basic human rights to the majority of the population. South Africa relinquished from the Commonwealth when the policy of apartheid came under attack at the conference of Prime Ministers of Commonwealth countries.



Fig. 4.9 A Sign from Apartheid Era

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The policy of apartheid was condemned all over the world and most of the countries severed all relations with South Africa. The United Nations also condemned this policy and called for the imposition of economic and military sanctions against South Africa. However, despite the world-wide criticism of its policies, South Africa remained unfazed and continued practicing this inhuman policy. All anti-apartheid movements were brutally suppressed. By the early 1960s, most leaders of the anti-apartheid movements were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The main organization which led the struggle against apartheid and the white minority for many decades and establishing a non-racist democratic South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC) which was set up in 1910. The movement against apartheid intensified in the 1950s. In 1955, a Congress of the people was held which adopted the Freedom Charter which laid down the basic objectives of the struggle of the South Africans. The Charter asserted the unity of the Africans whether black or white and only a democratic state could secure their birthright without any distinction on the basis of race, colour, creed, sex or belief.

Initially the ANC followed the policy of peaceful non-violent struggle. However, when it was brutally suppressed, it decided to launch an armed struggle. It trained its guerilla and soldiers. A few prominent leaders of the ANC were able to escape arrest. The ANC built up a powerful underground movement and many courageous acts of sabotage were committed. In these ventures, the ANC was ably supported by the African states, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Socialist countries.



*Fig. 4.10 Nelson Mandela*

South Africa remained isolated from rest of the world. In the 1980s, some Western nations which had maintained economic and military relations with South Africa also imposed sanctions. Thus, by the end of 1980s, the international isolation of South Africa was complete. The ongoing struggle inside the country was also growing in strength.

This forced the white rulers of South Africa to open negotiations with the nationalists on the issue of ending apartheid. The ban imposed on the ANC was lifted and its leaders were released. Among them was Nelson Mandela, who was the Vice-President of the ANC when released from jail in 1990 after 26 years of imprisonment. He had become a symbol of the struggle against apartheid. Many apartheid laws were repealed and negotiations were started between the ANC and the government of South Africa for framing a new constitution which would give all South Africans the right to vote. An agreement was reached to put an end to the system of racial oppression and for holding democratic elections on the basis of one person one vote. In April 1994, the first ever democratic elections were held in South Africa. The ANC won the polls with a thumping majority and Nelson Mandela became the President of the first non-racist democratic government of South Africa called Government of African Unity (GNU). Almost every major political party of South Africa was represented in it. With the emergence of democratic South Africa, the liberation of Africa was complete.<sup>10</sup>

### Independence of Namibia

A majority of the remaining British colonies in Africa achieved independence in the 1960s. These comprised Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika and Zanzibar) and Sierra Leone in 1961, Uganda in 1962, Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) in 1964, Gambia in 1965, and Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho in 1968. Ruanda (presently Rwanda) and Burundi which had been under Belgian occupation attained independence in 1962. Thus, by the end of 1960s, most countries of Africa had become free. The countries where freedom movement continued even after the 1960s were the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands.

Namibia, formerly South-West Africa, was the last African country to become independent. Before the First World War, Namibia was a German colony and was handed over to South Africa as a mandate after the defeat of Germany in the war. South Africa considered Namibia as her colony and refused to withdraw from there in spite of the United Nations resolutions. The independence movement in Namibia was led by the South-West African People Organization (SWAPO) which was formed in 1960. It formed a guerilla army to liberate the country. It was made a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. The struggle in Namibia culminated in 1989 when South Africa agreed to grant independence to the country. Elections in Namibia were held in November 1989 and SWAPO won majority of the seats. Namibia became independent on 21 March 1990.

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## 4.3 LATIN AMERICA

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Latin America is a general name given to all parts of Central, and South America and the West Indies, which were under the Spanish, French or Portuguese control. Almost the whole of the Western hemisphere except USA, Canada, the Guianas and other French and English speaking parts of the Caribbean is known as Latin America. Since the late 1940s, radical and left-wing trends became powerful in most of the Latin American countries. They were successful in forming governments and introducing reforms. The US policy makers were concerned about the footholds gained by Communism in the Latin American countries and were determined to remove it.

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### Check Your Progress

1. Who was the leader of the Egyptian government when the British, French and Israeli troops invaded Egypt in 1956?
2. Name the organization which waged an armed struggle against the French rule in Algeria.
3. When did Algeria become an independent republic?
4. Name the first country in Southern Africa to gain independence.
5. Which year is celebrated as the African Year?
6. Name the rebellion launched by the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya.
7. Who was the President of the first non-racist democratic government of South Africa?
8. Name the last African country to gain independence.

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*Fig. 4.11 Map of Latin America*

### **Guatemala**

For a long period of time Guatemala was ruled by military dictators. In 1944, the rich landowners owned most of the cultivable land in Guatemala. Most of the land was left fallow as it was considered to be profitable for the large landowners to limit production and maintain high price. The first free elections were held in Guatemala in 1944 and a reformist government headed by President Arevalo attained power. From 1950, the government was led by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. He introduced income tax, poured money into building ports and roads. In 1952, he confiscated the United Fruit Company, a US company which dominated the economy of Guatemala. This alarmed the US government. The Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, hated the Arbenz government, not because it was a Communist regime controlled or largely influenced by the Soviet Union but its possibility of becoming one. The US government looked at the Latin American problems in a global and not any regional or country-specific perspectives.





*Fig. 4.12 Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán*

Dulles had no evidence of Árbenz's connection with the Soviet Union but decided to take action against his regime. In 1954, a US backed military coup overthrew the Árbenz government. The period between the popular uprising that overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico in 1944 and the United States sponsored coup d'état in 1954 that removed President Jacobo Árbenz from power is known as Guatemalan Revolution. It is also known as the 'Ten Years of Spring'. The coup was a secret operation carried out by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that deposed Árbenz and ended the Guatemalan Revolution. Codenamed Operation PBSUCCESS, it established the military regime of Carlos Castillo Armas, the first in a series of military dictators in the country. The hatred against this US action was so deep that when US President Richard Nixon visited the Latin American countries in 1958, he was greeted in various cities 'by angry, hostile, occasionally dangerous mobs'.<sup>11</sup>

Following the coup, Guatemala was ruled by successive US-backed military regimes until 1996. The coup led to a civil war which began in 1960 between the military and the leftist guerrillas, during which the military committed massive human rights violations against the civilian population, including a genocidal campaign against the Mayans. As a result of this war, 200,000 people were either dead or went missing. The civil war ended in 1996, with a peace settlement between the guerrillas and the government of Guatemala.

The government of Guatemala formally apologized to Juan Jacobo Árbenz, the son of the deposed President, Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán, in October 2011. In view of this, the national textbooks used in the schools were revised to restore the name of Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán as a Guatemalan patriot and as President of the nation. A highway was also named in his honour. Árbenz's family had also demanded an apology from the US government for overthrowing Guatemalan government in 1954.

## **Cuba**

The most important event in the history of Latin America in the 1950s which inspired radical and left-wing movements throughout the region was the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The revolution started in July 1953, finally ousted President Batista on 1 January 1959, replacing his government with a revolutionary socialist state. Batista, who had

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been a virtual dictator and a close ally of US, fled the country. The thirty-three year old Fidel Castro Riuz, who had spearheaded the guerilla activities and led the revolutionary movement, gained power. The revolution clarified the strength and weakness of the Communists in the Western hemisphere and the attitude of the Latin American republics towards United States and Soviet Union.

Let us now try to understand the background and causes of the Cuban Revolution. Fulgencio Batista, who had been the Cuban President from 1940 to 1944, became President for the second time in March 1952, after seizing power in a military coup and cancelling the 1952 elections. At the time when Cuba was plagued by high unemployment and limited infrastructure, Batista annoyed the population by forming beneficial links to organized crime and allowing US companies to dominate the Cuban economy.



*Fig. 4.13 Fulgencio Batista*

Under the Cuban constitution, the foreign policy was under the control of United States. The US could interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba as the politicians of Cuba, who did not follow democratic traditions, frequently resorted to violence. Batista received the active support of the Communist Party of Cuba during his first term as President, but during his second term, he adopted a strong anti-communist stance, which won him the political support and military aid from the United States. He developed a strong security set up to silence his critics. After the March 1952 coup, Fidel Castro petitioned for the overthrow of Batista, against whom he levelled charges of corruption and tyranny. However, Castro's petition was rejected by the Cuban courts. Failing to overthrow Batista's regime by constitutional means, Castro launched an armed revolution. To accomplish this objective, he and his brother Raúl founded a paramilitary organization



called as 'The Movement'. This organization accumulated weapons and recruited around 1,200 followers from Havana's discontented working class by the end of 1952. Castro started conducting guerilla activities to overthrow the Batista government. Finally on 1 January 1959, Fidel Castro overthrew Batista's regime and assumed power. On 8 January 1959, the victorious Castro entered Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Batista had to go into exile.

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**Fig. 4.14** Cuban Revolution

The revolution in Cuba proved to be a turning point in the relationship between US and Cuba. After the revolution, Castro went to the United States to explain his revolution. He said, 'I know what the world thinks of us, we are Communists, and of course I have said very clearly that we are not Communists; very clearly.'<sup>12</sup> The revolution in Cuba was actually not led by the Communists and Castro himself was not a Communist. However, when the government of Castro introduced radical social and economic measures, land reforms and took over foreign companies, the government of United States turned hostile to it. Cuba is known as the 'Sugar Bowl of the World' and the US has been the chief importer of Cuba's sugar. The US government stopped importing Cuban sugar. Gradually, the new government began to develop friendly relations with Soviet Union and China. Many attempts were made by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to assassinate Fidel Castro. Although the US government was initially willing to recognize Castro's new government, it was apprehensive of Communist insurgencies which would spread through Latin America in a similar way as they did in South-east Asia. It was in 1965 that the organizations with which Fidel Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries were associated and the Cuban Communists came together to form the Communist Party of Cuba.

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**Fig. 4.15** Fidel Castro

After the revolutionary government nationalized all American property in Cuba in August 1960, President Eisenhower administration froze all Cuban possessions on the US soil, and tightened its embargo on Cuba. Alarmed at the prospect of profit losses to its investors in the event of nationalization of foreign holdings, the United States severed its relations with Cuba. The US President John F. Kennedy sponsored an armed counter-revolutionary assault when the US landed two thousand Cuban exiles on the Bay of Pigs in 1961 with the aim of overthrowing Castro. However, Kennedy failed to realize the shortcomings of the operation. The place selected for landing was completely unsuitable and led into swamps, which was difficult for any invading force to escape in case of an air attack. The invasion ended in a fiasco and was crushed within two days. Although the entire world community condemned this invasion yet the US government was not willing to give up its intention of overthrowing the Cuban government. Kennedy later persuaded Organization of American States to expel Cuba as its member.

As a result of Bay of Pigs failure, there were a series of secret operations intended to help Cubans oust the Castro regime by using psychological warfare, sabotage, diplomacy, economic and, if necessary, military action. This was termed as Operation Mongoose. The need to overthrow Castro was accompanied by a need to justify Capitalism and prove its superiority over Communism. Kennedy wanted to promote the development of Latin America through the US government aid. In March 1961, he announced the Alliance for Progress with the hope that capital would prove to be more attractive to people than Communism and Castro. However, the Alliance for Progress failed in the long-run. It failed because Kennedy exerted too much effort on removing Castro than to the aid and development programme for Cuba. There was more expenditure

on security measures than on health and sanitation programmes. The system failed to introduce land reforms and made the old system and its inequalities more effective.<sup>13</sup> Attempts to provide stability proved to be counter-productive at times and led to some developmental problems. However, the US blockade against Cuba—the longest-lasting single foreign policy in American history—is still in force as of 2014.

## **Chile**

Chile, lying on the west coast of South America, is a long strip of land between Argentina and the Pacific Ocean. It has a small population with a limited amount of cultivable land. Its economic development has been linked to the exploitation of its mineral resources. Copper accounted for 80 percent of Chile's foreign trade. Soon the economy came under foreign control. The North American capitalists and the British got control of the mines, provided shipping facilities, and smelted most of the ore in their own foundries.

The Spaniards conquered and colonized Chile in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Spanish rule continued for two centuries. The country proclaimed its independence in 1818 and in about a decade, the Spaniards were expelled from the land. Chile adopted a republican form of government with a President and bicameral legislature. The country registered good economic progress, but suffered from political instability. There were boundary disputes with Bolivia which resulted in war between the two countries in 1879. Though Chile emerged victorious, it was a great financial setback for the country. Since 1930, the financial problems were aggravated as the national debt went on mounting dangerously.

In January 1939, the country was severely jolted by an earthquake which razed many towns and villages. Thousands of people were killed and many more were rendered homeless. Between 1938 to 1952, leftist democratic coalition governments were formed in Chile. During the tenure of President Gonzalez Videla, there was a swing to the right and in 1948, the Communists were outlawed. Ten years later, the Communist party was legally permitted to function again. In 1952, Major Carlos Ibanez became the President. The country at that time was in great financial crisis, as the price of copper, its main export, crashed in the world market. In 1958, Jorge Alessandri became the President. To overcome financial problems, the new President introduced austerity measures.

In 1964, Eduardo Frei Montalva, a German lawyer was chosen as the President of Chile. His party, Christian Democrats, advocated social-welfare measures, and his administration introduced some reforms which comprised agreements for a gradual transfer of copper mines from foreign to national ownership. However, it achieved a little in solving the problem of land ownership. The Presidential elections of 1970 drew special attention of the United States with the declaration of Chile's intention of nationalizing the Anaconda Copper Company holdings. The elections brought Salvador Allende Gossens into office as he headed the Popular Unity coalition of Socialists, Communists and other left-wing groups. He had been a member of the Chilean Socialist Party for a very long time. He intended to make radical changes in Chile by adopting democratic means. His government ended the control of monopolies, enacted a substantial programme of agrarian reforms, improved health care, reduced the infant mortality rate and reduced unemployment. His determination to follow a 'Chilean way to socialism'—democratic and non-violent—aroused fears of both native and foreign business interests, who resolved to fight him with all their resources.<sup>14</sup>

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*Fig. 4.16 Allende Gossens*

Events that led to Allende's downfall have been interpreted differently by scholars. He himself was partly responsible for his downfall. He pursued his nationalization policy too rapidly thereby, undermining the confidence of the economy. His economic policies were bound to alienate conservative business interests and he lacked necessary guts to launch a successful revolution against them. He also antagonized the armed forces. There were many reasons for deepening of the economic crisis. The US demanded immediate payment of loans, stopped all grants except military aid, and pressurized private banks and international lending agencies to bring to halt fresh credits to Allende's government. A sharp decline in the copper prices added to the problems. With revenues declining and inflation out of control, Chile appeared to be headed towards an economic breakdown. Critics characterize this situation to Allende's incompetence and socialist beliefs but to a large extent deliberately engineered by Chilean far-right elements, with the aid of US government and multi-national corporations. The CIA had made efforts to prevent Allende's installation as the President in 1970. Failing in this attempt, the CIA, with the approval of President Nixon, spent a lot of money in destabilizing the Chilean government.

In spite of the efforts to defame Allende's government, the elections of March 1973, gave Allende's Popular Unity coalition almost 44 per cent of the vote which resulted in an increase in its representation in the legislature. Enraged by this popular vote of confidence in the President, his opponents opted for extreme measures. The military junta headed by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, with the support of CIA, mobilized a massive force and on 11 September 1973, commenced attacks on main centers throughout the country. However, the civilian resistance proved much stiffer. A small group led by Allende defended the Presidential palace for five hours. Allende himself was killed in his palace while fighting. After that the slaughter continued for some weeks.

The overthrow of one of the few constitutional democracies in Latin America transferred power into the hands of a brutal four-man regime headed by General Pinochet in Chile. His policies reminded the dreadful days of Hitler and Stalin. DINA, the secret police, caused people to disappear and abused prisoners in torture chambers. Inexorable

repression and terror failed to break all internal resistance, while reports of human rights violations resulted in international isolation of Chile. The United States withdrew its military aid in 1976, however, private banks continued to provide financial aid to the military junta. Relations between Chile and United States were severed when Orlando Letelier, formerly Allende's ambassador to the US was killed in Washington D.C by DINA agents in September 1976. To placate his critics, President Pinochet dissolved the dreaded DINA, but it reappeared under a new name—National Information Center (CNI). He prepared his own constitution and scheduled the parliamentary elections in mid-1980s. Under this constitution promulgated in March 1981, General Pinochet remained president for an eight-year term until 1989, when a plebiscite would decide an additional eight-year term. During the 1980s, Pinochet's free-market policies were credited with maintaining a low rate of inflation and an acceptable rate of economic growth. Pinochet allowed no meaningful political opposition, but he held a plebiscite as scheduled in October 1988. Only 43 per cent of the people voted in his favour and the rest 55 percent voted against his government. Although rejected by the people, Pinochet remained in office until free elections installed civilian rule in Chile in 1990 with Patricio Aylwin as the new President.

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**Fig. 4.17** *Augusto Pinochet*

As commander of the armed forces until 1998, Pinochet frequently violated human rights. There was demands to prosecute him for human rights violations including kidnapping, murder, torture and corruption. He escaped prosecution because of the immunity he enjoyed as a senator. In the year 2000, Pinochet was deprived of his immunity from prosecution and ordered to stand on trial on charges of human rights violations. In January, he was allowed to return home after a British court ruled that he was medically unfit to stand trial. Nevertheless, he continued to face investigations by Chilean authorities. The charges were dropped in 2002 after Chile's Supreme Court upheld a ruling that he



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### Check Your Progress

9. What is Guatemalan Revolution or Ten Years of Spring?
10. When did the Cuban Revolution take place?
11. Who led the Cuban Revolution and assumed power after overthrowing Batista?
12. What was Operation Mongoose?
13. Who announced the alliance for Progress and in which year?
14. Who was elected the President of Chile in 1970?

was mentally unfit to defend himself in court. Soon afterwards, he resigned his post as a senator-for-life. In the year 2005, he was again deprived of immunity and ordered to stand on trial on charges arising from Operation Colombo and on separate charges associated with tax evasion. In the year 2006, he was again arrested, but before the commencement of his trial he died.

The events discussed above signify a major trend of developments in Latin America. The United States had interfered in the internal affairs of many other countries apart from the ones mentioned above. These were Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada. Military coups were organized by the CIA mainly directed against elected governments which attempted to introduce social and economic reforms.

The United States deployed troops to Haiti to restore Aristide who had been elected President in 1990, but was overthrown the next year. One of the important developments has been the change in the outlook of the Catholic clergy in Latin America. At one time, they were hostile to all radical ideologies and movements. Later, the church and the clergy became more receptive to the need for social and economic reforms. In fact, many priests were actively involved in the radical social and political movements.

### 4.3.1 Recent Developments in Latin America

Relations of United States with Latin America had long been characterized by intervention and determination, as early as the 1890s, to exclude other powers from the region. The US considered it their legal right to mediate in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. The US perceived the Latin American countries to have established radical regimes which wanted to implement policies that were in the interest of the common people and reduced the interests of the US companies. US marines were relentlessly landing in South and Central America to protect US economic interests and attempted to establish stable regimes. When Roosevelt became the US resident, he followed a 'Good Neighbour' policy, but the US intervention continued. Dictators like the Somozas in Nicaragua tended to exert force in a cruel manner and still win support from Washington. In 1944, dictators were overthrown in Guatemala and El Salvador, but the war for democracy did not succeed in installing elected governments in Latin America. Cuba defeated the US backed invasion and in spite of the grave economic problems it faced due to the economic blockade imposed by the US, continued on its chosen path. In most other countries, the US succeeded in maintaining its supremacy.

The US, however, experienced substantial losses in the region. Many countries such as Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Chile have elected governments which may broadly be called leftist. They rose to power through free and fair elections and in most cases, replaced the authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. They also executed programmes of radical social and economic development. One of the most charismatic leaders to emerge in Latin America was Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. He was the President of Venezuela from 1998 until his death in 2013. He was an ardent supporter of Cuba (a close friend of Fidel Castro) and a staunch adversary of the foreign policy of United States. Like Cuba, oil products were the keystone of the Venezuelan economy during Chávez's presidential tenure. This facilitated Chavez to follow his policies of social and economic change in his country and collaborated with other leaders and maintained close relations of cooperation with other leaders of Latin America.<sup>15</sup>

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## 4.4 SUMMING UP

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### NOTES

- The freedom movements in Africa, as in other parts of the world, were the result of growth of nationalism and increasing resentment against exploitation and oppression by the colonial powers.
- Like Asia, Africa was overrun by European imperialists.
- The European powers divided Africa and its resources at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85.
- Just like Asia, the imperialists were overthrown and most parts of Africa regained their independence in the twentieth century.
- Many factors were responsible for the awakening and the rise of nationalism among the people of Africa. These include impact of Western culture, principle of Self-determination, impact of liberal western thinkers and statesmen, US policy towards Afro-Asian nations, bitter memories of exploitation, Communist threat, world wars, and role of African leaders.
- The Second World War brought major changes in North Africa, promoting the cause of national independence.
- The Suez War also added to the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union as a friend of the countries who were trying to assert their independence.
- One of the longest and hardest struggles for freedom was launched in Algeria. It was also the most violent colonial revolt in Northern Africa.
- On July 3, 1962, Algeria's independence was recognized by France and on July 4, 1962, Algeria became an independent republic.
- The first country in Southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana (formerly Gold Coast).
- On March 6, 1957, an independent state calling itself Ghana, named after the old West African kingdom, emerged.
- In 1960, seventeen African countries achieved independence. Hence, the year 1960 is generally regarded as the 'African year'.
- The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 at the Pan-African Conference held in Addis Ababa.
- The most violent revolts in Central Africa took place in the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- Racial conflicts have been prevalent in South Africa for a very long time.
- The system of racial segregation called apartheid was established in the country by the government of the white minority led by Daniel Malan, who came to power in 1948.
- Under the system of apartheid, the people were classified and separated on the basis of race.
- The policy of apartheid was condemned all over the world and most of the countries severed all relations with South Africa.
- The main organization which led the struggle against apartheid and the white minority for many decades and establishing a non-racist democratic South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC) which was set up in 1910.

## NOTES

- By the end of 1980s, the international isolation of South Africa was complete.
- Nelson Mandela became the President of the first non-racist democratic government of South Africa called Government of African Unity (GNU).
- Namibia, formerly South-West Africa, was the last African country to become independent.
- Latin America is a general name given to all parts of Central, and South America and the West Indies, which were under the Spanish, French or Portuguese control.
- The US policy makers were concerned about the footholds gained by Communism in the Latin American countries and were determined to remove it.
- From 1950, the government was led by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.
- The period between the popular uprising that overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico in 1944 and the United States sponsored coup d'état in 1954 that removed President Jacobo Árbenz from power is known as Guatemalan Revolution. It is also known as the 'Ten Years of Spring'.
- Following the coup, Guatemala was ruled by successive US-backed military regimes until 1996.
- The coup led to a civil war which began in 1960 between the military and the leftist guerrillas.
- The civil war ended in 1996, with a peace settlement between the guerrillas and the government of Guatemala.
- The most important event in the history of Latin America in the 1950s which inspired radical and left-wing movements throughout the region was the Cuban Revolution of 1959.
- The thirty-three year old Fidel Castro Riuz, who had spearheaded the guerilla activities and led the revolutionary movement, gained power on January 1, 1959.
- The revolution in Cuba proved to be a turning point in the relationship between US and Cuba.
- Kennedy wanted to promote the development of Latin America through the US government aid. In March 1961, he announced the Alliance for Progress with the hope that capital would prove to be more attractive to people than Communism and Castro.
- The Presidential elections of 1970 drew special attention of the United States with the declaration of Chile's intention of nationalizing the Anaconda Copper Company holdings.
- The elections brought Salvador Allende Gossens into office as he headed the Popular Unity coalition of Socialists, Communists and other left-wing groups.
- The military junta headed by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, with the support of CIA, mobilized a massive force and on September 11, 1973, commenced attacks on main centers throughout the country.
- Free elections installed civilian rule in Chile in 1990 with Patricio Alywin as the new President.



- The US, however, experienced substantial losses in the Latin American region. Many countries such as Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Chile have elected governments which may broadly be called leftist.

## NOTES

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### 4.5 KEY TERMS

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- **African Year:** In 1960, seventeen African countries achieved independence; hence, this year is generally regarded as the 'African year'.
- **Apartheid:** It was a system of racial segregation established by the government of white minority in South Africa.
- **Coup:** It is the sudden and illegal seizure of a government usually instigated by a small group of the existing state establishment to depose the established government and replace it with a new ruling body.

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### 4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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1. Colonel Nasser was the leader of the Egyptian government when the British, French and Israeli troops invaded Egypt in 1956.
2. The nationalist organization called the FLN (National Liberation Front) waged an armed struggle against the French rule in Algeria.
3. On July 4, 1962, Algeria became an independent republic.
4. The first country in Southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana (formerly Gold Coast).
5. The year 1960 is generally regarded as the African year.
6. Mau mau rebellion was launched by Kikuyu tribe in Kenya.
7. Nelson Mandela became the President of the first non-racist democratic government of South Africa.
8. Namibia, formerly South-West Africa, was the last African country to become independent.
9. The period between the popular uprising that overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico in 1944 and the United States sponsored coup d'état in 1954 that removed President Jacobo Árbenz from power is known as Guatemalan Revolution.
10. The Cuban Revolution took place in 1959.
11. Fidel Castro led the Cuban Revolution and assumed power after overthrowing Batista.
12. There were a series of secret operations intended to help Cubans oust the Castro regime by using psychological warfare, sabotage, diplomacy, economic and, if necessary, military action. This was termed as Operation Mongoose.
13. Kennedy, in March 1961, announced the Alliance for Progress.
14. Salvador Allende Gossens was elected the President of Chile in 1970.

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## 4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### NOTES

#### Short-Answer Questions

1. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Meaning of Latin America
  - (b) Africa Year
  - (c) Fidel Castro
  - (d) Mau mau rebellion
  - (e) Apartheid
  - (f) Independence of Namibia
2. How did Guinea attain independence?
3. How did Guyana attain independence?
4. Write a brief note on the civil war in Congo.
5. What were the objectives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)?

#### Long-Answer Questions

1. Which factors were responsible for bringing about nationalism in African countries?
2. Discuss the process of decolonization of Egypt and Libya.
3. Describe the events leading to the freedom of Algeria.
4. Elucidate the freedom struggle in South Africa.
5. Discuss the political developments in Guatemala after the Second World War.
6. Write a detailed account of the Cuban Revolution.
7. Discuss the conditions prevailing in Chile in the post World War II period.

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## Endnotes

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- 2 <http://education-portal.com/academy/lesson/post-wwii-independence-movements-around-the-world-history-examples.html#lesson>
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- 15 Arjun Dev & Indira Arjun Dev, p.252-3

## NOTES

